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EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

THE TRUE LIBERAL

M. R. Masani

WHEN I attended the Conference of the Liberal International in Italy at the end of 1959, the Liberal leaders who were present from various countries of Europe told me that they found the principles of the newly established Swatantra Party to be "the milk of pure Liberalism." In India, however, most scribes and a great part of the so-called intelligentsia have throughout the last decade looked upon the Swatantra Party as conservative, if not reactionary. What is the source of their confusion?

This phenomenon and the confusion are not unique to India. The fashion comes, as most of our fashions do, from the United States of America where socialists and communist fellow travellers have pre-empted the word "Liberal" to refer to policies and operations which are anti-liberal in the extreme.

The *New York Times*, Prof. Galbraith and Senator McGovern are well known examples of this bogus "liberalism" which has resulted in genuine liberals like Prof. Milton Friedman and Prof. Sidney Hook being known as conservatives.

It would appear that this semantic confusion is now threatening to cross the Atlantic, or so it would seem from the letter written by Prof. P. T. Bauer of London University to the *Daily Telegraph* on 5th February, 1973.

Seeking to draw attention to the perversion of the term "Liberal" which had now spread to the pages of the *Daily Telegraph*, Prof. Bauer wrote:

"The term is used to describe advocates of freedom, a condition which according to the Oxford Dictionary denotes being free and having the right or power to do as one pleases, which of course has always been circumscribed by the obligation not to infringe on other people's liberty. In recent years and decades the term liberal has gradually come to mean its exact opposite.

"For some time now in America liberal has come to refer to Socialists or even Communists, that is

advocates of close and extensive State control of social and economic life.

"I have heard an American woman describe an uncompromising supporter of Stalin's regime as an extreme liberal. I have heard people talk of Marxist liberals—rather like talking of boiling ice-cream."

Prof. Bauer concluded his letter by saying:

"Such corruption of the language makes reasonable discussion impossible. It is ultimately destructive of civilised society."

A few days later, Prof. Bauer was supported in his plea by Mr. Vernon Dawson, Secretary-General of the Liberal International.

The *Daily Telegraph* made amends in the form of an editorial article entitled *Who Are Liberals?* in the course of which it wrote:

"Liberalism, as Prof. Bauer reminded us on this page, is about liberty. Historically, it was the doctrine of those who, for moral as well as economic reasons, were against the sterile autocracies of 18th-century Europe. It was, and is, not a simple matter. Both Continental rationalism and English empiricism have contributed to it. But what genuine liberals, in all

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IN THIS ISSUE

The President of the Farmers' Federation of India, Bhanu Pratap Singh, M.L.A., contributes an article that speaks for India's neglected farmer.

A. G. Noorani reviews *Zulfi—My Friend* and praises Piloo Mody for his courage, warmth and sincerity. While not out of accord with the main thrust of the book, he conscientiously analyses its imperfections.

The Editor deals with the semantic confusion about Liberalism which is by no means confined to India.

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



And Now Books

THOSE innocents who are disposed to write off the threats to the freedom of the Press and the ban on American films as aberrations which need not cause too much alarm will have to sit up and take notice of a news item from New Delhi in the beginning of March that the next thing likely to be taken over by Government is the import of books into India. The report goes on to say that the valiant champions of the fight against monopoly in the Capital propose to give the State Trading Corporation the monopoly to import books so that foreign exchange may from now on be spent only on "essential books" and no longer on "politically offensive" books or "magazines of doubtful value".

It is good to see that the Indian Committee For Cultural Freedom and its organ *Quest* have done their duty by sounding the alarm. But is that all that this intended outrage can muster by way of protest? Then indeed we must face the prospect that our freedom to read the books of our choice will go the way of our freedom to see the films of our choice. Thus does dictatorship advance like a thief in the night.

It is still not too late to deter the criminal lunatics in Delhi from their evil intent. Shall we hear soon from the All India P.E.N. Centre, Universities, learned societies of all varieties, political parties which claim to be liberal, publishers associations and librarians? What have they to lose if they raise their voices? It is quite a while since the call was given: "Intellectuals of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your brains."

Back to Stalin

THE knowledge that, since Khrushchev's overthrow, the USSR has been slowly drifting back to the days and horrors of Stalin has been gradually reaching wider circles throughout the world, but perhaps few outside the ranks of the Kremlinologists have realized how far the process has gone.

Now comes a report from the International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights which reveals that there are now a million persons incarcerated in a thousand forced labour camps in the USSR. The record has been prepared on the basis of a study extending over three and a half years by the British sociologist, Prof. Peter Reddaway, who has estimated that psychiatric clinics hold another 200,000 unfortunate people. The Report published in Brussels states that the camp inmates were being deprived of their personalities by sophisticated methods based on science. People were being tortured but not in such 'primitive' manner as in the Stalin era. Tortures had become more 'refined' and diversified, and included keeping inmates continuously near starvation level so that they could be worn down. Prof. Reddaway said this treatment often led prisoners to despair and in some cases caused them to commit suicide.

Even before these shocking revelations were made, a European expert on Communism made this sardonic comment: "In Stalin's day, dissenters were shot. Now they are put into insane asylums. How can anyone deny that there has been progress in 'Soviet Humanism' over the years?"

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societies, have always had in common is a concern for the freedom of the individual, the rule of law, and the limitation of government, both in its power and its scope. As such liberalism must be regarded as a political doctrine quite different in character from conservatism, which is about social order, and socialism, which is about social equality. How is it, then, that this old and honourable word is now commonly used to denote those whose political views are the exact opposite of traditional liberalism? How is it that those who favour State intervention in the economy are called 'liberal', and those who have a genuinely liberal dislike of such things are called 'conservative' or 'right-wing'?

"Is this question of anything more than academic interest? Not if we think words do not matter. But if

we think that political debate loses much of its point if words are used in a slipshod and inaccurate fashion, the misuse of the word 'liberal' is a tendency that we all ought to resist."

All this will, of course, leave the crypto-communists in Delhi and their apologists in the press unmoved. They can be counted on to go on with their practice of "double think" and "double talk" à la George Orwell, describing progress as reaction and autocracy as progress.

The controversy in the *Daily Telegraph* serves, however, to strengthen and vindicate the faith of genuine liberals in India, such as members of the Indian Liberal Group affiliated to the Liberal International, and others, that theirs is the true Liberalism based on the authentic liberal tradition.

Reston, Nixon and the Times of India

NOBODY can accuse James Reston of the *New York Times* of being among President Nixon's admirers. It is therefore of some significance when Mr. Reston has, for a change, something good to say about the U.S. President. One such rare occasion came when, in the course of an article on China in the *Herald Tribune* of 24/25 February, Mr. Reston likened Nixon's policy in Asia to that of Truman's Marshall Plan for Europe.

