

CHILE AND INDIA

Dilip Chitre

ON September 11, 1973 Salvador Allende took his own life in his presidential palace stormed by soldiers who had risen against his Marxist government. To communist the world over, this was a shock not to be forgotten soon. To uncommitted people in the less developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America it was the third eye-opening lesson of its kind in recent times. For Allende followed the fate of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Indonesia's Sukarno who had made similar attempts to convert a democracy into a leftist dictatorship and – in the process – ruined the economies of the nations they headed.

Allende's fall in Chile also appeared to create unusual interest in New Delhi because insiders knew that there were striking similarities between the strategies, policies and plans of action followed in Santiago between 1970 and 1973 and in New Delhi since 1971. The result too, had many disturbing similarities although India and Chile are hardly similar in history, size and composition.

Robert Moss, a leader writer of *The Economist*, has now produced a blow by blow account of what happened in Chile under Allende, which should be a highly instructive and relevant book to Indian readers. *Chile's Marxist Experiment* (David & Charles, Holdings Ltd., U.K. £ 4.50, pp. 225) is a book based on the author's five visits to Chile during which he interviewed politicians of all shades, including right-wing vigilantes and left-wing guerillas in Chile.

Moss is obviously aware of the controversial nature of his subject. In his introduction he raises the basic question: what did Allende die for? Allende's well-wishers claim that he was a martyr who bravely tried to defend democracy against fascist conspirators. Allende's New Left critics believe that it took him a fatally long time to realise that socialist revolutions cannot be brought about peacefully. Moss knows that he has reached some conclusions which "will not be relished by those who persist in seeing Dr. Allende as a benign social reformer who imagine that because he was brought to power by a free election (though with only 36 per cent of the electorate behind him) he somehow had the right to behave as he liked."

He also demolishes the myth that the Chilean coup was master-minded by Washington in spite of International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation's abortive efforts in that direction. Moss says that Allende was overthrown by the Generals as a result of "four things: (i) the objective evidence that the Allende government had plunged Chile into the worst social and economic crisis in its modern history characterised by a Weimar rate of inflation; (ii) the conviction that the Marxist parties were aiming for nothing less than the seizure of absolute power; (iii) the existence of a clear popular mandate for military intervention, demonstrated by the declarations of the Supreme Court,

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IN THIS ISSUE

When Salvador Allende was declared the first freely elected Marxist President, the world watched with interest this experiment. What lessons do the failure of Allende's Marxist experiment hold to those who pursue policies that ignore reality? Well known writer, Dilip Chitre, in his review article discusses the latest book of Robert Moss – *Chile's Marxist Experiment* and analyses the similarities and the differences between the situation in Chile and India.

The Asiatic Society of Bombay houses some of the most precious books. Geeta Doctor writes about her impressions of this ancient library.

The original leftist theory propounded by Karl Marx is now quite in the background with the emergence of the New Left. Arvind A. Deshpande reviews Ayn Rand's book *The New Left* and discusses the future of similar groups in India.

How free is the 'free press' in India? Our new contributor, G. K. Kolanjiyil explains in his article.

GHOSTS AT THE ASIATIC

Geeta Doctor

SOME rooms, like some people, have about them an aura of malevolence that is so pervasive, that in spite of being the most innocuous of places, or the most innocent of human beings, one cannot help but feel that they have in them some hidden faculty for evil which has only to be tapped for it to spring out unchecked. Such a room there is at the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

One does not have to be superstitious to feel that there is some hidden drama lurking at the Asiatic. It is there for anyone who visits the building, to see. Once occupying the pride of place as the Town Hall of Bombay with its vast expanse of steps across which the elite of the British Raj must have stepped to dance at a ball or attend a Durbar, the building is now a market place of sundry activities. Vagrants lie across the steps and in the grand assembly hall where one may still admire the fluted pillars, with their gilded decorations, which are done we are told, in the Corinthian style, newspapers from different parts of the country flutter dispiritedly from the massive reading boards on which they have been transfixed to allow the public at large to study. If anyone notices the unusually high, wide ceiling which forms a perfect oval, it must only be the pigeons who with a true proletarian fervour have started a ceiling-grab movement which the authorities are barely able to contain.

To the left of the main hall, one can see a vast assortment of statues, and beyond them the Asiatic Society proper which must house one of the oldest and most vast collections of books in Asia. But properly to savour the full flavour of the Asiatic, one must use the side entrance through the porch on the North side of the building, which leads first into the vaults of the Government Stamp Office. It is dark inside and only the gleaming bayonet tips of the guards betray the importance of the office. The police are in various degrees of somnolence. Some of them are really asleep wearing only their blue and white striped underwear, while their companions on duty have solidified into attitudes of alertness. Only their guns appear real.

From here one passes on to a large semi-circular chamber along whose walls two winding staircases curve their way up. Cradled in between sits the massive statue of Jagannath Shankarshett, which extends almost halfway up the height of the staircases. A skylight high above the second floor throws down a beam that makes the marble stand out with majestic awfulness in the midst of the surrounding gloom. There is a pious gash of vermilion painted across his forehead, as if must have been in life, and his pupils too have

been painted black so that they start out of the marble with a fixed unsettling stare. In the dungeons of Hamlet's castle at Elsinore, there is a similar figure, a giant called Olger Dansk, who can always be counted on (according to legend) to walk out of the castle and save Denmark when it is in danger. Jagannath Shankershet seems to be waiting in a similar state of preparedness and one is always a little apprehensive that one might one day bump into his awesome figure in its magnificent brocaded gown, just as he is stepping down from his pedestal.

Curious

If on the other hand, Jagannath Shankershet instead of stepping down, should look up, he would see directly above him on the landing in front, an equally massive statue of the first Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy, who despite the skill of his sculptor Marochetti, who has lavished attention on his tasselled gown and curving slippers appears to have a physiognomy that is more notable for its expression of bad temper than for its philanthropy. Has his expression soured from watching the mixed company in front of him we wonder, for certainly with Charles Norris of the East India Company lounging casually in a Roman toga at his right to Stephen Babington with his curly locks arranged in Byronic disarray sitting engrossed forever in a manuscript at his left, the collection of marble personages is as curious as it is mixed.

The spacious landing was from the first planned to quote a source, "for the reception of statues of the Marquis of Cornwallis Mr. Pitt and other Monuments of British Art which public gratitude may bring to Bombay". The successive generations of governors and goodmen obviously enjoyed being transformed into monuments of British Art, for the sculptors, of whom Chantry is the favourite, always appear to have provided them with noble foreheads and splendid robes trimmed with ermine and fixed into place with medals, ribbons, and yards of sashes. Books and scrolls are used as props, for an elegantly stockinged foot to rest against or to hold up the voluminous folds of a cape. Monstuart Elphinstone is provided with both, his foot rests against a pile of books, while his arms are folded up in a theatrical gesture, clutching at a scroll. One longs to tell the poor man that he may put his arms down, but one presumes that by now it must have become something of a habit.

Art rather than accuracy was apparently the criterion behind the sculptures and we hear of another statue of the Marquis of Cornwallis which is unfortunately not

at the Asiatic, which showed him standing supported by two female figures, one representing Wisdom and the other Integrity. While the Marquis Of Wellesley was depicted we are told "presenting a bracelet to an athletic Maratha sepoy, while a female figure hovered in the background. To balance the group a lion and lioness were used as decorative accessories."

