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GEETA DOCTOR

WAR AGAINST DISSIDENTS

V. B. Karnik

Communist Russia has restarted its war against dissidents. It had not stopped as a matter of fact at any time since it began with the foundation of the communist state. But for some years in this decade it was much less obtrusive and fierce. With the end of the talks in Belgrade over the implementation of the Helsinki accords on the protection of human rights, the war has begun again with all its terror and violence.

The most notable of the latest victims of the war is Anatoli Shcharansky, a mathematician and computer expert. A young Jewish intellectual that he is, he was keen on emigrating to Israel. Permission to emigrate was refused to him several times. He then came in touch with the dissidents prominent amongst whom were the physicist and Noble Prize-winner, Andrei Sakharov, the scientist, Yuri Orlov and the writer, Alexander Ginsburg. That was enough for the Russian rulers to pick him up as one of their victims.

Shcharansky was arrested in March 1977 on a charge of spying for the United States. He was alleged to have turned over to the West "classified data on the location, staffing and role of a large number of defence industry installations." On his arrest *Tass* had shrieked: "The traitor will be judged according to the full rigour of Soviet law." He was brought to trial after sixteen months in jail when he was not allowed to meet any of his friends or relatives including his wife. Inducements to confess that were offered to him can be gathered from the statement he made in court after his conviction. He said: "During March and April those who were conducting the investigations warned me that with the position I was taking..... and which I am following here in court, I would face a firing squad or 15 years prison at least. But if I agreed to co-operate with the investigation... I was promised quick release and reunification with my wife."

Shcharansky refused to co-operate and was, therefore, sentenced to three years in "close confinement" and ten years in a "strict regime" labour camp after a secret trial lasting five days in July 1978. The trial was labelled as "open", but none of the dissidents or

their relatives were allowed to attend it, not even the Second Secretary of the U.S. Embassy who was sent as an observer as the charge against the prisoner was of spying for that country. An American journalist to whom the secrets were passed on was named, but the only evidence that was produced was a document in Russian which the journalist was compelled to sign while in police custody and which he could not read as he did not know Russian. The journalist stated later that he knew Shcharansky, had discussed with him several times the problems of Jews desirous of emigrating to Israel, but that the talks had never anything to do with military or state secrets.

It is clear from the record that Shcharansky had to suffer the savage punishment meted out to him because of his vigorous efforts to inform the West about the trials and the tribulations of the dissidents and more particularly of Jewish scientists and others anxious to go to Israel. He was also a member of one of the monitoring groups formed by the dissidents to keep an eye on violations of the Helsinki accords. He was active in collecting information about them and publicising it in the West. The communist rulers did not like such information to go out. Hence the trial and the savage sentence.

In the same week two other trials were staged. One was of Alexander Ginzburg and the other of

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

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Viktoras Pektus. One trial took place in Kaluga at a distance of a hundred miles from Moscow and the other in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania. The charge of anti-Soviet activity was common in both, and both ended in conviction and a severe sentence.

Alexander Ginzburg, a well-known writer, is a veteran in the fight for human rights. He has already undergone two sentences, one of two years, and the other of five years. One was a punishment for publishing an unofficial poetry magazine and the other for an unauthorised publication on the trial of dissident writers, Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuri Daniel. The charge in the latest trial was that he was the administrator of a fund set up by the famous exiled writer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn to help Russian political prisoners and their families. The real reason of the trial, however, was that he was the main organiser of the Helsinki accords monitoring groups set up at a number of places. He was brought to trial after seventeen months in secret custody. He was sentenced to eight years imprisonment. His friends are afraid that with the torture undergone in the two previous imprisonments he may not survive this.

The other prisoner, Viktoras Pektus, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. He is a Roman Catholic and was active in voicing the religious and nationalist aspirations of his people in Lithuania. He was also a member of one of the Helsinki monitoring groups. His inclusion in the group shows the wide diversity of the dissidents' movement. It includes within itself scientists and writers and politicians as well as religious dissenters and leaders of minority groups, that is, all those who feel themselves choked by the spreading tentacles of the octopus of the communist state.

The trials have been condemned all over the world by writers and journalists, by parties and politicians and also by leaders of many governments. President Carter condemned them as "an attack on all those who believe in basic human rights". The British Prime Minister, James Callaghan saw in them "the hallmarks of the trials we knew in Stalin's day". The late Pope, Paul VI expressed the opinion that the sentences inflicted with great severity were "unjust and violated the 1975 Helsinki accords". More significant is the criticism voiced by the communist parties of France, Italy and Great Britain. Nearer home the *Times of India* characterised the trials as "mock trials reminiscent of those that disgraced the Soviet Union in the thirties."

The three trials took place in July, but the renewed repressions of the dissidents began in March immediately after the Belgrade meeting held to review the accords reached at Helsinki in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. At the conference Russia had signed accords along with many European nations and U.S.A. guaranteeing human freedom. After the Belgrade meeting Russia should have as a matter of fact improved her behaviour in the field of human rights. But the exposures at the meeting seem to have angered her and that led to a renewed campaign to suppress the dissidents. The day after the meeting ended, the former Red Army General, Pyotr Grigorenko was deprived of his citizenship while recovering after a surgical operation in U.S.A. Less than a

week later the same treatment was accorded to the famous cellist Malislav Rostropovich and his wife, the wellknown singer, Galina Vishnivskaya. Both had received the highest honour of being recognised as "People's Artist". They incurred the displeasure of the regime when they wrote a letter to newspapers supporting the cause of the dissidents. General Grigorenko has been for years supporting the dissidents and demanded justice for them and for national minorities. The three have been accused of "anti-soviet activities." They have offered to go back to Russia if an open trial would be held to enable them to establish their innocence. There is so far no response to the offer.

In May Dr. Yuri Orlov, the founder of the groups set up in 1976 to monitor the Russian implementation of the Helsinki accords, was prosecuted and sentenced to seven years hard labour to be followed by five years of exile. The crime that he was supposed to have committed was "anti-Soviet agitation." The *London Times* has described the trial at which the sentence was pronounced as follows: Dr. Orlov was not allowed to make any statement about his activities or even to question witnesses called for the prosecution. The crowd in the court jeered and laughed, as instructed, no doubt. It was "a show, a circus" protested Mrs. Orlov. Outside the court the Western correspondents and Mr. Orlov's supporters were duly outnumbered by another hostile gathering supposed to represent the affronted Russian public." The trial and the sentence has shocked the democratic conscience all over the world. Even communists have not hesitated to condemn them. About the same time a couple of other members of the monitoring groups were also tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The object of the prosecution appears to be as one writer in the *Herald Tribune* has pointed out, "to annihilate dissidence in the Soviet Union."

One more trial is to take place in the next few days, that of Alexander Podrabinek who was arrested a few months back. Podrabinek is the leading figure of a new human rights group which is collecting information about the use of psychiatry for political purposes. That communist rulers have been sending their political opponents to mental asylums is by now common knowledge. Stories have leaked out, of the inhuman treatment meted out to political prisoners in the asylums. Podrabinek, an eminent psychiatrist himself, has been collecting evidence of such "psychiatric sentencing" and of the torture inflicted on the prisoners condemned to them. He was very successful in sending out that evidence. That is why he was arrested and he is likely to be placed on trial at an early date. Anticipating it, a trial is now taking place in London to investigate complaints about the Russian rulers' use of psychiatry for political purposes. A number of eminent psychiatrists are participating in it and evidence will be tendered before it by some of the Russian dissenters who had the misfortune of being detained in lunatic asylums. The trial has aroused interest all over the world. One cannot be sure if enough evidence will be available and if it will be possible

(Continued on page 12)

FRANKLY SPEAKING . . .

"Romantic and Revolutionary" ?

Maharashtra's Education Minister Prof. Sadanand Varde is quite right in describing the action of some 150 students (out of a total student population of over 75,000) in taking possession of the University Building and issuing diktats 'dismissing' officials as "high handed, uncalled for and without any provocation from the side of the government."

On August 8, these 150 students captured the University Building, refused University employees admittance and occupied the Vice Chancellor's room. One of them posing as the Student Vice-Chancellor gave a series of decisions including one cancelling the fee rise (already suspended by the Government) and dismissing the principals of three city colleges.

