

ON DISCIPLINE

M. R. Masani

"DISCIPLINE makes a country great" is one of the many slogans we pass by in the streets. How true this one is, and yet how little attention is paid to it. There are many bus stops and lifts where queues are not discernible. Ticketless travel on the railways is still a national phenomenon. Some planes and trains certainly run on time; others, it is my personal experience, do not. On the roads taxi-drivers and others overtake one on the wrong side. Motorists shift from one lane of traffic to another with snake-like agility. Taxis in Bombay can be found parked along pavements miles away from the nearest taxi stand and there is no policeman to move them on. One could go on multiplying examples of indiscipline in our daily lives today.

Now, as it happens, I have a weakness for discipline, and have had it for a long time. In the Fourth Rajaji Birthday Lecture which I gave on January 18, 1969, in Bangalore under the auspices of the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, I had bemoaned the lack of discipline in our national life: "There is a lack of discipline as part of our national character. This is the failure of character-building in homes and schools. You know the old saying about the battle of Waterloo having been won on the playing fields of Eton. There are very few playing fields of Eton where our young men and women can be trained to win the battles of the future. So we have indiscipline, a lack of restraint which is endemic. Examples of this are irresponsible breeding—1300 babies born every hour in a country that is short of food. One in twenty of our railway passengers travelling without tickets, and nothing being done about it. The other day the Railway Minister complained that 10 to 40 percent of the railway revenues are stolen by people who travel without tickets. Then we have the **gherao**, the shirking of work, laziness, and finally a lack of consideration for others—unpunctuality, undependability in honouring our various commitments."

In the Lok Sabha, my friend Mr. N. Dandekar and I had on more than one occasion risen to ask the Speaker to 'name' certain neighbours of ours on the Opposition benches who were repeatedly on their legs utilising their superior lung power to drown everyone else so that neither the speaker nor anyone else could make himself heard. They refused to leave the House when asked by the Speaker to do so. The Speaker would plead his helplessness and say it was for the Leader of the House to name them and he would be glad to put the proposition to the vote, but no such proposition came forward. The Prime Minister kept her seat and permitted herself a relaxed and somewhat mysterious smile.

As a student of history, I had made in my Bangalore speech two further observations on the subject of the decay of our public life and morality which may not be altogether irrelevant. The first was to quote Walter Lipmann's fine little book **The Public Philosophy** written many years ago about the perils that I saw ahead of our young democracy. He had written: "If the people find that they must choose whether they will be represented in an assembly which is incompetent to govern or whether they will be governed without being represented, there is no doubt at all as to how the issue will be decided. They will choose autho-

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Since Discipline is the order of the day the editor who is very much for it has his own six-penny worth.

Andrei Amalrik expresses himself freely for the first time after crossing the Iron Curtain to freedom in Holland.

A. G. Noorani reviews Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal's memoirs of his work during the Congo crisis.

Between You and Me and The Lamp Post



Bombay Crematorium

THE correspondence columns of the *Times of India* recently printed more than one letter written by Mr. Minoo P. Vazifdar and some others drawing attention to the shocking conditions to which citizens of Bombay who prefer the modern method of electric cremation for the departed are subjected by the Municipal administration. Not only is the transport wagon "a picture of untidiness driven by an unkempt chauffeur and his equally shabby attendant", but the body is then placed "in an assembly hall which for its dirty, flyridden, paint-flaked environment sent shivers down the most hard-bitten mourners." This is not the way in which those who wish to have a last glimpse of the mortal remains of a dear friend or relation should be

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ritely which promises to be paternal in preference to freedom which threatens to be fratricidal. For large communities cannot do without being governed. No ideal of freedom or democracy will long be allowed to stand in the way of their being governed.....

A continuing practical failure to govern will lead—no one can say in what form and under what banners—to counter-revolutionary measures for the establishment of strong government. The alternative is to withstand and to reverse the descent towards counter-revolution."

I had gone on to endorse Lipmann's proposition and to forecast what I feared was coming—a state of popular disbelief and cynicism. I quoted a sentence from a talk I had given at the Harold Laski Institute in Ahmedabad as far back as July 1962: "If we (politicians) do not stop misbehaving like this, the day is not far distant when people will turn away from us and seek escape from us." History has already overtaken that forecast.

There was a second observation I made which may not yet obtain universal assent but which I believe the course of events will demonstrate to be equally true: "These are not handicaps that we can put right by passing laws or changing over from one form of government to another. These are very deep-rooted defects and call for much deeper remedies."

But that, as the chronicler in the *Arabian Nights* would have observed, is another story.

treated. We share the harrowed feelings of those who have written to the newspapers on the basis of our own recollection of several similar painful recollections. It is quite obvious that the crematorium needs to be shifted from its present slummy environment to a decent site where it is surrounded by gardens and green lawns.

It is odd that at a time when some attention to the aesthetic side of the matter is so obviously called for, the Bombay Municipality have announced that the crematorium charges have been reduced from Rs. 100 to Rs. 50.

It is good to note that the Municipal Commissioner assured the Corporation on 6th August that the Civic Administration was planning to have crematoria in different places in the city including Bandra, Khar and Santacruz. This provides an opportunity for crematoria to be established which avoid the legitimate criticisms that have been made about the filthy conditions of the existing one. It is to be hoped that the Commissioner and the Civic Administration will see to it that the new crematoria to be established in North Bombay will provide a model and show what is possible. That, of course, will not solve the problem of those who live in South Bombay who will be relieved by the shifting of the Princess Street crematorium to a better environment.

Helsinki Anniversary

1ST August 1976 marked the end of a year of the operation of the "Final Act" which emerged from the marathon conference on European Security which was signed on the 1st August 1975 by 35 Heads of State including Mr. Brezhnev. It would be hard to find anyone outside the Kremlin to agree that the way in which the Helsinki code has been operated has been a resounding success. On the contrary, on the first anniversary of the agreement there have been some outspoken statements about the way in which the Soviet Government has violated the commitments which they made a year earlier. The first of these is from a group of Soviet dissidents called "Group to Promote the Observance of the Helsinki Agreements in the U.S.S.R.". Foreign embassies in Moscow have received material from this group of private Soviet citizens who have been monitoring the U.S.S.R.'s observance of the Helsinki Agreement.

Among members of this courageous group are the

veteran General Pyotr Grigorenko, geologist Dr. Malva Landa, Dr. Vitaly Rubin, a scholar on China, and the Leader of the group, Dr. Yuri Orlov.

