

SEPTEMBER 1971

India's International Relations

Arvind A. Deshpande

AUGUST 9 is a significant date in our history. Almost thirty years ago on this day, we asked the British to "QUIT INDIA". We have now deliberately chosen the same date to enter into a twenty year treaty with the U.S.S.R. If ultimately this treaty marks one more step in the declaration of our freedom and independence from international pressures, then one must say the date was well chosen. But if the treaty ultimately results in some kind of interference in our independence and sovereignty then the choice of the date will go down in history as one of history's supreme ironies. The advocates of the policy of non-alignment have almost faced their moment of truth with the crisis created by Pakistan in Bangla Desh. Events in the past two or three months have moved so swiftly that the Government of India was almost forced to choose one of the two courses—*independent and firm action* which would lead to the return of the refugees to their homes in East Bengal or a diplomatic *coup* which would by-pass the refugee problem and the need for independent action by giving "friendless" India a much needed sense of security and at the same time a means of softening Pakistan's belligerence. We seem to have chosen the second course because it is a safer one. Now that we have finally decided to modify our policy of non-alignment and enter into bilateral relations with other countries, we should reconsider our international relations and work out a policy which takes into account the whole range of complications and perspectives including the basic attitudes and philosophies of the countries with which we are dealing.

After a rather long and unhappy phase of cold war, the world has now entered into a system which almost resembles the old Balance-of-Power System in place of mutually hostile blocs and cold war. Today it seems that the two super powers instead of converging are in fact facing a stalemate in their diplomatic and military rivalry. Peaceful co-existence today means a straightforward agreement on spheres of influence. In fact

only in last February, President Nixon declared: "We will do nothing to harm the legitimate Soviet and Chinese interests in the area (South-East Asia)". This probably means, as some people are fearing, that the United States will make its presence felt in Pakistan, the U.S.S.R. will do so in India and China will probably be allowed to make its presence felt in South-East Asia, including the future Bangla Desh.

It is obvious that in such a situation, smaller nations can hardly do anything except make the best of a rather bad bargain. The real difficulty however, is faced by countries like India, Japan, and the E.C.M. countries. India is too big a country in size to assume a secondary position and yet not too strong enough economically and militarily to assume the role of an independent great country if not great power. For the moment, we have decided to take the line of least resistance rather than of making the hard choice of trying to build ourselves up and keep our options open.

Before we can think of some other credible policy, we must first take a hard look at the basic policies and attitudes of the three big powers namely the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China.

It has been pointed out that India and America are two countries divided by the same ideology. This is only a half-truth. It is indeed a tragedy that the world's most powerful democracy and the world's largest democracy should always differ. But there are deeper reasons for this. Although it is not in our power to change the basic attitudes and policies of the United States, we should at least try to understand the deeper motivations so that we are not hurt or surprised when the U.S. takes some decisions such as supporting Pakistan or suddenly becoming friendly with China after over twenty years of hostility.

The foreign policy of the U.S.A. has always been guided by two motivations namely; (a) middle class moralistic liberalism and (b) commercial and business ethic and ethos. More often than not these two instincts or motivations have pulled its foreign policy in different directions. Usually one instinct or motivation gets predominance over the other depending on which party is ruling the States. Some American Presidents such as the late President Roosevelt and the late President Kennedy did try to evolve a middle course which could have a greater purpose and direction and would at the same time be sophisticated in the Twentieth Century. Unfortunately, they could not do much. So the American policy continues to pull in two directions almost all the time. This, of course does not mean that its own interests are adversely affected but,

because of its pre-eminent position in the world today, its policies baffle and sometimes adversely affect other nations.

The Americans, as a rule, have always opted for an anti-feudal and moralistic way of thinking and do not like the *Realpolitik* of the older European countries. This makes them anti-communist as a matter of principle. One should think that the U.S. is still, in principle, anti-communist although they have now started becoming more discerning and would probably prefer during the next twenty years to be more anti-Soviet Communism than anti-Chinese Communism. Normally this moralistic attitude should also mean that the Americans would support all freedom movements and all regimes which believe in democracy. But here somehow the other motivation namely the commercial or trader's attitude which always pines for a *stable* world order comes in. There is a tendency in the United States to assume that governments which keep their people free and prosperous are stabler than those who do not, and, all things being equal, the U.S. would prefer to ally itself to democratic and consumer-oriented governments. But when it is forced to choose between one government which is democratic but *unstable* and another which is undemocratic but *stable*, the United States as a rule will settle for the latter. One should not, therefore, be surprised that to the extent democratic India presents an unstable picture it will not have any major political significance in the U.S. eyes and it will extend all support to the militarist but stable Pakistan and would want it to remain united even if the price of unity be genocide. This also means that the United States should be prepared for surprises and diplomatic set-backs which result from its two-faced foreign policy. In any case once we are clear about our mutual interests and motivations we should be able to appreciate each other's policies better and cooperate to the extent it is possible. We need not get unduly worried about the Sino-U.S. detente because this is going to be a "long, long march".

The U.S.S.R. has however been more realistic in its outlook and has based its policy on the estimation of India as a country of some geo-political importance and a force to reckon with at least in Asia and a sort of a potential counterweight to China. It is also clear that over the years the U.S.S.R. has been less guided by ideology in the formulation of its foreign policy and more by its own interest as a great power surrounded by not too friendly countries.

