

DUM SPIRO SPERO

(Where There is Life, There is Hope)

Piloo Mody, M.P.

IF excellence and single-minded purpose is a possible formula for a life, A. D. Gorwala got about as close as anyone to achieving it. If a tribute to such a life is at all possible, *Say Not The Struggle* (Essays in Honour of A. D. Gorwala, Oxford University Press, 340 pages, Rs. 40) seems to be the only befitting manner in which to render it.

In an excellent collection of superb essays on administration, education, politics, development and some other subjects, a galaxy of top drawer thinkers have come together to share with us their concern.

Say Not the Struggle could have been a book by a single author on the thinking necessary to solve the problems of a developing society, drawing on the material of its various contributors. But then, it would have lacked that spontaneity and missed its element of tribute. What it would have gained in polish or continuity, it would have lost in freshness and originality. "Say it as it happened" is a contemporary mode of expression; this neat compendium of essays does precisely that.

The title of the book is taken from the opening words of a poem by Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-61), and its message is very clear. "Saye not the struggle nought availeth," is a philosophy of hope against doom. To think that "things have been, things remain" is to lapse into inaction. Even "while the tired waves vainly breaking, seem here no painful inch to gain," remember that somewhere unseen is the great flood. Do not judge the light from the dawning sun which "climbs slow, how slowly, but westward, look the land is bright". Such was the life that Gorwala lived, ever adding his mite to help those in need, as an administrator, and to expose hypocrisy, sham and corruption in public life, as a commentator and editor.

Gorwala's career as a leading luminary of the Imperial Civil Service (ICS) has been neatly set forth in precise terms in the introduction by his erstwhile colleague and admirer, H. M. Patel. It is no glowing tribute in flowery language, but a pithy account of deeds well performed and actions based on the highest moral standards that sing for themselves the praises of a man married to truth and justice, who will suffer no

fools and accept no compromise. To put it in Gorwala's own words, in a report submitted by him to the Mysore Government: "It is not the sentiments of men which make history, but their actions. So too, Government is made good or bad not by words but by the deeds—or misdeeds—of those in power." Right action can only be ensured by "the personal integrity of the ruler and the moral sense of the citizenry". "No amount of progress in technique or machinery can be of much benefit if the moral standard of those in charge of government is deplorable." How prophetic these words sound a quarter of a century later!

Gorwala lived his religion. Zoroastrianism teaches that there is both Good and Evil in this world and it is the bounden duty of every Zarhosti to fight the Evil. Gorwala never deviated from this edict. Whether

IN THIS ISSUE

Mr. Piloo Mody, M.P., who has emerged, cheerful as ever, from sixteen months of detention without trial, joins on our front page in a tribute to another courageous man and a distinguished civil servant.

Mr. Leo Labedz, Editor of that prestigious quarterly, *Survey*, analyses the likely relations between China, Russia and U.S.A. on the basis of a recent visit to Peking.

Mehra Masani, formerly Deputy Director-General of AIR and now Vice-Chairman of the International Broadcast Institute, reviews a book on the power of radio broadcasting.

in the villages of Sind, administering and dispensing justice, or in the Secretariats of government, he fought the evil he encountered and finally resigned his lucrative job, withdrew from the corridors of power and shed the pomp and circumstances of his office only because he felt that his government was insincere in its professions, that it "neither has a policy, nor desires to have one".

(continued on page 14)

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



The Best of Both Worlds

WRITING on October 23, the leftist *Economic and Political Weekly* had assumed that the resolutions adopted at the joint meetings of the Pradesh Congress Committee and the Legislature Congress Party of Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana in favour of convening a Constituent Assembly to consider the 44th Constitution Amendment Bill involved "inevitable putting-off of the general elections" and had referred to the other point of view opposed to this as being "one for immediate consideration and passage of the Bill, and, by implication, for elections".

As it turned out, this was an innocent and naive analysis. What actually happened was that the Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana view was rejected, the 44th Amendment Bill was rushed through Parliament, and hey-presto, the elections are to be further postponed. Thus those in authority managed to have the best of both worlds; and who is to say them nay?

A daily newspaper which published the news about the cancellation of elections that are due by March 1977 under the heading 'Poll Off Again for One Year' may prove in the end to be as naive and innocent as the *Economic and Political Weekly*. For who is to know what announcement will not be made twelve months from now about the elections that will then be due by March 1978?

The most amusing variety of reasons has been advanced by the apologists of putting off the elections. Thus, one view expressed in Parliament, was that "it would not be in the larger interests of the country to have general elections", another that "the conditions which led to the extension of the life of the present House by one year still continue". A third view reported in the press was that elections should be postponed till the country's economy is stabilised. There were also some other equally fanciful ones. There is no reason to believe that the same arguments cannot be adduced equally effectively in 1977, 1978 and indeed for the rest of the century. That is why one cannot but agree with Mr. Indrajit Gupta who was reported in the Lok Sabha to have described the reasons advanced as "flimsy excuses" or with Mr P. G. Mavlankar, another member of the Lok Sabha, who protested that putting off of the elections once again "would only encourage the growth of political cynicism and weaken the people's confidence in the system".

One could of course add to the list of alleged reasons for the Government not facing the people at the polls. Could it be, perish the thought, that the Government keeps on postponing the elections because it does not have the conviction that it would win? There is nothing wrong in entertaining such a doubt because the essence of democracy, as proved by the

recent U.S. elections, is that no one knows till the end who will win. What is wrong is shirking the challenge. There are bound to be a large number of people who will suspect that, for such reasons, this postponement will by no means be the last. The dangerous implications of such a situation have been accurately described by Mr Mavlankar.

In so far as the 44th Amendment is concerned, your Editor, who had a hand in drafting of the Constitution



Courtesy: Indian Express

of the Republic, has no hesitation in expressing the view that it is *ultra vires* of the Constitution. If the President does not veto the Bill, as he should, it will be the task of the Supreme Court to strike it down as being in flagrant contravention of the basic structure of the Constitution in line with the Supreme Court's own judgement in the *Kesavananda Bharati Case* undeterred by the Law Minister's warning that it would be a bad day for the judges if they asserted their rights.

Indeed, it is generally overlooked that quite recently, on November 7, 1975, the Supreme Court reiterated its judgement in that case by striking down another amendment to the constitution, namely the 39th. This

happened in *Indira Gandhi v/s Raj Narayan* (AIR 1975, SC 2299). The purpose of that Amendment was to give Parliament authority to organize machinery for adjudicating disputes relating to elections of the President, Vice-President, Prime Minister and Speaker and to withdraw these disputes from the purview of the courts. One of the provisions of the Amendment was that, notwithstanding any order made by any Court declaring an election void, such election would continue to be valid and that the order of the Court would be deemed to have always been void. It is significant that the Attorney-General who argued the Prime Minister's case accepted the judgement of the Supreme Court in the *Kesavananda Bharati* case as final and binding.

"The procedure and content of this amendment", writes Mr. P. Sathe in the *Economic and Political Weekly* of October 23, 1976, "was so shocking that even those judges like Chief Justice Ray, Justice Mathew, Justice Chandrachud and Justice Beg who held in *Kesavananda Bharati* that Parliament's power to amend the Constitution was unlimited could not save the above provision and had to strike it down". The hope is therefore, justified that the Supreme Court would use the same yardstick to strike down the 44th Amendment, which is a more frontal attack on the basic structure of the Constitution than the 39th.