What is the attitude of the silent majority of students? Even as this group of 150 students of whom 50 were girls, were indulging in what they considered "romantic and revolutionary action" to quote Prof. Varde more than 100 city colleges affiliated to the University functioned normally.

Students are perhaps justified in resenting the steep rise in fees. In fact for the kind of education imparted by our educational institutions, even the existing levels can be too high. But the fee rise agitation was really a cover for other demands which if conceded will further erode the already poor quality of education. Look at the "decisions" taken by the students during their day long control of the campus. One was to scrap the present system of examinations and the other that the medium of instruction would henceforth be Marathi. Marathi is a fine language but can it serve the needs of higher education?

The Chief Minister declined to intervene on the ground that he believed in University autonomy and the fact that the Vice Chancellor had requested the Maharashtra government not to send the police inside the campus. The Vice Chancellor took shelter for his inaction on the ground that the students agitation was aimed at the State Government and not the University, as it was the former that had enhanced fees.

Why not a poll among the student community to find out what they think of what happened on August 8? It might also be revealing if someone were to do a little research into the economic and social background of the 150 militants who held the campus to ransom. Incidentally it might also be worthwhile to look into the academic record and performance of these 150. — R

Media Wars

It is hardly a compliment to the media, by which we mean the ubiquitous, but indiscriminating eye of the television camera and syndicated newspaper columns circling the globe, that they have been able to standardize every event, so that real wars appear like games of chess, and a game of chess is made to seem like the last desperate struggle in a cataclysmic confrontation.

The current battle going on in the hitherto unheard of city of Baguio, in the Philippines, but now become famous as an instant "alpine resort" has all the makings of a grand epic, with the forces of light, goodness, freedom, hope etc. ranged on the side of the dissident grandmaster, as he is called, Viktor Korchnoi against the Soviet champion, Anatoly Karpov, who with the epithet, "conformist" in front of his name, has been condemned to the darkest depths of public sentiment. Viktor Korchnoi is blessed with an "artistic temperament" a wife and a son, whom he tragically left behind when he defected to the West. One will never know whether Madame Korchnoi drove her husband out of the country by giving him cabbage soup every day or whether his son was a pestilent brat who never mastered the Russian alphabet, for the script requires them to be "pawns" in the "cold war" that Korchnoi is waging single handed over the chess table at Baguio. Anatoly Karpov, on the other hand, twenty years younger than Korchnoi, has apparently no family, no sex life, no creative temperament, and from the records seems to have been spawned, with malicious intent no doubt, within the sinister Soviet system for, according to one commentator, "He represents the successful end-product which Soviet society seeks to produce in conferring so many advantages on its sportsmen."

The preliminary manoeuvres in the "psychological warfare" which is seen as an integral part of the game included such astonishing allegations as that the chair that Korchnoi was using, could have been wired, to monitor electrical impulses, and that the yogurt ordered by Karpov might have been filled with a secret code (carried perhaps by KGB indoctrinated bacteria?). Korchnoi has hinted that the Russian officials accompanying Karpov may try to use hypnosis to deflect his mental processes and that if he succeeds against Karpov, they might even kill him. With the games still at an early stage and with each grandmaster having secured a win, a long way off yet from the mandatory six victories for the winner, there is some more time before it can be seen whether the Soviets do indeed take their chess so seriously.

If the past is any indication, it would seem that even Catherine the Great of Russia was not beyond cheating in chess. Robert Houdin, the famous magician, describes in his memoirs, how, a famous robot in the costume of a turbaned Turk, which defeated the whole chess world towards the end of the 18th century, was really the combined effort of a rebel (or could it be dissident) Russian noble, called Warousky, and a Viennese inventor named de Kempelen. Warousky had both of his legs amputated just below his torso in an unsuccessful revolt against Catherine and was convalescing playing chess in bed, when de Kempelen thought of a plan which could both get him out of Russia and use his talents at chess. The ingenious automaton which he created, could be inspected before the game began and consisted of a box with levers to move the arms of the robot, which was dressed in the swirling robes of an eastern potentate. After the preliminary inspection and in the midst of whirring

noises created by de Kempelen's machinery, Warousky could get inside the box undetected and make his moves.

So successful was he, that the Empress herself wanted to play against the automaton and in one of the most classic situations the rebel was brought before the Empress. Catherine, who was not as good a player as she imagined, is said to have started cheating the moment she lost her bishop which she quietly moved back to a better spot. Whereupon Warousky immediately placed it back. Catherine cheated again, at which point, the rebel leader's artistic temperament got the better of him as he swept all the pieces off the table. De Kempelen who realised that they would both be executed if they were discovered, reacted, by immediately switching off the whirring mechanism, thus convincing the Empress that the automaton had broken down. She was nevertheless so impressed that she insisted on giving both, de Kempelen and his automaton, a royal escort until they were safely out of Russia.

Could such a story have been possible under the all seeing eye of the media? It's not likely. For the eye does not serve the purpose of romance but of commerce and if there are any doubts about this, it may be observed, that long after the Korchnoi-Karpov game is over and no matter what its outcome, the Chess industry, which has already come out with an enormous range of books, tips, chess kits and special sets, will bring out a blow by blow account of "The Battle of Baguio". —G

An Obnoxious Measure

Arunachal Pradesh is the third State in India to enact legislation against religious conversions, the first two to enjoy this dubious distinction being Madhya Pradesh and Orissa who rammed their legislation through during the Emergency with the blessings of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The Arunachal Pradesh enactment entitled the Arunachal Pradesh Freedom of Indigenous Faith Bill 1978 awaits Presidential assent before it becomes law.

A Member of Parliament from Nagaland, Mrs. Rono Shaiza has described the Arunachal measure as "unconstitutional and anti-Christian". And so it is. It is also illiberal. As the Catholic journal *The Examiner* points out in its editorial (July 15) "the definition of 'indigenous faith' in the bill, in fact, makes it evident that the bill has been designed to prevent all conversions to any other religion, except Buddhism and Hinduism from the tribal religions."

The bill seeks to penalise those who seek to convert through "force", "fraud", or "inducement". On the face of it, these criteria are unexceptionable. But the catch lies in the meanings attributed to these words in the bill. "Force" for instance includes "threat of divine displeasure", "fraud" covers in its ambit "misrepresentation or any other fraudulent contrivance", and "inducement" would also mean "offer of any gift or gratification... pecuniary or otherwise".

The *Examiner* editorial is of the view that the Bill is intended to keep Christian Missionaries out

of Arunachal Pradesh and points out the facilities being extended to a Hindu missionary organisation to carry on educational and social service activities. While the Hindu missionaries referred to have indeed been rendering yeoman service to the community, surely they would neither have sought nor expected the Government's assistance in monopolising work among tribals. There is so much to be done that there is room for all comers.

This is not the first time that Christian missionaries have been under attack particularly in the North East. The Bill is politically motivated based on a fear that missionary activity would produce a rebellious populace. This is short sighted. The Government should realise that Christian evangelists help keep Marxist missionaries at bay.

The restiveness among the people in Nagaland and what was once NEFA from which Arunachal Pradesh was carved out, lies in the refusal by our rulers to accept the fact that the people in this part of India are ethnically different from the rest of India and as such need to be given the maximum autonomy to develop themselves.

The Janata Party's record in the matter of the restoration of civil rights has been excellent and it is to be hoped that they will endeavour to see that the President's assent is withheld. —R

The 'R Document' Uncensored

Freedom First carried in October 1976 a review of the *R Document* a work of fiction by novelist Irving Wallace. The story revolved around a conspiracy to destroy democracy in the United States. The book released during the Emergency was a best seller in India and there were many who wondered how the censors permitted it — so relevant was its theme to what prevailed then.

I have just seen a U.S. edition of the book and discovered that the Censors had indeed taken notice. The Indian edition deleted the following sentences that appear in the U.S. edition:

"That's what they said in India in 1962", said Pierce. "They had an emergency and they suspended their Bill of Rights. It remained suspended for six years. Then they suspended it again in 1975."

The context was a TV debate between the supporters and the opponents of an amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would enable the Bill of Rights to be suspended during times of internal emergency. —R

Continued on page 8)

CONTRIBUTIONS

Contributions not exceeding 1200 words are invited on topics of current interest. Should be crisp, written in good English and typed in double spacing.

There is a token honorarium for contributions accepted for publication. Those that are not, will be returned if accompanied by adequately stamped self-addressed envelopes.