The Indian press, under the mistaken notion that the *New York Times* speaks for the American people, constantly quotes whatever emanates from those quarters. It was not therefore surprising that the *Times of India* should carry in its issue of February 28 Mr. Reston's article under the byline of the *New York Times News Service*.

The Bombay daily evidently found Reston's compliment to Nixon so unpalatable that it censored Mr. Reston by coolly dropping the last three paragraphs of his article which praised Nixon's statesmanship regarding Asia.

So that readers of *Freedom First* may be better served than the unfortunate readers of the *Times of India*, we quote below the suppressed paragraphs:

"President Nixon, who personally started this 'opening to China' during his conversations with former President Charles de Gaulle in 1969, is thus moving with admirable skill and purpose to turn the cease-fire in Vietnam into a more enduring general settlement in Asia, and to transform the initiatives of his first term into enduring achievements in his second.

"All this is still in a preliminary and fragile state and will need a great deal of understanding and co-operation from Congress, particularly on aid to North Vietnam and trade with Japan, before it is stable.

"But Nixon is now clearly embarked on the most constructive American enterprise abroad since the Marshall Plan in Europe after World War II. Like the Marshall Plan, which led to the reconstruction of a peaceful Europe, it aims at nothing less than the reconstruction of a peaceful Asia, and for this he needs and deserves the gratitude and support of his fellow-countrymen."

A Non-Issue

AIR India employees have, during the past few years, done a great many things to forfeit public sympathy but, for once, they had a just grievance when they reacted to the arbitrary suspension of several of their number by order of the Ministry of Civil Aviation in Delhi.

Unable evidently to stand up to a hysterical outburst by some members of the Rajya Sabha, the Minister, Mr. Karan Singh, sought to pass the buck by victimising several airport and Air India officials against whom no *prima facie* case had been made out.

It has become a habit with some members of the present Parliament to get excited about non-issues, mostly of a chauvinistic nature, while maintaining a guilty silence about the mad policies of Government which are leading the country and its economy to destruction.

Certainly the procedures at airports need to be examined and tightened up to prevent a recurrence of such incidents, but has the security of this great country really been endangered because three young unarmed Goans managed to smuggle themselves out of India as stowaways?

When Socialists Become Untouchable

AFTER all the ballyhoo about France going "left", it is a relief to see that the French people did not after all lose their balance so badly as to indulge in the folly of letting the Communists into the Government. They are perhaps too mature to forget that Socialists who join hands with Communists inevitably get devoured by their allies once police power comes into their hands.

The Indian press has not told its readers that one of the factors that turned the election against the "Leftists" was the publication of a letter from Prague written by the wife of a Czechoslovak Professor now in jail.

Mrs. Sabatova's husband, a life-long Communist as he was, had been tried in secret and sentenced to 6½ years in jail. His crime, she said, was to ask the ruling Communists to work with Socialists and other leftists. "One cannot make use of allies only during the fight for power," she wrote. "They must be assured of all democratic rights also in the later period."

But not in Communist Czechoslovakia. Even Mrs. Sabatova's children, including her 21 year old daughter, Anna, sentenced in Brno to 3½ years, were all jailed. "Why were these trials kept secret if they were justified?" asked the mother in her letter.

U.K. Gesture to Asian Husbands

IN its March issue *Freedom First* had published a statement issued after the Executive Committee of the Liberal International had met in Jerusalem at the end of January, in the course of which the British Government had been criticized for permitting their immigration laws to split some 300 Asian families as a result of the husbands and fathers being kept out of Britain while the wives and children who held British passports had been admitted.

It is good to know that by the time that issue was published, the British Government had already announced that this hardship was being removed as an act of humanity. It would require a great deal of optimism to expect President Amin of Uganda to respond similarly to the Liberal International criticism. Therein lies the difference.

FOR FARM AND FREEDOM

Bhanu Pratap Singh

THERE has never been a brain drain, more serious and complete than what has taken place from the villages to the towns of India. What little talent was left behind, pioneering the Green Revolution in the countryside, will soon have to migrate to the cities, on account of the land policy of the government which has, in effect decreed that no agriculturist may earn more than the salary of a senior peon in the service of any nationalized bank. Anyone who aspires to live on a standard, higher than that of a peon, must leave agriculture, and go in search of some other employment.

The agricultural community is under a many-pronged attack, which if successful, will not only destroy the big farmers, but will enslave the entire community. Some of my friends, who are large farmers, seem to be worried only on account of imposition of low ceilings, little realizing, that if price manipulation is allowed to go on, as it has gone on during the last five years, their holdings will become profitless, even if left intact with them. Compared to the procurement prices of wheat and rice and purchase price of sugarcane in 1967-68 the prices in 1971-72 were lowered by 6.7, 1.11 and 48 per cent respectively, whereas during the same period, prices of fertilizers, tractors and electricity have been raised by 38.7, 74.1 and 90 per cent respectively. What enterprise can remain in business if the price of output was reduced, and the cost of inputs increased in the same proportion, as has been done in case of agriculture?

Economic Excuse

I will refer to the speech, made by Shrimati Indira Gandhi in Hyderabad on July 27, 1972 to the legislators of Andhra Pradesh. In justifying the low ceilings on land-holdings, she quoted the example of Japan, which though a country of small holdings, has achieved the highest productivity in agriculture. The Prime Minister is either grossly misinformed about the nature of agricultural production, or is just trying to advance an economic excuse for a political decision. In any case, her assertion that smaller land-holdings would lead to higher production is not true.

Mrs. Gandhi, on the one hand, claims that the break-up of larger units into smaller ones would lead to higher production, on the other hand, she also complains that the benefits of the Green Revolution have largely gone to the large farmers. One may ask, if small land-holdings are conducive to higher productivity, why they failed to derive benefit from the Green Revolution. One may further ask, if smaller land-holdings lead to increased production why per acre

yield in India remains one of the lowest in the world, when 98 per cent of her land-holdings are already small.

To suggest that small scale farming is synonymous with intensive farming is utter nonsense. It is also not true that small scale farming would necessarily lead to intensive farming.

I am aware that a number of authors have produced data to prove that small holdings were more productive than the large holdings. Most of them have relied on data from foreign countries, especially from Western Europe and Japan. I can also produce equally massive data from the investigations carried out in our country by the Departments of Agricultural Economics of both the Pantnagar and the Ludhiana Agricultural Universities, to prove that land-holdings have performed better, and given higher yields per acre, as compared to small land-holdings. But both these kinds of data prove nothing, except that under one set of circumstances, small holdings give better results, and under another set of circumstances, large land-holdings perform better.

It is the set of circumstances, under which a farmer operates, and not the size of his holding, which determines his yield. In other words, yield is a function of the various inputs including the technical skill of the farmer, and not of the length and breadth of the plot, in which the farming is carried on. Therefore, it is more relevant to discuss which set of circumstances would lead to greater application of inputs to land, than merely its division into various sizes.

