

APRIL 1974

EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

'THIS FILTHY, SWEATY SHIRT...'

Solzhenitsyn

MARXISM is not only not accurate, not only not a science, has not only failed to predict a *single event* in terms of figures, quantities, time-scales or locations (something that electronic computers today do with laughable ease in the course of social forecasting, although never with the help of Marxism)—it absolutely astounds one by the economic and mechanistic crudity of its attempts to explain that most subtle of creatures, the human being, and that even more complex synthesis of millions of people, society. Only the cupidity of some, the blindness of others and a craving for *faith* on the part of still others can serve to explain this grim humour of the twentieth century: how can such a discredited and bankrupt doctrine still have so many followers in the West! In *our* country there are fewest of all left. We *who* have had a taste of it are only pretending willy-nilly...

We have seen above that it was not your common sense, but that same antiquated legacy of the Progressive Doctrine that endowed you with all the millstones that are dragging you down: first collectivisation; then the nationalisation of small trades and services (which has made the lives of ordinary citizens unbearable—but you don't feel that yourselves; which has caused thieving and lying to pile up and up even the day-to-day running of the country—and you are powerless against it), then the need to inflate military development for the sake of making grand international gestures, so that the whole internal life of the country is going down the drain and in fifty years we haven't even found the time to open up Siberia; then the obstacles in the way of industrial development and technological reconstruction; then religious persecution which is very important for Marxism, but senseless and self-defeating for pragmatic state leaders—to set useless good-for-nothings to hounding their most conscientious workers, innocent of all cheating and theft and as a result to suffer from universal cheating and theft. For the believer his faith is *supremely* precious, more precious than the food he puts in his stomach.

Have you even paused to reflect on why it is that

you deprive these millions of your finest subjects of their homeland? All this can do you as the leaders of the State nothing but harm, but you do it mechanically, automatically, because Marxism insists that you do it...

To someone brought up on Marxism it seems a terrifying step—suddenly to start living without the familiar ideology. But in point of fact you have no choice, circumstances themselves will force you to do it, and it may already be too late. In anticipation of an impending war with China, Russia's national leaders will in any case have to rely on patriotism, and patriotism alone. When Stalin initiated such a shift during the war—remember?—nobody was in the least surprised and nobody shed a tear for Marxism. Everyone took it as the most natural thing in the world, something they recognised as Russian! It is only prudent to redeploy one's forces when faced by a great danger—but sooner rather than later. In any event, this process of repudiation, though tentative, began long ago in our country, for what is the "combination"

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IN THIS ISSUE

Apart from "Alexander the Greater," as the *New Statesman* of London described Solzhenitsyn, we have three distinguished contributors to this issue.

Popular novelist Manohar Malgonkar discusses critically the rose-tinted glasses worn by the former Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, when writing a record of his public life entitled *Promises to Keep*.

Sharu Rangnekar from the world of Management discusses the possibilities of "Hardening the Soft State" viz., India.

Prof. B. P. Adarkar dwells on the "Miracles of non-growth" with which we have to live.

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



The Solzhenitsyn Era

"PAPA," a boy asked his father, according to a story doing the rounds in Moscow, "Who was Leonid Brezhnev?"

"I think" said the father, "he was a politician who lived in the Solzhenitsyn era."

Thus does the wisdom of the Russian people and their sense of perspective put to shame many who live in freedom outside the Iron Curtain and cannot see the wood for the trees.

From Solzhenitsyn's magnificent letter to Brezhnev, dispatched to the Kremlin six months ago and now published for the first time, we carry on our front page an extract which appears to us to be more relevant to the problems of our own country than any other and that is the Russian seer's analysis and rejection of Marxism which he describes as the negation of patriotism.

The Russians are not the only ones to be ruined by "this cracked ideology". Its corrosive effects are universal. In the last few years, India, Ceylon and Chile are among those who have suffered from this scourge and only the last of the three had managed to follow Solzhenitsyn's advice to shake off "this, filthy, sweaty shirt" stained with blood. It is not enough to admire Solzhenitsyn's unexampled courage, though that we should do, but it is necessary also to listen to the wisdom of a man who speaks from experience of half a century of Marxism in practice. We still have the opportunity to opt out, and one of Solzhenitsyn's many services may be to show us the way out in time.

Don't Misuse the Army

FIELD MARSHAL MANEKSHAW has done a service to the country and to the Armed Forces by entering a caveat against the too frequent calling in of the army to quell civil disturbances. It is a sad state of affairs that, in the last year or two, the armed forces were called in to keep in office a so-called popularly elected government more often than the British imperial rulers did in a century of alien rule. Such a practice is harmful to the morale, prestige and credibility of the Armed Forces which are fortunately all high in this country today.

The same point was made in a letter to the press earlier by Col. C. L. Proudfoot. "The army should either be used", he wrote, "to show the flag", (as a warning) or called out as a last resort, with the decla-

ration of martial law". He made a plea that "the image of the army as the ultimate deterrent should be judiciously preserved". That was exceedingly well put.

The army is distinguished for its discipline and its readiness to carry out orders without question, and that is as it should be. It becomes all the more important then for citizens who believe in democracy to protest against the Armed Forces being thus involved in the efforts of politicians seeking to perpetuate their tenure of office.

Heikal Exposes Nehru

SLOWLY but surely, Egypt is being liberated from the relics of the Nasser regime. The removal of Editor Mohamed Heikal of *Al Ahram* is one more welcome step by President Sadat towards giving Egypt its freedom of movement back to genuine non-alignment and a mixed economy.