Editors

"FRIGHTENING, YET INVALUABLE"

Bernard Levin

Mr. Bernard Levin is a favourite with readers of FREEDOM FIRST. For depth of understanding, style and above all the feeling with which he writes Levin is hard to beat. Recently, Levin wrote a series of three articles on the two reports of the Shah Commission. Space, alas, prevents us from reproducing them in full. However we publish below extracts and hope that we have been able to retain the Levin flavour — Ed.

"The lies that gave Mrs Gandhi total power"

The euphoria provoked by the overthrow of Mrs Gandhi in the election of 1977, and hopes inspired by the installation of Mr Desai as Prime Minister at the head of the Janata coalition government, were too intense not to lead to some disappointment, both in India and among her friends elsewhere, when the full daylight of sober reality broke after the heady dawn. There have been signs — though by no means conclusive ones — that many Indian voters have already forgotten the good reasons for which they threw Mrs Gandhi and her whole crew out of office on what still seems to me to have been the very last occasion — i.e., the last democratic election she would have permitted — on which it would have been possible. She has had some successes in state elections; for a time she appeared to have routed completely the opposition to her within the Congress Party; and her brazen lack of repentance for what she had done had led her opponents to seem at times as though they, not she, were (and should be) on the defensive.

... I have before me the two volumes of the Commission's published report, and have been through them with care. And it now seems to me well worth my spending all three of my columns this week in presenting the story of what Mrs Gandhi and her cronies (especially her son) actually did in the 20 months between her seizure of dictatorial powers and her overthrow. I do this partly because otherwise it cannot be long now before her sycophants here, emboldened by her political survival and indeed politically flourishing condition, begin to tell once again how devoted she was and is to the democratic ideal, how mild and in any case inescapable were the measures she took against the most intransigent of her opponents, how cruelly exaggerated were the stories of injustice, censorship and brutality, and how of course she had no knowledge of the excesses committed by officials and others, to which she would certainly have put a stop if she had known about them — and, *did* put a stop as soon as she did know about them. But I have another purpose in examining her record in this place. The ambitions and qualities that carried Mrs Gandhi and her colleagues down the road they travelled are by no means unknown here; indeed some of the attitudes displayed will be horribly familiar. And I write, therefore, in the hope that those of my readers who still need to learn that it *can* happen here — or indeed anywhere — will have their British eyes opened by my Indian examples.

I begin today with the letter Mrs Gandhi sent to the President of India asking him to declare the Proclamation of Emergency.....

There are two claims in Mrs Gandhi's letter (the rest of it does not affect either of them in any way): first, that she had information that there was imminent danger to India's security caused by internal disturbance, and that the matter was extremely urgent; and second that it was impossible to consult (or indeed inform) the Cabinet.

The Shah Commission investigated in detail the claims which led to the Emergency. On the question of internal disturbance so serious that it posed an imminent threat to India's security, they report as follows:

"On the economic front there was nothing alarming. On the contrary, the whole-sale price had declined by 7.4%... On the law and order front, the fortnightly reports sent by the Governors of various States to the President of India and by the Chief Secretaries of the States to the Union Home Secretary indicated that the law and order situation was under complete control all over the country..."

So much for the claim that there was so grave an internal disturbance that democratic procedures had to be suspended. Now for the claim that the danger was so imminent that there had been no time, and there was no time, for the Cabinet to be consulted...the Shah Commission found that:

"The decision to take certain drastic steps including even the declaration of Emergency was, apparently, in contemplation even as early as June 22.

"According to the Lt. Governor, Delhi, even as early as the evening of 23rd, a decision had been taken to take the Opposition leaders into custody soon after the Opposition rally, scheduled for June 24, was held. Lists of the Opposition leaders who were to be arrested were also under preparation.

"Efforts were also made to ensure that some important newspapers were prevented from bringing out the morning editions on June 26, 1975...."

"The conclusion appears that the one and the only motivating force for tendering the extraordinary advice to the President to declare an 'internal emergency' was the decision of the Allahabad High Court...."

In conclusion ... I must add that even before the Emergency was proclaimed on fraudulent grounds, Mrs Gandhi and her party's officials had repeatedly broken the law in organising a campaign against the High Court ruling that she was unseated and disqualified. Buses and trucks were commandeered illegally to bring her supporters to "spontaneous" rallies in Delhi; government employees were likewise dragooned into party work, contrary to law; even the aircraft of the Indian Air Force

were used; legal prohibitions on meetings and demonstrations were ignored when it was Mrs Gandhi's party who were organising them.

The picture is clear; Mrs Gandhi, having been judicially disqualified from remaining as Prime Minister, on grounds of having engaged in corrupt practices, first presided over wholesale breaches of the law in presenting a false appearance of widespread popular opposition to the verdict, then realised that democracy would have to be suspended if she was to continue in office though disqualified, and planned its suspension; then lied to the President about conditions in the country and lied again in claiming that the necessary conditions for the Emergency which she had already planned had come upon her so suddenly that she was unable to consult the Cabinet.

"How Mrs Gandhi gagged the press by the flick of a switch"

...It may be recalled that one of the more monstrous deceptions for which Mrs Gandhi was responsible during the Emergency (on a widely publicized visit to Sri Lanka, for instance) was that there was no pre-censorship of newspapers and magazines. Even at the time, on the sketchy information available to me, I demonstrated the cynical falsity of her claim; but the Shah Commission, which has gone into the question in exhaustive detail, shows that the censorship was far more widespread and intense, and the viciousness with which those who defied it were pursued far greater, than even I had supposed.

Here are the Commission's conclusions, based on the voluminous evidence heard in the course of the Inquiry:

"The media policy of the Government was enunciated by the then Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, at a high level meeting which was held under her chairmanship on July 26, 1975.....

".....Mrs Gandhi had said (at this meeting) that it was the newspapers which were inciting the people and creating a terrible situation. According to her, the agitation was only in the newspapers and once the newspapers were placed under censorship there was no agitation.

"The reasons for the measures taken against the media in general and the press in particular was to keep the public in ignorance and instil fear in them thereby suppressing dissent in every form, individual, political, parliamentary and judicial, and that it was used as an instrument of news management aimed at thought control....."

While the details and methods of the censorship were being worked out, which took a little while, the desired effects were achieved the Commission found, by the authorities simply cutting off the electricity supply to the newspapers; the orders to take this step were, even under the terms of the Emergency by then in force, illegal.....

But censorship was only one of the means used by Mrs Gandhi to extend and consolidate her dictatorial powers. Individual journalists were harassed

(e.g., by having their accreditation cancelled), foreign correspondents stationed in India were obliged to sign a bond agreeing to abide by the pre-censorship laws, and Indian correspondents of foreign publication were particularly subject to pressure ...

Of course, one of Mrs Gandhi's first moves was to turn All India Radio into an instrument of propaganda for her and her regime. A single excerpt from the Commission's report makes clear the effect of the action.

"The slant against the opposition was so obvious that in December 1976, AIR bulletins devoted 2,207 lines to the spokesman of the Congress Party as against 34 lines to the opposition. In December 1974, the same figures had been 571 and 522 respectively."

But no means of communication was left untouched:

"A number of films were produced by the Films Division to project the image of Shri Sanjay Gandhi not only as a Youth Leader but as a leader in his own right.

"The other Government media, i.e. Directorate of Field Publicity, Song and Drama Division, were also asked to project the image of Mrs Gandhi and the Congress Party....."

A fraudulent Emergency, improperly imposed for improper motives; rigid and comprehensive censorship to prevent the truth being known; propaganda to ensure that lies were disseminated instead; but all this would have been of no avail without the most sinister and disgraceful of all Mrs Gandhi's actions under the Emergency — the arrest and detention (without trial) of her opponents or potential opponents.

"Jail without trial: Mrs Gandhi's way of dealing with critics"

...The Proclamation of Emergency, as I have shown was fraudulently obtained, and was probably thus illegal *ab initio*; but even if it had not been, many of the arrests and detentions ordered under it were themselves illegal, the failure to comply with the law and the safeguards it provided being widespread. And of course of those who were detained even without incidental illegality, a very large number were arrested not because they were, or even were thought to be, a danger to the state, but solely because they might thwart Mrs Gandhi's assumption of absolute rule.