Amalrik follows Solzhenitsyn

SO at last, on July 15, the redoubtable Andrei Amalrik and his wife touched the free soil of Holland. But it was a very sad writer who had to leave his country because of the intolerable conditions to which he had been subjected now for a decade or more. Since his first arrest in May 1975, Amalrik has spent most of his time in prison or exile in Siberia.

Even his last days in Moscow were stormy ones. When the Soviet authorities slapped heavy duties on paintings he wanted to take with him and forbade him to export several antiques, Amalrik, with supreme courage, cancelled his reservations and refused to fly to Amsterdam. Courage of this kind is hard to resist and Soviet officials not only extended his exit visa which was due to expire but agreed to a compromise by which the duties imposed on the paintings were withdrawn and Amalrik left one or two antiques behind. Announcing that he would carry on his fight for human rights in the U.S.S.R., Amalrik in answer to a question said it was not possible, to say when he and his wife would return to the U.S.S.R., but observed that they would try to do so if the Soviet Regime became more tolerant or if disorder grew.

Amalrik acquired an international reputation because of his tract entitled 'Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?' published in the 60's. Amalrik still insists that his thesis about the disintegration of the Soviet dictatorship, for which he was sentenced to three years in a labour camp, is valid, but that it is possible that he underestimated somewhat the time span for such a development.

As in the case of Solzhenitsyn, Russia's loss is the free world's gain. If the Kremlin thinks it has clipped the wings of this courageous Soviet writer by sending him abroad, it has yet another surprise coming its way.

Sports Indeed!

HOW right A.F.S. (Bobby) Talyarkhan was when, before the Olympic Games commenced, both on television and in his article in a weekly journal on July 11th entitled 'Farewell to International Sport', he forecast the way in which politics would destroy the Olympic Games. Bobby was right in saying the entire mischief has risen from the Games being converted from a contest between individuals into a competition

between countries, with their banners and their anthems, distorting the event or seeking national glory. Bobby also rightly denounced the boycott by nations on racial or ideological lines. He pointed out how logic in such matters was not possible and that self-contradiction was inevitable. As an example he pointed out how while India champions the boycott of South Africa, the Amritraj brothers had defeated at Wimbledon a South African pair in the men's doubles. 'How long', he asked, 'is this farce to go on?'

The answer to the question is that the farce dominated Montreal and shows many signs of surviving it. Despite the protest of Lord Killanin, the President of the International Olympic Committee, against what he accurately described as the Canadian Government's breach of its earlier assurance and direct violation of fundamental Olympic principles 'which guarantee free entry of members in good standing regardless of race, colour, creed or political affiliation' in objecting to participation by the Republic of China, the Council in the end betrayed its sportmen from Taiwan. This was a surrender to the pampering by the Canadian government of the 'Peking Regime' which it 'recognises' and its desire not to lose the big Chinese market for Canadian grain.

Equally unfortunate was the way in which the Guyanese sprinter, James Gilks, who sought to compete on his own when his country's team had gone home was denied permission to participate. Once again politics prevailed over sport.

As if all this was not enough, the Soviets decided to huff and puff on the closing days of the Games and threatened their own boycott if the harmless young diver of seventeen, Nemtsanov, who had eloped with an American girl was not handed over by the Canadian Government to be shipped back to Moscow. Happily, the eloping couple refused to surface and, with much gnashing of teeth and no boycott, the captains and kings departed.

Perhaps the best comment on this *reductio ad absurdum* is to be found in a letter published in the correspondence columns of *The Times* (London) on 21st July 1976 which ran as follows:

"Sir, First, someone boycotts South Africa. Then someone boycotts New Zealand for not boycotting South Africa. Next, various nations boycott the Olympics for not boycotting New Zealand for not boycotting South Africa. Will the next move be for someone to boycott Jamaica for not boycotting the Olympics for not boycotting South Africa? And where does the sequence end?"

A DISSIDENT'S CHALLENGE TO THE WEST

Andrei Amalrik

WHEN I now ask people in the West what has been achieved by signing the Helsinki Agreement, they reply that, first, the USSR promised not to touch West Berlin; and second contact between the USSR and the West has been eased, and that this will lead to an improvement in the situation within the USSR. These arguments do not sound convincing to a man who arrived from Moscow only three weeks ago.

The USSR promised not to touch West Berlin as early as 1945, and there has been more than one 'Berlin crisis' since then. . . . I do not rule out the possibility that the Berlin problem may arise again in five years' time, and that the West will again have to make some kind of concession to avoid a serious crisis.

As for the internal situation in the USSR, the easing of contacts and the greater freedom of information, success seems to me to be even more dubious. The authorities have, in fact, begun to be more careful in their treatment of well-known dissidents. They did not, for example, put me in prison for seven years, as they did to Sergei Kovalev. Nor did they kill me at the door to my flat, as they killed Konstantin Bogatyrev. Instead, by following me constantly, detaining me, and threatening me with arrest and murder, they simply forced me to emigrate. . . .

The practice of putting dissidents in psychiatric hospitals has decreased, but it has not ceased. Vladimir Bukovsky, who did more than anyone else to tell the West the truth about Soviet psychiatric hospitals, is still serving the 12-year sentence he was given for this.

Another thing: as if to compensate for being unable to carry out massive 'legal' arrests under the new conditions, the KGB more and more often resorts to methods like murder, assault on the street, poisoning, arson and car accidents, while trying to make incidents like this serve as a 'warning' to others.

If there has been a change for the better, most of the credit for this is due to those Soviet dissidents who continually draw the attention both of the Soviet authorities and of the West to violations of human rights in the USSR.

There is no evidence of any improvement in the dissemination of information. Indeed, one could talk about deterioration. As before, no western newspapers are on open sale in the USSR, apart from Communist papers, and not all issues of these are available. Even

the information carried by Soviet newspapers and journals about the West has been reduced in the last year. And as before, dissemination of *samizdat* is considered a criminal offence.

Attacked in the Press

The jamming of radio broadcasts beamed at the USSR continues as it did before the signing of the Helsinki Agreement. The Voice of America, the BBC and the West German *Deutsche Welle* are not jammed openly, but in many areas there are Soviet broadcasts on the same wavelengths, and it is almost impossible to hear the foreign stations. Radio Liberty is constantly the main object of attack. Not only is it openly jammed (which is not very effective outside the large towns), but it is consistently attacked in the Soviet Press.