As it happens, Heikal, during his salad days, was not only close to Nasser but also to Nehru. In his book: *Nasser: The Cairo Documents*, Heikal quotes from Nehru's letter to him explaining away the jibes at Nasser in the Indian Press by dismissing them all as newspapers owned by big business and right wing elements. In an angry outburst the Prime Minister wrote: "I wish I could close them all." It is equally amusing to know what our late Prime Minister had to say about the Members of Parliament. On page 265 of his book, Heikal quotes Nehru's unworthy jibe against Indian parliamentarians: "Many of the Indian members of Parliament were on the pay-roll of the big millionaires like Tata and these millionaires used to send meals from the best Restaurants to them in their government-provided guest houses". Nehru told the Egyptian Ambassador to disregard the attacks on Nasser from these men because "they are only waiting for a good lunch from Tata".

Did Prime Minister Nehru really use this language in his letter to Heikal? We shall probably never know.

Needed a 'U' Turn

POLITICOS in New Delhi are agitated because the World Bank is reported to be annoyed at the Indian Government's "lack of earnestness" in meeting the economic crisis. A regular witch-hunt has started to ascertain how the report prepared for private distribution among the members of the Aid India Con-

sortium secured wider publication. Thank God it did! The logic of our politicians appears to be that the aiding countries should know the truth about India but that it should not be made available to the long suffering people of India!

Can there be any doubt about the justice of the Bank's charge about the lack of earnestness? Take, for instance, the Union Budget of this year. It is a highly inflationary budget. The official estimates of deficit finance are laughable. Even the *Times of India* in its editorial pointed out that "Mr. Chavan has underestimated the extent to which he may have to resort to deficit financing in 1974-75. Apparently the experience of the current year when deficit financing has turned out to be almost eight times as high as what he had budgeted for has been lost on him. It is hard otherwise to explain his budgeting for deficit financing to the tune of only Rs. 125 crores though even here he has gone against the advice of the Planning Commission which has made out a strong case for a balanced budget in the first two years of the next Plan. He has not at all taken into account the new wage demands that are most likely to be made by government and public sector employees in the present highly inflationary situation during the next twelve months. As things are, it will not be surprising indeed if the story of the current year is repeated yet again".

Incidentally, the Budget has vindicated the warnings of Dr. B. P. Minhas. Speaking soon after the introduction of the Budget in the Lok Sabha, Dr. Minhas told a meeting in New Delhi: "In the last Budget, for instance, the estimated deficit had shot up from Rs. 85 crores to Rs. 850 crores. This year, the deficit was estimated at Rs. 125 crores. But judging by last year's record, I think you can add a zero to that estimate to make it realistic."

Dr. Minhas had no hesitation in lashing out at the "barking dogs of the establishment". He was specially aggressive about the "modern-day brokers of Soviet thought". He was, no doubt, referring to his former chief, Mr. D. P. Dhar, the well-known camp follower of Russia, whether in international or economic affairs.

Our own feeling is that the current inflationary trend will accelerate and the rise in prices may be even 100 per cent this time next year as opposed to the 25 per cent last year. The one thing that needed to be done and which Chavan failed to do is to check massive wasteful Government expenditure.

Thus one more year has been allowed to pass without an effort to pull the country out of the morass into which it has been sinking as a result of "socialistic" planning.

Mr. N. A. Palkhivala, in his annual review of the Budget, said that what is needed in this context is to take a 'U' turn and go in for a complete reversal of the direction of Budgetary policies. He was right, but is it likely that Mr. Palkhivala's motorist will be allowed

to take a 'U' turn unless the policeman on point-duty is first removed?

A Deadlocked Election

SO far only India has suffered from the British electoral system. Now the British people have caught it, and who can resist a chuckle?

All these years, we have been treated to a great deal of tall talk about how the single member, first-past-the-post system of election, crude as it may be, at least produces a working majority in the House of Commons and hence produces stability. The present elections belie that claim. It has left Britain with a stalemated Parliament where no party has a majority and even the normal experiment of a coalition government has been estopped. According to the London *Times*, "This election was won by the 'Look Here, Wait A Minute Party'."

If there had been an electoral system with Proportional Representation, as in West Germany, Italy or Israel among others, the Liberal Party which polled about 20 per cent of the popular vote, would have got over a hundred seats in the House. As it was, 6 million of the electorate who voted Liberal, got only 20 per cent of the seats, something that has been happening to the Opposition parties in India since independence. Very stable coalition governments have ruled West Germany since World War II. In the absence of PR, the Liberals have been cruelly denied their proper share of seats. It is true that Mr. Heath invited Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, the Liberal leader, to form the government with an offer of a seat for himself in the Cabinet and a few junior ministerships for others. Mr. Thorpe, on his part, rightly responded with an offer of support to the Conservative Government from outside the Cabinet provided an agreed programme for a limited time, including a measure of electoral reform like PR, was adopted. Mr. Thorpe also suggested a Grand Coalition of all three parties to take Britain out of the present mess. Unfortunately, Mr. Heath turned down both offers, with the result that the Labour Party, with only just over a third of the electorate, whose share of the poll was smaller than at any general election since 1931, was called to form the government. A more unsatisfactory or unstable situation it is hard to imagine.

Mr. Wilson has threatened that, if defeated on the floor of the Parliament, he will ask the Queen to dissolve the House. He well may. But the Queen has the prerogative of refusing a dissolution asked for by a defeated minority Prime Minister and may call on some other respected leader like Mr. Roy Jenkins, Mr. Whitelaw, or perhaps Mr. Thorpe to form a government which enjoys a majority in the House.

The lesson for India from all this is that it is high time we discard the archaic British electoral system



Courtesy: Times of India

and resort to the 20th century model of the List System practised by the newer democracies of the world.

'Deliver Us from the People'

NOW that the State Assembly elections in U.P. and Orissa are over, a question that can well be asked is: what did it all amount to? Our own answer to that question would be that the voter, sick as he is of Congress misrule, was not prepared to replace the Congress Governments in the States by the kind of alternatives offered to him. As a result, he cut the Congress down to size but allowed it to linger in office yet a little while longer.