The Shah Commission summarizes this particular aspect of Mrs Gandhi's Emergency in the following terms:

"In Delhi and in the States, which had advance information about the promulgation of Emergency, a large number of arrests/detentions followed in which the safeguards guaranteed against the misuse of the Act were ignored and grounds of detentions were not furnished in a large number of cases and even pre-dated and sent many days after the persons concerned had been arrested/detained in jails. In

(Continued on page 12)

HUMOUR IN LAW

K. S. Venkateswaran

AMONG the many erroneous beliefs consecrated by common acceptance as a truism is the proverbial dullness and solemnity of the law. An assumption by constant repetition has become a conviction in most minds that law and humour go ill together. This is indeed far from the truth. For, the long tradition of fine language and penetrating wit has produced many flowers which have brought so much dash and colour to the sombre proceedings of the law.

Undoubtedly, the Victorian and Edwardian times, when pugnacious advocacy and a lick of greasepaint were in vogue, provides the richest store of robust humour and delicious wit. The spontaneous hilarity of legal luminaries like Lord Bowen, Cyril Asquith, Lord Darling, Frank Lockwood and Raymond Evershed still offer countless hours of sheer delight to lawyers and laymen alike.

The sardonic humour of Judge Greenberg, for instance, gave rise to many interesting stories. One of these concerned a trial by jury where the accused, though palpably guilty, was acquitted by the jury. Being firmly of the conviction that the verdict was a perverse one, Greenberg leant forward and asked the foreman on what grounds did they return a verdict of not guilty. "Insane, My Lord" replied the foreman solemnly, "insane", although no defence of insanity had been raised. "What," said Greenberg, "surely not all nine of you!"

On another occasion, the same Judge was presiding over the trial of a coloured man. The man who had been found guilty protested his innocence in violent terms. "May God strike me down if I am guilty." Greenberg waited, silent, for a moment, and then said, "As the Almighty has decided not to answer your invitation, it now remains for me to pass sentence."

No one enjoyed a cross-talk with Counsel more than Lord Darling, who was among the wittiest men ever to sit on the English Bench. In the course of a trial, Counsel referred to the famous music-hall, Colosseum, and his lordship could not resist his cue. "Is that the place where they used to throw Christians as food to the lions?" "No, M'lud," replied Counsel solemnly, "I am not referring to that place in London where Lyons throw food to the Christians." The joke in this case, of course, is that the great London firm of Lyons, with its restaurants all over the city, is a Jewish firm.

One weakness which Lord Darling shared with so many other Judges of the old school was to delight in pawky humour by pretending ignorance of a person, especially one of the theatrical profession, even if his or her name was a household word. There was the case, for instance, involving George Robey, perhaps the most celebrated music-hall artiste of all time. His counsel, during the course of the case, said, "My next witness, My Lord, is Mr. George Robey." "And who," queried Darling, "is Mr. George Robey?" Quick as a flash came the reply from Counsel, "Mr. George Robey, My Lord, is the darling of the music halls!"

With Lord Darling irony was a lively weapon. In a certain case, Counsel had asked for a three months' adjournment to have certain German docu-

ments translated. "Why three months?" asked Darling. "Because the documents which require translation are so technical," explained Counsel. "Rather a good idea occurred to me," said the Judge thoughtfully, "Why not go to someone who knows German already?"

That judges love to pull each others' legs is best illustrated by the following story. Queen Victoria was to make one of her increasingly rare public appearances at the opening of the Royal Courts of Justice in England in 1882. The Chancellor, Lord Selbourne, called a meeting of the Judges, at which the draft of an address to the Queen was considered. It began, "We, Your Majesty's Judges, conscious as we are of our manifold defects..." whereat Jessel M.R. strongly objected, saying, "I am not conscious of manifold defects; and if I were I should not be fit to sit on the Bench." After some further discussion, Lord Justice Bowen suggested a characteristic compromise. "Why not say 'conscious as we are of the manifold defects of each other.?"

Then there was Lord Coleridge who, silver-tongued and erudite, had a neat turn of phrase. In the course of a technical case of copyright, he observed: "Even in music, there is a variety of opinion. Some love their Bach often, while others prefer their Offenbach."

A story, almost invariably misquoted, concerns a certain conscientious solicitor who, after winning a hard-fought case, thought it would be a nice gesture to wire the pleasant tidings to his client who might be anxious as to the result. "Justice has triumphed," he cabled crisply. The reply was most unexpected: "Appeal at once."

And finally, there is this interesting anecdote about Lord Chief Justice O'Brien, familiarly known as 'Pether', who had an eye for the ladies. In a certain case which was not going rather well for the defence, Counsel decided to play his last desperate card by putting a girl in the witness box. Although her evidence was neither weighty nor relevant, there could be no mistaking the fact that she was the prettiest colleen ever to turn a jury's head. 'Pether' certainly thought so and proceeded to warm the defence with reassuring smiles at the witness. All of a sudden, catching a grin on the face of the cunning barrister, he collected himself. "This will not do," he warned Counsel. "There may have been occasions in the distant past when testimony of that kind might have affected me, but not today. Mr. Kelly, I am now an extinct volcano." "I don't know, My Lord," said Kelly graciously, "There might still be a few rumbles in the old crater yet."

NO MORE PREFERENCE

Union Finance Minister H. M. Patel deserves to be congratulated for his announcement in the Lok Sabha that the policy of giving ten per cent price preference to public sector undertakings is being withdrawn.

This ten percent business was really intended to pad the inefficiency of public sector undertakings with the taxpayers' money. One could not agree more with Mr. Patel's statement that the withdrawal of the price preference would make public sector undertakings more efficient.

It's a Dog's World After all

Some people believe that you can tell a nation's character by the way it treats its animals. The British for example, who were once looked upon as the most civilized people in the world, set the standard, by making sure that their children were always locked up in gloomy boarding schools while their pets lolled about in their mistresses' laps. While the French, who are famous for their extreme elegance and fashion sense, are personified in that most absurd of all animals, the poodle, which even bears their name. For sheer practicality however there is nothing to beat the Chinese who have learnt to cook their dogs and eat them. This was brought home, most vividly, to us during a sojourn in S.E. Asia, where we once owned a strange little dog. A mixture between a Pomeranian and a Pekinese, the dog was named, without much attempts at originality, Fluffy, though what distinguished it, was, that it had the most extraordinary pair of pink eyes. This frequently led people to wonder whether its mother had by chance formed a mis-alliance with a rabbit, which is why we never found it surprising that whenever we took it on jaunts into the countryside, the entire Chinese part of the population would come running after the dog. Poor Fluffy's pink eyes would widen with terror on such occasions and she would rush for cover into the safety of the car. It was only much later that we realised why. She belonged to a breed that was regarded as a great delicacy in those parts and excited the salivary glands of a Chinaman much as a bowl of snails or frogs legs might a Frenchman.

As to the Indian attitude in these matters, one can imagine how seriously animals are regarded by the fact that in the middle of the Janata crisis, All India Radio took time off during its daily morning news bulletin to announce that the fire-men of Poona had rescued a dog from a well, by lowering a basket and coaxing the dog to jump into it. The same week a cat got stuck on a palm tree in our neighbourhood and the Fire brigade was summoned. In the midst of pouring rain and a host of anxious spectators the intrepid fire men tried to put up their ladder and in the process frightened the cat so much that it came running down on its own. There was tremendous cheering and the noble citizens who had called the fire brigade all went back home feeling even more noble. Only the beggars were left to sit out the night in the rain. Nobody thought of rescuing them, probably because as the saying goes, 'they were just working out their bad karma'. —G

A Stupid Decision

There used to be a time when one could with some justifiable pride proclaim that he or she was a graduate of Bombay University. Today this University appears to be competing with others in a race to prove that their standards are falling fastest. University administration is in a mess; a whole mass of new rules has made the life of its teachers miserable; University employees at the time of writing are agitating. And now the authorities have come up with a new one aimed at that hated symbol

of colonialism — the English language. It has been decided that English will not be an optional subject at the first year B.A. level. The new optional language courses open to students are French and German or any other Indian language. The new B.A. course does not have a compulsory English paper for second year students. Last year it was decided to exclude compulsory English from both Commerce and Science courses. And yet in the large number of Colleges affiliated to the University, English continues to be the medium of instruction.

Teachers of English are understandably agitated. They have reason to be. They are likely to lose their jobs unless of course they can teach German or French or some Indian language like say Ardhamagadhi! They met in a conference recently and demanded that the University rescind its order.