Succession—Democratic and Authoritarian

AN object lesson about the manner in which succession to national leadership is achieved in democratic and authoritarian countries has recently been provided by the almost simultaneous change in leadership in two major countries in the world—the United States of America and Communist China.

In the United States, the election of the new President was carried out on time, as provided by the Constitution, without any attempt on the part of President Ford to look around for some device or excuse by which he could postpone elections and prolong his own tenure of office. The election campaign proceeded on normal lines. It is interesting that the two candidates were prepared to confront each other on television so that the voters could be helped to choose between them. At the end of these debates, the two candidates shook hands and addressed each other in an amicable manner. According to newspaper reports "the victor Carter and the defeated Ford set an example of politeness, courtesy and good manners in the highest democratic tradition of the United States, each paying tributes to the other and pledging that both would help unite the country whatever be their differences as to the best means of pursuing national goals." Mr. Carter described Mr. Ford as "a good and decent man".

It may all sound very obvious and trite, but in how many countries of the world is all this so obvious today? In the result Mr Jimmy Carter won handsomely and the defeated candidate readily and sportingly accepted his defeat.

Poor Old Mao

NOW let us turn to the succession to Mao-Tse tung, allegedly revered by the bulk of his people, notwithstanding thousands throughout the years choosing to swim across the shark infested waters to Hongkong to escape from the clutches of the revered father figure. Mao died leaving behind a widow and 'comrades' in various degrees of intimacy. The moment he dies, and even before his funeral, a vicious struggle for power breaks out among those who revered him. One of the wall posters to be seen in the streets of Peking read: "Crush the heads of the four dogs and crush and strangle the gang of four". Madame Mao was often described as a 'reptile', and a 'worm'.

After a little dithering it becomes clear that one gang has achieved superior armed and physical force over the other. No attempt is made to find out whom the people prefer, not even is there any attempt at democratic functioning within the Communist party itself. One gang locks up the other, including the widow of the revered leader.

As soon as physical control is achieved, the most virulent and obscene charges are made against the lady and her colleagues. She was about to forge Mao's will, says one report. She had tried to murder him. She succeeded in doing so by nagging him, says another. Mao was fed up with her, says a third.

What a pity these facts were not brought to the knowledge of the Chinese people and the world while poor old Mao was still around to testify to their truth. On the other hand, Mr. Victor Zorza writes: "What may turn out to be Mao's last message to his wife gives the lie to Peking's official claims of an estrangement between the two." "You have been wronged," he tells her. "Today we are separating into two worlds. May each keep his peace. These few words may be my last message to you."

It is not for us to sit in judgement and to consider which gang are the worse oppressors and whom the Chinese people hate more. No doubt the people of China would throw both of them out if they had half a chance—given a free election. The point that is significant is the unscrupulous, monstrous and of course uncomradely manner of denigrating one's opponents when they cannot answer back. It is as if Mr. Carter would hound Mr. Ford from public life by reviling him and slandering him while denying the defeated candidate the chance to defend himself!

Thus we now see the ugly face of Communism for what it is. Not that there is anything to choose between the Chinese and Russian varieties. The way in which Hua has treated Madame Mao is precisely the way in which Stalin treated Lenin's wife Krupskaya. When Lenin was paralysed during the last few months of his life and Krupskaya was his only confidante, Stalin cynically fooled his so-called leader by printing a dummy edition of *Pravda* in which Lenin's article was published, while the Russian people were denied the opportunity of reading their paralysed leader's message. This was done despite Krupskaya's protest. When Lenin

died, Stalin suppressed his Testament in which he had denounced Stalin, and it was not till Khrushchev's days that Lenin's Testament was published for the first time in Soviet Russia. Your Editor should know, because he published Lenin's Testament thirty years ago in India and it was denounced as a forgery by the servile Communist Party of India.

Likely developments on the Chinese Mainland it is too early to forecast. The vicious struggle for power will no doubt continue in one form or another. In a totalitarian structure, the outside world gets little chance to watch the in-fighting and the instability that is inevitable in an authoritarian regime where the people are prevented from assuming their democratic rights.

Those who denigrate the achievements of Indian Democracy from 1950 to 1975 and laud the achievements of Communist China might benefit if they ponder a little and learn from these developments.

An Apology

IN our October issue we had said that we had searched in vain for any reference in the Indian daily newspapers to the number of people Mao and his regime had liquidated during the past twenty-five years. We find that there is an honourable exception to this. The reason why we had overlooked this exception was that it appeared in the Gujarat daily newspaper *Janmabhoomi* of Sunday, 19th September, 1976. This article was written by Mr. Prabhu Gopal Dhimar. We are happy to quote an English translation of a passage from that article by way of atonement: "After the establishment of Communist rule in China, like Stalin Mao had killed all opposition and anyone who held views contrary to his own. Stalin had sent his opponents to concentration camps and killed 50 lakhs of them. Similarly, Mao got murdered almost two crore Chinese. When Khrushchev in 1956 had criticized Stalin's actions and loosened some of the controls and introduced a certain amount of freedom, Mao instead of welcoming this had criticized Khrushchev. Mao, like Stalin, believed in hero-worship—cult of the individual personality."

Unfortunately, in this case as elsewhere, the exception proves the rule.

20 Years Ago

TWENTY years ago, on the 6th of November, Russian tanks and artillery and troops launched an attack on Budapest to overthrow the legal government of Hungary led by Mr. Imre Nagy, himself a Communist. General Paul Maleter, the leader of the Hungarian Army, was enticed under a safe conduct for discussions to Soviet headquarters and treacherously shot. Later, equally treacherously, Nagy was murdered.

The twentieth anniversary of this grim event was observed in almost all countries of the world, except only Hungary which still groans under the jackboot of the invader.

The Democratic Research Service has every reason to be proud of its record in October and November 1956 because it was at its office that the Indian Committee for Solidarity with Hungary functioned, with Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan as President. This was at a time when it took Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, not less than ten days to make up his mind who was aggressing against whom! Perhaps this period of doubt would have lasted even longer but for a series of public meetings in Bombay that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan and others addressed demanding that India, like the rest of the world, declare its sympathy and solidarity with the people of Hungary against Soviet imperialism.

Foot and Mouth Disease

SO Mr. Michael Foot has done it again. His naive and juvenile remarks about this country after a brief red-carpet visit have drawn on his head the fire of even the leftist *News Statesman*, that darling of Jawaharlal Nehru, Krishna Menon and all "progressive" intellectuals. One now understands why the Spanish Government recently refused to allow Foot into Spain to attend a conference of the Socialist Party there.

Claim to be advancing the cause of "socialism," and all is forgiven to you. Tyranny exists only in Chile and South Africa and what happens in the U.S.S.R. and its satellites, whether in Europe or elsewhere, or in Afro-Asian authoritarian regimes is of course another pair of shoes altogether. This double standard of morality is nothing new and this is only the latest example.

Michael Foot, whom we have previously described as an honest but dangerous man, bids fair—along with Anthony Wedgewood Benn—to be the architect of Britain's ruin. Fortunately, however, judging by the thrashing received by the Labour Party in three recent by-elections, the British people appear to have had just about enough of the kind of "socialism" these men practice in Britain and support elsewhere.