To put it precisely, capital, talent and incentive to work hard determine the extent to which a farmer can approach the maximum production potential of any given piece of land. In Western Europe and Japan, all agricultural workers are literate and therefore, can easily learn the latest techniques of production; they can also find all the resources, needed to put the techniques into practice. Both Western Europe and Japan are highly industrialised, and therefore, the Governments there can afford to subsidize agriculture on a generous scale. The subsidies provide the capital, as well as the incentive to work hard. In India, these conditions are not fulfilled at all.

The great majority of the small land-holders are illiterate, and therefore, they cannot be easily taught to practice scientific farming. They are too poor to afford the inputs required for modern farming. And our Government, instead of subsidising agriculture, is always thinking of ways and means to fleece the farmers. Therefore, under our circumstances, the small land-holder has no chance of becoming an efficient

farmer. On the other hand, the large land-holder has some chance. He is adequately educated to grasp the new technology, he can bring in capital from outside, and on account of economy of size, he can also produce at lesser cost, and is therefore, not in need of Government subsidy. Here it has to be said that *small scale farming is like the Khadi Udyog, which cannot survive except on Government subsidy*. Small scale farming in both Western Europe and Japan is heavily subsidised. Is Mrs. Gandhi willing and able to subsidise agriculture on a scale on which it is done in Japan? In Japan, Government purchases rice from farmers at Rs. 4 per kilo. Government of India tries to procure it at 89 paise per kilo.

According to an USAID publication the aims of the agricultural policy of the Japanese Government are:

(i) To produce quality food in adequate quantities for the entire Japanese people.

(ii) To equalize incomes of farm & non-farm workers.

(iii) To maintain parity between prices paid and received by farmers.

If Shrimati Indira Gandhi adopts aims No. 2 and 3 above, as the aims of her own Government, and pays full compensation for the land taken over, as was done in Japan, then I am sure, there would be no opposition to imposition of low ceilings. But if she does not follow the Japanese example, in its entirety, she has no right to quote it piecemeal.

One may argue that our Government will also, in due course, give all the facilities to our farmers that are available to Japanese farmers. But the fact is that our Government has neither the will, nor the capacity to produce the conditions obtaining in Japan. Rate of growth of literacy is so slow in India, that it will not be possible to make all the farmers literate even in the next hundred years. As regards capital investment, it is beyond the capacity of the Government alone to provide all the capital required, even if it has the intention to do so. It is estimated that an additional capital of Rs. 1000 per acre is required to convert a traditional farm into a modern farm. At this rate, in U.P. alone, from where I come, more than Rs. 4250 crores are required to modernise farming. This amount is 1.8 times the total investment of the U.P. Government on all its plans from First to Fourth. This Capital can be raised only from land, whose productive potential largely remains unexploited. But that would be possible only, if the Government, at least in the early stage of our development, allows persons with capital and talent to develop land. If, however, conditions are created—and they have already been created—in which capital and talent flee from agriculture, not only agricultural production will be retarded, but our whole economy will receive a shattering blow.

The ostensible purpose of imposing low ceilings on land-holdings is to distribute land to the landless. Let

me quote some figures to show how impossible, even if desirable, is the task of providing land to the landless. The number of families of landless agricultural workers is no less than 30 million. If each is to be provided with even two hectares of land, which is the minimum to sustain a family, 60 million hectares of land would be required. As against this, the maximum area, that can be expected to be declared surplus would not exceed 6 million hectares. Thus the land hunger of



"W-W-What's the Opposition up to now—it's time to stand united."
Courtesy: Stir

not even one in a hundred landless will be satisfied. Permanent relief to the rural jobless can only be provided by giving them employment in small and cottage industries, established in villages.

According to estimates of the Planning Commission, 70 per cent of the farm families are living at sub-human standard, and yet in the present drive for collecting more taxes, even they are not being spared. Taxing the poor for ameliorating their economic condition, through planned development, is like drawing out blood from one part of an emaciated body for transfusion in another part of the same body.

After the imposition of very low ceilings of 10 to 18 acres on land-holdings, there would hardly remain any land-holding, whose profit would exceed Rs. 5000 annually, the exemption limit for assessment of Income Tax. And yet the Raj Commission which was appointed to recommend measures for taxing agricultural incomes continues to function. This is a pointer that the government would either impose taxes on imaginary incomes (which the great scientists at the Agricultural Research Institutions have never been able to achieve themselves, except on tiny demonstration plots) or fix a lower exemption limit for the farmers. Most probably, they would do both.

What have the rural folk received in return for all

the exploitation they have been subjected to, and all the taxes—direct and indirect—that they paid? According to the Institute of Public Opinion, more than two-thirds of the rural population in India suffers from chronic malnutrition, the worst sufferers are 86 million children in the age group of one to six. The mortality rate of children, below 5 is 40 per cent; half of the remainder carry the effects of malnutrition into adult life, 25 million children face blindness due to vitamin 'A' deficiency; 85000 women die every year, due to lack of nutrition during pregnancy; 85 per cent of the rural population do not have a safe source of drinking water. Against the plan target of a primary health centre for every 20,000 people, at present the ratio is 1:80,000 of the births, 82 per cent are unattended by doctors, or trained medical personnel. Of those who die, 57 per cent die without the benefit of medical care. There are over one lakh registered medical practitioners in the country. Every year more than 10,000 doctors pass out of our medical colleges. But 80 per cent set up shop in cities, while 80 per cent of the country live in villages. The reason is that villages are so devoid of social amenities that the educated youth prefer to starve on the city lanes than to go to villages. An added reason is the increasing insecurity, due to breakdown of law and order in villages.

Collectivization the Aim?

One wonders whether the aim of the government's agricultural taxation policy is merely to raise more resources for the plans, or to force the farmers to surrender their lands 'voluntarily' as was done in U.S.S.R. or China, prior to collectivization of land. The suspicion, that the ultimate aim of the government's land policy is socialization of agriculture—whatever name may be given to it—is not entirely without basis. The following pronouncements by persons in authority, and decisions taken by some of the State Governments provide sufficient circumstantial evidence for one to conclude, that while Mrs. Gandhi may be talking about the Japanese example, she will end up by following the Soviet example:

1. President Giri has openly and repeatedly recommended setting up of joint farms, as a means to solve the rural unemployment problem.

2. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi addressing the AICC meeting in Delhi had said "mere ceiling legislation will not bring about institutional changes in agriculture; many structural and organisational changes will have to be brought about".

3. Madhya Pradesh and Assam Governments have already announced that their surplus lands would not be distributed amongst the landless, but will be utilized for establishing state farms.

4. Kerala Government has decided to establish a number of collective farms.

5. According to the latest decision of the Congress

High Command, cooperative farms will be exempt from the new ceiling laws.

6. Big tractors and combines continue to be imported in large numbers, despite the fact, that even the smallest 5-wheel tractor cannot be economically maintained on an 18 acre holding.