Whether the public was ever grateful for having to collect the generous amounts necessary to pay for these marble concoctions is a debatable matter, for our informant tells us "The bust in the meeting room is by McDowell and if it had still remained in its packing case it could hardly have been much of a loss to Bombay." While the bust of Sir James Rivert Carnac, who was Governor of Bombay arrived it appears in 1846 and was left in its packing case for three years before someone discovered him and set him up on his pedestal next to Frere.

Apparently he was not so popular as Jonathan Duncan who was Governor of Bombay for sixty-six years which must have been something of a record and when he finally died in 1811, another Englishman (actually a Scotsman) Charles Forbes prophesied, "thousands of happy mothers in succeeding years while caressing their infant daughters will bless the name of Duncan," for he had been instrumental in putting a stop to the practice of female infanticide. Charles Forbes himself, who is hailed as "a disinterested benefactor and the tried and tested friend of India" is given a full length statue all to himself, but for some odd reason he has been placed in solitary confinement in a room at the south end of the building.

His only consolation could be that if he is shunned by human beings, he is neglected by the pigeons too, who are slowly taking over the rest of the building. One wing of the library has a permanent shroud of jute hanging from the ceiling like a dirty brown cloud to protect the books and the learned heads of those who might be using them, from pigeon droppings. It is through this that one must past into the sanctus sanctorum of the Asiatic, the Oriental Research Room, whose very appearance with its suggestion of age and esoteric learning, is liable to strike awe into the minds of those who might accidentally stray into its sacred precincts.

Stillness

On one occasion, having requested the library to provide me with a table at which I could sit down to do a spot of serious study, I found that I was assigned to the room of Oriental studies. Every morning I would pass under the cloud of pigeon droppings and sit down at my table. There was perfect silence. Row upon row of books stood upon the darkened shelves. There was not a friendly face among them. They stood in their shabby coats of black and brown with an

occasional poisonous green, sporting a grim pride that they had been produced in the days when the contents of a book were given more importance than the cover. There were nine shelves from the floor to the first floor ledge along which ran a balcony from where one could have access to another six or seven shelves. The balcony was supported by beams which terminated in small lion heads, so that wherever one

CARE FOR MY CHOICE?



looked one could see black grimacing faces staring down. Not a person came in, though the adjoining tables had names marked on them, the occupants seemed to have expired or vanished long ago. Not a mote of dust, that had settled with grave dignity over the ancient books, stirred, and only an occasional pigeon from the adjoining room would jolt the stillness with an eerie gurgle.

In such an atmosphere it would be interesting to note that the third book on the third row jumped out at me just as the clock struck three, or that Sir Bartle Frere stepped off from his pedestal in the adjoining hall and inquired frostily what I was doing sitting in

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THE NEW LEFT

A Journey from Ignorance to Cocksure Ignorance

Arvind A. Deshpande

IT is not easy to attempt a critique or an evaluation of "The New Left" either here or abroad. There have, of course, been notable efforts and any serious student of affairs can go back to the excellent book of Cranston.^o Ayn Rand's *The New Left* does also help a great deal in understanding the New Left in America. She, of course, thinks that there is nothing new about the New Left and considers it a tribal conventional irrationality without any serious philosophical foundations. She is no doubt a brilliant and forceful writer and at a certain level of understanding she could give a great deal of material and ideas to those who wish to fight ideas with better ideas. In a way she is a fundamentalist and to that extent very uncompromising in her fight against any kind of collectivist or totalitarian thought. She may exaggerate at many places but that is only to put things in sharp focus.

Re-invigouration

In some ways, the New Left is simply a re-invigouration of traditional Marxist doctrine — a return to the fathers, as a leading Swedish socialist recently said, but in many respects it differs significantly from the old "Workers-of-the-World-Unite" brand of Marxism, indeed at many places there is a distinct and noticeable anti-Marxist strain in the questioning of industrial growth and opposition to centralised authority. What we have to note here is that the New Left provides a simpler and more emotionally appealing faith than old Marxist dogma. There is nothing to show or convince that it will work but it would be unwise to underestimate the power of its attraction, particularly for the middle and upper class youth. We are witnessing, thanks to a phenomenal increase in higher education, the creation of a large new intellectual class everywhere in the world, many of whose members feel

alienated from the old middle class culture and values. Miss Rand's book should provide food for thought to the American youth, but how far will she be popular with the youth in Europe or Asia or Africa is not very clear. It would be a pity if she does not capture the imagination of the youth outside the United States because the free enterprise system has been so deeply ingrained in the American ethos that there seems little prospect of a formidable "left" developing in the United States in the near future. What is to be viewed with concern is the fact that the United States may become an island surrounded by a vast "leftist" sea. It is also a little disconcerting to think that in a few years from now, Miss Rand and others will not be dealing with Willy Brandts or Harold Wilsons but a different kind of socialist like Wolfgang Roth.

In Europe, the attraction of the new left or a new kind of radical socialism comes from a very guilty or uneasy conscience about being surrounded by a vast sea of poor people. In some cases a swing to the "left" may lead to the rise of or gains for Liberal and centrist parties but one cannot predict that they would become a formidable third force. The dilemma in Europe or even in Japan is real. It is not a question of only fighting ideas with better ideas but of finding concrete solutions to inflation, environmental pollution, youth alienation and growing poverty in the under-developed world. It seems inevitable though sad that the socialists in Europe, as a response to the emotional appeal of the new left ideas will start moving still further "left" because it is more difficult to find quick and effective solutions to many of these problems. New power equations are also making it difficult for the democratic socialists and the democratic free enterprisers to pull together as they did after the Second World War. Each socialist party in Europe is now having a radical wing within itself which constantly pressurises it to move towards the extreme "left". The ideal of equality of opportunity will slowly degenerate into ideal of distribution of *available* material goods and also in lowering the overall quality of life and standards. There are already signs of this in the field of education where, as in Sweden in England, there are demands for reducing the status and quality of wellknown Universities like Oxford and Cambridge, and also for Government taking over the B.B.C. and other autonomous establishments. What would actually result in practice will be a progressive loss of personal freedom and quality because those who rule, as the

ASIATIC—Continued from page 3

his favourite place. Nothing of that sort happened. After spending ten days speculating as to what would happen if someone were "to do me in" one afternoon in the room for Oriental Studies, and deciding that if so any body would decompose and settle in another layer of fine dust before anyone noticed, I nodded in a friendly fashion at all the other ghosts and walked out into the bright sunshine.

Russian experience shows, can always be depended upon to preserve special privileges for themselves.

Staggering Problems

The problems which we in India face are still more staggering. I cannot claim to know all the New Left organisations and people here but one can safely say that even if they come to rule this country, nothing may improve. For one thing, we have burnt our boats by increasing our population to such an extent that all ideological talk seems totally irrelevant to solve the real problems. Our response to the first signs of material progress has been an explosion in numbers thus decreasing and degrading whatever standards we had and there is every chance that the quantum of goods and services will decrease as a result of continuing anarchic and confused economic policies.