Boris Gets the Boot

A YEAR or two back, when Mr. Shelepin, then President of the so called All Russian Federation of Trade Unions and earlier the head of the dreaded NKVD, visited Britain, he was given so rough a treatment by all sections of the British people including the workers that he cut his visit short and went back to the U.S.S.R. where he was before long stripped of his position.

It is to be hoped that the same fate will overtake Mr. Boris Ponomarev, an apt description of whose visit to Britain was to be found in an Editorial in the London *Times* on November 1: "Booed at Heathrow, shouted at outside his hotel, the object of angry exchanges in the House of Commons, jostled in Edinburgh." When Mr. Ponomarev, described in the *Guardian* as "Boris Brezhnev's Hatchet Man," was seen in the Strangers' Gallery during a session of the House of Commons, a Member immediately said he "spied a

stranger" and moved that he should be ejected from the Gallery. Just as the House was about to divide, Mr. Ponomarev beat a retreat and left the Gallery.

It is heartening that members of the Labour Party joined also in objecting to this colleague of Stalin's with a black record being invited by their Government and that Mr. Joe Grimmand joined the protest on behalf of the Liberals.

The Leader of the Opposition Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, angrily addressed Prime Minister Callaghan: "What you do as leader of the Labour Party in your desire to support the invitation of your own Left is not a matter for us. But what you do as Prime Minister of Great Britain is a matter for us. We condemn totally your decision to invite him to see you and to receive him. Propaganda use will be made of this visit in every Iron Curtain country. It is a major diplomatic blunder and a particularly insensitive decision to receive him during the week of the twentieth anniversary of the Hungarian uprising."

Euthanasia Gains Ground

CALIFORNIA has become the first State in the U.S.A. to grant terminally ill persons the right to authorise the withdrawal of life-sustaining procedures when death is imminent or inevitable. Legislation to this effect passed by the State Legislature has been signed by Governor Brown effective 1st January 1977.

In Britain too, there is progress in the same direction with a recommendation by the Criminal Law Reforms Committee that mercy killing should be a distinct offence unconnected with murder and punishable by a maximum of two years' imprisonment.

In our correspondence column will be found a letter from Dr. F. P. Antia who argues for similar legislation in India. We endorse his plea.

Shabash Milton Friedman

ONE of those whom Rajaji loved to quote in *Swarajya* when it was his weekly organ was Professor Milton Friedman who has been the Head of the Chicago Department of Economics and who is now moving to Stanford University. Rajaji would have been happy if he had been with us now to know of the well-deserved award of the Nobel Prize for Economics to Prof. Friedman, the diminutive professor who is called by some of his colleagues "the mighty mite." Prof. Friedman, like some others (the Editor likes to include himself among these) has been well ahead of his time but many of those who have scoffed at his economic heresies have lived to pray.

His advocacy of letting the currencies of the world float was first rejected. As has been well put, "it took two dollar devaluations, an Arab-Israeli war and an oil embargo to force the world into floating exchange rates."

It is hard to ignore Prof. Friedman for long. "Whether it is price indexation," writes Hobert Howen in the *International Herald Tribune* of October 23-24, "the negative income tax, a volunteer army, or giving

GUJARAT FULL BENCH STRIKES DOWN TRANSFER

A Full Bench of the Gujarat High Court consisting of Mr. Justice J. B. Mehta, Mr. Justice H. V. Desai and Mr. Justice D. A. Desai decided unanimously on November 4 that the order for the transfer of Mr. Justice Sheth from the Gujarat to the Andhra High Court was invalid and should be struck down. The Court was hearing a petition filed by Mr. Justice Sheth against the Union of India and the Chief Justice of India.

The ground on which the order of transfer of the judge was set aside was that the consultation with the Chief Justice of India required by the Constitution is one of substance and not of form and that in this case there had in fact been no such consultation as was required by the Constitution. The Court granted the Government leave to appeal to the Supreme Court and stayed the operation of the judgement for a period of six weeks.

Mr. H. M. Seervai, formerly Advocate-General of Maharashtra, instructed by Mr. Majmudar and thirty-five Advocates of the Gujarat High Court, appeared for the Petitioner, while the Additional Solicitor-General, Mr. Raman, instructed by Mr. Vakharia, appeared for the respondents.

parents some tax money and telling them to choose the means of their children's education—however unorthodox it may sound—economists have come to know they had better listen when Milton talks."

In view of this, it might be worth mentioning that on October 24 in a television programme Prof. Friedman opined that Britain was near economic collapse because of Government spending.

Newsweek carries an answer by Milton Friedman to the question why so many Rolls Royce cars are to be seen in the West End of London. "An Englishman of wealth", he explains, "has the alternative of buying a Rolls Royce car for £ 32,000... or investing that 32,000 in bonds and stocks or other financial forms. Supposing he could invest in bonds yielding 5 percent... he will then get £ 4800 in annual income. However, after paying tax at 98 percent he would have left only £ 95 to spend". But isn't this also true of taxation in India and its disincentives to investment? The only difference is that Rolls Royce cars or others of that quality are not allowed to be bought by Indians—except of course from the profiteering State Trading Corporation.

Friedman has now come to occupy in the eyes of good students of economics—Marxists, of course excepted—the position that Keynes occupied earlier. A lady who saw the point wrote an amusing letter to the *London Times* the other day suggesting that the satellite town outside London called Milton Keynes should now be renamed Milton Friedman!

China, Russia and the U.S.A.

Leo Labedz

(Mr. Leo Labedz is one of the soundest and most sophisticated of the world's students of communist affairs. In this article he discusses the relations between the three Super Powers based on his discussions during a recent visit to Peking well before the passing away of Mao Tse-tung.)

IN my conversation with the Foreign Ministry officials in Tokyo and in Peking the question of the "Pacific Doctrine" was repeatedly raised. The Russians have seen in it a danger of a closer cooperation between the three powers, thus frustrating Mr. Brezhnev's Asian "Security Plan". But the other two powers, as well as a host of smaller countries in South East Asia, are simply puzzled about its significance. It contains a phrase about the "opposition to any form of hegemony in Asia" (and elsewhere), but this is not matched either by clarity about specific problems or by a new resolution which would provide a contrast with the Guam Doctrine.

The officials of the Foreign Ministry in Peking were particularly scornful about it. When the director of the Foreign Affairs Institute in Peking, Mr. Hsieh Li, asked me about it, I jocularly replied that "it is pacific, but it is not a doctrine." This induced approving laughter among those present and, indeed, this rather innocuous remark was later quoted back to me by the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Yu Chen, in my conversation with him. I explained that I only meant by this the fact that it is unlikely that a fundamental clarification of American policy would take place before the Presidential election, and perhaps not even then. This did not satisfy Mr. Yu Chen. He proceeded to give me a long list of Soviet iniquities, from Czechoslovakia to Angola. He declared Brezhnev to be more dangerous than Khrushchev ever was, and he then contrasted the behavior of the Czechoslovaks and the Yugoslavs in 1968. The Czechs announced in advance that they were not going to fight, the Yugoslavs said the opposite. There was, therefore, no political risk involved in the Soviet decision to invade Czechoslovakia. "They know that we are going to fight," said Mr. Yu Chen, "but are the West Europeans?" I asked him to explain the constant Chinese assertions about the inevitability of war. It was a question to which I only received a conventional party line answer during my previous (and rather outspoken) conversations with his colleagues. He gave me a straightforward reply: he did not reiterate the official dogma, but offered a more sophisticated explanation. It is not nuclear war that is inevitable, he stated, but the use of Soviet conventional military superiority, under the nuclear umbrella, when the Soviet Union achieves nuclear superiority. "The danger then will be for Europe," said Mr. Yu Chen, "and it's not just our propaganda." He then gave me a somewhat surprising interpretation of U.S. foreign policy. Just as

Chamberlain tried to deflect Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union, so Kissinger is trying to deflect the Soviet Union against China. "That was the purpose of appeasement then—and of *detente* now."