Take Orissa. There can be no question that the Swatantra Party was routed and cut down to size as a result of its utterly immoral alliance with two discredited men, Mr. Biju Patnaik and Mr. Harekrushna Mehtab. The result could easily have been foreseen but the two Maharajas who lead the Orissa Swatantra Party thought they knew better and the national leadership of the Party was too weak to put its foot down.

That this is not preaching from hindsight is clear when we recall that in the July 1973 issue of *Freedom First*, we had given the following warning under the title: "Orissa Swatantra Betrayed":

"Already there are reports that the Swatantra

organisation at the district level is being either sabotaged or underplayed for the benefit of the Pragati Party. If this process continues, it is quite on the cards that by the time the elections come round early next year, very little Swatantra organisation will remain.....

"The national leadership cannot afford to be timid if it desires to preserve the Orissa Swatantra Party's organisation intact. Unless it acts boldly, it might well become responsible for the liquidation of what was until recently a well-knit unit of the Party. Even worse, they would be compelling the electorate to choose between a Party—two of whose three leaders are discredited politicians—and Mrs. Nandini Satpathy's party. The Municipal elections show the kind of choice the electorate may make."

It is a tragedy that, while the principles and policies of the Swatantra Party are as noble and sound as they are, the human element in the Party continues so egregiously to let them down.

In U.P., the position was only superficially different. The question before the voter was who to put in place of the Congress Party. The Party led by Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the man who on 3rd January 1971 betrayed the Grand Alliance and handed the election on a platter to Mrs. Indira Gandhi? Or Mr. Madhu

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BOWLES' ROSE-TINTED GLASSES

Manohar Malgonkar

FROM what one hears it seems that, to hold your own at all in the kinetic, nerve-jangling world of American advertising, you have to possess the toughness of a commando-school instructor combined with the ruthlessness of a sky-jacker. Chester Bowles not only held his own but quickly worked his way to the top, and then, having, in the proper American tradition, made his millions in his thirties, turned his back on Madison Avenue to make his mark on the even more dog-eat-dog world of American politics. And here too he left his competitors well behind and soon arrived at the top, or at least as close to the top as makes no difference; he missed being Secretary of State by the proverbial whisker, and came near enough to the Presidency itself to have generated an impressive Bowles-for-President wave in the 1960 election.

His choice of a political career was deliberate and backed by a fantastic amount of homework: ten years devoted to the study of the major countries, taking one country every year. He thus possibly knew more about foreign affairs than any other man in the Roosevelt administration, but, all the same, allowed himself to be persuaded to take up an administrative job for a starter: as Controller of Prices in the second World War. He made such a resounding success of this assignment, thought to be "the toughest in Washington," that soon after VJ day when, at his instance, price control was abolished, he was offered other similar top-level jobs, including that of streamlining the United Nations' administrative machinery, which he declined. In 1948, he was elected the Governor of his state, Connecticut, and when this term of office ended, fought for and won a seat in the U.S. Congress.

From 1951 to 1953, he was the U.S. Ambassador to India. After that came more electioneering in America, a stint as John F. Kennedy's pre-election adviser on foreign affairs, followed by being appointed the Assistant Secretary of State in the Kennedy administration, then Kennedy's Roving Ambassador, and again a six-year term as the U.S. Ambassador to New Delhi. In between he found time to write at least half a dozen books on politics, administration and foreign affairs, delivered scholarly lectures by invitation to groups and universities, wrote regularly for prestigious journals, and kept up a steady correspondence with political colleagues in high places and the President of the U.S. bombarding them with information and guidance, logged enough flying hours to do credit to a commercial pilot and kept a private journal for his more waspish observations. No wonder that he speaks quite casually of fourteen and, with pride, of sixteen hour workdays. Mr Bowles has now published his record of this breathless career in public life in *'Promises to Keep'*. (B.I. Publications, Rs 50.)

Wildly Liberal

Mr. Bowles was, and is, a democrat and a self-professed liberal and, being a close friend of Mr Adlai Stevenson, decided, in the 1956 presidential election "to place all his bets" on him. Stevenson, of course, did not win. In 1960, he similarly placed his bets on Mr John F. Kennedy and this time the choice was right. President Kennedy, who had given Mr. Bowles good reason to believe that he would make him his Secretary of State, offered him instead the job of the Assistant Secretary. Even though disappointed, Mr Bowles

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Limaye — a member of what was appropriately described as "the demolition squad" that did the job of destruction that day? Or Mr. Charan Singh who supported the election of rubber-stamp Giri as President? Or Mr. C. B. Gupta who had been tried more than once as Chief Minister and found wanting? The moral of the story is that the old political parties have no future and that perhaps elections no longer really matter.

The events in Gujarat, whatever else they may mean, certainly indicate that the politician, to whatever party he may belong, has lost his credibility and that the number of MPs and MLAs a man may control no longer mean anything. Those who are responsible for this sad state of affairs are those who have reduced our Parliamentary institutions to the disrepute that they enjoyed in the days of Walpole in England when,

as the saying went, "Every man had his price and nobody's virtue was over nice."

How appropriate to our Parliament and Assemblies is the "prayer" written by William Hone in 1817 to be recited by members of Parliament when they met every morning:

"Our Lord who art in the Treasury, whatsoever be thy name, thy power be prolonged, thy will be done throughout the empire, as it is in each session, Give us our usual sops, and forgive us our occasional absences in divisions, as we promise not to forgive those that divide against thee. Turn us not out of our places; but keep us in the House of Commons, the land of pensions and plenty; and deliver us from the People. Amen."

gately accepted the lesser post and worked hard at it and in the proper spirit, for he even went to the extent of denying himself his usual access to the President, in order that he should not undermine the authority of Mr Dean Rusk who had been appointed the Secretary. Even so he was close enough to where the action was to have had advance information about the Bay of Pigs adventure and what he calls the "making of a debacle" in Viet Nam, and adduces evidence from his own reports and letters written at the time that he had stood firmly against both. (During the Cuba crisis, Mr Bowles, perhaps fortunately for his record, was on one of his periodic round-the-world trips, and was thus saved from having to play either dove or hawk.)