A lot has been written about the New Left of the East, namely, the Naxalites. The Bengali intellectual consciousness normally centres round Calcutta and confines itself to cultural fields and political romanticism. Even ordinary land reforms have not been implemented in Bengal and the Calcutta-centred intellectual elite would not even bother to protest for years on end. Their consciousness centres round cultural Calcutta and the next point is Delhi and then London, New York and so on. The world just outside Calcutta hardly exists for them and it needs Mao to remind them about the poor state of peasantry. Their poor citizenship and civic consciousness is also shown by

the sad state of affairs of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation. What and which world revolution these people will bring about when they cannot even manage municipal affairs or are insensitive to the miseries of their own state? Romanticism and terrorism were never the strong points of their Chinese mentors.

There are some representative groups here in Maharashtra. I have already written about the Dalit Panthers. The Panthers have suddenly grown very quiet and they seem to be in the process of making an agonising choice between ideology and welfare or between an autonomous identity and the promotion of welfare of a whole people.

The other group which is not Marxist but still to the "left-of-centre" is the Yuvak Kranti Dal. They certainly have very strong roots in the soil and are concentrating on the removal of social injustice. They have not really had much time to think of the economic aspect. They do talk of socialism in a vague way but most of it sounds like a pure declaration of faith. They have a strong dislike for totalitarian methods and ideologies. They have a bright future if they restrict themselves initially to reforming the educational system and the social structure. There is a rather sad lack of method and organisation in their working. Only a measure of methodical work and discipline will help them gain ground here. On economic matters they need to do a lot of thinking and learn to differentiate between feudal tendencies and modern robust individualism.

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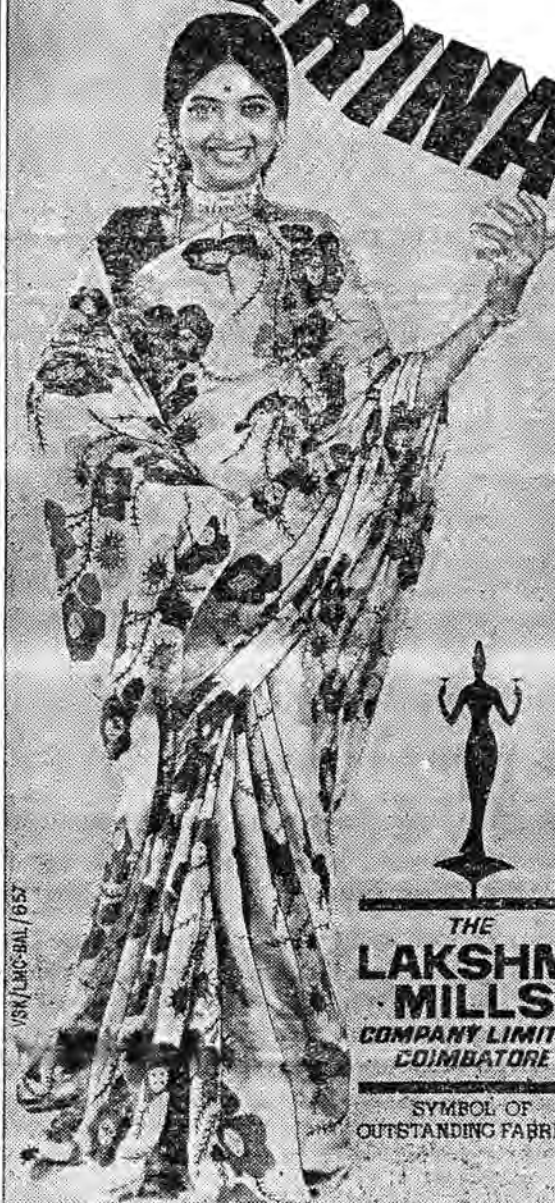
There is another group of the new left which calls itself Marxist and claims that it supports the C.P.I. and the C.P.M. on merits. This is a group of serious-minded young men and women who bring out a monthly called "Magova". They too suffer from the usual feeling of alienation and there is a suggestion of upper caste condescension in all their writings. Marx is supposed to have commented upon the idiocy of village life in India. In their heart of hearts, all communists here except some C.P.M. people perhaps, including these young men and women, agree with this condescending evaluation. Maybe an Indian villager is as bad as they think but that does not help matters in any way. In any case, this group hardly has any roots here and is quite naive on social matters. One of them who is a bit of a creative writer recently pompously claimed that she saw the face of poverty after she came to Bombay, following a long stay in Delhi, where presumably there are no poor people. Then she went on to claim that at that time she was introduced to Marx and that opened up a new meaning of life for her. One is a little weary of such persons and claims because this attitude is no different from the attitude of a person who says that she or he found the meaning of life after meeting Acharya Rajnish or some other Guru or Maharaj. This is a journey from ignorance to cocksure ignorance.

It is also a little sad and almost sickening to see a lack of freshness in their approach or language. Their recent evaluation of the Bihar and Gujarat agitations reveals a lack of understanding. It is indeed sickening to see young men and women referring to Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan as a cultural-freedomwalla. The least one expects from young men and women is a fresh approach and language and not parrot-like repetition of age old propaganda. In any case, this group has neither roots nor much of a following. One can only plead for a more empirical outlook. It might be more helpful for them if they read the book by Philip Spratt (who incidentally came to India to establish the Communist Party here) *Hindu Culture and Personality* rather than endlessly quote Marx and Lenin all the time. One sadly looks for young men and women who will have more genuine understanding and compassion for the poor here than such upper class and caste rootless and alienated existence. Obviously Ayn Rand will not be even read by these groups here. We have to look out for young men and women who will convince their peers about the need to do something here and now and help mitigate the misery in which our people have been wallowing for a thousand years or more rather than teach Marx. Probably they would sooner read Marx than think — in fact they do so. God bless them and India!

* *The New Left: Anti-Industrial Revolution* by Ayn Rand. (Signet Publication, U.S.A., Rs. 9/-).

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

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FREEDOM: TO PUBLISH OR TO PRINT

G. K. Kolanjiyil

THE noted French writer "Jean Francois Revel" wrote: "The decay of French T.V. has been compounded by the censorship imposed by De Gaulle and the self-censorship of those chosen to run the network without rocking the boat. On television, news and information generally are commodities as carefully rationed as butter was during the war and the reason for the rationing is the fear of news, the fear of truth, the fear of ideas. How can a nation's culture fail to decay in such circumstances?"

Substitute the word French with Indian, add Radio and Press to T.V., we have a true depiction of the communication media in today's India (the motto "Satyameva Jayate" notwithstanding). By courtesy Mr. Masani, we have even an Indian De Gaulle now.

Let those who raise their eyebrows at bracketing our 'free Press' with the captive Radio compare the pages of the free Press of today (especially during the railway strike) with those five years ago before the Government had threatened "to fix the Press barons within five minutes", before the Government had started hanging the Damoclean sword of the Press Diffusion Bill over their heads. It will be quite a revelation if our national dailies start publishing extracts from their pre-1968 editions in lieu of their present '100 years ago' columns.

Our Dignity

The press in India now is free, as free as the Russian in the oft quoted joke. They are free to expose the misdeeds and the corruption of Agnew and to pillory Nixon. But when it comes to our own President, they follow "the well established and healthy journalistic convention in the country whereby the President of India is beyond the reach of criticism and particularly such as would tend to derogate from the dignity of his office." (*Statesman*) Hence, the attack of our national press is wisely confined to the lower echelons, preferably of the State Governments.