At every personal meeting, Soviet officials tell the Americans that closing down Radio Liberty would represent a big step forward in the improvement of Soviet-American relations. Using their piecemeal tactics, the Soviet leaders would like to reach some compromise with Americans and finish off Radio Liberty, pretending that they do not object to other Western stations. Then they would set to work against the Voice of America and other radio stations, and deprive millions of Soviet citizens of any non-Soviet information.

I am not sure that the position of Western journalists in Moscow has improved much in the last year. While they have been allowed to use multiple visas, and movement within the country has been slightly facilitated, their contacts with Soviet citizens are as hampered as ever. They even have to refer to the authorities for permission to interview anyone.

No Western journalists have been expelled from Moscow in the past year, but here, as with the dissidents, the authorities try to act more deviously. . . .

Postal and telephone links between Soviet citizens and the West have become more difficult rather than easier. A vast number of letters and parcels do not reach their destinations, conversations are interrupted, and telephones are cut off for six months, for a year, sometimes for ever.

On exchange of information, the Soviet Press often points out that many more Western writers are translated into Russian and many more Western films are

shown in the USSR than vice versa. This, of course, is not because of the ill-will of Western Governments, but merely because Western culture is far richer than Soviet culture, and offers a wide choice. In any case, when the Soviet authorities complain about the paucity of translation they exclude Solzhenitsyn, Brodsky, Sinyavsky, Voinovich, Kornilov, Maksimov, Gladilin, Gorbanevskaya, Erofeev and many others from Soviet literature—and these writers are all translated in the West.

Leaving the Soviet Union remains possible only to a few people, and it involves humiliating procedures. Even if one is only going to visit relatives for a while, one has to produce favourable references from one's place of work, signed by the director, the secretary of the party organisation, and the chairman of the local trade union branch. Women are obliged to undergo a gynaecological examination before holidaying abroad.

A blow to millions

Western Governments and Western public opinion should demand that the USSR ceases jamming Western broadcasts. If sections of the Western public consider these broadcasts unsatisfactory, or think that they serve the 'cold war', then they can control the radio stations and change the content of the programmes. In my opinion, the closure of those stations, and particularly of Radio Liberty, which broadcasts exclusively to the USSR, would deliver a blow not only to the cold war, but also to millions of Soviet citizens who will then be deprived of any information apart from that given by the Soviet official Press. At present, they at least have a chance to make comparisons.

Foreign Governments should defend the rights of their citizens to take books published abroad into the USSR, including books by Soviet authors who live in the Soviet Union or who live abroad. If members of Parliament and public leaders from abroad visiting the Soviet Union saw not only officials, but also independent Soviet public figures like Andrei Sakharov, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Professor Yuri Orlov, chairman of the Group to Promote the Observance of the Helsinki Agreement, and Valentin Turchin, head of the Russian section of Amnesty International, it would be important.

It would also be important if foreign diplomats kept constant contact with representatives of the independent public, as well as with officials. Only under these conditions will they be able to furnish their governments with objective information about the situation

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in the USSR. ... On 14 July the French Ambassador ought to invite several dissidents, as well as the several hundreds of official figures. This would be more in accord with the ideals of the French Revolution than the presence of the dozens of open and secret KGB agents who usually jostle one another at such receptions.

The information which reaches the West from the USSR, and which gets back from the West to the USSR, depends to a large extent on foreign correspondents in Moscow. If foreign journalists had their own club in Moscow, if they had a corporate feeling and enjoyed the support of their colleagues in the West, it would be helpful. On the whole Western journalists tend to be indifferent when one of their number struggles desperately with the Soviet regime for the right to send independent information to his readers. What is just as bad, they tend to be equally indifferent when one of their colleagues licks the behind of the Soviet authorities.

Courtesy : **The Observer**

THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE

Sir Keith Joseph, M. P.

THOSE of us who defend what I have called "the market system" have been inclined to take certain things for granted. We have spoken of the connexion between an economy regulated by a free market and freedom and assumed that the connexion will be obvious once it is stated. But that is a mistake—the convictions we have taken for granted, that in fact most of us in Britain still share, have been lost from sight.

Perhaps we who defend the market system have contributed to this by talking of the "market mechanism", the "price mechanism", the "signalling system". This talk has obscured the fundamental assumption about human beings on which the defence of a free economy rests. It is the assumption that men are not machines, not instruments or mechanisms serving ends outside themselves, that they are rational ends in themselves. It is the denial of this assumption, the reduction of men to instruments of social engineering that constitutes the essence and real inhumanity of socialism.

The denial of humanity on which socialism rests appears in the socialist insistence on seeing human beings as productive factors, bundles of interests, workers or capitalists, soldiers in a class war, indeed as anything but rational, choicemaking beings. The one idea that has been lost and that we affirm—is that a man can choose. A human being is not just better than a chimpanzee at getting bananas out of reach. Men can choose not to want the bananas even when they are hungry. Men can choose even to die because they will not be slaves.

This capacity to choose is what we who defend the market economy understand by human rationality. We refuse to reduce men to machines.

Because men can see and choose alternatives, they can conceive of different ways of living and want to put their ideas into practice. Civilization as we know it is based on a reverence for this capacity of men to understand and choose, to manage their own lives in accordance with the ideas they invent and arrange. This is what we sum up in that phrase—"respect for human dignity". And wherever the notion of human dignity has flourished, the worth of a man has been understood to depend on his capacity to manage his own life and to respect the efforts of others to do the same, on what we sometimes describe as the ability to be responsible for oneself.

Men who do not understand themselves as rational, responsible makers of themselves cannot care about individuality. Instead they construe any differences among human beings as victimization, and develop a passion for removing all differences. Thus the reduction of men to machines has inspired the current obsession with "equality".

We who value human dignity cherish the differences that reflect the freedom of men to fashion their own lives in their own way. We value a market economy under the rule of law, and we value equality before the law above equality of income, because this is the only social arrangement that enables men to associate, and to do things together, and yet to run their own lives. We oppose socialism because it means a government that runs men, rather than makes rules for men who run themselves.

We are not opposed to all interference by government, as socialists claim. We do not advocate a free-for-all when we defend a market economy. A belief in letting individuals decide for themselves how to earn and spend their money is not in any way whatsoever a belief in economic or any other kind of anarchy. We have had quite enough of the nonsense conjured up by that unfortunate phrase, "laissez faire".

When we oppose the kind of interference that socialists advocate, we are not denying the importance of what governments, and governments alone, can do. We are advocating a particular conception of government—as a maker of rules for men who want to fashion their lives for themselves, who may want to make gardens, write poetry, play darts, chat with friends, watch the sunset, in short, not to be mere drones who "serve the national interest" or "increase production".