If the idea is to develop Indian languages, a laudable objective no doubt, surely it should be possible for our educators to evolve a suitable plan without injuring the process of education and rendering people unemployed in the process. If the plan is to boost or develop a national swadeshi language, why can't they think in terms of a gradually evolving scheme that would, hopefully, catch on, over the years. But then the problem is which language? Hindi? Ask the South. Unless of course our educationists are thinking in terms of German or French. German at least does not carry the colonial stink in India! —R

SOUND ADVICE

According to Sarva Seva Sangh, President Acharya Ramamurty, Vinoba Bhave is reported to have advised Mrs. Gandhi to renounce politics and devote herself to constructive programmes.

Vinoba Bhave who observed a deafening silence during the Emergency has been credited with lending respectability to Mrs. Gandhi's regime during the Emergency. Uncharitable critics even described him as a "Sarkari Sant". It is to be hoped that Mrs. Gandhi will give his advice serious consideration.

The measure of achievement



99 years ago, we were a single, simple dyeing unit. Today, our textile complex is one of the largest in the world. In 1977, sales crossed the Rs. 80-crore mark.

Our manufacturing facilities are very modern and highly automated. We have one of the largest loomsheds—2,160 automatic looms under one roof!

We were the first cotton textile mill to install the revolutionary ultra high speed Sulzer shuttleless weaving machines in India. The first to produce terry towels on automatic jacquard looms. And one of the first to install a rotary screen printing machine.

Our fabrics are exported to all the sophisticated fashion centres in the world. In 1977 alone, exports exceeded Rs. 17 crores. Taking our total export earnings since Independence to Rs. 193 crores—which is one-tenth of India's exports of cotton textiles! This export performance has earned for us, over the years, several awards:

- The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry 1972 Award for pioneering export achievement.
- The Government of India Award for outstanding achievement in export promotion for 1972-73.
- The Government of Maharashtra Directorate of Industries Prize for best export performance for 1973-74.
- The Texprocil Award for outstanding export performance in 1976-77.

How's that for achievement?

BOMBAY DYEING

INDIA'S NEW PRINCES

S. V. Raju

Mr. Enoch Powell M.P., is known in India as an immigrant baiter. But he revealed another, more pleasant aspect to his personality. He is a conscientious MP who, judging by what he told the House of Commons recently, has no desire to live off politics.

Like their counterparts in India, Britain's MPs decided it was time to give themselves a raise. And they went about it with commendable despatch. A 10% raise was settled without even a vote in the House! Curiously, according to a *Guardian* report, only a few MPs attended the session that decided to give its members a pay rise. One voice that protested against the decision was that of Enoch Powell. He, in fact, not only was against the increase but advocated that MPs should not take any salary at all. "It ought to be a privilege and a privilege," he said, "which requires some sort of sacrifice to belong to this House." And added: "What we are in fact doing is voting ourselves an offset to the deterioration in the value of money for which we ourselves are responsible." To Enoch Powell what the MPs were doing was a "shameful thing."

If such is the situation with the Mother of Parliaments, what should one say about one of its daughters — the Parliament of India. Our MPs, in this land of 'socialism,' believe in living it up too.

India Today (August 1-15) has done the public a service by doing a little research into the pay and perquisites of the representatives of our people. The following is based on their findings. The basic source of their information is the *Salaries and Other Facilities of Legislators in India* published by the Lok Sabha:

Pay & Allowances

Monthly salary — (Tax free) Rs. 500.00

Allowance for expenditure on housing, postage, water, electricity, constituency and secretarial facilities — per month — (Tax free) Rs. 500.00

Attendance allowance during sessions of Parliament — per day — (tax free) Rs. 51.00

Note: If absent from the session for less than fifteen days because of a visit to some other place on official business, an MP can claim travelling allowance or the daily allowance, whichever is less.

Travel:

Number of air trips per year (anywhere in India) 10

Note: This is in addition to a free first class railway pass to travel anywhere in India.

Telephone:

Two rent free telephones. One at the MP's Delhi residence and the other at any other place suggested by him.

Number of free local calls per year on each telephone: 7,500

Accommodation

The rent for the spacious accommodation to be provided is 25% less than the monthly rental of the residence.

Medical benefits

The MP and his or her family are entitled to free medical treatment under the Central Government Health Scheme.

Pension

Rs. 500 a month if an ex MP has served two full terms.

Other Fringe Benefits

Allotment of Delhi Development Authority flats, plots; HMT watches (on payment but gets priority); preferential treatment in securing scarce consumer items; and subsidised meals and refreshments from the canteen in Parliament House.

In order words:

An MP takes home Rs. 33,228 a year; the free air trips cost Rs. 13,000 per MP per year; the telephone facilities another Rs. 5,700 per MP per year; the House Allowance means Rs. 8,088 per annum and the Daily Allowance averages Rs. 7,140 per MP per year.

The Pension scheme for MPs will cost the exchequer Rs. 30 lakhs this year and will progressively increase by Rs. 10 lakhs each time.

Parliament, it will be recalled, reneged on a solemn commitment to the erstwhile Princes by abolishing their Privy Purses which were programmed to shrink in quantum each year. The "privy pensions" on the other hand will in years to come have snowballed into quite an astronomical figure.

And who pays for all this? We the tax payers, of course. Would it therefore be too much to ask our new princes to keep this in mind when the next Budget is round the corner?

Good Roads do most to develop the country and
**CONCRETE
ROADS*
ARE BEST**



MUSINGS ON PROHIBITION

Col. H. R. Pasricha (Retd.)

"The greatest and wisest of mankind will be almost always found to be meanest i.e. the ones who have kept the mean best between excesses of either virtue or vice.

"Virtue to be serviceable must, like gold be alloyed with some commoner but more durable metal. There is no useful virtue which has not some alloy of vice, and hardly any vice, if any, which carries not with it a little dash of virtue; Virtue and vice are like life and death or mind and matter."

Samuel Butler.

"The sway of alcohol over mankind is unquestionably due to its power to stimulate the mystical faculties in human nature, usually crushed to earth by the cold facts and dry criticisms of the sober hour. Sobriety diminishes, discriminates and says no. Drunkenness expands, unites and says yes. It is in fact the great excitor of the yes function in man. It brings its votary from the chill periphery of things into the radiant core. It makes him, for the moment, one with truth. Not through mere perversity do men run after it. To the poor and unlettered, it stands in place of symphony, concerts, and literature; and it is part of the deeper mystery and tragedy of life that whiffs and gleams of something that we immediately recognise as excellent should be vouchsafed to so many of us through the fleeting earlier phase of what, in its totality, is so degrading a poison. The drunken consciousness is one bit of the mystic consciousness, and our total opinion of it must find its place in our opinion of that larger whole."

Aldous Huxley.

So what say our Khaddar clad leaders. You must not forget that Butler and Huxley were after all

part of a materialist milieu. Not for us steeped as we are in our superior ancient spiritual heritage. After all when the western man was jumping from tree to tree this ancient land was.....

It is an unmistakable sign of mental immaturity or senility (in reality they are akin) to be rigidly convinced that law can successfully prevent a whole nation from imbibing what it likes. The Achilles Heel in this case is the agency for implementation which is already riddled with corruption. Only a moron can fail to see the wide spread corruption that would result from enforced prohibition.

It is a negation of democratic freedom for anyone, no matter how highly placed, to arrogate to himself the right and privilege of forcing his personal conviction down the throats of a nation in the name of virtue or welfare of the masses who would themselves resent the measures enforced in their name.

For one man to decide what is good for a nation in the matter of food or drink is dictatorship of the worst kind. A nation that servilely accepts such a dictatorial imposition without fighting against it is impotent and decadent. It does not understand the essence of democracy. Political expediency as justification for silent submission is not a valid excuse. It is an indication of political spinelessness. Devious persons make politics synonymous with hypocrisy and duplicity.

WELL DESERVED AWARD

Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin have won the 1978 gold medallion of the Society of Man.

Certainly well deserved despite Begin's recent outburst in the Knesset.