I pointed out that neither Chamberlain nor Kissinger were so purposeful: "The guarantee to Poland and Rumania was hardly a way to unleash Hitler against the Soviet Union. Today, in the nuclear age, such a policy would hardly be practical. Besides, it was not Kissinger who created the Sino-Soviet conflict..." But Mr. Yu Chen was not convinced.

Clearly, the shadow of a species of Soviet-Nazi Pact as a counter to the Machiavellian perfidy of Western foreign policy would be a logical inference from such Chinese reasoning (or, at least, the psychological background to it). Mr. Yu Chen, I may add, is not just the Deputy Foreign Minister, he is also the Chinese specialist on Soviet affairs, and indeed the man who was handling the case of the Soviet helicopter. When soon afterwards he released its crew, he issued a communique that their original story was "credible", although at first he maintained that they were "on a spying mission". The Western press promptly started its perennial speculation about the possible "Sino-Soviet reconciliation".

In this it was, as usual, profoundly mistaken, as the subsequent intensification (if it can still be so called) of Sino-Soviet polemic clearly indicated. The reason why so many Western commentators are so often off-course about this regularly recurring "possibility" is that they do not ask themselves the question whether such a "reconciliation" is truly possible, nor whether it would be in the Chinese interest.

Chinese foreign policy, in spite of its occasional successes (such as the forthcoming treaty with Japan), suffers from acute frustrations. It has Great Power ambitions, but not Great Power strength. It always wanted "to sit on the top of the mountain, while the two tigers fight each other," i.e., it would ideally be the *tertius gaudens* in the Soviet-American confrontation. When it was still in the Soviet camp, it attempted to push the Russians towards a more "adventurist" policy *vis-a-vis* the United States, arguing that "the East wind prevails over the West wind". It was a manoeuvre which the Russians saw through and resisted not because they have anything against "prevailing", but simply because a Soviet "forward" strategy in a situation of adverse "correlation of forces" would have only been in the interests of the Chinese. After the Sino-Soviet split the Chinese concentrated on ideologi-

cal attacks "from the left" on Soviet "revisionism". This phase ended when the ideological dispute turned to military clashes. Security needs required the abandonment of the exclusively ideological focus and its replacement by a clear-cut **raison d'état** priority. Hence the "ping-pong diplomacy" initiative to achieve a countervailing power against the Soviet Union through **rapprochement** with America. This was successful as far as it went; but it did not achieve the goal of American abandonment of Taiwan; and, more than that, it led to two kinds of Chinese frustrations.

One was the growing divergence between considerations of ideology and **Realpolitik**, between **raisons de parti** and **raisons d'état**.

In a Communist state there is always this duality. Ideology cannot be simply abandoned because it provides the ruling Party with its legitimacy, but it can and is often pushed temporarily aside. The special difficulty was that, in the Chinese case, the combination of the two in foreign policy became more and more troublesome. The radical revolutionary internal policy and the ultra-revolutionary appeal abroad simply could not be easily fused with (1) the normalization of relations with the "capitalist states", (2) the countering of Soviet political strategy by collaboration with such states on the basis of mutual interest in stopping Soviet expansion, or even (3) the support of the elements which are most consistently "anti-Soviet" or at least provide the best chance of being effective and not just ideological allies. Richard Nixon's first visit to Peking certainly led to the alienation of many Maoists abroad. (His last visit—paradoxically—may have a negative effect on a broader American public). The ambiguity inherent in the double stance could not be effectively maintained, and it imposed hard Chinese choices in Europe (Portugal), Latin America (Chile), and Africa (Angola) which were promptly exploited politically by the Soviet Union (the present situation is not comparable to that faced by Stalin at the time of his pact with Hitler when he had no "polycentric" competitors).

Nor is this all. This strategy of using America as a countervailing power against the Soviet Union has also run into difficulties. Instead of providing the Chinese with some room for manoeuvre, it became increasingly clear that Dr. Kissinger was using Peking as a stepping-stone (or a flight-stop) to Moscow. The U.S.-U.S.S.R. **detente** policy was naturally seen from Peking as contrary to the Chinese interests. Moreover, the American tiger increasingly appeared as a paper tiger, unable to provide an effective counterbalance to the Soviet Union. Hence the frustrating Chinese paradox. The weaker the American stance **vis-a-vis** the Soviet Union the smaller the chance for the Chinese to play the role of the **tertius gaudens** (or even some lesser, yet important role). In short, Peking found itself in an old, familiar frustration. The Chinese had shifted from the Sino-Soviet alliance to the American connection, but still were not able to promote their

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own ambitions rather than feeling that they are being used.

It is in fact a doubly frustrating paradox for the Chinese communists. The weaker the American stance **vis-a-vis** the Soviet Union, the smaller the present incentive for them for a Sino-Soviet "reconciliation". What would Peking gain from such an initiative? Even if it was taken in spite of all historical and psychological factors inhibiting such a decision, it could surely only be of benefit to Moscow, not to Peking.

Of course, China, like the Soviet Union, is quite capable of switching its foreign policy. But those who are fascinated by the memory of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the **renversement des alliances** policy disregard certain fundamental differences between the two situations.

By switching back to the Soviet connection, China would not only exchange present frustrations for bigger—and known—ones, but would jeopardize internal political legitimacy. After Mao, those among its leaders who were involved in anti-Soviet policies

in the past (i.e. the whole Maoist establishment) might well find their careers negatively affected. The independent position of the Chinese leadership would not be easy to maintain in view of Moscow's well-known imperial Cesaro-Papist habits. Confidence cannot conceivably be established between the two Communist powers. Some form of "closer embrace" can only be regarded as a temporary arrangement. But what would it arrange?

The Soviet-Nazi Pact was an initiative by means of which Stalin unleashed Hitler in the West in order to remain on the sidelines in the ensuing hostilities. He thought that they would be prolonged and indecisive, that the two sides would get weaker, while he would get stronger so that eventually he could be able to play a decisive role in the outcome of the military conflict. He miscalculated the strength of France in 1939, and as a consequence Nazi armies almost reached Moscow in 1941. Any parallel policy today by the Chinese leaders would be self-defeating for the following reasons:

One: A Sino-Soviet Pact would not unleash a war in the West. It would only provide a green light for the Soviet Union gradually to absorb Western Europe. And this is the very thing which China fears, for it would deprive the Soviet Union of the "second front" and would leave China facing the colossus from the North alone.

Two: It would also be strengthening the force which is getting stronger in the balance of power, and this is the very same defect which China finds itself suffering from the connection with American policy.

Three: It would be doing it at the time when a Stalin-type of 1939 miscalculation of the "correlation of military forces" is not really conceivable. Western Europe is much weaker today in relation to the Soviet Union than France and Britain were *vis-a-vis* Germany in 1939.