7. Chief Minister of Haryana, Shri Banshi Lal, has said in the State Assembly on the 23rd of August that the large farmers need not be unduly worried, because soon all land would be nationalized.

8. Revenue Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Shri Udit Narayan Sharma, has said at a meeting of the U.P. Farmers Forum that if the small farmers failed to meet the food requirements of the country, the government would not hesitate to establish big cooperative farms.

9. Chief of the State Farms Corporation, Mr. M. R. Krishan, has submitted to the Prime Minister and the Planning Commission a scheme to bring all surplus land under the management of the Corporation.

10. In spite of the repeated and open accusations by Ex-Chief Minister of U.P., Charan Singh, that Indira Gandhi's land policy was aimed at socialization of agriculture, she has not contradicted him in any of her public utterances.

The situation is pretty grim. It is grim not only for the agriculturists but for the entire nation; because what hurts the farmers today is bound to hurt the nation tomorrow. The food situation, which was never as rosy as made out by government spokesmen, is now causing anxiety. Mr. Shinde, the Union Minister of State for Agriculture, has said the government was making all possible efforts to sustain the country's self-sufficiency in food. But the government would not do the obvious: announce an incentive price of wheat, and exempt the efficiently run farms from ceiling laws. The food situation will deteriorate further, not only because of poor monsoon but also because of the government policies, which have disillusioned and disheartened those very farmers, who were contributing more than two-thirds of the marketable surplus. By its decision to impose low ceilings on land-holdings, the government has partly put out of commission thousands of tractors, and tens of thousands of tubewells, which were installed for use on large farms, but will now be used on 10 to 18 acre holdings only. A nation which allows its government to put out of use so many agricultural machines for the sake of an ideology cannot but reap the consequences. And the ideology for the sake of which, all this is being done, has utterly failed to make the USSR self-sufficient in food even after half a century of its application in that country. Russia is importing this year about 1 billion dollars worth of foodgrains from the U.S.A. If we allow our government to persist in socializing agriculture, we will not only be again importing foodgrains, but we will also lose all democratic rights, as happened in all those countries, which socialized their agriculture.

THE BUDGET OF AN IGNORAMUS

HIS foes and friends alike ascribe Mr. Yashwantrao Chavan's political survival to his having unflinchingly lived up to the unflattering attribute of being a bottomless wonder. A common joke in New Delhi at the time Mrs. Gandhi split the Congress Party was that staring at himself in a looking glass Yashwantrao could not tell himself whether he was for or against Chavan!

If Mr. Chavan's characteristic fence-sitting has saved him from being axed, another significant factor that has sustained him so long in politics is his ability to profit from the mistakes of his original mentor, Mr. Morarji Desai—the man he has, coincidentally enough, succeeded in practically every Government post except that of a District Collector. It is strange therefore that as Finance Minister Mr. Chavan should have exceeded in his 1973-74 budget the severity of the fiscal burden Mr. Desai had proposed and invited his own doom, as a result, exactly ten years ago.

Whereas in the post-Chinese aggression budget for the year 1963-64 the former Finance Minister had proposed additional taxes to the tune of Rs. 265 crores, the present Finance Minister has come forward with fresh taxes of the order of Rs. 292.6 crores. The enormity of his tax burden is made all the more striking by the fact that he produced, in the previous two years, a total of Rs. 700 crores of additional taxes.

He resorted to fresh taxes on three different occasions in the year 1971-72 to produce altogether for the Centre additional revenue of as much as Rs. 500 crores in a full year. The 1972-73 budget contained a fresh dose of taxation to the extent of Rs. 172 crores. Now he wants to pick almost Rs. 300 crores more.

How Deficit Behaves

All this he has been doing in the name of closing the deficit in the Centre's accounts. But it is worth studying how this deficit has behaved.

The estimated deficit for the year 1971-72 was placed at Rs. 232 crores. At the close of the year the figure turned out to be as much as Rs. 519 crores. Twice in that year supplementary taxes were imposed and, besides, a huge loan was raised through market borrowings. Yet the deficit increased by nearly Rs. 300 crores.

The 1972-73 budget had estimated a deficit of Rs. 251 crores, after allowing for fresh taxes of Rs. 172 crores. But the revised figures show the deficit has amounted to Rs. 550 crores.

This figure, incidentally, is exclusive of a sum of Rs. 421 crores which the Centre is required to provide

for in order to pay up the States' overdrafts. If this amount is added (it has already been taken into account in the Budget Memorandum), the deficit would expand to a phenomenal figure of Rs. 971 crores.

Thus, in the just completed financial year, the Centre was in the red to an unbelievable extent of Rs. 1,000 crores, notwithstanding its ever increasing revenues and the additional taxes, in two years, to yield as much as Rs. 700 crores.

That the last three budgets have brought in their wake additional taxes to the tune of Rs. 1,000 crores and yet left the Centre in the red to the extent of several hundred crores of rupees makes one strongly suspect there is something fundamentally wrong with the Government's spending and that it is time Parliament investigated it.

Fellow-travellers in his Party and his leftist sympathisers outside have accused Mr. Chavan of being lenient towards the rich and the corporate sector in his latest tax proposals. For the first time perhaps in recent memory the rates of both personal and corporate taxation have not been pushed up, and direct taxes are to yield only Rs. 18.6 crores, much of it as a result of the clubbing of agricultural income with the non-agricultural income, in a total, massive fresh tax burden of Rs. 292.6 crores.

Diminishing Returns

Lest this may make one jump to the unwarranted conclusion that Mr. Chavan has been particularly soft towards the major payers of income-tax, it needs to be pointed out that he has been restrained from taxing them further not of his own choice but by the compulsions of the law of diminishing returns operating at the present penal rates of direct taxation.

It was the noted tax expert, Mr. Nani Palkhivala, who made the people aware that ours was the highest taxed nation in the world. The point is now brought home by no less than the country's Finance Minister!

Proof of this is further provided by Mr. Chavan in his proposal to liberalise tax exemption for contributions to provident fund and life insurance. The idea obviously is to promote savings, the scope for which the Congress Government's inflationary policies over the years have completely eroded.

But when Mr. Chavan has come to realise that it is pointless pegging up the rates of personal taxation any further and that the only way to create savings in the present highly inflationary conditions is through

exemption in tax, would it not have been proper for him to reduce the prohibitive rates of personal taxation straightaway?

The major tax effort is in the field of indirect taxes: Rs. 118 crores in excise and Rs. 156 crores in customs duties. And excepting Rs. 32 crores that the increased duty on cigarettes will yield and Rs. 19.20 crores that the enhanced duty on petrol is to produce, the brunt of the total indirect tax effort of Rs. 274 crores is to be borne entirely by industry.

While the increased excise duties will render manufacturing costs more prohibitive, the enhanced customs levies will make capital costs also more expensive, and this at a time when several major world currencies are commanding extra premium following the dollar's devaluation.