To take the best view of the present treaty, it has agreed to bind itself for twenty years mainly because it thinks that both the U.S. and China are guided more by anti-Soviet sentiments and their new friendship is based on it. It is not possible here to go into the deeper motivations of the U.S.S.R. but the fact remains that the U.S.S.R. is slowly accepting the balance-of-power

philosophy, howsoever repugnant it might be to its ideology.

The Chinese motivations are quite different. The Cultural Revolution has shown that China suspects Soviet "revisionism" much more than American "imperialism". It also has some grave doubts about the growing strength of Japan, and cannot think of having more than two really strong hostile powers working against it.

In short, it is evident that during the course of next ten to twenty years the three big powers will indulge in balancing acts till they finally agree upon their respective spheres of influence. In such a situation there are only two possibilities for countries like India and Japan. One is to decide to firmly ally itself to one of the three big powers and the other is to keep all options open and try to enter into bilateral relations with more than one strong country.

One should like India to explore the possibilities of such bilateral relations with Japan and with some West European countries. These countries have had a terrible experience in the World Wars and can, it's safe to assume, think on less parochial and national lines. In any case, a triangular relationship covering India, Japan and the E.C.M. countries can be an important factor for world peace. A combination of the military and economic strength of the West European countries, the economic strength of Japan and the size and population of a democratic India, can neither be pressurised nor ignored.

THE SOVIET CITIZEN

Every Soviet citizen over the age of 16 must have an internal passport, which has to be exchanged periodically until he or she is 40. Younger people can be released from the obligation to have a passport if they hold office or are otherwise thought to merit it. To live permanently in a city or town, it is necessary to have the authorisation of the police or some other higher authority. For certain offences, the courts are empowered to sentence people to exile to, or banishment from, a particular place. The number of people currently in exile is thought to be considerable, and to include many released prisoners who are not allowed to return to Moscow.

There is no right to emigration under Soviet law. Article 64 of the Soviet penal code makes an illegal attempt to leave the country a treasonable offence punishable by a minimum of ten years' imprisonment, and a maximum of death.

—*Economist*, London

Amendments And Welfare

M. D. Kini

THE Parliament has passed by a massive majority of 384 to 23 votes the Twenty-fourth Constitution Amendment Bill which seeks to assert the right of the Parliament to abridge the Fundamental Rights to give effect to the Directive Principles of State Policy and for the attainment of the objectives set out in the Preamble of the Constitution. It also takes away whatever little discretionary power the President has to refer the Bill back to the Parliament for reconsideration. Another amendment, Twenty-fifth Constitution Amendment Bill will be introduced in the next session of the Parliament, which seeks to replace the word "compensation" by "amount" in the Article 31(2) so that any compulsory acquisition or requisitioning of property by the State for a public purpose will not be called in question in any court of law on the adequacy of the compensation offered. The Bill also stipulates that Article 19(1) (f) shall not apply in this case. It provides that if any law is passed to give effect to the Directive Principles under Clauses (b) and (c) of Article 39 and contains "a declaration to that effect", it will not be void even if it takes away or abridges any of the rights mentioned in Article 14 (equality before law) Article 19 (protection of certain rights, regarding freedom of speech, etc.) or Article 31 (compulsory acquisition of property). The proposed Twenty-sixth Amendment of the Constitution will put an end to the privy purses of former rulers.

It is futile to argue endlessly whether the Parliament has the right to amend the Fundamental Rights or not. Much can be said on both the sides. It can be argued that the people as represented in the Parliament are supreme, that the past generation should not be allowed to dictate for all generations to come and that the right to property of some should not prevail over the welfare of disinherited many. It can also be argued that the right to property is as fundamental as the right to life and liberty and should not be at the mercy of politicians and subject to vicissitudes of political life, that if the right to property is not protected as a Fundamental Right may erode, eclipse and destroy the more fundamental and democratic rights such as freedom of expression, etc.

The only question that is relevant and important is whether the amendments are necessary for the welfare of the people.

The Twenty-fourth amendment seeks to abridge the Fundamental Rights if it is necessary to do so to give effect to the Directive Principles of State Policy or for the objectives set forth in the Preamble of the Constitution. The Fundamental Rights are the natural rights inherited by man and which are necessary for the

dignity of man and guaranteed by the State to the individual whereas the Directive Principles are some of the objectives for which the State has promised to work. While the former puts limitations on the State, the latter imposes some obligations. What the amendment seeks to do is, wherever there is a conflict between the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles, the Directive Principles prevail over the Fundamental Rights. This amendment has revived the false dichotomy of formal freedoms, like freedom of speech, expression, property, etc. and the real freedoms like the right to work, etc. This has revived the old controversy of freedom versus bread. Man is not an animal like a cow or a bull which can live on bread alone. Freedom is as essential to him as the air he breathes to live a full life. He can have both freedom and bread, if he wants and works for it. The real issue is whether we want to build a domestic state or state capitalism. In a democracy all objectives including economic ones are attained without damaging any democratic values, processes and liberties. In State Capitalism or Collectivist State the State decides what is good for the people taking care to see that nothing affects adversely the powers, the privileges and the patronage of the rulers. The only way they can think of doing good to the people is by increasing the area of their control over the people. The Collectivist State increases the area of government control instead the area of freedom. Why the right to property is fundamental is, it is a condition of freedom. Evolution of private property and free enterprise has been the beginning of the freedom of the individual. There was no such freedom under slavery or serfdom. With the abolition or a threat of abolition of private property this freedom will be destroyed as in communist countries.