When "tricky Dick's" secret bombing of Cambodia is uncovered, what an uproar it makes in our national press? But when a Bangladesh author (S. M. Ali) divulges that Indian forces were operating in the Chittagong hill tracts, after they were all supposed to have been withdrawn from Bangladesh, one of our veteran journalists (Mr. Ajit Bhattacharya) tries to explain it away, "But as so often happens, the presence of Indian soldiers in the area was kept secret." The news is worth no further follow-up and comments.

Not long ago, one of our senior journalists (Mr.

Inder Malhotra) was thundering on the editorial page of my morning paper against C.I.A. and its dirty tricks in overthrowing foreign Governments. But on the same page, little down below (reportedly by the same journalist!), there was a rather innocuous reference to the Kidwai-Nehru masterminded "revolution in Nepal which overthrew the autocratic rule of the Ranas". The disclosure, of course, came safely after twenty-two years. And the commentator had not noticed the hypocrisy involved.

When the dairy industry or I.T.T. contributes to Nixon's election funds, the Indian Press runs accounts of the transactions with details to the last cent. But about the Maurice Stans of Indian politics, suddenly a vagueness, an ambiguity creeps into the news coverage as also the comments. No embarrassing specifics, no details. Corruption is condemned. Then who does applaud corruption?

Chanchal Sarkar says that Government's Press Information Bureau is highly satisfied with our 'free Press' for ninety to ninety-five per cent of what it puts out finds its way into the papers. As James Cameron observes with *New Statesman*: "The Indian Press occasionally professes to combat pressure from Government which is most quixotic since it is a processing plant for handouts and the handouts here for convoluted obfuscation have to be seen to be believed." And he had written this before the railway strike.

When Anthony Lewis reports from Hanoi, our free press covers the stories with glee, with a sense of professional achievement and comradeship. But when a fellow journalist on the *Economic and Political Weekly* on the way to troubled Sikkim is made to disembark from the plane, there is not even a muted protest from our editors or working journalists.

"The *Times* will continue to seek and publish pertinent, essential information from every source rather than restrict itself and its readers to official U.S. Government statements". But that is the policy of *The New York Times*, not to their namesakes in India. *The New York Times* and *Washington Post* may challenge their administration in the highest courts of law against 'prior restraints' on publication of top secret Pentagon Papers in the interest of the people's right to be informed. But our free Press does not make censorship of news on even language riots an issue. They don't mind even if telegraph authorities are given the right to decide whether to transmit a message or not. Their legal battles will be confined to their fundamental right to use 'an unlimited quantity of news-

print'. Here, the issue is not freedom to publish, but the freedom to print.

Cheated

Apparently, it is not for the unlimited spread of Government handouts that Palkhivala has argued and the Supreme Court has granted special treatment for the Press in the matter of their raw material utilisation. While delivering judgement on the Newspapers (Price & Page) Act, Mr. Justice Ray had given the rationale "Freedom of Press is part of the freedom of speech and expression". "The faith of a citizen", he added, "is that critical wisdom and virtue will sustain themselves in the free market of ideas so long as the channels of communications are left open". But the channels of communication have got only further clogged after the Court judgement. The citizens who have rejoiced with the national newspapers in the successful outcome of their court battle are left cheated. When the Government cuts the newsprint quota and S.T.C. bungles supplies, the first defence impulse of the frightened free Press is to propitiate the Government by giving more coverage at the cost of the opposition. No wonder the Government has found it advantageous to reduce the newsprint quota still further.

The national newspapers — I mean those who won their fundamental right to publish more than ten pages — claim that they are the champions of all manner of freedom in this country. Yet it has been the smaller papers who have continued to uphold the citizens' right to be informed, especially of the Government's misdeeds or the moral lapses of those in authority. It was not a national paper which was confiscated for publishing the points of view of the harassed I. K. Sukla or Dr. Ranade. It was not in any of the national dailies that the Kittur episode was first published. The national press is too heavily weighed with its 'responsibility' to do this sort of 'muck-raking'. They have conveniently mistaken sobriety for senility and responsibility for lethargy. Of course, it is a pleasure to belong to the profession of Jack Anderson.

The smaller paper can be free as they are responsible only for getting newsprint quota for themselves but the national dailies have the added responsibility of getting industrial licences for their proprietors. And yet they try to create an impression that Press freedom is lost once the ownership of newspapers is delinked from industrial houses. This linking of ownership of Press with industrial houses (with so many licences to get and so many skeletons to hide) leaves our national papers at the mercy of the Government. Though the Government's motives in cultivating the small newspapers are suspect, the idea is not as outrageous as our national dailies make out. After all "the right conclusions are more likely to be drawn out of a multitude of tongues than through any kind of

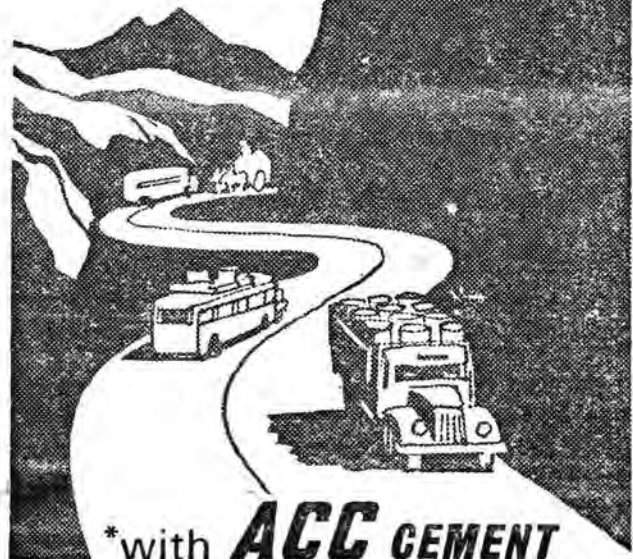
authoritative selection" (however eminent the few editors of our national dailies may be).

Cowardly Alibi

More than the pontifical editorials what interests the readers is news. Our national Press has got different notions. When the newsprint is cut, it is the news and not the editorials and supplements which are the first casualty. Ministerial speeches stuffed with clichés and platitudes occupy what little space is left for news. What is more, a keenness to toe the official line and not to step on the Government's corns even by accident has resulted in distortion of news presentation. 'National interest' or 'public interest' is developed as a cowardly alibi for the cover up of the Government. The young men rotting in jails in their thousands ever awaiting trials don't make news for the national press, of course in the 'public interests'. The end justifies the means.

The railway strike — "the holding of the public to ransom" (the most repeated expression of our editorial writers while commenting on any agitation by workers) — was judged to be harmful to the nation. The strike, therefore, has to be broken. Hence, Mr. Berry's

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statements on 'normalcy', 'near normalcy' are flashed on the front page. To verify the claims and counter-claims and to meet the public's right to know the truth needs a stronger will and a higher purpose. Besides, the cost of newsprint has gone up. One should, at least, economise on the cost of news gathering. And the P.I.B. is there to oblige. But in the process, what little credibility they had was damaged beyond repair.

"If a Government repeatedly resorts to lies in crisis, when lies seem to serve its interests better, it will one day be unable to employ the truth effectively when truth would serve its interests best." This applies to the free Press of India which has colluded with the Government in suppressing and doctoring news for short term self-interests.

The day is not far off when foreigners will scan Indian papers for the Government's views just as they scan *Pravda* or *Peoples' Daily* or *Al Ahram*.