Socialists tell us that the arrangements that made us efficient in war will make us efficient in peace. The efficiency promoted by a free market is a very different kind of efficiency. A free market economy is efficient at providing what individuals running themselves choose for themselves. That is not what socialists even pretend to want, and that is why they urge us to seek the efficiency we had in war when we are at peace. A socialist economy is a permanent war economy. But we who defend a free market economy distinguish sharply between a government acting as

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ISRAEL REVERSES THE TIDE

Collin Welch

WHAT a coup they have brought off—how admirable, how salutary in all its respects! The irreversible reversed, the impossible achieved; the march of history turned sharply about; justice asserted, terror terrified; a hundred innocent people rescued at sad but minimal cost; an abominable tyrant humiliated on his own doorstep, bewildered, rendered “emotional”, reduced to “a state of shock”, his air force reduced by a quarter in 36 minutes on the ground, he thus forcibly reminded that crime does not always pay and that his Arab paymasters cannot protect him from the consequences of his turpitude; and above all, brutal though it may sound, the killing of all the terrorists involved.

For it is not enough to bring criminals of this sort to trial (where? in Uganda?) or to sentence them to life imprisonment. As long as they live in captivity they are the prizes to be won by further crime of the sort they have just committed. They thus continue even under restraint to be accomplices in murder. They are best out of the way—the German hag and all...

Throughout the Western World the Israeli exploit has caused jubilation, only slightly tempered by shame at the fact that it is always left to Israelis to do what others should do but can't, won't or daren't.

The British Government's reaction has been tepid—and this doubtless for reasons which explain only too

well why our country is unlikely for the time being to emulate the Israeli example, no matter how grave the provocation.

It is not that we lack the means despite Labour's pacific frenzy. We have the Hercules transports; better still we have huge Belfast transports, though these are due to disappear in September (terrorists, please note), we also have S.A.S., which, given the same clear directives as the Israeli commandos received would doubtless acquit itself with like humanity and distinction.

No, it is not the means which are lacking but the will. We seem to live in a more complex world than the Israelis—not more difficult or dangerous or desperate, to be sure just more complex.

There are always so many things to be thought about, so many considerations to be borne in mind—oil, the Nigerians, the balance of payments, Ulster, world opinion. Each Minister has his own pressing reasons for doing nothing in a crisis, and therefore nothing will ever be done.

Not for a long time has acute and unmistakable danger focussed our minds, as it almost daily focuses the minds of the Israelis. Like us, they have a Cabinet, in which different interests and concerns are normally represented. Yet these are all reduced to subordinate status by one overriding pre-occupation—the need to

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the headquarters of an army and a government acting as a ruler of free men and women.

The rule of law that governs a market economy does not spew forth directions or orders for how to live or even for how to get rich. It allows men to choose whether they want to try to be rich or to live quietly doing something they like which does not bring or require much money. And this kind of choice we consider intrinsic to preserving human dignity, to a humane life...

What we, who prefer a free market economy, oblige ourselves to remember is that any attempt to relieve the difficulties of human existence by destroying freedom of choice under stable rules, destroys the humanity of men. Those who urge us to try for perfect security, are urging us to pretend to be able to escape from

human limitations. It is a road to an inhumane existence...

Unlike those who want to run us all as parts of an army, we who want to preserve a free economy will select policies that can accommodate or care for dependent people in such a way that will not punish or destroy independence.

The morality of those who prefer the freedom of choice that a free market economy can give us is the foundation of our civilization. But it is also the most difficult thing about our civilization to understand or explain. It is besides easy to lose. And we have been careless. We must return to securing and enlarging what socialists are bent on destroying—that understanding of human dignity for which Britain used to be admired.

Courtesy: **The Times**

WORLD NEWS

SOME CHINESE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS

UNNAMED senior Communist Party officials in China have been officially accused of having high salaries, cars, superior living quarters and servants, at the expense of the common people.

The Peking newspaper **Kuang Ming Daily**, in an unusual admission of the existence of material privilege among top officials, said that such "capitalist roaders" within the party were more dangerous than old fashioned capitalists.

The allegation was made in an article attributed to a political study group at the university of Kirin, but it is clearly meant to have nationwide applicability. It attacked Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping, the ousted former Deputy Prime Minister, and hinted that he had been plotting a coup similar to that ascribed to Lin Piao, the late Defence Minister.

It is common knowledge in China that senior civilian and military officials, both in Peking and in the provinces, live better than the common people and are

frequently to be seen in chauffeur-driven limousines. However, it is unusual for this matter to be brought up in connexion with political accusations and counter-accusations, since the "radical" Politburo faction also enjoys such privileges.

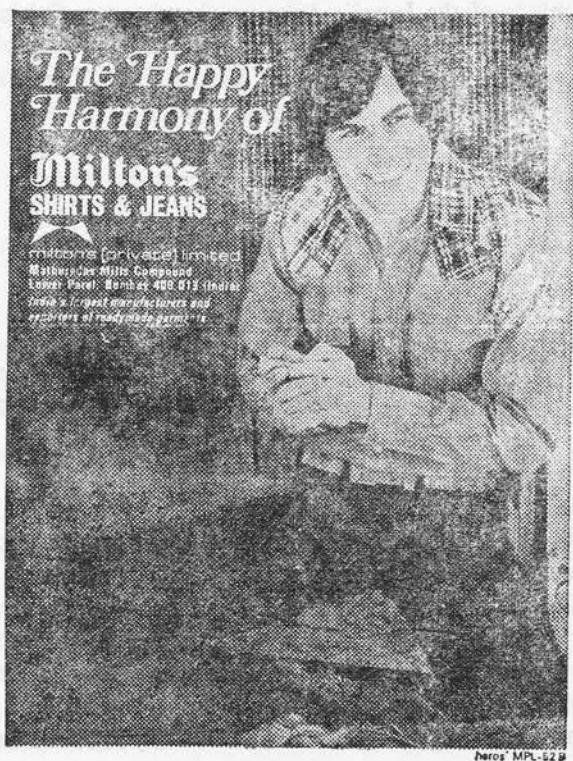
Nobody, for example, expects to see Chairman Mao's wife riding around on a bicycle.

Without naming any specific officials, the article said that they had infiltrated the party ranks, bullied the population, and diverted for their own use resources which were the property of the people as a whole.