Part III of the Constitution contains the following Fundamental Rights: Equality before Law; prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, etc.; equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, protection of rights regarding freedoms of speech and expression; assembly and movement; to acquire, hold and dispose of property; protection of life and personal liberty, freedom of religion; cultural and educational rights; right to property and right to constitutional remedies. The Directive Principles of State Policy says that the citizens shall have the right for an adequate means of livelihood; that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community be distributed to subserve the common good; that there should be no concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; equal pay for equal work;

right to work and to education; right to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness, etc.; living wage for workers; uniform civil code; free and compulsory education, etc.

Is it necessary to destroy the freedoms guaranteed under Part III of the Constitution to achieve the objectives in the Directive Principles? In a democratic state those principles can be and should be achieved without injuring the freedoms. We have the example of Japan, Germany and so many other countries who have achieved a high degree of economic development and almost achieved the objectives contained in the Directive Principles without denying their citizens these freedoms. If there should be a living wage, unemployment benefit, etc., I do not think it is necessary to curb the freedom of the people including the right to property. This requires more production and more employment which can only come by more freedom for the entrepreneurs to start more industries rather than by more restrictions and confiscation of their property. Even if it is necessary to abridge some of the Fundamental Rights whatever amendments have been made already in the course of the last seventeen years till the famous Golaknath Case are sufficient for the purpose. This is what Mr. V. M. Tarkunde, former judge of the Bombay High Court has said, "Taking the sweep of these limitations on property rights into consideration, it would be probably right to say that, broadly speaking, while the use of properties and the starting and running of industries can be fully controlled in the public interest, and while properties of many types can also be acquired by the state or transferred from one class of persons to another, there are two types of properties which cannot be acquired by the state without providing a fair amount of compensation. These consist of (a) urban properties and (b) undertakings which are being run in an efficient manner".

The second Bill, Twenty-fifth Constitution Amendment Bill denies compensation at market value in case the Government takes over any undertaking or any concern from the private hands. If a legislation taking over any private property declares that it is in furtherance of the objective contained in Clauses (b) and (c) of Article 39 of the Directive Principles it will not be declared void even if it abridges Fundamental Rights. Clauses (b) and (c) of Article 39 are as follows: "(b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment." Here the question is what is common good? Can we say, looking at the performance of all the State undertakings,* which instead of making profits continue to make regular losses, are for common good? If it is meant to reduce inequality and for

equitable distribution of income, then there are so many ways of doing it. The income tax, death duty, estate duty, gift tax, already have achieved equitable distribution in many countries like U.K. and to a certain extent in India too. This is what Mr. Douglas Jay, the Labour Party leader in U.K. has said in *The Socialist Case*: "Taxation.... is just as effective as violence or outright confiscation and at the same time lacks their disadvantages."

The third bill seeks to abolish the privy purses of the former rulers. It is not contended that the former rulers are paragons of virtue. It can be argued that they have not made any sacrifices for the attainment of Independence but the fact remains that instead of creating a lot of trouble, like the Hyderabad State, in the early days and years of our freedom, they willingly merged in the Indian Union. As a practical statesman the late Sardar agreed to pay them some privy purse. This was incorporated in the Constitution. More than that it is a moral obligation. Four and a half crores of rupees in privy purse in a total revenue of nearly 4000 crores of the Central Government is less than quarter per cent. Compared to the amount of money spent by our Ministers on themselves, the losses incurred by the State enterprises and the amount of corruption all around, four and a half crores in privy purses is a small amount to uphold a moral obligation. What guarantee is there that other assurances about right to private property etc. will be maintained by this Government or the future Governments? If the present Government abolishes the privy purses, same thing may happen in future to the loans raised by the present Government.

The above three amendments in the context of the Indo-Soviet Treaty, the proposed legislation about the ownership of newspapers, assumes greater significance. We are certainly entering an era of greater state control. This is the time to wake up for lovers of freedom and democracy. Freedom and democracy have disappeared in many lands but rarely at one stroke. They have always been whittled away bit by bit. Structure of freedom and democracy has been destroyed by fascists and communists brick by brick. Let this not happen in our India.

* Eighty-one enterprises in the growing public sector have shown profits of Rs. 130 crores which represents a return of 4.2 per cent on the capital.

This is better than the 2.8 per cent return in 1968-69. But, in defining profits, the interest payable and taxes have not been taken into account. If these two items are considered, the result will be a loss of Rs. 3.4 crores.

One of the main reasons for the poor showing of the public-sector industrial enterprises, besides persistent labour troubles and occasional lack of power and raw materials, is the rising cost of labour. While the total number of employees in these enterprises rose to 613,000 by 2.5 per cent the salaries bill jumped by 14 per cent to Rs. 290 crores.

In evaluating the performance of State enterprises, it must be remembered that they normally get subsidised loans at interest rates which are lower by 1.5 to 4.5 per cent than those charged to private firms.

—Times of India, Aug. 27.

Dollar-Crisis

Hippopotamus

PRESIDENT Nixon's recent announcement to suspend the convertibility of dollars into gold for reserve banks means—at least in theory—the end of the international monetary system of Bretton Woods of 1944.

In that year the foundations were laid for an agreement which brought ample wealth to the free world. The basic assumption of this agreement were:

- a) that the price for gold is a fixed price,
- b) that dollar is as good as gold,
- c) that the U.S. Government is prepared to give one ounce of gold for every 35 dollars presented to it by a foreign Reserve Bank, and
- d) that all foreign currencies are expressed in a fixed relation to the dollar, for example 1 dollar = 5 francs.