Four: On top of all this one must remember that massed Soviet troops are rather nearer to Peking than the German troops were to Moscow in 1939 (and, unlike the latter, they have nuclear weapons).

And what would be the *quid-pro-quo* for China in such a deal? The support for its nuclear development which the Soviet Union refused to give her in 1957? Economic support providing the most advanced Soviet technology? Or, perhaps, agricultural exports? A free hand for China in South East Asia to establish there a Greater Co-Poverty Sphere? The Chinese have had instructive experience in the past on all these points, and they are hardly likely to commit themselves again to a similar situation. In present-day China, the reference (I heard it many times) to the Soviet technicians suddenly leaving and taking with them all the blueprints for unfinished factories has become a contemporary equivalent of the pre-revolutionary national humiliation by "the imperialists". Those "Soviet blueprints" have in effect become a psychological reference point, like the notorious "**Chinese and Dogs Not Allowed**" which was supposed to have been displayed on the

foreign concessions in pre-revolutionary Shanghai, a myth which in the past powerfully fertilized national and revolutionary emotions.

Today it is the Russians who find themselves the butt of Chinese emotions, and this is an element which can only reinforce political calculations in the matter of a putative deal with Moscow.

When I asked Minister Yu Chen about some of these calculations, he became distinctly unhappy and he quickly changed the subject. It is obvious that even though the Chinese have no real option in the matter it would strengthen their hand if the American public and the American policy-makers believed that the Sino-Soviet reconciliation is a realistic possibility.

Hence, in my view, the release of the Soviet helicopter. There might be other similar gambits in the future; none of them can be very convincing or important in view of the continuing display of Sino-Soviet hostility. The Russian help to inspire the Western commentators and public with the fear of a Sino-Soviet war, the Chinese with the fear of a Sino-Soviet reconciliation. Neither is likely; the probability is that "neither peace, nor war" will continue. The realistic options for the Chinese foreign policy, in view of their present situation and their long-term ambitions, are not a pro-American or a pro-Soviet policy, but a reluctant continuation of the selective "ping-pong policy" based on an American connection of the Cultural Revolution period. The latter is only precluded by the risks perceived in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

So, perhaps present American policy could be in fact based on realistic assumptions, and could it be just avoiding the pitfalls which "self-serving" Chinese foreign policy (as the official American assessment of President Ford's visit to Peking called it) is preparing for it? The answer depends on what American foreign policy is trying to achieve. If it is the "containment" of the Soviet Union it is going the wrong way about it. Contrary to some misleading opinions American relations **have** deteriorated, as I could detect for myself in Peking.

There is of course no reason why American foreign policy should provide therapies for all the Chinese frustrations. On the contrary, for historical and geopolitical reasons the United States is the only power in the triangle Peking-Moscow-Washington which should be able to play the *tertius gaudens*. However, it cannot be done by favouring Moscow, as Dr. Kissinger's policy of *detente* has done. Nor can it be done by applying the principle of equidistance. The balance has shifted too much in Soviet favour. Such an American policy of "equidistance" *vis-a-vis* Russia and China will certainly be never possible if Western Europe is absorbed by the Soviet bloc. Unfortunately democracies have a tendency to let things slip and deteriorate to the point at which they need a Beezlebub to chase Satan away. This happened in the Stalin-Hitler epoch, and in the present situation it is easy to imagine how it could develop without the Chinese playing a positive role in the balance. That does not mean that there is a need to

WORLD NEWS

AN EXAMPLE FOR PRESIDENTS

THE last of the Irish government's three new emergency measures has now come into force. On October 14th the Supreme Court ruled that the Emergency Powers Act—which enables the authorities to detain a person suspected of terrorist activity without charge for seven days—was not unconstitutional.

The President, by insisting on referring the bill to the court against the government's wishes, has shown that he, like his immediate predecessor, the late Erskine Childers, is not prepared to accept a figurehead role. Mr. O. Dalaigh is very popular, and the prime minister, Mr. Cosgrave, is reluctant to bring the issue into the open; the defence minister, who publicly attacked the president's action, has been obliged to apologise.

—*The Economist*, October 23

SAD END FOR BRITAIN, GRIMOND PREDICTS

MR. Grimond, former leader of the Liberal Party, says in a booklet published yesterday that democracy and the freedoms of people in Britain are threatened by the growth of bureaucracy and the bureaucratic attitude.

In the booklet, published by the Unservile State Papers Group, formed in Oxford in 1953 to propagate liberal ideas, Mr. Grimond writes: "Britain is being

bled by bureaucracies. The bureaucratic attitude starts from the view that we are not rounded human beings: we exist only to play a role. The important step, then, is to acquire the appropriate diploma and join the appropriate profession, big company, trade union, or branch of the Civil Service.

"If you won't do this, then you must be starved into submission. You will be forbidden to use any skill you possess, however talented you may be. You will be forbidden to take employment; and if you dare to become self-employed, you will be taxed and harried until you give up. The closed shop is the first victory for the bureaucratic attitude.

"Next you must look to your profession, trade union or Civil Service as a ladder for promotion. You may strike, when ordered; but you do not break ranks or attempt to get on by yourself. You must only progress as one of the herd."

Mr. Grimond says that for Britain there can now be only one end. "That end is a highly inefficient socialist state in which freedom and originality are suppressed."

The Bureaucratic Blight, by Jo Grimond, (Liberal Publication Department, 9, Poland Street, London W1V. 40 p.)

—*The Times*, October 29.

CHINA, RUSSIA and the U.S.A.: Leo Labedz (continued from page 8)

replace Sino-American collaboration by an alliance. Only a war situation and/or Western Europe going under may bring the need for such an alliance about. Nor does it mean any obtusely sentimental display of self-willed bonhomie, like the "Good Uncle Joe" propaganda during World War II. It means tilting the balance of policy on the basis of a sober recognition of common interest between the United States and China in stopping Soviet expansionism before it is too late (especially for Western Europe).

Angola provides a good illustration of the problem. When a Chinese attache in London told me that they were withdrawing from Angola I expressed an opinion that they would regret it, that not only Western positions in Southern Africa, but also Chinese investment in the Tan-Zam railway and political influence would be jeopardized. As it happened, the Soviet Union not only mounted a formidable Cuban expeditionary force, but also managed to exploit the South African issue in order to create the well-known Pavlovian reflex all through Black Africa.

I was in Peking at the time of the Senate vote on Angola. It is difficult to convey the anger of the Chinese when they realized how badly they have miscalculated: they were really hopping mad. I resisted the easy satisfaction of saying: "I told you so" and only mused aloud how much better is prevention

than cure. If prudent arrangements were effected on the basis of Sino-American collaboration in Angola with an informal distribution of roles—not an unthinkable proposition—the story of the Soviet African adventure might have taken a different turn. In the muddled waters of Africa, the Chinese "Marxist" involvement, instead of the South African one, would have certainly affected the "coloring" of the conflict and enhanced internationally the FLN-Unita position. But no such initiative materialized and now it is a question of looking the other way, of sedulously avoiding to see the possible consequences of Angola, as previously there was a tendency of sedulously trying to avoid seeing the possible consequences of Vietnam because of the visceral fear of yet another painful involvement. But it is obvious that the cry "No more Vietnams" can only lead to a situation where no stand can be taken against any aggression, no line of resistance can be drawn anywhere, even on a politically more favorable ground. Such an attitude can hardly be a basis of a policy of a great power which wishes to survive. As events between the two Great Wars testify, the unreflective fear of war helps to bring about in a sharp form the dilemma of War Capitulation. In order to avoid it, it is not enough to search for new policy—although that, too, is necessary—but also for a **new attitude** towards foreign policy. Such an attitude can only emerge if the American political class recovers its political will.