Being proved right, when others have blundered, is, for politicians in the U.S. as in India, a dangerous pastime. The top U.S. leaders may not be quite as desperate to stay in office as some of ours, but there too, as here, the advisers are just as eager to say 'yes' to the boss man, the military mind just as insular, the bureaucracy just as hidebound, the White House just as rife with palace politics as No 1 Safdar Jung Road. So it came hardly as a surprise to Mr Bowles when he found himself the victim of what came to be called the "Thanksgiving Day Massacre." He was eased out from his post as Assistant Secretary but, at the same time, prevailed upon to accept the vaguely defined but high-sounding job as the President's Roving Ambassador, as a sort of perch to mark time in, before he could be found a permanent assignment suited to his talents and credentials.

The very qualities in him that made Chester Bowles fall out with the Pentagon's Green Berets and the Blimps in the administration, his reluctance to jump to military solutions and his impatience with red tape, and even more, his "wildly liberal" image and his shirtsleeve informality, made him stand out as the ideal candidate to represent the United States of America in the very home of non-alignment and home-spun austerity, Nehru's India, particularly since Mr Bowles himself had always considered India as his spiritual home. It thus suited the Kennedy administration as well as Mr Bowles that he should once again go as Ambassador to New Delhi.

What is thus of special interest to the Indian reader of *Promises to Keep*, more than the anatomy of the Cuban Crisis or the Bay of Pigs indiscretion, is the part that concerns India, and which constitutes about a third of the whole book, especially since Mr Bowles was returning to India after an interval of ten years and thus was in a wonderful position to judge for himself how India had kept its promises.

But here we come across Mr. Bowles' ineradicable blind spot, or, more appropriately, his rose-tinted contact lenses which he obviously never removed while in India.

In 1951, when he first arrived, he was altogether captivated by Pandit Nehru. "Never have I listened to a more articulate survey of world affairs," he applauds. Mr Nehru proceeded to explain to his rapt visitor precisely what was wrong with U.S. policy in regard to Japan, to China, to Korea and India, and enumerated the several mistakes that America had committed because it had disregarded Mr Nehru's advice. In the interval between Mr Bowles' two ambassadorships to New Delhi, however, Mr Nehru's place as the headmaster to the world was no longer so unquestioningly accepted: non-violence had become tarnished in Goa, non-alignment had been forgotten and left to rest somewhere in the wild hills of NEFA, the formidable financial reserves that India possessed (the sterling balance) had been squandered away, the grandiose Five-year Plans were afflicted with acute arthritis, and the food shortages were worse than ever before. Despite the rich promises that Mr Bowles had seen everywhere ten years earlier, India still was caricatured in the world press as an emaciated man with the begging bowl eternally held out, chronically starved. Mr. Bowles never asks what went wrong, or who failed; indeed, on the evidence of this book, he hardly noticed that anything had gone wrong at all.

Puzzling Reticence

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such reticence becomes particularly puzzling. The man who does not hesitate to censure his own country for selling arms to the world by calling it a "merchant of death," condemns a directive by President Johnson as "a masterpiece of deviousness," and talks of his reference to Bobby Kennedy as "paranoiac," and considers the administration of the United Nations as "impossible to transform into a smooth-running operation," does not have the mildest of reproofs for the men who ran this country during his tenure of office. Even when India turned down the offer of a sorely needed radio transmitter given free by America, or rejected out of hand a proposal by which the U.S. offered to set up a university in India with an annual grant of \$14,000,000 every year, the fault in Mr Bowles' eyes was never India's but rather of his own country's approach and timing. Every moment one expects to find some give-away gesture of genuine exasperation.

No trace. Even when, as the result of Mr Bowles' most energetic efforts and private entreaties, when three-fourths of the entire U.S. wheat crop was coming to India to feed twelve per cent of its population, he attributes India's barely concealed "distrust and hatred" of America to America's "public posture."

Mr Bowles, by his own assessment, is not really a politician, but "primarily issue-oriented, programme-oriented, and cause-oriented." He is certainly all these, but in the Indian chapters of this book he comes out best in his role of an indulgent godfather to India, someone who has refrained from commenting on the Indian situation because he knows how sensitive most Indians are to criticism from foreigners, however well-intentioned. While this is unexceptionable according to the highest traditions of the diplomatic corps, it shows up Mr Bowles, as far as India is concerned, as a heavily biased witness.

Mr. Bowles' enduring enchantment with India even led him to go counter to his own earlier admonitions to his government against giving arms to other countries. After the sorry performance of the Indian army against the Chinese in NEFA, India rushed to the American Embassy for the arms to modernize its army. Mr Bowles, by dint of sheer persistence and pressure brought to bear upon his friends in Washington, succeeded in breaking through the built-in anti-Indian bias of the State Department and the Pentagon to get President Kennedy's consent to everything India had asked for: a hundred million dollars worth of military hardware every year for five years. The President set up a meeting with his advisory council for 26th November, 1963, especially to push the deal through. Four days before the scheduled date, Kennedy was assassinated. It took another six months for Mr Bowles to get the same proposal approved by President Johnson. Even as Mr Chavan and his team of military advisors were in Washington to sign the agreement,

word was received that Mr Nehru had died. After that the proposal was never taken up again.

One wonders what would have happened if President Kennedy had not died when he did, or Mr Nehru? Would we after having committed ourselves to a major deal with America, have had enough manoeuvring space to have signed the Indo-Soviet Pact—or would we by then have been labelled as having gone too deeply in the Pro-American bloc for Russia to have even considered joining hands with us?