This was understandable in 1944. Almost all gold was then stored in the vaults of Fort Knox and the American economy was by far the strongest and most productive. It seemed unthinkable that the destroyed economies of Britain, France, Japan or West Germany could ever match the "motherland of capitalism". In those years a scarcity of dollars was in fact an obstacle for world-wide trade agreements. All international trade transactions were dollar-based, since the dollar was for the international sphere the equivalent to national currencies in the national spheres: the only generally accepted means of exchange. Thus the U.S. were the only country in the world able to produce as much international money as they wanted by printing dollar notes. The production of gold was, of course, somewhat more difficult.

In the years after World War II the situation became slightly different. Economic, military and developmental aid, capital transfer for entrepreneurial reasons from the U.S. to many other countries and last, but not least, the Vietnam war overflowed the free world with dollars. And the slow but steady development of many economies, expressed through increasing exports, added many a dollar to that flood. In foreign countries the dollars were exchanged into national currencies. The result was an increase of liquidity (more national money=more effective demand for goods) and a huge stock of dollars in the vaults of the respective Reserve Banks, which could be hoarded or used either for imports or for exchange into gold. The exchange into gold had its limitations since the U.S. had spent more dollars abroad than they

had gold in Fort Knox. To solve this problem the U.S. had had to devalue the dollar compared to gold.

With the increasing strength of foreign economies the true value of the dollar, compared to other currencies, sank, but the Bretton Woods agreement did not allow a similar adjustment through modification of exchange rates. The problem could have been solved only by devaluation of the dollar compared to other currencies or a joint revaluation of the major foreign currencies.

Neither the relation of the dollar to gold was changed nor were there any significant modifications in the dollar-foreign currency relations. To do the former, the U.S. were too proud, since they either felt it would mean an international defeat, or did not want to see that the mighty dollar might get into trouble. In any case, other countries were not prepared to do the latter as it would mean a serious blow to their export trade.

After all, why should many countries pay for the mistakes of one country? This might appear to be an act of ingratitude, since the very overflow of dollars to other countries right after World War II did a lot of good to the free world. This would be only partly correct. The "pump-priming" after World War II was excellent and the best possible help the U.S. could give, since it created the necessary demand abroad in order to get the economies moving. But when these countries could stand on their own feet—economically speaking—the continuing outflow only added to inflationary pressures in these countries, further promoted through "easy money" policy in the U.S. (low interest rates, in order to keep the U.S. economy moving) and "tight money" policy abroad (high interest rates, in order to fight inflation).

Thus foreigners were forced to co-finance all U.S. undertakings abroad, if they allowed an unrestricted inflow of dollars into their countries, since the exchange rates were fixed and the U.S. did not care about the deficit in their balance of payments. A deficit in the balance of payments means nothing else but a surplus supply of dollars which in effect means overvaluation.

There are two ways of solving the problem:

- a) to increase protective barriers around American trade: quotas, import surcharges, export rebates and the like, in the U.S. and quotas, export duties, import bonuses and the like abroad. This could be the worst possible approach to the problem as *The Economist* (August 14, 1971) observed, adding, "it

would have painful effects on the world economy and jeopardize American leadership".

b) The more practical solution would be to stop the nonsense of the fixed gold/dollar/foreign currency relation and give the flexibility needed to all major currencies. This would

1. make exchange rates equilibrium prices
2. not lead to balance of payments deficits or surpluses, thus avoiding the export/import of inflations/deflations
3. make gold what gold really is: a commodity like salt, water, steel or fur coats
4. make autonomous national monetary-fiscal and credit policies possible in order to deal with the national problems of employment, price stability, balanced growth and social justice.

But it would also mean the end to an old but nevertheless senseless sovereign right of every country viz. to fix its own exchange rate, and that would bring to an end after many many decades, the pampered and cherished "beggar my neighbour" policies, and would furthermore force every single government in the world to pursue sound and responsible economic and financial policies in order that other countries have faith in them and deal with them.

One thing however is certain, no matter what will happen within the next few days, weeks or months: the end of the capitalist system has not yet come. To predict this, as many "comrades" are doing, is nothing but indulgence in wishful thinking.

Without Comment

Marxist Explanation

WHILE the impact of the Pentagon papers continues to reverberate in the U.S., a Marxist explanation comes from the Soviet magazine *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. In the Russian view, the secret study was published because three factions of monopolists were warring among themselves.

According to *Gazeta*, the three factions are: (1) makers of consumer and civilian goods, (2) suppliers of military goods not used in the Viet Nam War, and (3) military-industrial manufacturers whose goods are used in the war. As the Soviets see it, the civilian-sector monopolists and non-Viet Nam military-industrial monopolists became disenchanted with the war. Upset over the inflation and shrinking revenues caused by the Indo-China involvement, the monopolists then arranged for the documents to be published as an embarrassment to the military-industrial monopolists who had reaped profits from the Viet Nam conflict. Each of the newspapers that received and printed the Pentagon papers during the two weeks of court battles was simply an agent of the dissident monopolies.

After years of mutual attempts to improve Soviet-American relations it is frightening that the Soviet Union still has so fantastic a view of U.S. affairs.

Time, July 26, 1971.

**when safety
depends on
one lock,
there's
only one
lock—
NAV-TAL**



Used by banks, warehouses, factories and households—because it is dependable.