On the face of it, customs duties appear to have been raised in order to provide for increased import substitution. But a close examination shows this is not exactly the purpose, as there is no selectivity in the rates that have been raised and the increases have been effected "across-the board" to cover all items almost indiscriminately.

In his Economic Survey, presented just a week before the budget, the Finance Minister had talked of obtaining in the year 1973-74 (i) a 5 per cent overall economic growth, (ii) a 7 to 8 per cent increase in industrial production, and (iii) a 7 per cent growth in exports.

"The budget," he said in his speech, "is not merely an exercise in balancing revenue and expenditure. Its primary role today is to be a major instrument for the realisation of our basic social and economic objectives. This Government is firmly committed to accelerated economic growth in a framework of greater social justice and self-reliance."

Midsummer Dream

By denying them any incentive and imposing instead yet another heavy burden on the productive sectors of the economy, Mr. Chavan has assured the targets he has set for his Government will not be attained and that the promised goals will stay a midsummer dream.

Was it unavoidable for Mr. Chavan to burden the economy with the highest tax efforts on record particularly when the growth rate stands crippled to less than 2 per cent, prices have been rising—at the rate of 12 per cent, according to official estimates, shortages have been growing and the employment situation has been steadily worsening?

While lamenting all this, the Economic Survey pinned hope on the next monsoon. Nobody needs to borrow the wisdom of the Finance Minister or of his

experts to know that if the rains turn out normal this year, the economy would easily regain a good deal of its balance. But when the Finance Minister has turned his mind to the next monsoon in his Economic Survey, it was logical to expect of him to do so also at the time of framing the budget, too.

Unused Option

Mr. Chavan had the choice to defer at least part of his budget proposals to after the middle of this year by which time the trend of the monsoon would have emerged clearly. If the trend appeared encouraging, he had the option not to burden the economy at all with his left-over proposals.

If faster economic growth and industrialisation, coupled with increasing exports and employment opportunities, were the goals of the present Government, it was obligatory for the Finance Minister to exercise now the choice he had and later, depending upon the progress of the monsoon, also the option to let the economy escape an unduly and possibly uncalled for heavy tax burden.

These are matters of strategy. Sad as it may sound, it is true that in matters of high finance and economics Mr. Chavan has remained an ignoramus. After all, he did confess to being just that when Mrs. Gandhi moved him from Home to Finance.

RUBEX FOR COLDS

**PROTECTS
AS WELL AS
RELIEVES
FROM COLDS**



**STRONG-
ACTING,
NON-
BURNING.**



everest/1022/ACW

ONE MAN'S BHUTTO

A. G. Noorani

FOREIGN affairs are very foreign to us, even if they be the affairs of an immediate neighbour which was a part of this country till recently. Understanding is beclouded by prejudice, propaganda and simply by lack of information. A politically conscious Indian is better informed about the domestic politics of Britain or the U.S. than of Pakistan. The supply of Pakistani newspapers stopped in 1965 and has not been renewed. The Government of India, of course, gets them but they are distributed only to a few institutions and publicists. Selected news items are vouchsafed to the news agencies for dissemination to the Indian reader. It is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs.

Indian journalists who have had the opportunity to visit Pakistan, therefore, owe a particular duty to the country to inform it of the true state of affairs there. In the case of Mr. Pilo Mody, a Member of Parliament, editor of *March of the Nation* and Chairman of the Swatantra Party, the duty was all the more an onerous one. Apart from the triple qualifications he has been a boyhood friend of the President of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

His book *Zulfi - My Friend* (Thomson Press, India; Rs. 24) is disappointing because Mr. Mody has failed in that duty. He writes: "I lay no claim to objectivity, nor is this a biography in the true sense of the term. As a friend I find it difficult to attain the first—though I shall try; the second requires intensive research and a scholarly approach, to either of which I refuse to plead guilty".

Sketchy

Drawing a highly flattering portrait of his subject, he has repeated Mr Bhutto's version of events without subjecting it to any scrutiny whatever. Mr. Mody was not expected to do 'intensive research'. He was expected only to check and verify, at least, the main elements of the Bhutto story. This he has not done. The deficiency, grave enough as it is, might have been compensated to some extent if the reader had at least a candid and reasonably detailed account of the Bhutto story. Instead, all we have is a very sketchy account of Mr. Bhutto's rise to power. The book throws no fresh light on the crucial years 1962 to 1965 which saw Pakistan drift closer to China, the 1965 war, Tashkent, the break with Ayub Khan, and the rise of the Opposition leader. Least excusable of all is the restatement of the last and least edifying chapter of the Bhutto story before the break up of Pakistan. That it is biased in favour of Mr. Bhutto is to be expected. Unfortunately, Mr. Mody has so allowed his enthusiasm

to overpower his discretion as to repeat the Bhutto version even where it is patently implausible and incorrect. The effort to prove that Mr. Bhutto did not contribute to Pakistan's break-up fails.

It is a pity. Mr. Mody is an earnest person. His jestful manner should not make any one underestimate the depth of his commitment to the things he believes in. One of them, undoubtedly, is Indo-Pakistani amity. Mr. Mody has espoused the cause with a courage and consistency that compel admiration. But no cause is ever served by exaggeration.

The main problem that faces us today is the attainment of a *détente* among the three states of the sub-continent—India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Mr. Bhutto's policies, past and present, are very relevant. We know much about his attitude towards India, but little about his attitude towards his 'Muslim Bengal'. Mr. Mody fails to enlighten us.

Flunked

Consider one incident, the All-Parties Conference which President Ayub convened in 1969. It was a challenge to the heterogeneous opposition parties to evolve an alternative. They flunked. "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was totally against the conference because he felt this was simply a plot by Ayub to remain in power. Therefore Bhutto decided that he at any rate would not attend the conference. He also tried to persuade the other leaders to keep aloof, and in fact went to East Pakistan to persuade Mujib and Bhashani to boycott the conference. Bhutto was surprised to find that Mujib had become very pro-Ayub in spite of the Agartala Case, and was determined to attend the conference. Furthermore Mujib tried to persuade Bhutto to attend, arguing that it was part of one's moral responsibility to ensure stability, and that sterile excuses were not offered by men committed to a course of action. Zulfikar Ali returned to West Pakistan somewhat disgusted and continued his tours, speaking against the conference and persuading people not to attend it". Who was statesmanlike, Mujib or Bhutto? There was no question of Ayub continuing in power. The issue was a transfer of power to a viable government enjoying national support.