TRUE THEN, TRUE NOW...

"I think that this will turn out to be the major foreign policy mistake of this administration, even more serious than fouling up the Bay of Pigs. What we are doing is subsidizing Khrushchev at a time that he's in deep economic trouble... this will allow him to bring economic pressure on his satellites. He now has a weapon he didn't have before. It pulls his economy out of a very great hole and allows him to divert the Russian economy into space and military activities that he otherwise would have to keep in agriculture."

—RICHARD NIXON in *New York Times*,
October 9, 1973.

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MEN OR WO(E)MEN--YEAR 2074

Dear Mr. Greer:

I am replying to you in haste, for the time has come for the men of the world to rebel against female harassment. The time has come to undo what your grandmother and her breed succeeded in doing; we must restore our rightful place in society!

"Man is born free, but is everywhere in chains" — so commented a great philosopher and seer. He was a true 'political' thinker; he foresaw the tussle between the two sexes and the inevitable chains of womanly bondage to bind us helplessly.

Let me quote from history to show how the fair sex, or rather unfair sex, have always made life miserable for us. Take Adam and Eve; women claim that Adam, wicked and brutal Adam, ensnared a coy Eve with an apple. I rather tend to believe she stuffed the apple down his throat, and what is more labelled it Adam's apple. Generations later, the apple is still there.

Ever since then, they have mercilessly persecuted us. True, a few of our species have taken liberties with women, but then for every Paris, there are ten faces that launched a thousand ships, and what is more, drowned them too. For every Samson there are ten plotting Delilahs. But don't you see, Greer, that things were different in those days? The Helens, Delilahs and Godivas of history were put in their place by men. But goodness, what is happening to us today? Ever since the world woman's bloodless revolution 2010, our strength, our opinions and views, our very voices have been reduced to an inconsequential whimper.

This last one week has been particularly strenuous for me, which is why I am getting so emotional. First, thanks to the advances of biology and genetic science (spurred no doubt by your worthy grandmother), I just took delivery of my baby from the test tube. As for my wife, she was not near me in the lab, to hold either my hand or the test tube. She was attending a seminar on "Toffler Revisited". Incidentally she has got a promotion in her office, and has asked me to spend time usefully and plan a menu for her stag dinner instead of gossiping. See that, Greer? From butter winner to utter loser! A century back she would have stamped with rage, and accused me of ignoring her feelings. But there you are. After all, it is they who wear the trousers and we the skirts. Where are those days of romance and poetry — valiant lady writing an ode to her man, sitting by the hem of his skirt! Clearly we have the worst of both worlds!

Again my domestic peace is shattered because the reputation of our eldest son is at stake. Our neighbour's daughter dated him and tried to molest him. The boy has been in hysterics since.

That is as far as home goes, but look outside, and

you find other things to gasp at. Women, like pests, have invaded every sphere of activity. Take the army. Unlike grandpa's days of artillery and gunfire, they resort to primitive methods like clawing and getting at each other — above the belt! In the air, they are busy building castles, while at sea one sees them not guarding our sacred waters, but reclining on decks, sunbathing and drifting.

Take our politics. Parliament is a babble of shrill voices, shrieks and giggling. Instead of footwear, they chuck burnt undergarments. As politicians they are indiscreet and scrupulously honest. I do not know how they thrive!

Our traffic is highly disorganised with policewomen, all legs and no hands. We have an un-committed judiciary, our secretariats have red ribbons instead of tape, ours is not a democracy, its a womenocracy, Government of the women, by and for women.

But this shall not go on for ever. Let us awaken that dormant power in hundreds of our fellowmen all over the world. Men of the world, unite! It is time we threw off our aprons and win back what those wo(e)men have usurped from us Freedom First!

Yours in waiting,
G. GOPALAKRISHNAN



Says he wants six-week
maternity leave!

THE THREE ECONOMIC MIRACLES

B. P. Adarkar

DR. PAUL SAMUELSON, writing in the *Economic Times Annual*, 1972, made the following pertinent comment on the "Process of Growth": "We speak often of economic miracles in the post-war period. And rightly so. But we should also take note of the *miracles of non-growth*. What competent economist would have dared to predict that countries such as Argentina, Chile and Uruguay could fail to grow rapidly in the last quarter of a century? Or, who could have expected Czechoslovakia to have stagnated as she has done during the same period? Merely putting the slogan of Socialism on your banners and in your constitutions does not suffice to promote rapid industrial progress: the cases of newly-liberated colonies — Egypt, India, Ghana, Indonesia and many others — have brought much disappointment to the believers in a planned society."

Our Five Year Plans

In spite of four flamboyant Five Year Plans, costing no less than Rs. 42,000 crores, India is still very low on the international table of economic progress, her per capita income giving her a rank of 103 amongst the nations of the world! Her average rate of economic growth during the period 1951-73 has been only 3½% and much lower than the growth rates of many other developing and developed nations, most of which have no sophisticated plans to boast of. During the period 1960-70, Japan had a growth rate of 9 to 14%; South Korea 10-12%; Taiwan 10-12%; Singapore 74½% (1970); Iran 15% (1970); unplanned industrial countries 4.8%; more developed countries 6.4%; unplanned less developed countries 5%, and the world average for all countries 5½%. Now, Mr. D. P. Dhar has been promising us a target rate of 5½% for the Fifth Plan, with a budget of more than Rs. 53,000 crores, i.e., more than the total of all the previous four Plans! And, of course, there is no guarantee that even this modest target will be reached. In the now celebrated words of Mr. Chavan: "How does it matter if the targets are unrealistic. After all, have we ever achieved targets in previous Plans?" Yet, as the proverb goes, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and if our planners cannot achieve their postulated growth rates, the pudding must indeed be considered as rotten.