"These people do everything to oppose the socialist revolution and protect their own interests," it said. "They have good houses, they have cars, their salaries are high, and they even have servants—they are worse than capitalists."

A leftist journal published in Shanghai recently accused Mr. Teng of promising to supply scientists and experts with "cars, good houses, and clerks."

— **Times**, June 30.



ISRAEL REVERSES THE TIDE—Collin Welch (continued from page 7)

survive. This is the magic which, in a crisis silences sectarian jabber and special pleading and produces a sudden temporary but effective unanimity.

They are faced by enemies, incompetent may be, yet preponderant and tireless who can make innumerable mistakes, commit innumerable crimes for that matter, lose innumerable wars with impunity or at least without catastrophic consequences. For Israel by contrast the first battle lost could be the last, any sign of weakness fatal. In such a situation the mind must be kept sharp and clear and the will resolute and daring.

The dangers which confront the rest of us in the West are hardly less in quality or quantity, only perhaps less obvious and immediate. Nor is international terrorism perhaps the greatest of them, for us or for Israel. Like us, the Israelis can probably distinguish between great dangers and lesser ones. Unlike us, they see clearly how all dangers are connected, and how resolution in facing lesser dangers may help to keep greater dangers at bay.

Courtesy—**Daily Telegraph**, July 6, 1976

UNESCO'S ASSAULT ON NEWS

UNESCO is at it again, trampling on the high principles it was created to serve. Its Constitution commits all members to "recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image." But Unesco is currently working up international agreements to block that vital flow. Its regional conferences have begun to act formally to convert news—which the universal declaration of human rights defines as something which "everyone" has a right to seek, receive and impart "through any media and regardless of frontier"—into a national commodity which it is any government's right to exclusively control.

Just last week, for instance, Unesco's Latin-Caribbean subgroup proposed that regional governments "define a concerted policy" on what information should be distributed by satellite, and that the governments create a Latin news pool to "counterbalance" foreign-agency news. Another resolution called on governments to define the "social responsibilities" of the public and private mass communications sectors. Reinforcement is being given to these and other Unesco moves by the conference of "nonaligned" states due to meet next month in Sri Lanka. Its members are expected to call for a pool of national news agencies so as to be in a position to counter, if not to exclude, the Western agencies now providing much of their news.

The Russians and the other Communist states, of course, have long treated news as a state commodity—that is to say, as propaganda. What is new and unfortunate is the degree to which large parts of the Third World are moving toward the Russian position. They are asserting a claim to control not only news about themselves in their own media but—by restricting the correspondents and copy of Western media—news about themselves in the media of other nations. And Unesco, instead of defending the principles to which its charter commits it, is instead allowing itself to be used to lend the coloration, status and mutual encouragement of international legitimacy to news restrictions heretofore asserted chiefly on a national basis.

Now, this newspaper, which offers its news product for foreign sale, has an undeniable self-interest in nourishing an international climate in which the commercial opportunities for Western media are maintained. But this, of course, is no different from the vested interest that the American media—being free, competitive institutions—have in maintaining the same commercial opportunities at home. It is a simple matter of

principle coinciding with commercial self-interest, and the principle involved here, of course, was set forth at rather early stage in our history, in the first amendment to the Constitution. And if it is a sound principle for us in this country, it follows, or so it seems to us, that it is also a good rule to apply to the communications of ideas abroad; government sponsorship of the gathering or distributing of news, no matter whether the news originates inside a country or from outside, promotes propaganda and deforms the whole idea of a free press. And so, like just about everybody else in our business, we reject the notion that a state should exercise exclusive control—or any control, for that matter—over what news should be published. It is saddening, though perhaps, given its record, not entirely surprising, that this principle should be lost on Unesco and that such an organization, with so much potential for the promotion of free communications, should allow itself to be converted from an instrument for the transmission of ideas into an instrument for the national regulation of ideas.

We are not insensitive to the feeling in some Third World places that they are swamped by the Western media—news agencies, satellites or what have you. In our judgment, however, their proper response is to strengthen their own media, as many (with Western aid) have done. To convert all news to propaganda in the name of combating "cultural imperialism" is simply to follow the Russian example of tailoring mass communications to the convenience of the ruling elite. Obviously the model appeals to a growing number of Third World states. And this, we submit, is a dangerous and dispiriting trend.

—The Washington Post



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RUSSIAN DISSIDENTS SALUTE U.S.

FOURTEEN Soviet political prisoners have sent congratulations to the American people on the Bicentennial, according to a statement from dissidents.

"Neither barbed wire, nor machine guns, nor watchtowers, nor guard dogs—nothing can prevent us, political prisoners of the U.S.S.R., from being together with you at this great hour of world history," the statement said.

The statement, distributed to Western correspondents, carried the names of prisoners that it said were incarcerated in several labor camps throughout the country.

—*International Herald Tribune*, July 6.

PAKISTANI LAWYERS ON DEFENCE OF PAK ACT

PAKISTANI lawyers have demanded an end to the emergency proclaimed when India and Pakistan were "enemy countries."

They have passed a resolution regretting that although hostilities have ended, and diplomatic trade and communication relations been established between the two countries, the Defence of Pakistan law is still in force.

The lawyers have also protested against a government order taking away the right of superior courts to grant bail to people on trial before specially constituted tribunals, such as the tribunal now trying the former president of the banned Awami League, Wali Khan.

The resolution, passed at an emergency meeting here, expressed "grave concern and resentment" at the recent amendments to the Defence of Pakistan law, which further curtail the power of the High Court and the Supreme Court.