Duties And Responsibilities

A Jack Anderson of the Indian Press has tried in *Imprint* to defend this performance in toeing the Government line at the cost of their duty to inform the readers. "One criticism that the Western Press made against Indian newspapers at that time was that they covered up the active help India was giving to the Mukti Bahini. Some quarters went to the extent of suspecting an Indian Government directive not to publish anything on the subject. An American journalist asked me whether we had any orders. I told him that there was not even the faintest hint from the Government about what to write and what not. In matters affecting the national interest, the Press needed no one's advice, newspapermen sensed them and went along. A country which was in bondage not long ago had to be extra vigilant about its security and independence. The American journalist saw the point when I said that there was a difference in approach between the Press of a developing country and that of a developed country, of a fledgling nation and of a super power. The American Press itself had kept the Bay of Pigs operation secret until it was all over."

What Kuldip Nayar has been justifying is the self-censorship in the Indian Press in the "national interests". If this is the attitude of the Press, why should any Government introduce censorship at all and damage the good name of the 'largest democracy'? (still an aid getter!)

Kuldip Nayar quotes, the "Bay of Pigs Crisis" as an apologia. But he has failed to quote what Kennedy told the then-Editor of *New York Times*, "If you had printed more about the operation, you would have saved us from a colossal mistake". Again, Arthur M. Schlesinger, the-then White House aide and historian, said, "I have wondered whether if the Press had behaved irresponsibly it would not have saved the country from a disaster." In the words of Justice Black

(who ruled in favour of the Press in the Pentagon Papers trial): "Only a free and unrestrained Press can effectively expose deception in Government. And paramount among the responsibilities of a free Press is the duty to prevent any part of the Government from deceiving the people and sending them off to distant lands to die of foreign fevers and foreign shot. In my view, far from deserving condemnation for their courageous reporting, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and other newspapers should be commended."

Furthering National Interest

If the public really were informed about the India-China border situation and the growing diplomatic rupture with China, perhaps the country would have been better prepared and the 1962 debacle could have been averted. But then the Press went along in furthering the national interest as seen through Nehru's looking glass, and perpetuated the 'Great Illusion' as D. R. Mankekar terms it with the benefit of hindsight. Incidentally, if I remember correct, it was James Cameron who warned India of China's intrusions in the North a few years before the 1962 war.

The foreign correspondents of the Indian Press are the worst offenders in this respect. Any support to Government from abroad is played up, any praise from any quarter whatever be the quarter is displayed. But any critical comments and unfavourable developments are always underplayed or heavily doctored with motives attributed to the critics. Thus, instead of informing, they misinform the citizens, the real decision makers in a democracy. Instead of enabling them to formulate foreign policy, they disable them by misinformation.

The conflict between the Government and the Press in the U.S.A. is portrayed as a conflict over the right "to set the agenda of the nation's actions." Our national Press has conceded this right to the Government without even a minor skirmish. The Government's carrot and stick policy seems to have worked wonders. The Press who thunders against corruption in public places seems to be surveying the corruption scene with a telescope. Naturally, they never see the corruption in their own ranks. In fact, 'spotlight' offers on the radio, trips abroad (with all attendant benefits), subsidised quarters and costly dinners and gifts have proved their usefulness as baits.

Freedom of the Press is only one of the many freedoms enjoyed in a free society. Its survival is linked intimately with the survival of other freedoms. At least in self-interest, if not in the interests of democratic freedoms the Press is expected to function as the watchdog of individual liberty. That is the rationale of their claiming special privilege from the society. But has our Indian press lived up to these expectations?

Reviews

A MIXED BAG

New Writing in India: edited by Adil Jussawalla (Penguin Books, pp. 320, Rs. 9).

HERCULES' thirteenth labour might well have been to compile an anthology which was not only exhaustive but would also please everybody. Success in anthologising hinges on realising that it, like politics, is the art of the possible. To condense in 320 pages all worthwhile new Indian writing is obviously impossible. A more realistic goal would be to stimulate rather than to exhaust. To whet the reader's appetite by providing him with a taste of this and that, rather than to cram down his throat a banquet consisting of every conceivable dish. In this respect *New Writing in India* is very uneven. One wants to read more of half the writers represented here, but at the same time one wonders why the other half were included at all, they are so impossibly pretentious.

The general tone of the collection is aggressively intellectual. It fairly shouts, "If you wear a khadi kurta, kolhapuri chappals, and don't know any Indian languages, you must read me." Still, however egghead, it's the only one of its kind. So Jussawalla deserves praise for giving us easy access to works where previously there was none — although now Oxford University Press's "New Drama from India" and Orient Longman's "Sangam" series both provide modern Indian literature in English.

Pleading shortage of space, Jussawalla has chosen not only to exclude "the better-known English-language writers . . . because most of their work is available in the West" but also to cover only "the last ten years rather than the twenty-five after Independence". Surely less perverse way of coping with the problem of space would have been to be far more rigorous in selection. Removing these self-imposed restrictions regarding authors and time-span would have widened the area of selection and, hopefully, improved the quality. For instance, the first third of the collection covers writing motivated by a particular political event (such as Partition), but none of the selections are at all memorable; they don't reach beyond the event to make any artistic impress; and as one doesn't get any "universal truth" one might gain more from a historian's or a journalist's account.

Part of one's judgement about these selections has to be qualified by remembering that they are extracts in which the full flavour of a long work might not emerge. Along with the writer one is also judging the editor for his ability to make a choice which will convey the quintessential author although dismembered from the whole work. In this respect the extract from

Bhalchandra Nemade's novel *The Cocoon* (about the death of the hero's five-year-old sister) is outstanding. It stands well by itself (it could be a short story); without spelling it out in so many words it conveys a true feeling of powerful grief, while fiercely questioning the point of it all; simultaneously it is also self-mocking and ironic in its depiction of a young man painfully growing up.

The same theme (alienation, that overworked word) is dealt with in the extract from Qurratulain Hyder's novel *River of Fire*, set in the days of Partition, when a young Indian Muslim finds that gradually all options become closed to him except leaving for Pakistan. But here the extract is too brief for Kamal's plight to affect the reader. In eleven pages at least a dozen characters are introduced; none of them has the space to make any impact. One couldn't care less what happens to Kamal, which is a pity, because this is the first selection in the anthology, so that one is liable not to read on.

Alienation rears its ugly head yet again in Balraj Manra's *The Box of Matches*, which reads like an amateurish, self-conscious first attempt at a short story after the writer's first encounter with Dostoyevsky or Camus. P. Lankesh's *Bread* also gives this impression of raw experience (guilt feelings this time instead of alienation) untransmuted into art.

With our seventeen officially recognised languages to deal with, the problem of translation looms large, and is most constricting for poetry. The poems written directly in English (such as those of Kamala Das and Gieve Patel) make a noticeably more vivid impact; then we see face to face, whereas most of the translated poems we only see "through a glass, darkly". This sense of vicarious experience is especially disappointing when one is reading poets of repute, such as Vinda Karandikar and Dhoomil. So one blames one's dissatisfaction on the translations. Of course, even so one gets some idea of why these poets are important; one sees what they are trying to do; but one is miles from actually having experienced a poem. To register this experience a translation has to be a new poem. And as few translators are also poets, one has all too often to take, as the editor says, "the editor's word that when . . . Vinda Karandikar extracts certain sounds and rhythms out of Marathi, he does so in a way no Marathi poet has done before", that Dhoomil introduces a new tone into Hindi poet. This is literature at second hand, but in the absence of any better translations, second hand is better than nothing.