In this context, I cannot resist quoting Sir Arthur Lewis, the well-known expert on development planning and President of the Caribbean Development Bank, who, speaking in Bombay the other day, said: "Though today's (Indian) plans are more sophisticated than those made 20 years ago, we are no nearer to

ensuring their implementation. The heart of the problem is that a plan postulates a growth rate and everything depends on that. If the planners cannot do anything about the rate of growth and it proceeds to diverge significantly from what they have postulated, then their plan cannot be implemented and should be abandoned." (My italics)

Therefore, for planners and non-planners alike, the paramount question is: What makes a nation's economy click? Or, in other words, what circumstances, ideas or policies are basic to the achievement of an Economic Miracle? There is enough to learn in the experience of both the miracle-makers and the non-starters among the nations of the world, but only if we would learn.

The Brazilian Miracle

Professor Milton Friedman, the distinguished economist, has in a recent article in the *Newsweek* (Jan. 21) pointedly drawn attention to this question. I can do no better than give a few portmanteau quotations from his article here, and then come back to the problem of Indian planning:

"I have just returned from a brief visit to Brazil, the third major nation in recent history to take off on a period of growth so rapid as to justify the term 'economic miracle.' The explosion is obvious even to the casual visitor. The cars that jam the streets of Sao Paulo and Rio are almost new; multi-storey buildings, both new and still under construction, crowd the sky; cranes are almost as numerous as TV antennas, and the air of bustle and hustle is unmistakably different from the pre-Christmas shopping rush. Many of the men in responsible positions are surprisingly young; clearly a new generation is taking charge. Their confidence, pride and high expectations are seasoned with just a tinge of uneasiness about the future. 'Will it really last' is a question that no one asks, yet that all seem to have at the back of their minds The Brazilian miracle dates from 1967, when output started growing at an average rate of 10 per cent a year. The other miracles, in Germany and Japan, started nearly two decades earlier, shortly after the end of World War II. Though the three countries differ greatly in history, culture, resources and technological sophistication, there are striking similarities among the three miracles."

The Similarities

Prof. Friedman mentions three similarities in the situation of the three countries:

(1) "All three miracles were preceded by a period of economic disorganisation that was produced or intensified by price and wage controls imposed to suppress inflation. . . . In Germany and Japan, a productive capacity diminished by war and defeat faced a money supply swollen by war-time spending and post-war fiscal collapse. . . . In Brazil, political instability in the late 50's and early 60's produced large government deficits financed by a rapid increase in the quantity of money (same as 'deficit financing'). Inflation reached a rate of more than 100 per cent a year by early 1964. The government tried to suppress the inflation by measures such as fixing prices and wages and controlling foreign-exchange transactions. . . . As in Germany and Japan, the controls produced widespread waste, inefficiency and black markets."

(2) "All three miracles were made possible by monetary reforms that ended most government controls and thereby permitted a market-price system to operate. . . . In Germany and Japan, the prior economic collapse had been so extreme that the reforms, drastic though they were, were followed almost immediately by recovery and expansion. In Brazil, where the prior collapse was less extreme, a 'tight' money policy was accompanied by recession and increased unemployment. . . . However, the freeing of markets plus political stability unleashed unsuspected dynamic forces."

(3) "All three miracles relied primarily on private enterprise for their motive power. . . . In all three countries, government intervened extensively — subsidising here, taxing there, building roads, ports and similar facilities, taking over part or all of selected industries. Yet, these measures, though highly visible, were the trimming on the cake, not the cake itself. I believe that most of them did more harm than good. The government served best when it interfered the least, with the driving force of private enterprise co-ordinated by market prices." (His italics)

The Indian Non-Miracle

It may be worthwhile to compare and contrast the Indian situation with that in the three miracle-making countries. It may be seen that India too is passing through a period of "economic disorganisation", caused partly by controls of various kinds and partly by external causes, such as wars and droughts. In the case of the three countries cited above, peace and security in the post-War period for a quarter of a century were undoubtedly an important factor. However, in the case of India, the five wars (four with Pakistan and one with China) were perhaps a good alibi for the economic malaise but hardly a compliment to India's foreign policy makers, because all wars arise from wrong or incompetent foreign policies. As regards droughts, again, it was the neglect of irrigation and agriculture (together with an excessive emphasis on heavy industry and grandiose projects), which was the

causative factor of water scarcity. Droughts and famines are not new in India. It was the lack of foresight on the part of the planners that they did not provide adequately against them.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the parallel between India and Brazil, as regards the first of three similarities mentioned by Prof. Friedman, is more or less complete, in that there has taken place a country-wide disorganisation due to controls and restrictions of all kinds (of which the unfortunate Wheat Take-over was the latest instance), apart from the inflation brought about by hectic deficit financing and unbridled public spending in the developmental as well as non-developmental sectors. Thus, any relief that the government can give to the nation's economy, especially in the private sector, by ending the controls (including import and export controls, industrial licensing and foreign exchange control), by reducing the rigours of planning, by carrying out a complete overhaul of the tax system with a view to lightening the burdens on private industry, and by permitting the market-price system to operate freely, will undoubtedly unleash the dynamic forces latent in the economy. It must be remembered that the public sector is the *smaller* of the two sectors, that the private sector represents not only a major part of the economy but the people themselves, as distinct from the bureaucracy of the public sector.

The Imminent Take-Off

There is reason to believe that the Indian economy, both in the industrial and in the agricultural sphere, has now reached the Take-off stage. I have been holding this view for some time and I was rather happy to note that the eminent, international economist, Prof. Colin Clark, in a recent lecture in Bombay, expressly stated the same view. Every time I travel by train between Bombay and Poona, for example, it is a distinct pleasure to see hundreds of small and medium-sized factories that have sprung up like mushrooms on both sides of the rail route. Many of these struggling new industries, mostly owned by young and new industrialists, have been baulked by excessive controls and heavy taxation: they are just waiting to boom ahead into greater activity, as soon as they get the opportunity. There is also the Green Revolution, which has been temporarily held up by the government's negative policies, but which promises to go into action, any moment. There are many things in common between the Brazilian and Indian situations: both are geographically vast and possess enormous mineral and agricultural resources awaiting exploitation, and also an adequate supply of skilled as well as unskilled labour; both have too a fund of goodwill of other nations, many of which have been unsparing in their financial and other assistance. Therefore, if Brazil can do it, why can't India?