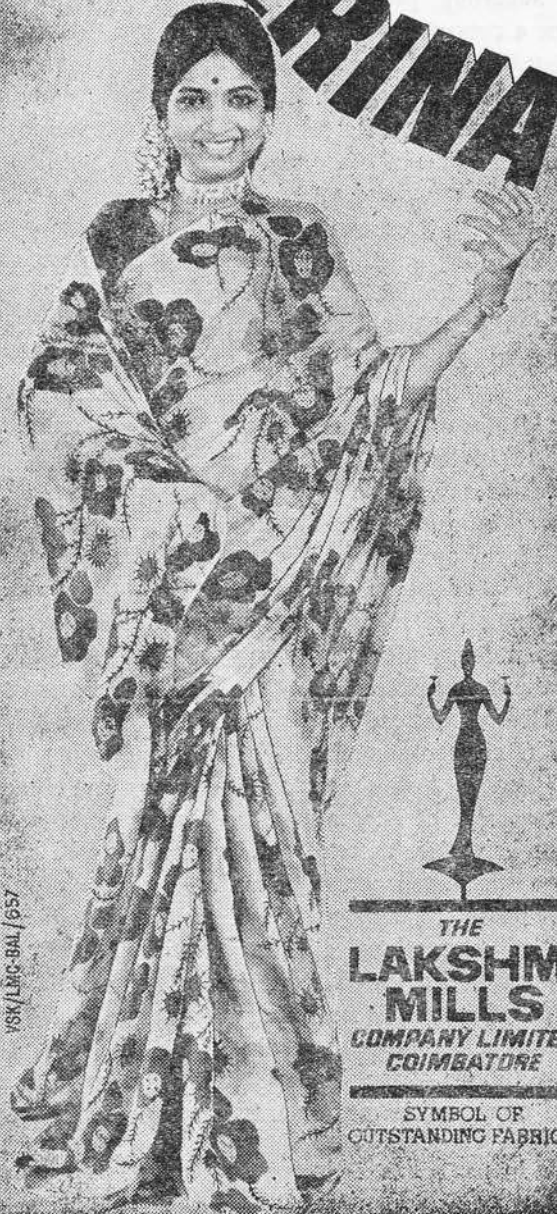
The law had already outlived its usefulness, claim the lawyers, and to allow it to continue with the amendments amounted to strangling political activity and restricting democratic rights.

According to the resolution, the amended law also consolidates "the arbitrary powers of the State apparatus." It is well known that cases registered under the Defence of Pakistan rules are only used for political objectives, claim the lawyers, and cases rarely proceed to the point of a conviction.

As for the new provisions permitting the right of appeal against conviction by a tribunal, the amended law denies the High Court the power to grant bail

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to anyone accused of an offence under the Defence of Pakistan law whether or not an appeal is pending.

This provision, say the lawyers, tramples on people's liberties and disregards the Supreme Court's dictum that bail should not be withheld as punishment. By seeking to curtail the courts' power, however, the amendment amounts to an expression of no confidence in the superior courts by giving preference to special tribunals, mainly comprising executive officials, and is tantamount to ousting the constitutional jurisdiction of the High Court, adds the resolution.

—*The Times*, July 27.

S. AFRICA CENSOR CHANGES HIS MIND

AFTER a seven-year break, South Africans will again be able to obtain copies of the British newspaper *The Sunday People*. In Friday's edition of *The Government Gazette* it was announced that the ban on the paper was being lifted and that it can be imported and distributed once more.

No reason was given why the ban has been removed, nor was any given when it was first imposed on what was then simply *The People*, although, presumably, the paper's underdressed women and titillating stories were deemed to be too much for South African sensibilities.

The paper is just one of the hundreds of publications that fall victim to the heavy hand of the South African censor each year. The blue pencil lists ranges from *Private Eye* to political tracts by Chou En-lai and Kenneth Kaunda, from novels by Vladimir Nabokov to posters advertising after-shave lotions.

Book banning, a columnist remarked recently, has become as much part of South Africa's way of life as *boerewors*, a local brand of sausage. Each week *The Government Gazette* carries the latest list of publications considered undesirable by the directorate of publications. Last week's list included novels by John Masters and by John Carter, a newsletter by the South African Students Organization, a car distributor's calendar and the March edition of *Storage, Handling and Distribution Magazine*.

Occasionally there are also reprieves, such as *The Sunday People*, two Mickey Spillane novels also had the ban lifted last week, and an appeal against the banning of the April edition of *Films and Filming* was upheld.

For those inexperienced with the thought processes of the South African censors, there exists a thick volume entitled *Jacobsen's Index of Objectionable Literature*, which contains a complete list of every prohibited book, magazine, poster, record, calendar, postcard and film.

The book section alone is 305 pages of small print and contains such authors as Norman Mailer, Naomi Mitchison, Mary Benson, Erskine Caldwell, Robert Ruark, Tennessee Williams, Irving Wallace, Kurt Vonnegut, James Baldwin, Gore Vidal and Nadine Gordimer. Banned records include *Jesus Christ Superstar*, *Godspell*, *Hair*, and several songs by the South African singer Miriam Makeba. Even such seemingly harmless items as a T-shirt saying: "Black is beautiful" and a transfer with the words "Don't talk—eat", have fallen foul of the censor.

The arbitrariness of censorship creates anomalies. The play *Same Old Story* by the South African writer Pieter Dirk-Uys is allowed to be performed, but not read in script form. A packaging magazine was banned recently because it carried an advertisement showing two nude women, but the advertisement can still be reproduced elsewhere.

Why the ban should now have been removed on *The Sunday People* is a mystery, except that the paper's contents are now fairly mild compared with the weekly fare offered by South Africa's English-language Sundays. With bare breasts and four letter being seen and heard on the South African stage, the change in public

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attitudes may have started to reach the censors as well.

—Times, June 6.

LIFE IN EGYPT UNDER NASSER

THE first section of a previously unknown chapter from the Nasser era was closed earlier this month when Saleh Naser, former head of the Egyptian secret service "Al Mokhabarat", began serving a prison sentence of 10 years with hard labour.

Naser, aged 55, was tried and found guilty of using torture to extort confessions from a political prisoner. He had earlier been serving a 40-year sentence, started in 1967, for an attempted coup against the late President Nasser.

His trial in Cairo aroused great local interest because it seemed to reflect the continued determination of President Sadat's government to press ahead with more liberal policies and it also made people aware that torture had been practised for a very long time in Egypt.

Although sentence was passed at the end of June, Naser resisted going into prison because he claimed

he was sick as a result of heart trouble. But last week a medical investigation declared him fit to withstand the rigours of imprisonment.

Principal witness in the state's case against Saleh Naser was a well-known Egyptian journalist and one time proprietor of the popular daily newspaper **Al Akhbar**, Mr Moustapha Amin.

Both he and his late twin brother, Ali, once worked for—or had a controlling interest in—such widely circulating publication as **Al Ahram**, **Akher Saa**, **Akhbar-El-Youm** as well as **Alkhbar**.

Married with two grown-up daughters, Mr Amin, aged 62, was once a close personal friend of President Nasser. But in 1965, while Nasser was still alive, he was arrested and jailed for 20 years on the grounds of being an American agent working against the interests of Egypt.

He was pardoned by President Sadat in 1974 and soon after published his best selling book, **My First Year in Prison**, which describes how he was tortured.

"I was frequently whipped, my jaw and teeth were broken, they plucked the hairs out from my chest and groin and then pulled me around the prison cell with a cord tied to my penis", Mr Amin told me in Cairo last week.