But Mr. Mody, throughout, prefers Mr. Bhutto's *ipse dixit* to Mujib's, and even where the record contradicts Mr. Bhutto. Mr. Mody avers: "Bhutto pleaded with Mujib either to come to an agreement on the six-point programme or to waive the 120-day restriction imposed by the Legal Framework Order. Failing this



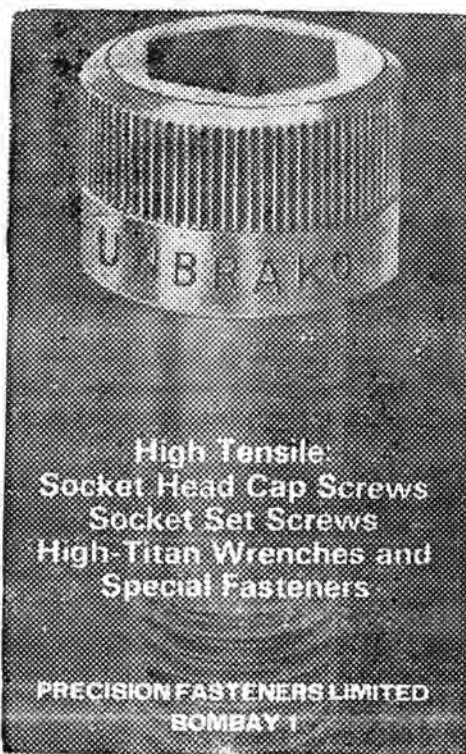
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10

he pleaded that the National Assembly should not be called for a few weeks, until 23rd March 1971, to give him more time for negotiations. He said that if neither was done, it would be impossible to keep the Assembly intact. But it appeared to Bhutto that Mujib had closed his mind and was not amenable to reason any more. Nevertheless Bhutto returned to West Pakistan and point by point tried to sell Mujib's six-point programme to the West Pakistanis. By 28th February at a mammoth meeting of a million people in Lahore, Bhutto had got the West Pakistanis to agree to four and a half to five points of Mujib's programme, in fact on everything except currency, trade and aid. Having succeeded this far in selling almost five points, he appealed to Mujib to let him have a little more time so that full agreement could be reached. Meanwhile Yahya all of a sudden woke up and was apprehensive that some agreement was being reached. So he abruptly postponed the Assembly *sine die* (it was due to meet on 2nd or 3rd March) and did not even fix a date when it would next be convened. When Bhutto heard that Yahya had postponed the Assembly *sine die*, he felt that now there would be trouble, and remonstrated with Yahya for not having fixed an alternate date."

Denied

A reference to the record shows this to be wrong. No sooner were the election results out than Mr. Bhutto declared that "no constitution could be framed nor could any government at the Centre be run without his party's co-operation. The Pakistan People's Party, he added, was not prepared to occupy the Opposition Benches in the National Assembly" (*The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, December 21, 1970). Thus was the democratically elected majority to be denied the right to form a government. Be it noted that the PPP won a majority only in the Punjab and Sind. In Baluchistan and NWFP it fared badly. While claiming, untenably, the right to rule these provinces, he was denying Sheikh Mujibur Rehman the legitimate right to form a ministry at the Centre without being fettered by the PPP's veto. Who was a Pakistani and who the provincial disruptionist?

Indeed in the same speech he said "no government at the Centre therefore could be run without the PPP's co-operation". The rest followed inexorably from this mad quest for power at all costs.

The Sheikh, on the other hand, said on January 3, 1971, that "he would seek the co-operation of the people's representatives of West Pakistan in framing the Constitution". (*The Pakistan Observer*, January 4). Only, he refused to submit to an imposed coalition with Mr. Bhutto and would not yield on the six-points on which he had secured a near-unanimous mandate from East Pakistan.

On January 14, President Yahya Khan dubbed the

Sheikh as the future Prime Minister of the country. Till as late as February 15 the Sheikh had faith enough in the President to speak in these terms as reported by *Pakistan Observer*: Addressing the meeting Sheikh Mujibur Rehman expressed his hope that President Yahya who had so long fulfilled all his pledges to the nation would not listen to 'conspirators' who, according to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, were trying to create internal and international problems and chaos and confusions in the country in order to nullify the result of the election". Who queered the pitch?

Mr. Mody suggests that Bhutto merely "appealed to Mujib" for more time and the fateful postponement of the Assembly's meeting was done by the President on his own.

Threat

As a matter of fact, Mr. Bhutto's speech of February 28, which Mr. Mody cites, contained not an appeal but a threat. "He said if the session was convened on March 3 without their participation, the PPP would launch a popular movement throughout West Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto said that if the elections to the women's seats took place on March 2, there would be complete general strike in the length and breadth of this wing of the country." (*Pakistan Times*, March 1, 1971). The very next day President Yahya graciously complied, mentioning as the principal reason Mr. Bhutto's boycott. No collusion, this?

Mr. Mody's account of the Dacca negotiations is no more accurate or objective. He repeats Mr. Bhutto's version of the Bhutto-Mujib meeting. Mr. Bhutto later reported to President Yahya Khan "Mujib had only been explaining his scheme of having two separate committees of the National Assembly, one for the East and the other for the West, after which the National Assembly, could meet and tie up the proposals neatly at the top."

The question arises: Why should the leader of the majority party in the Assembly ask for separate meetings of members of the two wings? Such a demand is more likely to be made by one who is in a minority in the entire Assembly but in a majority in one of the wings. Mr. Bhutto fills the bill.

Far more convincing, therefore, is Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed's version (April 17, 1971). He said: "Contrary to the distortions now put out by both Yahya and Bhutto, the proposal for separate sittings of the Assembly was suggested by Yahya to accommodate Mr. Bhutto. He cited the practical advantage that whilst 6-points provided a viable blueprint to regulate relations between Bangla Desh and the Centre, its application would raise serious difficulties in the West Wing. For this reason, West Wing MNAs must be permitted to get together to work out a new pattern of

relationships in the context of a six-point constitution and the dissolution of One-Unit."

Prof. Rehman Subhan, an adviser to Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, gave the same version in an article in the *Guardian*: "Yahya demanded a free hand for Bhutto in the West as a *quid pro quo* for conceding Mujib's demands".

The book tells us that "Back in West Pakistan on 27th March 1971, Bhutto warned General Pirzada that if he thought he could subdue Mujibur Rehman and then try the same on West Pakistan, he was going to be a very sorry man."

This does not fit in with Mr. Bhutto's famous exclamation: "Thank God, Pakistan has been saved", nor does it find place in Mr. Bhutto's pamphlet "The Great Tragedy".

Mr. Mody's failure to explain away Mr. Bhutto's disruption of Pakistan is of a piece with his failure to explain Mr. Bhutto's policy towards Bangladesh. Twice—at Simla and at New Delhi in late August 1972—India was assured that Pakistan would recognize Bangladesh. Domestic problems might explain the delay; they cannot explain away Mr. Bhutto's inconsistencies. First he made the recognition conditional on meeting the Bangabandhu; next on the repatriation

of the POWs. Half-way through he postponed any decision till after the General election in Bangladesh.

"Zulfi has always been fond of saying that consistency is the hallmark of mediocrity, and has then on set out to prove his own greatness".