Translation one accepts as an inevitable hurdle. A more surprising difficulty is that many of these pieces are unable to convey their point through the action or the dialogue; instead, it has to be talked about in so many words. Thus in *Seeds*, where the main character's home-coming becomes the occasion when he grows fully aware of his failure, it shouldn't be necessary actually to say: "He stopped for a moment in the

middle of the yard and took a last look at the bunch of withered paddy. What had fallen from that once rich and nourishing bunch were not grains, he thought, but years. What hung there now was a mockery, a mere skeleton of abundance and all that might have been... I've lost faith but, Mother, I'll be back." Similarly, in the extract from O. V. Vijayan's *The Saga of Khassak*, must the usual maya clichés be explicitly verbalized? — "Outside were sunlight and dew, grass and palmyra. In repetition and rebirth, in endless becoming, sorrowless and without desire."

An anthologist can't please everyone, and one can easily disagree with Jussawalla on individual choices (e.g. surely a more mature Sunil Gangopadhyay would have emerged in an extract from *Pratidwandi* instead of the facile story of madness-and-identity-crisis published here). But one also disagrees with his too-easy Marxist conclusion: "... where the writing deals with various kinds of defeat... it reflects the petty bourgeoisie's inability to break through to a higher level of consciousness and action... this writing reflects the Indian petty bourgeoisie's present inability to find a dynamic role... this is the writing of a bourgeoisie at a dead end." The reader expected a book on new writing in India, not new Marxist writing in India. Fortunately, despite the ominous rumblings of fashionable Marxism towards the end of the Introduction it is a relief to find that Jussawalla has chosen his anthology according to literary criteria, not political dogmas.

PERVIN MAHONEY

PRODUCTIVITY & WAGE

Productivity Agreements and Wage Systems: D.T.B. North and G. L. Buckingham. (Published by Gower Press Ltd., London. Available in India at B.I. Publications, 262 pp. Price Rs. 90/-.)

THIS is a reprint of a standard work first published in 1969. Though it is basically concerned with conditions and problems in England, it is a useful handbook for the formulators of our labour wage agreements.

Productivity Bargaining is a wage-work bargaining between labour and management, in which a definite undertaking is given or agreed to in exchange for wage increases. This can be company or industry wide. The starting point for any realistic productivity agreement is an examination of the total work situation and a comprehensive analysis in order to identify the size and shape of the problems involved.

These cover four main areas, production, economics, sociological and earnings. The authors first discuss employee motivation and industrial relations. Since World War II, extensive research has been carried out in Britain, Europe and U.S.A. into the behaviour of employees in the industrial situation. Douglas Mc-

Gregor and Rensis Likert have mooted a new system of management philosophy. In the case of Likert this is supported by extensive research carried out under the aegis of the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan. Their work originates from the findings of psychologists like Maslow and Herzberg about the nature of employee motivation. According to Maslow human needs are organised into a hierarchical series of importance ranging from physiological ones to egoistic needs related to our desire for self-esteem and self-respect that are affected by our standing, reputation and our need for recognition and appreciation. Finally, individuals have a need for self-fulfillment which is bound up with their views about the purpose of life and is a reflection of their urge for self-development and to be creative in the broadest sense of the word.

A productivity agreement is much more than a short term wage-work bargain or a 'buy-out' of restrictive practices. It is a radical re-structuring of the industrial relations situation. This requires detailed, comprehensive studies to identify the size and shape of the problems. Any major changes will be applied within a complex and inter-linked system or series of systems designed to optimise the productive resources of the organisation. Changes in one area will affect many others. For instance a new system of payment will affect the roles of management and supervision,

(Continued on page 12)

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Letter

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Sir:

Mr. Raju was remarking on the speech of Mr. R. N. Singh Deo trying to defend Mr. Patnaik — Not 'corruption' but only 'improprieties'. (*Freedom First*, September 1974).

By the time your issue came out, the new commission set up by the present Government has already declared Mr. Singh Deo guilty. Don't you think that he would like to say that he was also guilty of 'improprieties' and not 'corruption' and hence his advance defence of Mr. Patnaik?

After all, birds of the same feather flock together and what more do you expect from the so-called leaders of the new Dal?

The same issue carries a book review on Fascism. The way things are blowing, with both the parties in power and in Opposition being birds of the same feather, we have to pray to God most intensively to save the country from Fascism.

Madras

S. GOPALAKRISHNAN

NOT MERGER BUT SURRENDER

THE BLD came into existence on the 29th of August leaving behind it a trail of split parties. It is interesting that the leaders of some of the coalescing parties sought to fool their members in regard to what was intended.

In the case of the Swatantra Party, its President assured members on more than one occasion that what was sought was not a merger but a dissolution of the Party and the formation of a new one. What has

(Continued from page 11)

employees' attitudes and motivation, the role of factory foremen and their bargaining power, the production control system and the pressures upon it etc.

The authors next discuss the analysis of production and clarify that work content is not the sole measure of the work force. This is explored through costing, economic analysis and sociological analysis.

Part three of the book deals with the designs and drawing up a wage system. It describes current systems, lays down model principles, lists the design of components and gives the mode of rationalising a wage structure. This is the first step to devising the productivity agreement, negotiating and implementing it. The implications of productivity agreements for management and trade unions are explained.

RUSI J. DARUWALLA

actually happened is far different. The Swatantra Party has been merged in the BLD and its President has issued a firman that the assets of the Swatantra Party would now belong to the BLD wherever they may be.

Mr. Charan Singh has sought to reassure his flock by saying that the BKD has actually not dissolved itself but only expanded itself and in the process all it has had to do is to sacrifice the word Kranti; the transformation merely being from the Bharatiya Kranti Dal to the Bharatiya Lok Dal. He very rightly pointed out that the new party's election symbol would be that of the BKD and the blue and white flag of the party would have the symbol inscribed on it.

The United Goans have split with Mr. Erasmo De Sequeira being accused of keeping his party in the dark. Hopes of Chimanbhai Patel's party in Gujarat merging with the BLD appear to have been dashed with the announcement by this gentleman that his party was not prepared for a merger but was willing for an electoral understanding.

Meanwhile, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo according to press reports has been found guilty of committing "illegal, improper, arbitrary and malafide acts" by the Mitter Commission. In retrospect it is easy to understand Mr. Singh Deo's defence of Biju Patnaik at the Swatantra Party Convention.

S. V. RAJU

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CHILE AND INDIA—Continued from page 1

Congress and opposition and trade union leaders; and (iv) the discovery of the efforts of the extreme left to incite rebellion within the Armed Forces themselves."