HARDENING THE "SOFT STATE"

Sharu S. Rangnekar

PRODUCTIVITY is a great idea. Wherever men struggle to make a better life for themselves and their children, they must rely on higher productivity. Developing countries, which have a poor quality of living, should be particularly interested in productivity since their resources are scarce and needs are immense. And yet, it is in these countries that "productivity" is a dirty word—second in despicability only to the word "profit"; scarce resources are wasted through conspicuous consumption, conspicuous investment and idle or under-utilised equipment and labour.

This is typical of a "Soft State".

Gunnar Myrdal used the concept of "soft state" to bring out the most significant aspect of all underdeveloped countries. The term "soft state" comprises all the various types of social indiscipline e.g. deficiencies in legislation, law observance and enforcement, widespread disobedience by officials at various levels to rules and directives formulated by them or handed down to them and their collusion with powerful persons or groups whose conduct they are supposed to regulate. The first effect of the "soft state" is that the laxity and arbitrariness are exploited for personal gain by people at all levels. This exploitation invariably results in an inefficient use of resources. Furthermore, there is a general inclination of people to resist controls and their implementation. Such a resistance makes it impossible to establish any "code of conduct" and encourages every type of wasteful and counter-productive activity.

A superficial comparison of the underdeveloped countries and the developed countries with respect to productivity emphasises the higher technology and techniques used by the latter. It is therefore, assumed that the major task is to remove the "technology gap" and the productivity in the undeveloped countries will rise. In fact, however, industrial units in the underdeveloped countries using the same technology and techniques as the developed countries generally have significantly lower productivity. The "soft state" phenomenon renders the technology inefficient and the techniques ineffective. In a "soft state" all technologies end up in becoming "labour-extensive".

Education An Impediment

Another factor that is considered responsible for high productivity in developed countries is the improvement in the quality of labour input through education. The educational efforts in the underdeveloped countries, however, emphasise the "quantitative" rather than the "qualitative" aspects like: what is taught,

in what spirit and with what effect (e.g. in regard to willingness to perform manual work). The wrong emphasis has meant a lot of "mis-education" which impedes—rather than promotes—productivity. The vast investment in education has not resulted in higher calibre, more knowledgeable, willing and productive labour. It has created a large mass of educated unemployed having low calibre, doubtful knowledge, unwillingness for hard work and a passion for parasitic living on sinecure jobs.

In some of the "soft states" the failure in the growth of goods and services is sought to be covered by the slogan of "social justice". By this slogan, the state claims to sacrifice growth to ensure better distribution of the goods and services amongst the poorer sections of the society. Such efforts inevitably lead to controls on private sector—particularly the 'organised' sector of the industry. Government generally attempts to control these enterprises with administrative discretionary controls with the result that no major (and indeed few minor) business decisions can be taken except with the prior permission of government authorities. The government offers several inducements for industrial development which are too generous to be given according to general rules. So administrative discretion has to be exercised to determine who gets the foreign exchange, who receives loans at low interest, who will be permitted to invest and produce and what and from where will he import capital goods and raw materials. Thus, inducements are given to encourage enterprise and then every official spends his time and energy to limiting or stopping enterprise!

The post-independence era in the underdeveloped countries has afforded greater opportunities and incentives for corruption. The upper class has not been able to withstand the temptation to exploit their newly acquired power and have caused a spreading pattern of corruption. Corruption is highly detrimental for productivity. It introduces an element of irrationality in all planning and plan fulfilment by inducing deviations and distortions. It impedes the processes of decision-making and execution at all levels.

Hardenening the Soft State

One method to improve productivity in the "soft state" is to counter the 'softness'. The underdeveloped countries have no hope of rapid development without greater productivity and such productivity will not be possible without social discipline enforced by compulsion. The underdeveloped countries have put fewer

(Continued on page 12)

THE TRIALS OF A PROFESSIONAL MUSICIAN

S. G. Bailur

MUSIC as a profession is, perhaps, the most fiercely competitive in India today. No musician can be successful unless he or she has got one and all of these essentials: a very melodious voice, originality, real talent, opportunity, influence and, above all, luck," said Shri Nagesh Khalikar, a talented Poona musician, whom I happened to interview recently.

The occasion was a musical programme in observance of the third death anniversary dedicated to the late Shri Shivanand Bhavanishankar Bankeshwar, a great connoisseur and patron of classical music who had helped many a struggling musician of promise to public recognition and prosperity. I attended the function at which the chief guest was to be the young celebrity in classical music, Shri Ghulam Mustafa, in response to a brief press announcement.

Music, according to Shri Khalikar, is a luxury rather than a necessity for the masses. As such, if the general economic condition of our country worsens and the masses have to struggle for their very survival, the musician becomes the first casualty as his success entirely depends upon the patronage of the masses, not of the affluent classes. It might sound strange but, nonetheless, it is true, that it is the masses in general who have great interest in music, while members of the classes who evince real interest in it are mere exceptions. If a few rich people dissemble taste and to patronise a few top musicians, they do so in the hope of basking in the latter's reflected glory for one thing, and of achieving the distinction of having afforded the patronage for another.

(Continued from page 11)

obligations much less effectively upon their people than have the developed countries—both communist and democratic.