Milton's JEANS & SHIRTS

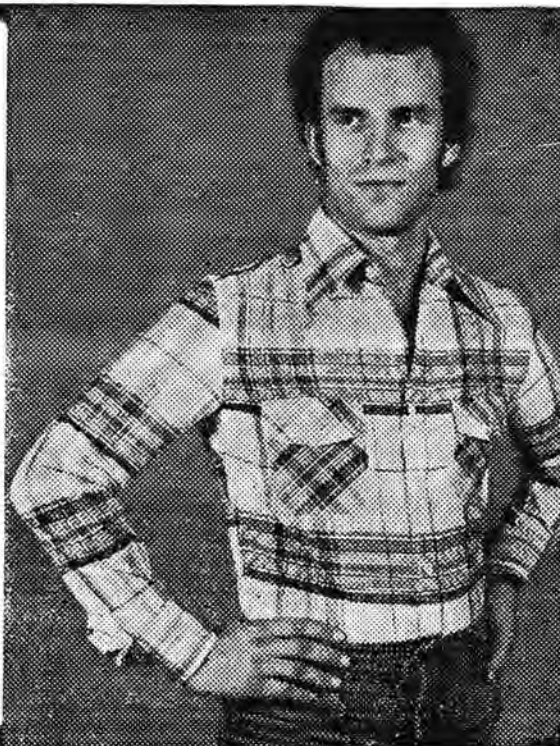
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Film Review

DES PARDES—AN EXTRAVAGANZA OF THE SENSES

Some years ago I would have been appalled by the suggestion that I might voluntarily go to a Hindi movie except in the most desperate throes of boredom. Four years abroad, however, built up in me such a thirst for all things Indian, that I happily trotted off at the first opportunity to — *Des Pardes*. Three hours and twenty minutes later I emerged from the theater with a splitting headache but filled with the sort of satisfaction that comes from weathering out an extremely violent squall at sea in a tiny rowboat. I had started out the movie conscientiously jotting down observations and plot developments in my handy little notebook but as more and more characters were introduced and larger and more violent brawls followed quickly on each other's heels, I gave up and sat back, allowing the relentless tide of events and emotions to wash over me and draw me in. It was only later, in the quiet sanity of my own room that I was finally able to separate the individual elements of the entire experience and so make some sense out of all the confusion.

Story-wise *Des Pardes* disguises itself as a socially aware portrayal of the plight of illegal immigrants in the United Kingdom. Underneath this patchy and rather thin exterior it is an extremely conservative tale about families, complete with all the traditional ingredients — filial loyalty, patient and enduring married love, the sorrow of separation, and inevitably, the drama of blood vengeance. Sameer Sahni, a solid citizen and an irreproachably honest man, goes to England to fulfill a life-long ambition of opening a pub where the races of the world can mingle in peace and understanding. Unfortunately (but also inevitably) he chooses a ruthless trio of criminals involved in the illegal alien racket as his business partners. Sameer's unshakable sense of justice and fair play lead to his murder at the hands of these stereotypic 'bad guys' whereupon his brother, Dev Anand, follows him to England determined to find out the circumstances of Sameer's death and avenge it. Then follows a long series of events of mind-boggling ingenuity and complexity ending in the final climactic scene: Gurnam, the chief crook, is trapped in the cellar of the pub knee-deep in spilt beer. Dev, perched safely atop a keg, administers shock after writhing shock to his enemy by tossing live electric wires into the foamy alcohol. After this triumphant victory of good over evil, we are wafted back to the homeland where the Sahni family sheds sorrowful but brave tears over the news of Sameer's death, satisfied that at least his murderer has been duly punished. Back in England, Sameer's Utopian dream has been realized by Dev and his attractive sidekick, Tina Munim. Rather scruffy representatives of the varying peoples of this earth jostle together in the pub (now renamed 'Sameer') drinking themselves into a stupor on beer served in mugs decorated with the name of their new patron saint.

In the meantime, the group of illegal immigrants who promised to lend an interesting social aspect to this extravaganza of the senses, have disappeared from the scene. For all we know they

might have been picked up by any one of the Hindi-speaking squads of Scotland Yard detectives and be languishing in some musty jail awaiting deportation. In any case, the movie feels they have outgrown their purpose and prefers not to waste any more time on their pitiable, but ultimately mundane condition. After all, who in their right mind would prefer to see the bleak and pathetic lives of a bunch of social rejects when they can feast their eyes on a bikini-clad Tina, revolving gaily around inside a barrel of wine?

In the final analysis, this movie's flaws are not uncommon among Hindi films that attempt to deal with the unusual or the serious. There seems to be a natural conflict between bleakly realistic subjects and the characteristically bacchanalian fare demanded by, and supplied to Indian audiences. Technically too, popular Indian cinema cannot successfully accommodate the darker side of life. Music and song may be able to express melancholy or even longing, but not desperation or despair; the typically flamboyant use of color seems incongruous for the seamier aspects of the human condition; the lack of tightness and control in camera movement and editing gives a heady, exuberant quality to Hindi films; even such elements as the 'healthily' plump physiques of both male and female stars could make a realistic representation of human suffering or destitution. Therefore, in order to deal successfully with more realistic people and situations, popular Indian cinema would have to undergo several radical changes. At which point some important questions must be raised. Should the film industry feel obligated to portray reality? Is it morally bound to tell only the facts and to do away with fantasy? Must Indian film makers mimic the West by streamlining their exuberant imaginations? For my part, I am glad that neither Indian producers nor audiences seem at all inclined to change their indulgent ways. Hindi movies, after all, have a great charm of their own. They display a bubbling, irrepressible energy, a vivacity that survives even the stranglehold of commercialism and which makes me look forward eagerly to the weekend and my next Hindi movie.

— Meenakshi Rao

"THE PRICE OF MERCY"

Observes the *Observer* of London in its issue of July 30 that the Chogyal of Sikkim has been allowed by the Government of India to fly to New York to be with his daughter, 22 year old Princess Yangchen who is critically ill and who had a kidney transplant in May.

To be able to be with his daughter and in fact to leave Indian shores for the first time since his deposition, the Chogyal had to give a written promise that 'he would not act in any way contrary to the existing constitutional position, but would give his cooperation to the Government of India in the interest of promoting the welfare of the people of Sikkim — which according to our Government naturally lies in accepting continued subjugation.

FRIGHTENING, YET INVALUABLE (Contd. from page 6)

a number of cases grounds of detentions had no relevance to the factual position and in a few cases grounds were fabricated....."

"The Commission has to come to the conclusion in the light of the evidence on record that Mrs Indira Gandhi was responsible for directing the arrest and detention of a number of respected citizens without authority of law, motivated solely by a desire to continue to remain in power."

But the Commission also went into details. As for instance:

"In the light of the evidence brought on record, the Commission feels that the decision to detain Shri Bhim Sen Sachar and seven others was taken by Mrs Gandhi which she got conveyed to the authorities of the Delhi Administration through Shri Dhawan. The only fault of these eight gentlemen appears to have been the open letter that they had addressed to Mrs Gandhi. *Prima facie* the contents of the letter do not warrant the authors of the letter to be detained. Mrs Indira Gandhi abused her position and misused her power in ordering the arrest of Shri Bhim Sen Sachar and seven others."

In another case, the Commission found that there had been no evidence against the detainee, that he did not belong to any political party, that the Special Branch after eight months of investigation, reported that there was nothing against him, and that the Intelligence Bureau had concluded that he had been detained because he had protested against the beating of a group of demonstrators. This provoked the Commission to the following statement:

"An administration which is totally impervious to the awareness of the basic norms of liberty and the provisions of the law, and a set of functionaries who are willing to do anything at the bidding of their seniors without application of mind and without realising the consequences of their acts, have in them the makings of a totalitarian society."

Those are only two representative examples of the arbitrary and illegal exercise of power by Mrs Gandhi and her regime. The Commission lists many more, and makes clear that its list is itself only a sample. And Mr. Justice Shah and his colleagues produce still further evidence of the increasingly totalitarian nature of Mrs Gandhi's rule:

Another ugly feature of arrests and detentions in Delhi during the emergency concerns the re-arrest

of persons released on bail or otherwise by the Courts. A majority of such persons were re-arrested outside the jail gates.

Nor should we forget what happened to Mrs. Gandhi's victims once they were behind bars:

"The jail was choked with people; sanitary arrangements were practically non-existent; there was a general shortage of water; standard of cleanliness was pitifully low; quality of food was poor; medical arrangements were inadequate and their cumulative effect was that the whole atmosphere in the jail was oppressive....."