N. KOREAN 'GLOBAL' BLACK MARKET

NORTH Korea is so hard pressed for foreign exchange that its diplomats abroad were under standing instructions to use all available means, overt and covert, to raise funds, South Korean intelligence sources claimed today.

The embassy-based black market rings uncovered in Denmark, Norway, Finland and Sweden in the past few days were approved by the North Korean leader, Kim Il Sung, the sources said, to finance the running of the missions. Surpluses were sent to Pyongyang, and the trafficking in narcotics, duty free cigarettes and alcohol was considered a patriotic duty.

The Finnish Government's expulsion yesterday of four North Korean diplomats for alleged black market activities followed similar actions by Denmark and Norway.

South Korea was quick to claim that these were not isolated incidents. A South Korean embassy spokesman said: "It happens on a global scale, judging from the places where they have been caught so far."

North Korea was unable to remit adequate running expense to its missions, which rapidly increased in number as Pyongyang strove for a peaceful image. Since 1972 the number of recognitions has increased threefold, and Pyongyang today maintains diplomatic relations with 92 countries.

This has added to the demands on the nation's foreign exchange reserves, which have become seriously depleted by heavy trade deficits.

The discovery of the black market traffic in Scandinavian countries has dealt a stunning blow to the respectable image Pyongyang has so painstakingly acquired. It appears unlikely that the diplomats involved were acting on their own initiative, without at least the tacit compliance of the Pyongyang Government.

—*The Guardian*, October 22.

SHAH ASSAILS PALESTINIANS AS 'BULLIES'

SHAH Mohammed Reza Pahlevi of Iran has rebuked "our good Palestinian friends" for trying to "bully the world" by "terrorism and blackmail."

Without naming Yassir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, he said the Palestinians should "open their eyes" and "start a new policy."

The problem of Palestinian terrorism, which has struck in the Arab world as well as against Israelis and others, came up in an interview with the Shah conducted by Mike Wallace of CBS News,...

The interview was taped in Teheran on Oct. 12.

—*International Herald Tribune* October 23-24

STRUGGLE FOR 'GODFATHER' SUCCESSION

THE death in New York of Carlo Gambino, the leading Mafia boss in the United States, may shortly lead to a vicious gang warfare between rival families seeking to succeed him, police in New York said yesterday.

Gambino, said to be the model of Mario Puzo's novel *The Godfather* and portrayed by Marlon Brando in the film of the same name, died early on Friday

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in his sleep at his waterfront home in Massapequa, New York. He was 74....

The question of whether the succession to the multimillion dollar Gambino empire of gambling, loan-sharking, narcotics and labour racketeering, employing a 1,000-strong network, will be bloody or peaceful is being given as much press and broadcasting coverage in New York as the presidential elections.

Unless a leader emerges acceptable to the five New York Mafia families, acknowledged as *capa di tutti capi* (boss of all bosses) by the kissing of hands, then underworld gunmen could go under cover in preparation for a bloody gang war.

—*The Times*, October 18.

CARTER'S MESSAGE TO RUSSIAN JEWS

MR. Jimmy Carter, the American Democratic presidential candidate, has sent a message of sympathy to Soviet Jewish activists, more than 30 of whom were arrested in Moscow, it was reported.

Mr. Carter's intervention was disclosed by Mrs. Maria Slepak in a press conference at her Moscow apartment after her husband, Dr. Vladimir Slepak, a scientist, was seized when he left the building this morning.

During the conference Mrs. Ida Nudel, also detained earlier in the day and freed after being fined, reported that Dr. Slepak had been jailed for 15 days "for resisting police" and that he had asked for Mr. Carter to be informed.

The message from Mr. Carter, delivered through the

American Embassy, spoke of his "deep personal interest" in the treatment of Dr. Slepak and his colleagues.

—*The Times*, October 26.

APPEAL FOR DEFECTOR

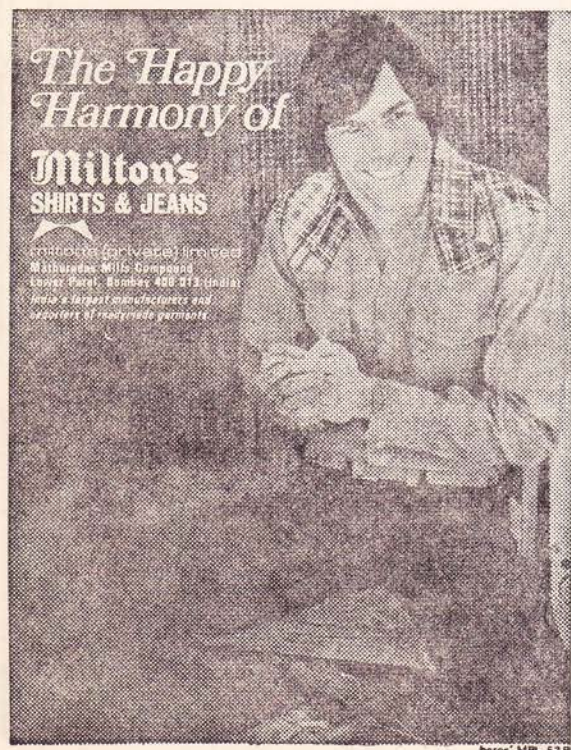
NOBEL Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov, and two other dissidents, today appealed to the Shah of Iran and President Ford to try to save the life of a Russian defector, who they said could be executed following his return to the Soviet Union by Iran.

Pilot Valentin Zosimov flew a small plane across the border last month and asked for political asylum in the United States. Iran handed him back last Monday under the terms of an anti-hijacking agreement.

In an open letter Dr. Sakharov, his wife Yelena, and former Major-General Pyotr Grigorenko, said they had learnt "with horror" of the Iranian move.

"Zosimov did not commit treason, he did not cause the Soviet Union material damage, and he did not commit acts of air piracy, since his actions did not threaten anyone's life. The lack of a guaranteed right of emigration drove Zosimov to his desperate act, just like many before him".

—*The Guardian*, October 30.



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Review

RADIO POWER

JULIAN HALE

(Paul Elek, London. Price £ 4.95. 172 pages)

THE subject of the book is international broadcasting and propaganda and it covers all aspects of the subject, including the monitoring of foreign broadcasts, and even discusses some well known international broadcasters like Lord Haw-haw (William Joyce) of Berlin, Ehrenburg of Moscow, Ezra Pound, who broadcast from Italy during the war, and so on.

There is more listening to international broadcasts today than ever before. This is partly because of the vast increase in the number of radio sets in the world but also because, in many countries the local media of information are inadequate. Here, then, is an opportunity for those who can take it.

The first propaganda offensive through radio was the German appeal to the inhabitants of Saarland to vote for the return of the Saar to Germany in the Plebiscite which was held in 1935. When 91 per cent of the people voted accordingly, the Nazi leaders felt, with some justification, that they could achieve almost anything through the intelligent and imaginative use of radio propaganda.