Precision-made, with keys cut in a different combination for each lock, the Nav-Tal is designed for unpickability and maximum security. Double casing of brass and steel makes it uniquely strong.

Manufactured by Godrej—the people who have made security equipment for over 70 years.

4 SIZES

- 40 mm—5 levers
- 50 mm—6 levers
- 67 mm—7 levers
- 85 mm—8 levers

NAV-TAL



Always ask for the Anchor Brand.

Conspiracy In Mexico

Charles Foley

BEHIND tall, spiked railings of the Soviet embassy in Mexico the busiest spy organization in the hemisphere works 24 hours a day. It has its long-range radio net, its daily air link—the only one in North of South America—with Cuba. It has innumerable agents and contacts on both sides of the two thousand mile border with the United States.

This was known to all in this high, bright capital of eight million people; but since the Yanquis took it with a shrug, why should they worry? At least the 150 Russians crowded into the villa and its satellite buildings were doing no harm to Mexico.

Today, the mood has changed. With the startling discovery that this diplomatic sanctuary was being used to foment civil war in Mexico itself, the government and the country are in a state of angry shock. The top echelon of five Soviet envoys has been abruptly expelled. And I have no doubt that remaining 145 will also be shown the door unless they remember their duty to their hosts.

Some Americans here have wondered at the strength of this reaction: They forget, perhaps, that the Mexicans began *their* revolution—a classic bread-and-land struggle that left more than a million dead—while Lenin was still languishing in exile. Nobody feels the need for further lessons in this sphere, least of all, from the duffers of the KGB.

The plot was crude, its execution worse. A bevy of young provincial leftists, whisked to Moscow on a cultural exchange, are clandestinely taught guerrilla warfare. On their return, they take a leaf from the young Stalin's book and set out to raise a war chest through bank robberies. At the same time, they arm and train sympathizers for The Day.

One hold-up, just as successful as Stalin's famous Tiflis raid, netted \$84,000. But it brought about the capture of a comrade who led police to stores of arms, explosives, documents and uniforms for the *guerrilleros*. Before long, 21 of the fifty Muscovite excursionists had been rounded up; the rest are now being sought. The revolt ended before it had begun.

According to confessions now flowing from the imprisoned leftists, Moscow proceeded with habitual caution. On arrival at the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University, the young Mexicans found themselves in an intoxicating Third World ambience of Africans and Asians, Brazilians, Colombians and Paraguayans. Marxist studies swiftly palled, but their Soviet tutors seemed curiously obtuse to hints of the kind of action which the more activist students had in mind.

Guidance was eventually provided by some of their companions. They were promised a better hearing by

the North Koreans—missionaries from a fervent, first-generation Communist caucus who would jump at the chance of upsetting capitalistic applecarts. Fabricio Souza, plump, 32-year-old leader of the Mexican expatriates, made the first contact. Warned off the North Korean embassy in Moscow, he called at its less conspicuous counterpart in East Berlin, and left with a ticket to Pyongyang.

"I arrived in North Korea in October 1968," he says, "and stayed three weeks, talking to top-level officials. They accepted my ideas and gave me \$ 10,000 to bring over the first party."

In January, ten of Souza's followers travelled to Berlin, were given North Korean passports, took a train back to Moscow and then flew on by Aeroflot, the Soviet national airline, to Pyongyang. They were taken to a military base 25 miles outside the capital. There, in one of a network of training camps, containing delegations from several Latin American countries, they went through a six-month course in sabotage, unarmed combat and secret communications. Mimic raids were made on regular North Korean units.

The first group returned to Mexico via Moscow in the fall of 1969. Two further bands of twenty or more each replaced them. Some of these visitors were still returning last month as Mexican police unravelled the plot. Once home, the Korean trainees set up ten recruiting centres in various parts of the country and set out to organize their wave of bank robberies.

Fabricio Souza and the rest were on show last week in the city's Lecumberri Prison, where an informal press conference was held. Still confident of final victory, Souza accepted a cigarette and agreed that he might have started another Vietnam in his own country had his scheme succeeded. "So what? The worse the trouble here, the more American pressure will be eased on socialist countries elsewhere."

His plan was to work from the edges, Castro-style. It would start with the peasants in the hinterland. Then workers and students would be drawn in. Souza denied that Tupamaros-type kidnapping and killings were intended, but other members of the group boasted that their comrades still at large would hit back at the government with reprisals. Wishful thinking, perhaps; at all events, they had their lesson pat.

Parties in and out of the government have been falling over each other to buy newspaper space for congratulations to the authorities on their vigilance. Even some of University City's rebellious students, still sore over their treatment during and since the 1968 Olympic Games eruption, have been constrained

(Continued on page 8)

Without Comment

Fundamental Right

In the course of an article in "Swarajya"

Mr. P. Kodanda Rao writes:

UNTIL the Golaknath judgment, the Indian Parliament was competent to abridge the fundamental rights, like other Articles in the Constitution, by adopting the same procedure as laid down in Article 368. As a matter of fact, the Indian Parliament had actually amended and abridged some fundamental rights. The Golaknath case judgment, however, made a fundamental change both in the matter and manner of abridgement of such fundamental rights as had not already been abridged earlier.

For nearly two decades the Supreme Court in India admitted the competence of the Indian Parliament to abridge the fundamental rights enshrined in the Indian Constitution. It denied it for the first time in the Golaknath case in 1967 by a majority of six against five judges.