As I say, I have, in the three columns, I have written on the Shah Commission's Inquiry into the Emergency in India, only given the sketchiest summary and dwelt upon the smallest sample of individual instances, of what happened. The whole document makes frightening, yet invaluable, reading. It is frightening because of the portrait it paints of a society being driven down the road of totalitarianism by a callous, corrupt, mendacious and ruthless leader whose sole purpose was the maintenance of her power, and who if she had not made the mistake of believing that an election would give her regime the legitimacy it lacked, would by now have succeeded in fastening upon India the chains of a permanent dictatorship. And it is invaluable because it reminds us that it *was* a mistake that she made, because the Indian people, having experienced 20 months of growing authoritarianism, took their last chance of getting rid of it, and did so. After the election that resulted in Mrs Gandhi's overthrow, I concluded what I wrote on that occasion with these words:

The Indian people... had sampled the quality of life under an authoritarian regime, and they were then offered the chance to turn that authoritarianism into real and lasting dictatorship. They rejected that alternative, and showed the way to those who supposed themselves India's betters. Let us salute them; and let us also resolve that when *we* are offered such a choice, we shall choose as India did.

I can only add now that the Report of the Shah Commission shows how right the Indian people were, and makes it all the more important for us to strengthen our resolve to ensure, should the same choice face us, that their lesson will not have been taught, or learned, in vain.

The Times, London, August 1, 2 & 4, 1978.

WAR AGAINST DISSIDENTS — (Contd. from page 2)

to reach a definite conclusion. Whatever the result, however, nobody can forget the poignant words of Solzhenitsyn. He wrote: "The incarceration of free thinking healthy people in madhouses is spiritual murder, it is a variation of the gas chamber; but even more cruel..... Like the gas chamber, these crimes will never be forgotten and all those involved in them will be condemned for all time, during their life and after their death."

The dissidents belong to many classes and many schools of thought. Ordinary industrial workers and simple peasants are now being found amongst them. If some like Solzhenitsyn receive more publicity it

is mainly because, as individuals they have attained a high place in the world of literature or science. As fighters for freedom, however, all belong to the same class and receive equal support and respect.

Dissidents in Russia have passed through much worse conditions. One can be sure, therefore, that the war that is now being waged against them will not annihilate them. Some will go down; others will replace them. The human spirit is irrepressible: It will continue to fight for human rights and human dignity. The fight is now an international fight. Russian dissidents will receive full support and sympathy from freedom loving people of all nations.

Book Review

HOW TO MANAGE PEOPLE by William B. Given, Jr. Vikas Publishing House reproduced in Bell Books Edition, 1978; Pages 182; Price Rs. 9.50p.

William B. Given, Jr., a businessman of 50 years standing, has obviously given considerable thought to Management; his two earlier books were "Bottom-up Management" and "Reaching Out in Management". His third "How to Manage People", the applied psychology of handling human problems in business, deals with a subject as old as the Universe — leadership or management of human resources. One must not be tempted to accept, willy nilly, the suggestions and recommendations made in this book as it is written in the North American perspective and social background. We, in India, need to evaluate his ideas as applicable to the Indian scenario or else we shall fall into that pit of acquiring "phoren" ideas irrespective of our local problems. One must never, but never, forget the maxim "who is to be managed"!

This little book has much to commend mainly because for a layman, it is not steeped in modern business jargon or the technicalities of psychology; it is easy to read and, therefore, equally easy to digest. Be that as it may, there are really no new insights, but commonsense psychology of human beings presented in a well structured manner.

The title may mislead some to believing that it deals with one main function in management and that is how to manage people. This is not quite the case. The aim, as spelt out by the author, is clearly "to help executives move up in the ranks of business management". And the methodology is prescribed in four main areas — viz. (a) how best to rate promotion and advancement; (b) how can he (the executive) through his efforts, contribute to the Company's long term prospects; (c) as a result of his success, what best can he pass on to his successors; and (d) how can he approach his management task so as to get job satisfaction? And this is precisely what William B. Given, Jr., seeks to pass on to his readers based on his own experiences as a senior executive of the American Brake Shoe Company.

The material offered has been compartmentalized in a logical manner in fourteen chapters. But in interpreting and/or accepting some of the ideas caution is recommended. Take, for instance, Chapter II. It may be relatively easy to assess objectively the performance of sales and production personnel where goals are specific and quantification is possible. But this objective evaluation is not easily assessable in the case of staff functions like finance and accounting, an aspect which the author could well have covered. In Chapter III Given glosses over the necessity of inter-departmental interaction and conflicts. He assumes, based on his American experience, that a Departmental Head is given *carte blanche* in managing the department in the way as he thinks best, provided the end results are productive. But this is far from the practice in India where family managed business houses believe in centralization of power with the top management. Neither is Chapter XII, dealing with promotions and

salary payment, very relevant to the Indian scene where seniority tends to transcend performance! But Chapters I and VI do contain some extremely useful guidelines and the thought that "to win with people you must bet on them" is rather attractive. In the final chapter, Given suggests how one can rate oneself as an executive — a sort of self analysis (or is it a self critique?) which is relevant to all, irrespective of whether one is in the East or West.

The index is alphabetical and fairly comprehensive, making reference to specific points easy.

On the whole, an easily read book full of commonsense and well orchestrated. At the expense of being repetitive, it is worthwhile remembering that the application of ideas depends on the environment — in our case specifically, the peculiar Indian environment. The get-up could have been better; two types of paper have been used for reasons best known to the publishers.

— EDS

ARAB STRATEGIES AND ISRAEL'S RESPONSE by Yehoshafat Harkabi. The Free Press, a Division of Macmillan, New York, pages 194; price \$ 3.95.

In the complex pattern of Arab Israeli relations, the Arab strategies towards Israel if they are changing, are only changing in so far as the tactics are concerned to achieve the ultimate goal of the destruction of the State of Israel.

Arab Strategies and Israel's Response by Yehoshafat Harkabi examines the causes and reasons for the changing Arab tactics and strategies.

In the preface to the book the author observes: "The Arab attitude is like an iceberg which consists of a tip representing the political or diplomatic position, as expressed in statements by leaders, and a massive body — the national position — consisting of ideological tenets, national philosophies and public discussions on the details of their stand. Any modification of the tip — the diplomatic position — in the form of moderate or "warmer" declarations of policy cannot really be effective if its underpinnings in the national position remain frozen solid. Change should start at the top but then its warmth should percolate downwards".

President Sadat's recent visit tends to give the impression of a change in Arab policy towards Israel, but that is only the tip of the iceberg, for the change is yet to percolate down into the national position of pan-Arabism which remains committed to the destruction of the State of Israel.

The Arab strategies have passed through the spectrum of liquidation and extermination of Israel to that of liberation of Palestine, and now to the establishment of a "Secular Democratic Palestine State" on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Yehoshafat Markabi observes: "The Arabs did not simply hate Israel in an emotional way, but rather rejected the Israeli state in an ideological fashion" and then elaborates on the collectivist Arab attitudes and the Israeli countermoves to blunt the Arab offensive both in the battlefield and on the diplomatic front.

The Arab strategy is divided into two parts: The "Old Thinking" and the "New Thinking". The

former is marked by overt declaration against Israel with a sort of a "cataclysmic operation of an all-out war". The latter is essentially a legacy of the Six Day War and the Yom Kippur War. It is covert in intention and relatively subdued in verbosity to provide "a new solution to the old issues", namely, that of the destruction of the State of Israel.

In the chapters "Arab Demands" and "The Question of (Israeli) Concessions", the author has irrefutably exposed how the Palestinian Arabs are victims of their own intransigence. Having rejected the U.N. Partition Plan of 1948 of a Palestine Arab State comprising West Bank and the Gaza Strip, they insisted on building their State on the ruins of Israel. Neither did they think of their homeland during the occupation of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank by Egypt and Jordan between 1948 and 1967.

This book gives vivid glimpses into the changing facets of Arab strategies. It evaluates the causes and effects of these changing patterns of Arab strategies and its future implication as also the global ramifications.

In the last chapter "Conclusion" the author pensively observes: "The future is open. Any attempt to impose a straitjacket on developments, owing to some logical determinism or to an imperative deduced from a theory about the nature of conflict would indeed be frivolous". This would very much be so, if Israeli concessions are to be only of tactical value from the Arab point of view.