Their next triumph was the successful radio barrage against France.

The Nazis also developed a technique that has not been rivalled since — the Sondermeldung or sound picture which used correspondents' reports from the war fronts with sound effects to produce the maximum dramatic effect in announcing military successes. The *Voice of the Arabs* and some other services have copied some of the Nazi methods.

But Nazi propaganda had no staying power. As soon as victories gave way to defeats on the war fronts the propaganda was discovered to be false and even ridiculous. The BBC, with less spectacular propaganda victories to its credit, maintained its wartime reputation for truth-telling, honesty and reliability—a reputation most professional broadcasters in the world would endorse. The story of how the BBC's External services evolved to gain this reputation has been told many times. If today these services occupy the fifth place in terms of output they occupy the first place in the high standard of their broadcasts. Some European stations have tried to emulate the BBC pattern of international broadcasting — the most successful is Deutsche Welle from the Federal Republic of Germany.

Communist Propaganda

Although it has features in common with Nazi propaganda, Communist propaganda differs from it because Communists—both Russian and Chinese—believe in Communism as a fundamental truth. Consequently, in their propaganda there is a great deal of

sermonizing which may appeal to Communists among their listeners but to hardly anyone else. The Soviet Union is the world's second largest international broadcaster after the U.S.A. It uses 84 languages—far more than any other international service. In 1970 the budget of Moscow's external services was over 60 million dollars. This is equal to the U.S. expenditure and yet, such audience research as there is, shows that there is little listening to these services in non-communist countries. There seems to be much greater listening in Russia and Eastern Europe to European and U.S. stations. Long ideological dissertations, slogan-mongering, and one-sided comment, do not appeal to Western tastes which are sophisticated. Even listeners in developing societies get bored by long excerpts from speeches of Soviet leaders and news of the Soviet Union, heavily censored news at that. The Russians follow the same pattern in their domestic broadcasts and so, for that matter, do the countries of the third world, including our own.

While Russian broadcasts have improved since the Stalin period they are still ponderous, parochial and partial and they sound defensive, except in the broadcasts to China. This is the number one target of Soviet propaganda. 200 hours a week of Chinese propaganda

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broadcasts are beamed from Moscow while the Chinese Peoples's Republic is the third largest broadcaster with Russia as its principal target. But Chinese propaganda is even less effective than the Russian.

VOA

The VOA is the official voice of the U.S. Government but *Radio Free Europe* and *Radio Liberty* sponsored by Americans, operate more flexibly and appear to have many more listeners. They help the Russians and East Europeans to break the censorship system by broadcasting the works of Solzenitsyn, Sakharov, Medvedev, and others, and by airing the views of various nationalities within the Soviet Union, such as Latvians, Ukrainians, and so forth. They attempt and succeed in providing an alternative domestic service for Poles, Hungarians and other East Europeans.

Some Third World countries have external broadcasts but they are hardly heard in North America or Western Europe or even in the Soviet Union and China. Hale says that Third World powers have taken to propagandizing the smaller ones. There is a strong streak of nationalism in these broadcasts to please the politicians who rule these countries. For the greater part these services, inadequately staffed, and financed, are a waste of effort. They have become status symbols like international airlines, and now satellites.

Clandestine Radio

The book has an interesting and uncommon chapter on clandestine radio propaganda. These stations do direct propaganda on a considerable scale. *The Voice of Free Angola* and *Fighting Angola* were put out by Brazzaville and Kinshasa radio; the *Voice of Free Zanzibar*, which is anti-Nysrere, is probably South African; the *Voice of Free Africa* is broadcast from Cairo. While Tanzania provides time for its proteges from African nationalist parties, the Voice of the People of Burma, the Voice of the Malaysian Revolution and the Voice of the Thai People, all emanate from China.

The most successful of such stations operated in Europe during the war and some even after. Such stations came up during the Hungarian and Czech uprisings of 1956 and 1968. Mr. Hale quotes the last appeal heard from Hungary before the uprising was suppressed:

"Peoples of Europe, whom we had helped for centuries to withstand the barbaric attacks from Asia! Listen to the tolling of Hungarian bells warning of disaster. Come. Save our souls; Civilized peoples of the world! We implore you in the name of justice, freedom and the binding moral principle of active solidarity to help us. Our ship is sinking. The light is failing. The shadows grow darker every hour over the Hungarian land. Listen to our cry, civilized peoples of the world, and act. Extend your fraternal aid to us. SOS! SOS! May God be with you!

All such clandestine stations, however brief their

existence and however unsuccessful they may be in withstanding tanks and guns, have had a profound effect on the morale of freedom fighters.

The Russians host numerous stations ostensibly run by banned Communist parties of a number of European countries and of Iran.

Mr. Hale believes, and I agree with him, that the message that gets through is the one the audience wants to hear. Where clandestine radio backs up positive action and listeners are sensitive to the message it is a potent weapon. Many countries have tried to ban listening to foreign stations and jamming has been resorted to even in the post-war era but there are limits to such interference even in totalitarian societies. Mr. Hale believes that "radio propaganda is one means of keeping politics on the move. It may risk spreading anarchy or courting repression but it is also a prerequisite for progress."

MEHRA MASANI

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DUM SPIRO SPERO : Piloo Mody, M.P.

(Continued from page 1)

It is indeed significant to note the issue on which Gorwala resigned. At the time, he was President of the Commodities Prices Board, charged with the responsibility of creating a healthy price structure. It was his deep-rooted conviction that, in a country where millions are starving, essential commodities should be available at reasonable fixed prices to avoid run-away inflation. It was the insincerity of his Government in its avowed objective of controlling prices that impelled Gorwala to seek the ultimate remedy and resign.

The motivation of Gorwala's resignation was not to retire and live on his laurels, but to use his talents as a writer to comment on and expose government's failures, which he did through articles in the daily papers. It is only when even the daily papers, succumbing to government pressures, refused to print his articles that Gorwala decided to start his own little weekly *Opinion*, which he ran for sixteen years at great personal effort and loss, so that he could continue his crusade to expose and condemn immorality, hypocrisy and corruption in public life, to the joy of his devoted readership. After sixteen years, and when he was beyond the age of 75, under the emergency, Government got at *Opinion* as well and forced it to close down because it could not stand up to the bright glare of truth published by Gorwala.

If this writer may be permitted a personal footnote, I would like to recall an incident which took place in 1963, when I had started a weekly called *March Of The Nation*. At the time, I tried to persuade Gorwala to allow me to publish his *Opinion* in my weekly where it would appear as a feature: "*Opinion—by A. D. Gorwala*". It was an attractive offer in as much as it would save him all the bother and headaches of printing and publishing and relieve him of the financial burdens of running a weekly. He did consider it. But to my misfortune he did not trust me, as he did not know me well enough at the time. His reasoning, of which he informed me, was simple and very characteristic of the man: "It is with a great deal of trouble that I have *Opinion* going by now. If tomorrow I write something that you may not agree with, you might call me up to say 'why don't you give this one a miss.' Then I would be back where I started. So although your offer is most attractive. I don't think I can risk losing this freedom once again." I am sorry I did not pursue the matter and convince him of my own *bonafides*.