While the majority judgment is legally binding, its moral value was considerably abridged because it was not unanimous, but by a majority of one only. It is possible that the majority judgment might be reversed in a future case. Its moral value has suffered even more because the majority judgment admitted that the abridgements already made were invalid *ab initio*, but yet held them valid in future! It would have earned some respect if it had pronounced that the abridged amendments were inoperative in future. As it is, invalid abridgements were declared valid. The only new feature was that the judgment prohibited abridgement of fundamental rights which had not already been abridged.

The majority judgment held that fundamental rights were not open to abridgement even by the unanimous vote of Parliament because they were "natural rights" and were "immutable", "inalienable", "inviolable", and "transcendental", that they were *not created* by the Constitution but only *expressed* in it, and that they were reserved to themselves by the "sovereign" people. Having made these claims, the judgment pointed out that they were modified in the case of the Defence Forces and suspended altogether during martial law! *The immutable was mutable!*

Having asserted that the fundamental rights were unabridgeable, the judgment indicated how they could be abridged. Though they could not be abridged by Parliament because it was a "constituted" body, they could be abridged by a new "constituent" body which

could be convoked by the "constituted" body, viz., Parliament, and would be superior to both Parliament and the Supreme Court and be competent to abridge the fundamental rights and supersede the majority judgment of the Supreme Court in the Golaknath case!

It is not necessary to examine here the validity of this philosophy of natural and immutable fundamental rights of human beings and whether the Rights came first and the State afterwards, or the other way about, except to add that, before the judgment in the Golaknath case, the Supreme Court did not act on that philosophy, and even in the particular case, five out of eleven judges did not do so, and it is possible that in some future case, the Supreme Court might reverse the majority judgment in the Golaknath case.

(Continued from page 7)

to join in. Hard-core radicals are cursing the plotters for playing into the Government's hands.

The Russian mystery, such as it is, remains. That they knew and connived in what their Mexican protégés were doing is beyond question; foreigners do not come and go between the Communist capitals by Aeroflot without being studiously investigated. Nor are false passports with Mexican mugshots and Korean names likely to appease the Soviet appetite for *dokumenti*. If the Kremlin did not object, it may well be that they did not wish to give the brash North Koreans, or—worse still—their Chinese neighbours, reason to denounce them.

Hitherto, Mexicans have been inclined to look at the Russians as fellow-veterans who have survived their revolutionary growing pains and are too concerned with putting their own house in order to make trouble for their neighbours. Spying on the Americans came under the title of super-power rivalry. After the recent rounds of brinkmanship over Cuba, a confrontation with the U.S.A. on Mexican territory seemed to be well outside Kremlin calculations.

Since 1936, when Mexico gave asylum to Leon Trotsky, relation between the two countries have been friendly but never warm. Trotsky's murder by Stalin's emissary marked one low point; a cold-war railway strike fomented by the Russians another. But in recent years, Moscow has been so circumspect that officials did not trouble to check the Soviet selection of students under the cultural exchange. Now it is clear that it was made on any but academic grounds. Some had only two years in high school before going, all were chosen from what an official called "areas of social uneasiness."

—Courtesy, *National Review*, New York

Reviews

Silesian Inferno

Karl Friedrich Grau, Centre of Information and Documentary Evidence, West, Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart, Germany.

THIS is an account of atrocities committed by Russian soldiers in Silesia when they were marching towards Berlin in the last phase of the second world war. The account is based on carefully checked statements of men and women who went through the terror which continued roughly for the first six months of 1945.

According to the reports of eye-witnesses, the terror "raged without choice, hitting everybody and anybody it happened to meet, unselectively and unpredictably—it hit active Nazis, their fellow travellers, non-political citizens, and even active opponents of the Nazi regime. No distinction was made between well-to-do owners of property and fortunes, small tradesmen and craftsmen, workers, farmers, none between men, women, old people or children." The terror took the form of indiscriminate looting and destruction of property and killing and torture and rape. Harrowing accounts of these atrocities were later given by the victims, some of which are reproduced in the book.

Russian troops did not behave in the same manner in other parts of Germany that they conquered except in a few select places like Berlin where also they were not allowed to misbehave for longer than the first few days of the conquest. Silesia was selected for a different type of treatment possibly because it was to be cleared of the Germans and then to be handed over to Poland. Whatever the reason, the Silesians had to bear the brunt of the fury and the lust of Russian soldiers. The book is a truthful record of their sufferings.

S.D.

The Marxian Mirage

Satyavrata Patel, New Horizon Publishers, Rs. 35.

THE author has stated in his Prologue to the book the broad conclusions that he has "adumbrated". They are that "Marxism is an ignorant and barbarous superstition believed in by frustrated intellectuals" that Marx "was a spurious economist, a worthless thinker and a counterfeit sociologist," that "it is sheer blasphemy to call him a scientist or humanist" and that he was "essentially a cunning propagandist for his creed or dogma". These are not according to Mr. Patel, "sweeping breath-taking strictures." They are, he avers, "obvious truths which are there for mere seeing."

In the chapters that follow Mr. Patel has examined

the various aspects of Marxism as philosophy, as economic theory and as political practice. In carrying out the examination, the knowledge of Marxism that Mr. Patel has exhibited is remarkable, but it is difficult to say that the examination is objective, searching or comprehensive. The examination is carried out with a particular point of view and those who do not accept it will not find the analysis and the argument convincing.

The author claims that his book is "no passionate polemic", that it is "a scientific inquiry". The passion that oozes from every page makes it difficult to accept that characterisation. However, even as an impassioned critic of Marx and Marxism it deserves study.