Relevant

At this point, Chile's experience becomes relevant to India. Mrs. Gandhi in 1971 was, of course, more popular in India than Allende ever was. But she was in a minority even within her own party even after the Bangalore split and, one suspects, she still is so. The Congress Party has always been an omnibus party, which is the main secret of its survival in India and also the chief reason for its socio-political disutility to the Indian public. Being an omnibus party, the Congress can always be used as a Trojan Horse by crypto-communists and fellow-travellers, a fact which the late Mohan Kumaramangalam was quick to grasp and exploit. While the Congress Party, because of its basic motley nature, has a great capacity to win elections, its opportunistic leadership in the States is dominated by political entrepreneurs who thrive on the short term benefits of statist policies and hence gleefully accept any ideologies which promote increasing state controls and ownership. This suited the communists who became Mrs. Gandhi's brains-trust as much as it suited the political *dadas* of U.P. and Bihar, the most backward but the most populous States in India which continue to swamp Parliament and benefit by growing centralisation. The communists were playing for bigger national and international stakes. The Soviet Union needed India as a counterweight to China and also as an economic colony: hence it prompted the right faction of the CPI to form an ideological partnership with Mrs. Gandhi's government where the ideologues were crypto-communists though the *dadas* were feudal hierocrats from traditional Hindu society in the North. Thus, soon after her spectacular electoral triumph in 1971, when Mrs. Gandhi began 'nationalising' everything she could lay her hands on, everybody was happy in the ruling crowd for their own reasons. The Judiciary was browbeaten, the Constitution was encroached upon, and the Fifth Lok Sabha appeared to be more powerful than any Parliament preceding it. Leftist terminology, including leftist demonology, became the official language of the government. True, the Public Sector was proving its supreme inefficiency all this while. True, too, that the administrative apparatus set new records in corruption and malpractices. True-again-that banking changed hands from private profiteers to political entrepreneurs and permits, licences, price controls and protective measures enabled political leaders to become the partners in progress of all manner of profiteers. The form was socialist and the function feudal — both politically and economically. The ruling politician

preached red and practised black. Our official economy was socialist and the function of the official economy was to serve the interests of the parallel economy which was a parody of free enterprise.

Moss observes:

"One thing that must be said for the group of Marxist economists who rose to power with Allende is that they were quite remarkable simplifiers. They subscribed to a conspiracy theory of economics according to which the low growth rate of the Chilean economy (the average annual rate was only 2.7 per cent between 1967 and 1970) could be explained by the 'monopolistic' concentration of key industries in private hands and the 'exploitation' practised by foreign investors. They argued that the takeover of the basic means of production by the State would put an end to Chile's chronic inflation, to wastage in industry and the creeping process of foreign penetration of the economy. They believed that by expropriating the 'excess profits' of private industry they could transfer greater resources to social projects like better housing and that by confiscating foreign interests — above all the American-owned copper corporations — they would prevent the country's wealth from being shipped abroad. They maintained that the redistribution of wealth and income was the only way of promoting steady economic growth, since increased consumer demand would stimulate local industry." These doctrines are familiar to all Indians because since 1971 they have been beamed relentlessly at the Indian public through government-controlled mass-media.

A Difference

However, the Chilean scenario differs from the Indian one in one more vital respect. India's economic debacle has been engineered with the connivance of leading Indian capitalists who have profited by it as much as by the state's 'socialist' policies. In Chile, the capitalists had to fight for survival, whether they were native or foreign. For, in Chile, big business was frontally attacked whereas in India 'socialism' is as much the property of leading capitalists as of the crypto-Marxist ideologues. The Marxist experiment of Chile was a copybook exercise which failed; the Indian 'Marxist' experiment is not even meant to be Marxist. Allende's Marxism thrust national socialism upon the economy and the people. Mrs. Gandhi's socialism cashes upon the inherent weaknesses of the Indian political and economic ethos. Chile revolted. India may not.

However, Allende's government is said to be the world's first Marxist government that came to power not through a revolution but through the ballot box. Allende, in 1970, was the presidential candidate of a

Marxist-led coalition. That he was elected surprised quite a few of his socialist supporters who did not think much of the united front tactics prescribed by the Russians (with which we, in India, are so familiar). However, in Moss's words he was "a brilliant political manipulator, a master of the art of divide and rule, of playing one man off another." He also enjoyed being in power and meant to stay in La Moneda. Some people therefore thought that "if he were forced to choose with the support of the military at the price of suppressing the ultra-left and gambling on the chance of holding the left together despite the risk of an emerging civil war situation, he would choose the first option. That did not happen. Allende was given many chances to turn back, to make the break with the ultras — his refusal led to his tragic death."

If we look closely at the career of the Allende government we find that its earliest step was to nationalise factories and farms in keeping with the idea that control of the economy is the key to seizing total political power. This idea is popular within the Indian Establishment too. However, in India control of the economy by the ruling elite under the banner of socialism has already resulted in a smooth political takeover because the moneybags in India have made their political pact with the socialist establishment whose election funds come from profiteers either by way of tributes or through extortion. The Indian situation is amazing: the Communist Party of India — itself in a weak position — has entered into an alliance with the ruling Congress party which in turn has businessmen, blackmarketeers, smugglers, and tax-evaders as its ardent supporters. This strange symbiosis is quite different from the united front of the leftists in Chile.

Curious Similarities

Yet the method and the results are curiously the same. Allende's government not only tampered with the economy in order to seize total power but also interfered with the judiciary, the press and dissident public opinion. The Indian equivalents of these steps are too well-known: the supersession of supreme court judges, the newsprint bungle and the various pressures brought upon the press, the partisan use of government-controlled mass-media, the misuse of MISA and the systematic decimation of all opposition—labelled reactionary for convenience. The cause of Chile's galloping inflation was galloping socialism and the lesson to be learnt is that doctrinaire socialism can rapidly ruin a less developed society. In India, too, galloping socialism has been a major cause of galloping inflation but the peculiarity of India has been the perversion of business practices during twenty-seven years of official socialism. India's 'socialism' has been connived at by the traditional enemies of socialism and it could hardly have been otherwise in an elitist, hierocratic

anti-modern society. There has never been a healthy tussle between modern socialists and modern capitalists in India because neither party is modern in the first place. India has had government of the courtiers, for the courtiers and by the courtiers — whether the *chamchas* were political operators or just part of the Prime Minister's kitchen cabinet cutlery.

Allende's rule in Chile on the other hand, resulted in a systematic subversion of democracy once the ballot box let the Marxists in. The debacle of the Chilean economy is another story altogether even though it is true that the Marxists tried to seize total political power through a capture of the economy. The political lesson of Chile's Marxist experiment should be separated from its economic moral: (a) no economic justifications are adequate for undermining democratic institutions and, (b) doctrinaire Marxist economic reforms are so radical that they often lead to irreversible economic collapse and inevitable political disaster.

Wishful Thinking

There are wishful thinkers who expect the Indian army, in the not so remote future, to step in like the Chilean generals or like their Indonesian precursors. While one does not believe this can happen in India one also wishes it does not. For, whether it is the army or a right or left-wing dictatorship taking over all political power in the name of an economic collapse, the blow dealt to democracy is equally severe. The major part of Chile's tragedy — or Indonesia's for that matter — was the fact that the army *had to* step in. The Sukarnos, the Nkrumahs and the Allendes in less developed societies work on the assumption that they are indestructible once they seize control of the economy and the administrative machinery. This assumption has been proven doubtful. There is some truth in the ultra-leftist belief that the gun is more powerful than the ballot-box when it comes to making a revolution. But then totalitarianism, whether it comes through a manipulation of the ballot-box or through bloodshed, is nearly always irreversible. It is true that bread and freedom seldom go together. Nor can one of them justify, to the exclusion of the other, a total takeover of power by any party, faction or the army.