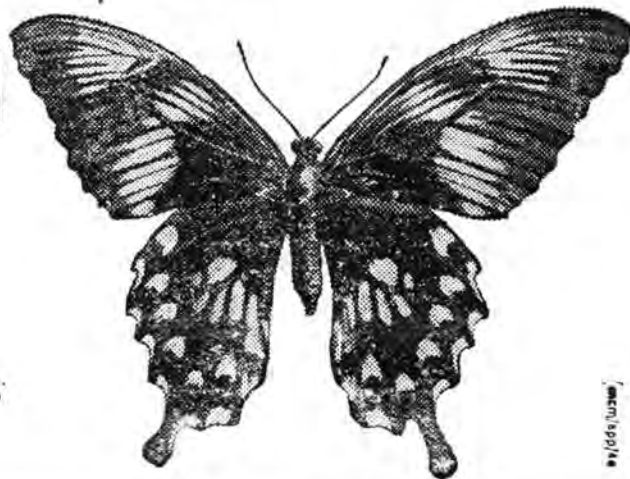
The better view is, as the saying goes, "a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of small minds". The absence of *any* consistency creates a credibility gap. In Mr. Bhutto's case the gap has widened. Mr. Mody's book offers no convincing explanation for its creation and helps not to bridge it, either.

Yet, Mr. Mody is absolutely right in regard to the crucial question of the repatriation of the POWs. He makes a powerful and ably documented appeal for their return to Pakistan. The law, he rightly points out, is against us. True, we have a political problem, namely that we simply must secure the concurrence of Bangladesh. This we can and must secure and seek the repatriation of the 400,000 Bengalis in Pakistan. Pakistan is agreeable to this swap and a Pak official said as much to an Indian correspondent abroad, Mr. Easwar Sagar of *The Hindu*.

Its imperfections notwithstanding, the book must be read by every Indian student of public affairs. It gives a fine portrait of friendship and reflects on every page the warmth and sincerity of its writer.

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Review

Any Indian Can!!

Confessions of An Indian Woman Eater by Sasti Brata; Arrow (paperback) 35 p. London; pp. 255.

WHAT do you say about a twenty year old Brahmin boy who leaves home to face the big wide world? Very little, if Sasti Brata is to be believed in his book, *Confessions of an Indian Woman Eater*.

Written in the first person by the Brahmin boy himself, Amit Ray, relates the story of his life in a sort of guilelessly sophisticated manner which never pretends to be Indian and which, on the other hand, reads like a parody in *Punch* of the latest best-seller. In attempting to be supremely naturalistic and honest, all that the author achieves is a successful transcript of an article from *True Confessions* complete with shocked exclamations and strings of coyly insinuating full-stops. As for the story—entirely fictitious, we are told—it appears to be a redux of the Great American Rags-to-Riches Saga, recomposed on the Indian scale by qualifying the hero with a rich and high-caste background. As in all good Hindi films nothing seems too preposterous for the delicate sensibilities of the leading man so long as everyone knows he is doing it through his own volition, not by circumstance of birth. In fact the whole book has a familiar feel about it, rather like seeing an all star cast movie where every minute is spent in identifying the famous names.

The plot is so threadbare it would barely cover one of the (various) heroines in the book. The aforementioned Amit Ray relinquishes ties with his family in Calcutta to—in quick succession—be let down by his best friend in Delhi, be befriended by a kindly 'Babu' type, be admitted to the miserable ranks of shoe-shine boys and finally to be a junior journalist with the Statesman. He is, naturally, an instant success. However, in a short while he feels constrained to re-establish his artistic disdain for security and abruptly leaves for Europe. In no time at all, he is back on the Church mouse routine, committing all the pathetic faux pas so characteristic of Indians until he painfully pulls himself out of his pecuniary mire to once more be able to stock his liquor cupboards to his satisfaction. Occasionally, one is reminded that the author's true zenith is his career as India's answer to Hemmingway. Thus at the end we are told that only sheer modesty had prevented the hero from mentioning his literary feats, which are then recounted in full, fittingly brilliant, for the closing paragraphs of the book.

Of course the highlight of the novel was supposed to be the enlightened approach to sex. Frankly, I was lured, neither was it good, solid, no-nonsense porn, nor was it Sunday Supplement Straight. No one really minds the unabashedly lusty character who good-naturedly ambles in and out of the most outrageous situations, but the self-righteous lecher is a universally abhorred creature. To illustrate: at one point,

Mr Ray makes no end of a song-and-dance when he finds two fellow air passengers engaging in conjugal relations: he eloquently deplores unemotional sex—only to spend his time whore-hunting a couple of nights later in the wilds of Rome. Quite apart from soliloquizing on 'love' at regular intervals during his amorous adventures, Amit has a nasty habit of posing as a small boy indulging in voyeurism. He is the kind of man who justifies touching girls in crowded buses and watching couples kissing in the park and who is thrilled to find that some women would pay for his services. He is the kind of man who is not even bad enough to be interestingly immoral and yet has not the slightest vestige of personal integrity to redeem himself in any way.



F. F. Cartoon by Manjula Padmanabhan

He never really adjusts to his identity as an Indian. Either he feels dreadfully sorry for himself and his skin colour or he comes across as a sort of Super Indian by virtue of being acceptably Westernized. One feels a condescending sympathy for an individual who is so acutely uncomfortable with his genetic heritage. In the first part of the book he cringes in a way which would make most well-adjusted Indians blush and in the latter, as if avenging his earlier subservience, he becomes a *pukka* sahib in the best of British traditions.

Perhaps the whole problem is that I'm just not the type of person for inclusion in Sasti Brata's following. Perhaps his hero represents the average Indian male in his unmasked entirety. Perhaps this is all there actually is underneath all those mama's boys who come back from abroad with lisping drawls and a positively cross-eyed star struck look. Perhaps this is the ultimate in honesty, the raw facts. All I can say is that, as pure fiction it is unoriginal to the point of being embarrassing; and if it is the ungarnished truth—well, then I think one would be happier not to know about it at all.

MANJULA PADMANABHAN

COFFEE OR FERTILISER?

PEOPLE the world over fall victim to the power of paper and the rigidity of bureaucracy. But rarely have the awe of documents and the iron hand of the Soviet bureaucracy been more simply captured than in the great fertilizer foul-up.

As *Izvestia*, the Government newspaper, told the story last week, a railroad car full of bagged fertilizer was being shipped to Terbuny, a town 400 km. south of Moscow, and at the same time, a shipment of 728 jute bags full of top-grade coffee beans was being sent to Yelets, only 53 km. from Terbuny.

But, at the New Proletariat railroad station near Moscow, two railroad workers inadvertently put the shipping documents for the coffee on the fertilizer and vice-versa, sending each to the wrong destination.

At Terbuny, there was consternation at the unusual appearance of the "fertilizer". "The granules, although similar to the expected colour and form, failed to dissolve in water", *Izvestia* reported. Moreover, the cargo was in jute bags instead of plastic, as expected.