Allegations of torture contained in Mr Amin's book led a Cairo lawyer, Mr Abdul Haleem Ramadan, to petition the Attorney-General for an investigation and this formed the basis of Saleh Naser's subsequent trial.

Mr Ramadan, of Dr Abdul Hameed Street, Kasr El Nile, Cairo, says he had met Mr Amin only once before in 1957. He petitioned the Attorney-General because he was appalled to think that any human being should be subjected to the kind of treatment he had undergone.

"Many people in Egypt, including myself, were disgusted to read about the incidents described in Mr Amin's book and in order to reassert the rights of human beings in Egypt I asked the Attorney-General to ascertain whether a crime had been committed by Saleh Naser."

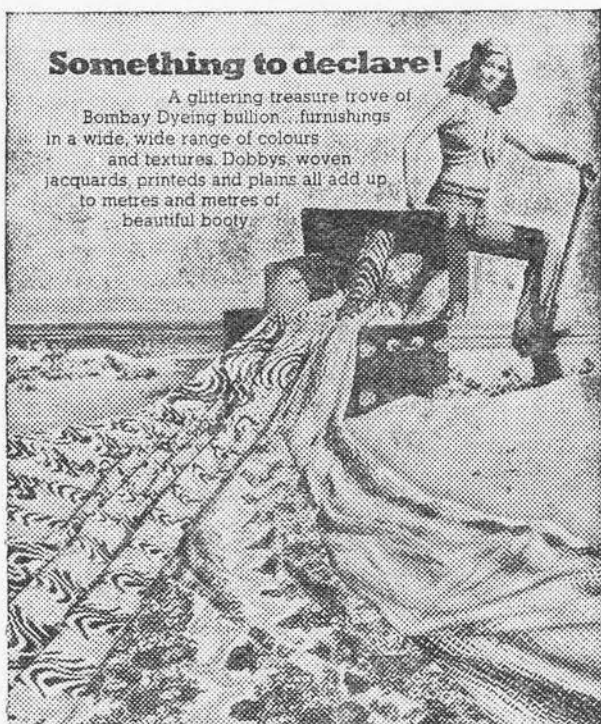
When the trial started the defending lawyer, Dr Ali Raggal, of Oraby Street, Edzbaikaya, Cairo, says he attempted, unsuccessfully, to have his client tried by a special court.

Later, as the trial proceeded, Dr Raggal asked the judges why it should have been necessary to torture Mr Amin, as had been claimed, when the proof of his guilt was available on the day he was arrested.

But Presiding Judge, Mr Anwar Marzouk rejected the defence arguments and imposed the maximum

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sentence of ten years with hard labour on Saleh Naser. Afterwards in his written judgment, he said Naser lacked all humanity.

According to Mr Ramadan, many other Egyptians were tortured and unjustly imprisoned during the years President Nasser ruled Egypt. They are expected to present their cases to the courts within the next few months.

Meanwhile, Mr Moustapha Amin, free and writing once more for **Al Akhbar**, says he holds no grudges against President Nasser, although he believes the late President both sanctioned and approved the use of torture against him.

"I think, because of my background, because I was educated at Georgetown University in Washington and also because I made no secret of my dislike for the communists, Nasser used me to express his hatred of the Americans.

"Of course, despite his errors of judgment and in spite of his Ph.d in dictatorship, he was a great man and achieved many things for Egypt.

"Nevertheless he concentrated too much power in his own hands and this led to malpractices such as the use of torture.

"My main concern is that the cruelties we were exposed to in my generation should not be inflicted on our children and grandchildren.

"Egypt has led the Arab world in many ways. Torture on a significant scale was first started here in 1952, before being copied in other countries like Iraq and Syria.

"I hope the growth of democratic politics in Egypt and the re-birth of our civil rights will also have a spreading-out effect".

—Times, July 26.

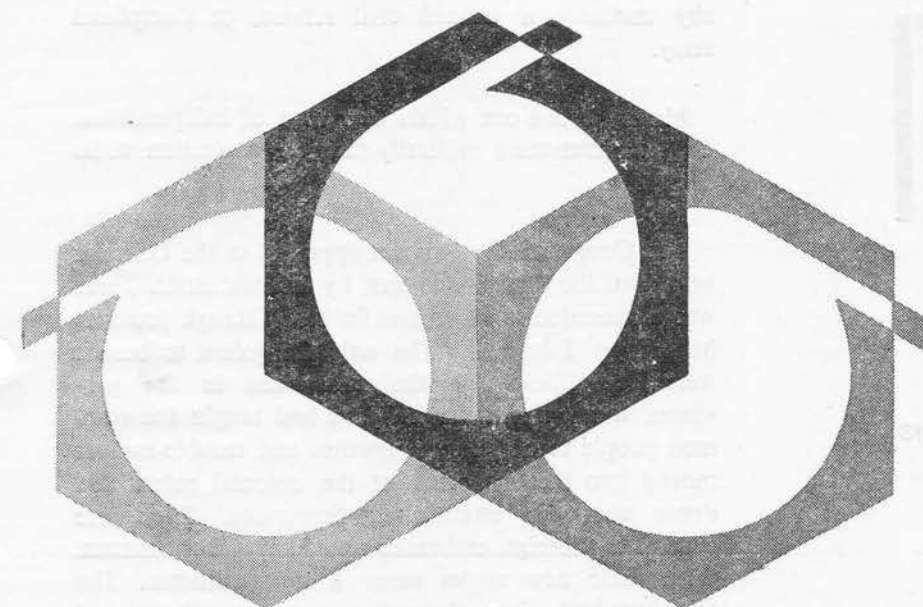
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CONGO REVISITED

A. G. Noorani

WRITING diplomatic memoirs is tricky business. Besides the tricks of memory and the pressing intrusions of hindsight is the temptation to let opinion pass for fact. A diplomatist writing his memoirs should consult the records and check his recollections against them. Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal has done that diligently with the result that his memoirs of the Congo crisis will rank as a work no student can afford to ignore (*Mission for Hammarskjold*; Oxford University Press; Rs. 60).