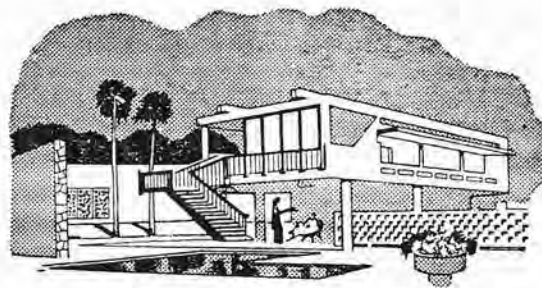
S. D.

Britain 1971

Central Office of Information, London.

THIS is an official handbook prepared by the Central Office of Information, London. As usual, it gives a good amount of information about important facets of life in Great Britain. The information is based on authoritative sources and is given in an interesting manner. Diagrams, maps and photographs add to the appeal of the book.

V. K.



NEW LOOK FOR HOMES...
NEW BEAUTY...

with **Silvicrete**
ACC WHITE CEMENT

Readily available from the nearest branch of
The Cement Marketing Co. of India Limited
*Silvicrete is the basic material for the
production of Snowcem and Colorcrete*

ACC Your guarantee of
top quality

THE ASSOCIATED CEMENT COMPANIES LTD.
The Cement Marketing Co. of India Limited

HTA-CMI. 817

Without Comment**ASIA BEYOND VIETNAM**

WHILE American attention is focussed on the fighting in Indo-China, this fact generally is overlooked: Vietnam is just one small corner of a vast continent rocked by violence and unrest.

From Afghanistan around to Japan, 23 nations make up the continent of Asia. Of these, 16 are embroiled in war, rebellion or civil strife, much of it instigated or supported by Red China.

The 16 countries are home to 1.8 billion people, more than half the total world population of 3.5 billion.

Six nations are split by warring Communist and non-Communist regimes. Two are victims of large-scale enemy infiltration and attack. Seven are fighting Peking-backed insurgents, and one is being torn apart by civil war.

Only seven nations are free of conflict: Mongolia, Japan, Singapore, Bhutan, Nepal, Afghanistan and the tiny Republic of Maldives in the Indian Ocean.

Far East experts make two points in assessing growing unrest in Asia:

Communist "liberation armies" are behind much of the turmoil.

Most Asian Red leaders now consider Peking, not Moscow, to be the capital of world Communism. They are convinced that the Soviet Union is too "conservative" in its dealings with the West, and they look increasingly to Peking to help their rebellions.

Red China is responding. In Hanoi, Peking is pressing North Vietnam to seek military victory, not a negotiated peace. In North Korea, Chinese leaders have patched up differences with Pyongyang, making Kim Il Sung more "hard-line" than ever.

Chinese military aid is going to Red troops in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Mao Tse-tung's radical ideology is behind unrest in India, Ceylon and the Philippines. Arms and ammunition are being smuggled to rebel hands in the jungles, mountains and swamps of Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Indonesia.

Red China even has added in Asia a third name to the twin Communist gods, Marx and Lenin. The new slogan—originated in Peking—is "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought."

While Vietnam is Asia's biggest problem, it is not the only danger area on the continent. Any one of a number of trouble spots could explode into a major crisis at almost any time.

PAKISTAN. The Army is cracking down against secessionist East Pakistan. Communist China, abandoning its usual support for "revolutionary" movements, fully backs the Government.

CEYLON. Maoist student extremists are in revolt against a Government already leaning toward the left.

INDIA. Rebel tribesmen are a threat in the North-East Frontier region, and the violence-prone Naxalite Communists—followers of the Red China line—are constant trouble makers in West Bengal.

THAILAND. A Peking inspired insurgency in its north-east area is an ever-present worry.

BURMA. Rangoon not only is fighting China backed rebels but also a half dozen ethnic minorities, plus guerrillas organised by former Premier U Nu.

INDONESIA. Military rulers still are trying to root out pro-Peking Communists who attempted to overthrow the Government nearly six years ago.

NORTH and SOUTH KOREA. A truce in 1953 supposedly ended three years of fighting. But ground and naval clashes still erupt. Communist North Korea is mobilized for war, and South Korea is modernizing its armed forces — with U.S. help.

TWO CHINAS. Communists and Nationalists continue to fight a low-key war. U.S. supported Nationalists on Taiwan send small raiding parties against the mainland, and Peking replies with sporadic shelling of offshore islands held by Taiwan. A more serious threat to Red China is the danger of renewed fighting with Russian troops along the Sino-Soviet border.

NORTH and SOUTH VIETNAM. War has been a way of life since 1946 first with Vietnamese fighting the French and then with the South battling the Communist North. U.S. forces are withdrawing, but there is little chance for an early peace.

PHILIPPINES. A Huk rebellion was put down years ago, but Communist guerrillas continue to launch terror attacks from jungle hideouts.

MALAYSIA. A 12 year Communist revolt was controlled in 1960. Now, there is a resurgence of Red activity, and planters once more sleep with guns at their bedsides.

LAOS. Communist refusal to honour Laos' neutrality makes the country a battleground between East and West.

CAMBODIA. This neutral nation was dragged into war when Reds seized large sections of its territory to use as a supply base for the Vietnam fighting.

—U.S. News & World Report

Trade Unions & Politics

BY V. B. KARNIK

Price: Rs 3.50

Published by

UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

LABOUR EDUCATION SERVICE

127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 1.