That India's economy is withering away is obvious to even a schoolboy today. To reverse the trend may take decades even for the most pragmatic policy-makers one can think of. This is gloomy enough. What will be the political consequences of our imminent economic collapse? Or would our democracy itself be shattered in the process? The tremendous powers seized by the present government cannot be retained any longer with credible justifications. Decontrol and decentralization, even now, will help. For then we can begin to talk meaningfully of the social responsibility

(Continued on page 15)

SOLZHENITSYN-MEANY CORRESPONDENCE

Letter from AFL-CIO President George Meany to Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

WITH all free men everywhere, the American trade union movement has followed with deep concern and admiration your courageous struggle for intellectual and human freedom against frightful odds.

We are profoundly aware that the forces which would smother your eloquent voice of dissent have been arrayed throughout history against the efforts of ordinary men and women to organise and maintain independent trade unions responsive to their own needs and not the dictates of the state. And, as we have witnessed your ordeal at the hands of these forces, we have been powerfully reminded of the words of your Nobel Prize lecture:

"There are no internal affairs left on this crowded earth. The salvation of mankind lies only in making everything the concern of all."

It was in this spirit that the American Federation of Labour, more than a quarter of a century ago, documented the existence of forced labour camps in the Soviet Union and published a map of the GULAG network, the subject of your latest book. It was, moreover, at the urging of the American labour movement that the United Nations Economic and Social Council established the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour, whose reports verified the extent and horror of this appalling system of human degradation.

Because there are indeed no internal affairs left on this crowded earth, I want to extend to you, on behalf of the American trade union movement, a most cordial invitation to come to the United States as our guest.

We are prepared to organise a tour for you, so that you may have an opportunity to travel widely in our diverse country and to arrange meetings and lectures for you, so that you may have an opportunity, to the extent of your wishes, to communicate freely with the American people.

I am confident that I express the heartfelt sentiments of our members, as well as of the American people generally, in saying that I hope you will find it possible to accept our invitation.

CHILE & INDIA—Continued from page 14

of businessmen, industrialists and rich farmers. Social and political pressures generated by the present economic strife are sufficient guarantees against the unscrupulous privileged whom the government's Statist armour is shielding today from the public. Giving up the powers gobbled up since 1971 is still Mrs. Gandhi's best bet for staying in power. Otherwise, not only her government but also the nation itself is heading for disaster.

Solzhenitsyn's Reply

How glad I am that you share this indisputable view that there is no longer any place in our closely-linked world for any "internal affairs" as long as they are not small scale and insignificant. But how much attention, patience and fundamental concern plus an absence of frivolity, will it require of us to correctly investigate the matter which only yesterday appeared alien and "internal".

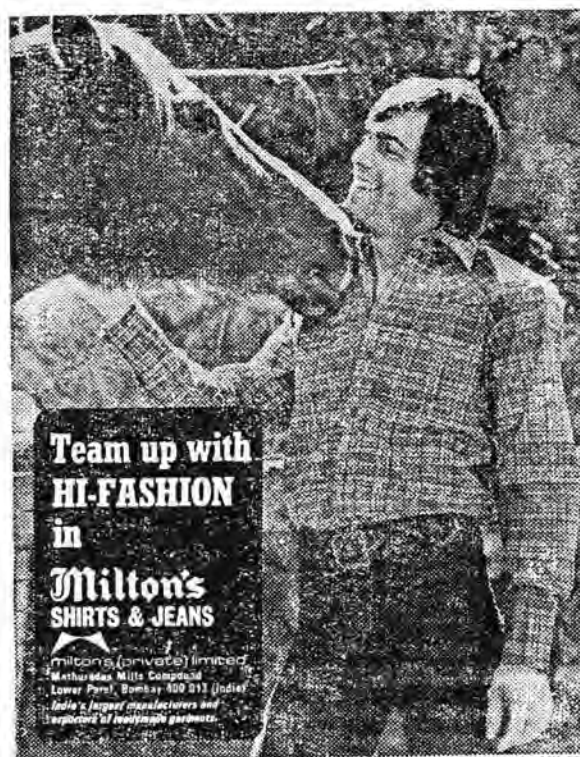
It is this point that makes your invitation significant. Alas, however, there is a limit to an individual's physical capabilities which I am experiencing now. Having been forcibly torn from my native soil I am compelled to spend now much spiritual and physical energy to recuperate and resume my work in a new place at my previous level and tempo. And I in no way have any right to leave my literary activity. If I sometimes speak publicly, it is only out of utter necessity and only on the most vital issues of native land. Her (my country's) unwritten history forces me not to abandon my main literary project.

That is why, with great gratitude, I must refuse for the immediate future, your friendly invitation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A. SOLZHENITSYN



newsp. MPL-92 B

WITH MANY VOICES

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

There is one thing solid and fundamental in politics
—the law of change. What's up today is down
tomorrow.

—Richard Nixon quoted in *Time*, August 19.

For too long now, our centre of gravity has been
Washington. Now we must all realize that our centre
of gravity is the globe.

—*Time*, August 19.

It can't true, you need a tank to remove a President.
—A Beirut Taxi driver quoted in *Time*, August 19.

Nixon was never morally smaller than now but the
U.S. was never morally greater.

—Carlos Castello Branco quoted in *Time*, August 19.

Student power, amongst us, has in the past been no
more than collective truancy and exhibitions of adoles-
cent bad temper.

—V. V. J. in *Quest*, May-June 1974.

The delinquencies of the older generation cannot be
remedied by more youthful delinquencies.

—V. V. J. in *Quest*, May-June 1974

The bigotry of the ruling party has found its perfect
political match in an angry people's opposition.

—D. in *Quest*, May-June 1974.

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I do not wish Mrs. Gandhi or any other Prime
Minister of India to be driven into the blind alley in
which the Sukarnos, the Nkrumahs and the Allendes
of the kindergarten 'socialist' democracies of the
world finally end up.

—D. in *Quest*, May-June 1974

I believe we deserve Mrs. Gandhi.

—D. in *Quest*, May-June 1974.

We do not suffer from poverty as much as from a
poverty of policies.

—D. in *Quest*, May-June 1974.

Moscow and Leningrad have paradoxically become
the most uninformed big cities in the world; their in-
habitants ask people who come in from the country-
side about the news.

—Solzhenitsyn quoted in *Quest*, May-June 1974.

Mrs. Gandhi has proved to be shrewd politician but
a lousy administrator.

—Suresh K. Parmar in *The Economist*, July 27.

Some bases are clearly less base than others.

—*The Economist*, July 27.

If the patient is not strapped to the table, the surgeon
cannot perform a successful operation.

—George Papadopoulos quoted in *Time*, August 5.

The true political leader does not need the people.

—Constantine Caramanlis quoted in *Time*,
August 5.

If you take care of your insides, the outside will take
care of itself.

—Glena Swanson quoted in *Time*, August 5.

The underground Nagas continue to be 'patriots' in
the eyes of all Naga nationalists and 'rebels' in the eyes
of India.

—M. Horam in *Economic & Political Weekly*,
August 3.

It would be a crime to leave, like the Belgians did in
Congo; they would just kill and eat each other.

—Portuguese Foreign Ministry Spokesman
quoted in *Time*, August 12.