He did research and wrote the book at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton and the Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars at Washington, D.C. The biblio-

graphy testifies to his labours. But what is more, he has drawn heavily on his correspondence with the U.N. Secretary-General on matters concerning the author's mission to the Congo. Most of it is published for the first time in this book and as *The Economist* remarked Mr. Hammarskjold "burdens himself in an unguarded and idiosyncratic style which betrays emotion as much as thought." Mr. Dayal writes with restraint and dignity, qualities altogether missing in the memoirs of such flamboyant characters as Mr. K. P. S. Menon and Mr. Conor Cruise O'Brien. They differ, of course. Mr. O'Brien is witty, incisive, and erudite and seeks only to impress. Mr. Menon is affable and tries hard to please.

Mr. Dayal was the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the U.N.'s Operations in the Congo (UNOC) from September 8, 1960 to May 27, 1961. The Congo was cynically deprived of all political life by Belgium till it could no longer hold on to its colony. There were few political leaders of any maturity, a trained civil service, or disciplined army.

Mutiny broke out within four days of independence. Belgium intervened militarily "for the protection of its citizens."

The Congolese Government appealed to the U.N. for help. But the Congo was torn by internal strife. There was a secessionist movement in the Katanga province headed by Tshombe. "The only Congolese to benefit were the politicians. At the centre and in the provinces, those whom the Belgians had taught the common people to despise as parasites and trouble-makers moved into the mansions of the colonial rulers and drove about in chauffeured limousines. They were courted by foreign embassies and foreign businessmen. With their new status came a new affluence. The ministers had given themselves generous salaries and other benefits, their political parties had ample funds, and the more unscrupulous among them were supplementing their resources by other means. Few among them knew how to handle their responsibilities, which they left largely to their Belgian advisers and officials. They were too busy with their political intrigues and

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with helping themselves to the best houses and automobiles to have time to attend even their offices. They had voted themselves a fivefold increase in their own salaries, raising them to half a million francs a year."

UN intervention in such a situation was as inescapable as it was fraught with danger. How could it help from "intervening" in the Congo's internal affairs? And if it did not, it might as well have left the country to Belgium or worse. The U.N. managed to do its job none too badly. There were errors and failures. But those who shout about them the most are the ones least qualified to do so. At any rate one needed Mr. H's version and, of course, that of his envoy. This is what Mr. Dayal's book provides us most competently.

There is a careful and authoritative resume of the events of the nine crucial months. It is capped by engaging profiles of Patrice Lumumba and Dag Hammarskjöld. The tragedy of the conflict between the two is best summed up in these words: "Lumumba's suspicious nature, which he shared with many Congolese, led him into serious errors on the international stage, the greatest of which was his opposition to the United Nations. His blind unjustified prejudice against an organization that had come only to serve his people was to cost him dear.

"The rift with Dag Hammarskjöld was a long step in Lumumba's downfall. The Secretary-General had thrown himself with his customary zeal into his task and his support was there for the asking. But the United Nations could act only according to recognized procedures and within certain limitations. The encounter between the African proletarian and the Swedish aristocrat need not have been disastrous. If differences had been confined to principles and methods, there would have been room for adjustment. But when Lumumba impetuously chose to reduce them to personal accusations and innuendoes and above all, to a question of integrity, no common ground was left. The sensitive and cultivated European and the proud and domineering African were thrown apart by an unbridgeable chasm.

"A man who could stand up to his gaolers at Thysville and refuse to compromise to save his life was possessed of no ordinary degree of courage. Lumumba's personal integrity shone like a light in the darkness of the prevailing corruption. But his un-

doubted gifts were eroded by fatal defects of character and temperament. If he had lived, he might have overcome the aberrations of his nature, but time was not on his side. His cruel end was a catastrophe for the Congo and a tragedy for Africa."

It would be vain to deny the U.N.'s failures and lapses. Mr. Dayal makes no such effort. He was a participant and gives his version, which is but expected of him, but without rancour or exaggeration. On the errors, his comment is apt and brief. Hammarskjöld had said that "the responsibility for our mistakes is ours, but not the credit for our achievements." As the Congo imbroglio continued, Mr. Dayal comments, "the achievements were obscured by the mistakes for which the Secretary-General had to take the responsibility. 'On a really clean table-cloth the smallest speck of dirt annoys the eye. At high altitudes, a moment's self-indulgence may mean death.' This saying of Hammarskjöld's provides the answer to his sacrifice in the service of the Congo. A few small specks appearing on the shining surface of his actions in the Congo had a blinding impact on the entire effort."

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

—Tennyson.

All friendships these days are permanent and so is Soviet-Indian friendship.

—G. P. D. in *Economic & Political Weekly*, June 26.

I'm always attracted to Marxism except I can't understand it.

—Prof. A. J. P. Taylor quoted in
Statesman, June 13.

When words don't shout, there is nothing the censors can do to silence them.

—Lehmann-Haupt in *International Herald Tribune*, July 10-11.

Politicians are one group of people who continue not to impress me. I suppose it's because they are making a profession out of what ought to be a vocation.

—John Osborne quoted in *The Statesman*, June 13.

How could Chou En-lai have been fooled by Teng? How could Chairman Mao have been fooled so often? First he was fooled by Liu Shaochi'i, then by Lin Piao, now by Tong Hsiao-p'ing. Who is he going to be fooled by next? No answer.

—Stanley Spector in *Time*, June 21.

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Water taps don't function. Nothing works. Even in the Peking Hotel's new wing there is a bedside radio, but you turn on the switch and nothing happens. There's a beautiful automatic curtain. You press the button. One side closes and the other side doesn't. That's only after a year. In the six weeks of our trip, I counted one flush toilet in the countryside that worked.

—Stanley Spector in *Time*, June 21.

They (the Chinese communists) are having their first doubts about whether Communism is really possible.

—Stanley Spector in *Time*, June 21.

A government that tramples on the rights of its citizens denies the purpose of its existence.

—Henry Kissinger quoted in *Time*, June 21.

President Ford is about as intimate as a marble bust.

—Simon Winchester in *The Guardian* July 17.

After all, we are not living in the days of Mohammed Bin Tughlaq.

—*New Age* Editorial, July 25.

We lost the American colonies because we lacked that statesmanship to know the right time and the manner of yielding what is impossible to keep.

—Queen Elizabeth quoted in

—*The Times* of London, July 7.

When Jimmy Carter was a little boy he chopped down a cherry tree. His father asked, "Jimmy, did you chop down that cherry tree?" Jimmy looked his father straight in the eye and replied, "Perhaps".

—Cato in *National Review*, April 16.

The thrust of Third World rhetoric is that the West is responsible for all its afflictions, and that Western remorse is only acceptable as compassionate tender if it is given in hard cash.

—Daniel Patrick Moynihan in *National Review*, March 5.