Of some significance is the quality of the contributors who have unhesitatingly come forward to pay their tributes to Gorwala. Professors of high repute, authors of definite works, experts in various fields, men and women of considerable achievement and experience in the fields and "doers" in contradistinction to just "talkers".

A brief reference to the authors and their contributions would show the breath and quality of *Say Not the Struggle*.

Writing on "Gorwala's Justice", H. M. Patel, no mean administrator himself, and who was later made the scapegoat of creeping political corruption, has given a lucid account of his early associations with Gorwala, bringing out that part of Gorwala's early career and character which is perhaps not known by many today. This writer first became aware of A. D. Gorwala's early reputation from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan today, when the latter recalled to him the efforts made by Pakistan to secure the services of Gorwala during and after the partition of India. Bhutto should know because he hails from the Sind District of Larkhana where Gorwala was the District Magistrate and where H. M. Patel first served under him.

Another contemporary ICS officer, and later, an author, Maurice Zinkin, has written a piece on "The Standards of the Service", and ended it by an eloquent tribute: "Gorwala is such a man". To this, Ram Deshmukh, currently with the UN in West Africa, has added an essay on how the civil service in India is bound to decline due to the socio-economic policies introduced by the Government. Although, considering the circumstances, we are getting "More than our Money's worth" at the moment, but that "clearly the process cannot continue indefinitely".

There follows a series of excellent, though provoking essays on subjects very close to Gorwala's heart. A detailed account of the anatomy and "The Nature of Corruption in India" is contributed by N. V. Sovani, a senior member of the faculty of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economic in Poona, in UN Service in Geneva and Bangkok and an eminent author in social sciences.

Edward Shils, editor of *Minerva*, author and Professor of Social Thought at the University of Chicago and a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, has contributed a very scholarly thesis on "The Cognitive Expansion from Centre to Periphery", in which he describes the effects of the diffusion of ideas and purposes as education moves from the imperial power into the colonies.

An eminent academic, Prof. D. D. Karve, in an essay on "Language and Education", bemoans the fact that India has so many languages and scripts (sixteen major languages and nearly 1650 mother tongues) and that neither internal mobility nor the three language formula can overcome the handicaps this problem presents to national integration. The first step towards any permanent reform in the matter must begin by adopting a common script, but even that seems to have been postponed by nearly 30 years at least.

In an exciting article on "The Liberal University and the Future of Liberalism", Professor John W. Chapman of the University of Pittsburg, an eminent author on Rousseau and the Rights of Man, shows how expanding university education to everyone, including

Letter

EUTHANASIA

You were good enough to publish my article "Dying with Dignity" in your issue of May, 1976.

What is required is legislation which would contain the following provisions:

1. A Physician, a Surgeon (or a group of three of them) should have the right to certify that a particular patient's case over 65/70 years of age is incurable, and with the consent of the patient, he should have the right to prescribe the drug which puts an end to the patient's life. If the patient is conscious, he can administer the drug to himself. Neither the Physicians/Surgeons nor the patient should be held culpable at any stage.

2. In case the patient is no longer conscious, the next of kin should have the right to administer the drug without being held culpable.

DUM SPIRO SPERO

(Continued from page 14)

those reluctant to learn, has been the cause of student unrest in the sixties.

S. H. Deshpande, an agricultural economist, has contributed a fascinating essay on the practical problems connected with rural development. To this central theme, B. Venkatappiah, an eminent administrator, has added an interesting dimension from his own experiences and Shankar Ranganathan's essay pursues his ideas on how conservation can benefit community development. A case study of "Fifteen Adivasi Villages" written by Zafar Futehally rounds off this subject of rural activity.

Essays on many other subjects form part of this volume which ends with an appropriate article by R. E. Hawkins on "Koi-hai" (Is Any One There?), a famous expression of British India, which on occasion was used to call a servant, referred to anglo-Indians in general and jestingly to many of Gorwala's erstwhile colleagues in the service.

A. J. Dastur and S. P. Aiyar, two university professors, have written an incisive article on "Civil Disobedience and Democracy". For sheer topicality, as a path-finder, it is difficult to beat.

The poet Gauri Deshpande and the commentator and old friend A. G. Noorani have given intimate glances of Gorwala as a man and mentor. Gorwala as an Editor and Gorwala as an administrator.

The conclusion is inevitable. *Say Not The Struggle* is an excellent compilation in honour of exemplary life. A life led by principle and precept. Here is a man who realized that without it, life is nothing; it always has to be freedom first.

3. On the lines adopted by the Euthanasia Educational Fund and the Euthanasia Society of USA, any person should be entitled to sign a will expressing his desire that in case the illness he is suffering from is a malady from which "there is no reasonable expectation of recovery he or she should be allowed to die and not to be kept alive by artificial means or heroic measures".

In case a person feels that for whatever reason he or she is suffering from extreme mental or physical agony from which there is no relief, except in death, he should have the right to make such a declaration in writing before a duly authorised Magistrate and take measures to end his life. In case he fails in the attempt he should not be held culpable and should not be prosecuted.

What is wanted in other words is legislation which would give a person the right to die with dignity suitably safeguarded against the abuse of such a right. The criminal code of the country also can suitably be amended to achieve this objective.

F. P. ANTIA



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WITH MANY VOICES

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

—Tennyson

My God, they would be in an awful mess, would'nt they, if they wanted me back.

—Sir Harold Wilson on the BBC, October 10.

One thing is certain. At the next (Olympics) Games in Moscow, no one will ask for asylum..

—Dereck Davis in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, August 13.

Mrs. Gandhi is interesting herself so much in the Rhodesian situation that some diplomats are humou-
rously describing her as 'the sixth front line President'.

—A. C. Mc Ilroy from Launda in *The Daily Telegraph*, October 16.

At my view the Constitution fulfils our major require-
ments and I do not believe it necessary to change the
basic structure.

—Mrs. Indira Gandhi in an interview on October 9,
1975, with Mr. Ratanlal Joshi, editor of *Hindustan
Daily* quoted in *Hindustan Times*, October 10, 1975.

If you are late in doing one thing in agriculture,
you are late in all things.

—Cato in the second century B. C.

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It would be interesting to know, from someone well
versed in these matters, why majority rule is wrong in
Northern Ireland but right in Rhodesia.

—Jonathan Hewitt in *The Economist*, October 9.

Mao Tse-tung died a second death this week.

—*The Economist*, October 16,

Communist Countries like to cover themselves with
democratic veils, however transparent.

—*The Economist*, October 16.

A lie can be halfway round the world before the
truth has got its boots on.

—Prime Minister Callaghan in the British House of
Commons on November 1.

A Prime Minister who can't sleep is no good.

—Sir Harold Wilson in the *Governance of Britain*.

The British have no more wish to be governed by
judges than they have to be judged by administrators.

—Lord Devlin quoted in the *Observer*, October 31.

I am rarely amazed at the things men are willing
to do for money, but I am often astounded to learn
how little money they will do them for.

—Bernard Levin in *The Times*, October 26.

We are ready to accept arms from the devil to
protect Lebanon from aggression.

—Camille Chamoun in *The Times*, October 26.

The only good thing about the U.S. election as
viewed from abroad is that one of the candidates has
to lose.

—C. L. Sulberger in *International Herald
—Tribune*, November 1.

It is a good thing that in our country seventy is
considered only middle age.

—Kirilenko, 70, quoted in *The Economist* October 23.

Signature