U. S. Policy On Pakistan

(The following are extracts from a letter of Mr. G. L. Mehta, the wellknown Indian public man and former Indian Ambassador to U.S., published in several American newspapers.)

LIKE numerous people in my country I have had a genuine feeling of goodwill and friendship toward the people of the United States ever since I visited it in 1944 and particularly after I held office there as India's Ambassador in the middle fifties. I also have a sense of gratitude for what the United States government and people have done for India at times of food crisis and to assist their economic development as well as standing by the country at the time of the Chinese invasion in the fall of 1962. But like most Indians who have nothing but a friendly feeling for the United States, I have failed to understand the rationale of American policy in supporting directly and indirectly what is tantamount to genocide in East Pakistan for the last four months. I leave aside the grievous wrong and injury done to India through such a policy. But even assuming that India has been written off by the present U.S. administration, the moral issue involved in supporting a government which has committed such unprecedented brutalities surpassing those of Hitler, Stalin and those practised in Vietnam, still remains.

When the United States administration gave military aid to Pakistan in the middle fifties, as a representative of the Indian government I had warned that the arms supplied would be used only against India and not

for any self-defense or against Soviet Russia or China. This was proved twice in 1965. And now these arms made available over the past two decades and valued at nearly \$1 billion have been turned with a vicious ferocity upon their own people.

During my recent visit to the United States, I found that public opinion as represented by influential papers was strong in its condemnation of the atrocities of the Pakistan government. I also found that there was an equally strong feeling among several prominent senators whom I had the privilege of meeting on Capitol Hill. But the administration seems to be unresponsive as well as callous. On the one hand, we are told that withholding of economic aid and arms would throw Pakistan into the arms of China while on the other Pakistan is being utilized as a go-between, at least for transport purposes, for Washington and Peking. Evidently the fact that India might be thrown into the arms of the Soviets does not seem to worry Washington policy-makers. American policy is strengthening the Communists in India, who are succeeding in creating anti-West and particularly anti-American feeling as also communalists who are seeking to generate anti-Muslim feelings. Whether this is in the long term interests of the United States is for such policy-makers to judge.

HAVE YOU JOINED THE FORUM?

In order to understand current economic problems, read Forum of Free Enterprise booklets which are issued every month. Annual Membership is only Rs. 15/- (plus entrance fee Rs. 10/-) and Associate Membership Rs. 7/- (entrance Rs. 5/-). College students can become Student Associates by paying only Rs. 3/- per year.

Please write for particulars to:

Forum of Free Enterprise

Sohrab House, 235, Dr. D. N. Road,
Post Box 48-A, Bombay - 1.

With Many Voices

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

India is very much now in the bosom of the Russian bear apparently in a move to keep the eagle and the dragon away.

—Sun, Colombo, August 13.

America has proved to be a broken reed.

—C. R., *Swarajya*, August 14.

What we are now seeing is the spilling over of Statism from the economic to the cultural sphere.

—M. R. Masani, *Times of India*, August 15.

When the immediate crisis is over, this treaty of friendship, peace and cooperation is likely to be a millstone round the neck of the Indian nation.

—Ian Tickle, *Swiss Press Review and News Report*, August 16.

A cantankerous press, an obstinate press, an ubiquitous press must be suffered by those in authority in order to preserve the even greater values of freedom of expression and the right of the people to know.

—Judge Murray I. Gurfein quoted in *The Himmatt*, July 2.

This Indo-Soviet Treaty may well be like a marriage registered in a hurry and repented at leisure.

—*Thought*, August 14.

Briefly the Treaty gives a powerful pro-Communist impetus to all authority within the country; it softens the resisting democratic will so successfully as almost to render it non-existent.

—*Opinion*, August 17.

To the Editor.
FREEDOM FIRST,
C/o Democratic Research Service,
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 1.

Please enrol me as a subscriber to FREEDOM FIRST.
I remit the annual subscription of Rs. 5.00

Name:

Address:

Signature

President Nixon's visit to China is a No. 1 stunt of the No. 1 stuntman of our time.

—George Meany, President, AFL-CIO,
U.S. News & World Report, August 23.

When he (Mr. Nixon) returns will he be carrying an umbrella? And will he exuberantly wave a piece of paper at us from the steps of his plane?

—Oliver Pacini in *Time*, August 16.

This newspaper considers President Nixon's proposal to visit Communist China and the change in policy towards Red China to be immoral, indecent, insane and fraught with danger for the survival of the United States.

—William Loeb, publisher of *Union Leader* quoted in *Time*, August 16.

In Yugoslavia, the problem was that bureaucracy was in conflict with life, and in the end life prevailed.

—Milovan Djilas quoted in *Time*, August 9.

An academic adage has it that the difference between China and Russia scholars is that China experts love China while Russia experts hate Russia.

—*Time*, August 9.

When a politician's luck is running out it can seem that he can do nothing right. So it now seems with Mr. Wilson.

—*The Economist*, July 24.

President Nixon's projected trip to Peiping is like the world's No. 1 policeman visiting the No. 1 bandit in his lair.

—Kao Hsin, *Free China Weekly*, July 25.

F.D.R. would have hesitated to go to Berlin to wine and dine with Adolf Hitler—but we are about to do that, and all the liberals who can't stand the Greek colonels are jumping for joy.

—William Buckley, quoted in *Time*, July 26.

We want social changes, but with personal freedom and without Marxist sectarianism.

—Dr. O. Marin, newly elected Chilean M.P., in *Time*, August 2.