The workmen, concluding that there had been an error, reported it to the station master, Mr. N. Birkin, but he was a man with unflagging faith in documents. "Don't make up new tales of the thousand and one nights", he retorted. "Send the railroad car to the distribution point of the agricultural technical agency for unloading".

There too doubts arose, but the station master was



F. F. Cartoon by Manjula Padmanabhan

in no mood for trifling when they called him. "Unload your car quickly or else I will fine you for idling the railroad car", he ordered.

An agronomist who was summoned took a handful of bagged beans over to the local agricultural administration. Specialists there decided it must be coffee, but they could not summon the courage to overrule the documents.

"Since it is fertilizer according to the papers, you should unload the shipment quickly", the farm administration ordered.

Izvestia incensed by what it called the "mindless routine" work of all concerned, observed that this was in violation of standing instructions to agronomists that in cases of doubt, all material should be kept in one storehouse.

Nonetheless, the unloading and distribution to State and collective farms went full speed ahead. Some farms stored the coffee beans under sheds. At other places they were simply dumped to await use as fertilizer.

Meanwhile, the agronomist called on a chemist for a scientific test. The chemist put a pound or two in a jar, but he forgot to take it to his laboratory, *Izvestia* noted sarcastically, and even now "the sample" stands at the agricultural administration.

Izvestia reported that an order eventually went out to all Terbuny farms: "Immediately gather all the material, down to the last bean, and bring it back to the station". Three months later, the paper lamented, nine bags of first grade coffee are still missing—worth "a sizable sum".

Izvestia did not choose to describe how far the other shipment went before the people who were expecting coffee discovered that they were using fertilizer instead.

—Courtesy: N. Y. T. News Service

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Letter

BALLYHOO ABOUT BOMBING

It was refreshing to read in the March issue of *Freedom First* your comment on the correct proportions of the damage done by the American bombing of North Vietnam. Valuable corroboration comes in a recent issue of the *London Economist*:

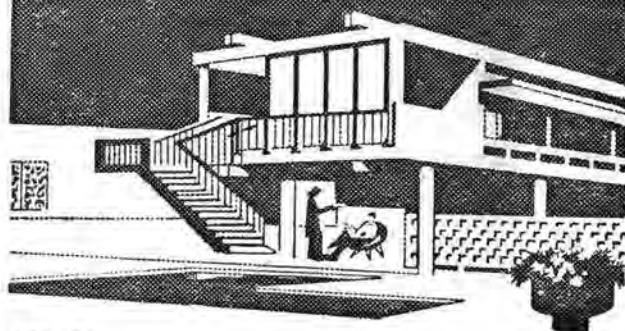
"The number of casualties the B-52s caused does not seem to fit in with the widespread belief that this was just plain terror bombing. One of Hanoi's leading doctors said on December 29th—the day before the raids ended—that about 2,000 people had been killed in the city. Other reports from Hanoi since then put the total at between 1,300 and 1,600 in the whole fortnight of bombing. . . . It is worth remembering that the German air force killed almost as many in a single night in what now seems to be the relatively mild bombing of Britain in 1940 and 1941. The British themselves killed 20 and 40 times as many in a single night's firestorm bombing of Hamburg and Dresden and other German cities. As it happens, the Hanoi death roll is smaller than the number of civilians killed by the North Vietnamese in their artillery bombardment of An Loc in April, or the toll of refugees ambushed when trying to escape from Quang Tri at the beginning of May."

A. K. JAYARAM

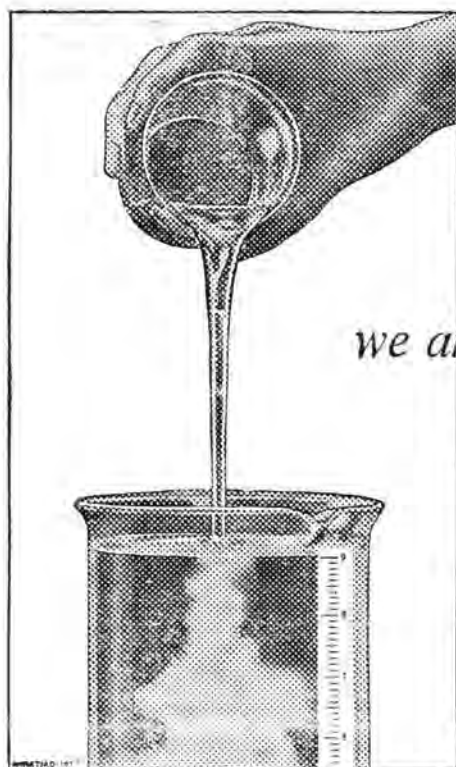
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WITH MANY VOICES

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

Civility is no small thing. It is to a nation what character is to a man.

—Ambassador Daniel Moynihan in *Span*,
February 9.

Edmund Burke said that a country to be loved must be lovely. That isn't in fact true. There are people who love Uganda and South Africa.

—Wm. F. Buckley in *National Review*,
November 10.

What on earth can make Mr. Nixon believe that he tamed the Russian bear? If so, he knows very little about bears.

—F. C. Nano in *The Economist*, February 3.

General Giap's soldiers are not tamely waiting to cast their votes in the next Saigon election.

—*The Economist*, February 3.

For an aspiring superpower, the ultimate horror is the thought of being simply dismissed as irrelevant.

—*The Economist*, February 3.

I have yet to see the CIA in person.

—Home Minister Umashankar Dikshit in
Sunday Standard, February 25.

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Do you mean to say that even God is subject to the amending power of Parliament?

—Mr. Justice Beg to Attorney General De
in *Times of India*, February 28.

May I as a humble tax payer suggest that.....
we give Hanoi exactly as much aid as Russia and
China will give the South Vietnamese?

—R. D. Wills in *Time*, February 26.

A lot of other things were devalued in America before the dollar.

—James Reston in *Times of India*,
February 22.

Like yen and dollar, MLAs are floating in Orissa, adjusting themselves to fluctuations of demand and supply. Right under our nose, MLAs are auctionable and purchasable.

—Bhupesh Gupta in *Times of India*,
March 3.

The Planning Commission is now consuming one ton of paper per day!

—Romesh Thapar in *Economic and Political Weekly*,

Let each of us ask, not just what will government do for me, but what can I do for myself?

—President Nixon in *The Economist*,
January 27.

Government must learn to take less from people so that people can do more for themselves.

—President Nixon in *The Economist*,
January 27.

The Tsars' Holy Russia used to be a major grain exporter; and it was not plastered, as the Soviet Union now is, with notices warning works canteens and restaurants to discourage customers who ask for bread, and to slice it very thin if they have to serve it.

—*The Economist*, January 13.

There is no difference in principle between a bomb dropped from an aircraft and a shell fired from a gun.

—*The Economist*, January 13.