— Nitin G. Raut

THE LAST DAYS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. BY H. V. Kamath; Jayashree Prakashan, Calcutta; Pages 71; Price Rs. 15/-

Anyone who wishes to peruse this slim volume of 71 pages is in for a disappointment. It contains 4 short articles which the author had published in the Bhavan's (presumably the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay) Journal followed by 4 appendices. In fact, the appendices occupy the major part of the book.

The author is a former member of the I.C.S., who had resigned from that service and taken to politics. He has made a name for himself as an able Parliamentarian. He has been a critic of Jawaharlal Nehru for many years. The theme he develops in this book is that Nehru blundered in his policy towards China and after the disaster of 1962, he sickened and died. There is nothing new about this theory, as everybody knows that Nehru never recovered from the failure of his China policy. There is no attempt in the book for an in-depth study of the events which led upto the Indo-Chinese confrontation of 1962; nor any any discussion to assess whether Nehru alone could be blamed for the debacle.

Mr. Kamath confesses that "he had never loved Nehru," but that he had not hated him either". We can take him at his word and rule out the possibility that the book is an attempt to denigrate the departed Prime Minister. But whatever be the real purpose behind this publication, one would have expected a more serious and erudite study from the pen of such a talented author.

— KVP

A SITUATION IN NEW DELHI, by Nayan-tara Sahgal, Himalaya Books; pages 165; Rs. 30.

There are no good men and bad men in this book — there are only dull characters and, for variety, duller characters. They plod through the book like automatons who have been badly programmed. The net result is an aura of gloom that pervades the entire book. However, turning the last page one realises that this general depression has little to do with the characters or the plot: it is sheer suffocating stagnation that is responsible for this feeling.

The story presumably epitomises the crisis of India. The euphoria of Independence has passed, the old order is giving way to the new. With the death of Shivraj an era has passed. That is about the only concrete statement made in the book. What kind of an era it was is for the readers to guess. We have the author's word, mouthed through various characters, that he was a good man. So good a man even an English writer, a well-known biographer and a white man, breaks into tears on hearing of his death. So if the new people in power deviate from his thinking they obviously aren't up to any good. Shivraj's widowed sister, who is the Education Minister in the new order, and Usman Ali, his disciple, are sad onlookers of this new scheme of things. So awed are they by his personality that they are unable to think for themselves. One can have no objection to this for Gandhi too had a similar effect upon his followers. But what one objects to is that the author never spells out what Shivraj stood for, what he was as a person. If we accept Shivraj as a symbol of virtue it would be a personality cult of the worst order since we do not even know him as a person, leave alone an assessment of his qualities.

There are other characters in the book whose existence can be justified only as a piece of fiction. They would find no place in real life. For instance, Michael, the writer, whose only function is to show that Devi, the intelligent, competent minister, has a sex life too. Then there is Rishad, Devi's son, a brilliant student and a Naxalite to boot. All we know about him is that he loves music, that he steals into rich people's houses and systematically destroys property and that he is a vain ass.

This book is a masterpiece of vagueness. There are indistinct characters, driven by unsatisfactory motives, undefinable situations and a vague premonition of disaster, the biggest of which, one realises at the end of the book, is the book itself.

— K. S. Hebbar

PUBLICATION STATISTICS

Food for thought for Hindiwallahs — according to a *Statesman* report the books published in English in India continues to top the list with 9922 books during 1977-1978. Hindi was way behind with 2382 titles. In the field of sociology, political science and politics Hindi had 52 titles as against 4, 118 in English. However Hindi votaries can take comfort that it claims first place among children's books.

TIPS FOR TELEPHONE SUBSCRIBERS

Telephone subscribers are surprised when they get fantastically high bills. They rush to the authorities. The response of the Telephone Department is the same: First, an assurance that the meter will be checked. Second, a routine reply that it has been checked and found to be in order!

Subscribers would do well to take the following precautions:

- 1) Maintain detailed records of every call (with number) made.
- 2) Preserve all correspondence with the Department. Maintain notes of oral communications, with name of the person concerned, time and date. *Record everything.* Do not leave anything to chance and do not allow "unfrozen" words to float away.
- 3) Have STD (Subscriber Trunk Dialling) of your phone immediately cut. This deprives the telephone department of a plausible excuse that high bills are due to use of STD.
- 4) When you go out of city for a holiday or on work, locking your house, inform the Telephone Department in writing and ask for meter reading. Get the meter reading again on return. *Silent meters* are noted by corrupt staff and used to register calls made by others who are persuaded to pay them instead of the Department!
- 5) Pay all telephone bills promptly.
- 6) When an excess bill is received, pay only average of previous 4 quarters, and make a written representation. The Department cannot cut off your line, a threat which is made orally. It has to follow some procedures, including a written warning.
- 7) If the Department is obstinate, *go to a court of law.* It is an *expensive* way for some, but the *surest way* of bringing the Telephone Department to its senses.

Remember that the Telephone Department is there to serve you, you do not exist to serve it. It has to operate within rules and regulations and cannot act arbitrarily. *Boldly fight your own battles, for nobody else will fight them for you!* All my good wishes to you.

M. R. Pai

MGR'S FORMULA

MGR, the Matinee Idol of the Tamil Screen and now Chief Minister of Madras wants that the post of the Prime Minister should rotate round the States and should not be the monopoly of a single State — meaning UP, of course.

This would, says MGR in his cinematic wisdom, strengthen national integration and not "kill democracy."

And what happens if a Party gets a majority in northern India (a la Janata)? MGR would prefer to give his views on such an unfortunate eventuality at a later date.

MGR could also consider another thought. Why not, also in the interests of national integration — make Chief Ministers like civil servants liable to transfer. We could then have MGR as Haryana's CM for a while, while Devi Lai could head the Tamil Nad Ministry. Not a bad idea, what?

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

Lakshmi's
BALLERINA voile sarees
Enchanting. Wear for work.
Wear for fun. Around the town.
Around the picnic spots.
Any where and **BELLERINA**
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Made from 90s & 100s
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"The deep

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

—Tennyson

Ours is a nation of a bunch of thugs and a time has come when practically everyone is to be looked at as a dishonest person till his honesty is proved.

— B. C. Cariappa, Chairman, Bombay Port Trust, *Indian Express* July 20.

It is no great exaggeration to say what remains of Lebanon is a would-be president, a would-be cabinet and a would-be army of 650 men.

—*Herald Tribune* editorial, August 4.

If one has to quit just because there are charges against one, we shall have to have elections every three days.

— Devraj Urs, *Times of India*, July 7.

The American Negro wants to be equally free, not equally unfree.

— Roy Wilkins, *The Sunday Times*, July 30.

The only alternative to the Janata party is dictatorship.

— Karpoori Thakur, *Times of India*, August 3.

The hypen in Gandhism-Nehruism can't be there. They can't be together. You have one or the other.

— Charan Singh, *Himmat*, July 28.

Nobody can get anything for nothing.

— Menachem Begin, *Herald Tribune*, July 24.

The surest cure for cancer is grape juice. Take it for three weeks and nothing else — not even water — and anyone who has cancer will be cured.

— Morarji Desai, *Times of India*, July 13.

The comparison of Kashmir, the most beautiful part of not only India but the whole world, with Switzerland by Indians reflected a lack of self-respect.

— Morarji Desai, *Times of India*, July 10.

"Vietnam is the Cuba of the East".

— New China News Agency, *Times of India*, August 3.

I am against forming a Government somehow and making compromises. It has become a disease with us to be in power somehow.

— S. Najalingappa, *The Statesman*, July 19.

"A few words about Mr. Desai's style of handling the nation's affairs is, we think, called for. The impression he gives us is that of a rare creature who combines in himself the sanctimoniousness of a modern-day Godman with the towering arrogance of a Moghul Sultan."

Motif, Editorial August 14, 1978

"Has India produced a second Sanjay Gandhi in the person of the present prime minister's son, Mr. Kanti-bhai ('Kanti') Desai?"

The Economist, August 5, 1978

"His detractors have nicknamed him Sanjay Desai."

The Economist, August 5, 1978

"When Italy's Communist leader, Mr. Berlinguer, dubbed Russia 'a socialist society with a few illiberal traits, Mr. Craxi countered that Russia was 'an illiberal society with a few socialist traits'."

The Economist, August 5, 1978

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