If it is not possible to "harden" the soft state, it might be better to accept the factual situation that there is no hope of honest and effective land reforms or public sector and to make deliberate choice in favour of allowing and encouraging progressive farmers and industrialists to reap full benefit of their efforts. This would encourage them to improve productivity of our scant resources. The present pseudo-socialism combines the least favourable features of capitalism and feudalism. The most important requirement of productivity is the creation of a relationship between man and land or man and equipment that does not thwart his incentives to work and to invest. Unless this relationship is established, improvement in technology and techniques will never give great results in terms of productivity.

There are, he continued, a number of young, talented musicians in the country, but our *Sangeet Sabhas* or music circles, with their eye glued to the gate money, rarely encourage or invite them. "I do not blame these *Sabhas* for inviting top musicians with an eye on the gate money", he was quick to add. "But let them also give a chance to come up, to our young musicians of talent. What I say of musicians is also true of other professionals like doctors, lawyers and so on.

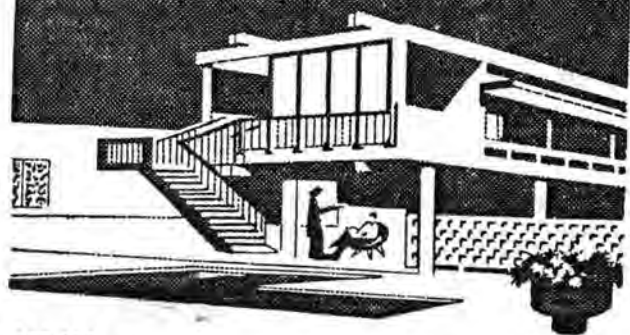
What attracted me to Shri Khalikar was not so much his *musical talent*—great as the talent is by any standard—, as it was the *man*. What a magnificent even magnanimous gesture it was that he, in none-too-prosperous or happy a condition himself after a succession of calamities he had survived, should have still remembered with gratitude whatever little help he had from the late Shri Bankeshwar to the extent of coming all the way from Poona just to attend his anniversary! Nor was his participation in the function just silent as one of the audience. The

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chief guest of the occasion, held up by a prior engagement at the AIR, Bombay, failed to turn up at the appointed hour of 6.30. The hall was filled to capacity by 6.15. The audience waited patiently till 7, still no sign of the chief guest arriving. Then they became restive. Some stop-gap arrangement had to be made to hold their interest till the chief guest's arrival.

Sensing the mood of the audience, Shri Khalikar graciously offered to sing. But what about the accompanists? The chief guest was to bring his own accompanists, while Shri Khalikar had none. The harmonium was there, as also the *tabla*. Two amateurs came forward to accompany him on those instruments. He, a professional of his calibre, quite unlike his peers in the profession reputedly touchy about their accompanists, quietly accepted the improvisation and set to his volunteered task as a labour of love and devotion to his erstwhile benefactor. He gave his eager audience an hour or so's programme of music, first a classical piece, then another in *natya sangeet*. Meanwhile the chief guest, Shri Ghulam Mustafa, had arrived with his party, and the embarrassing situation had been successfully tidied over.

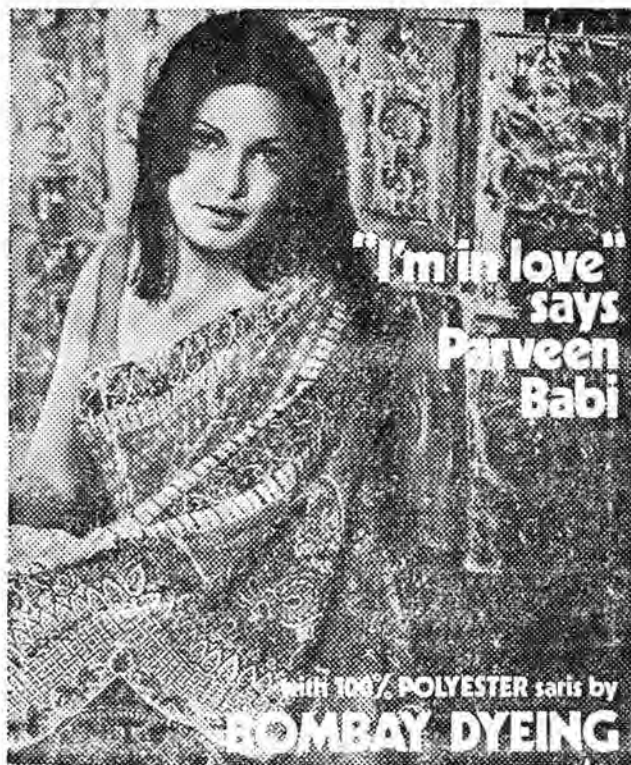
Shri Khalikar is a former disciple of Pandit Vinayakrao Patwardhan and Prof. Deodhar. He often sings on the AIR, Poona. He lost his father in his infancy and was brought up by his mother and grandfather. His educational career was prematurely cut short at the matriculation level by financial difficulties. Music had been his first love right from his childhood. He had also relatives and friends to encourage him to take up music as a career. He tried to follow their advice but realised, fortunately soon enough, that he must have a second string to his bow. So he worked in the New English School, Poona, as Music Teacher for 22 years.

He acknowledged with gratitude the help and encouragement he had had from professional musicians like Hirabai Badodekar, Manik Verma and Ram Marathe, and from lovers and patrons of music like Smt. Sucheta Joshi (Poona), Madhavrao Podar (Hyderabad), Vinaychandra Moudgal (Delhi), Baburao Bhavsadekar and, last but not least, the late Shri S. B. Bankeshwar (Bangalore). He was also grateful to Pandit Bhimsen Joshi for having introduced him to the late Shri Bhankeswar.

Shri Khalikar's musical career has not been as much a financial success as it might have been, for want of just one thing out of his own catalogue of requisites for success set out in the opening paragraph: L U C K ! Calamities, both natural and man-made, have flattened him financially twice: first the Panshet disaster that swept away his all, then when he had just made good the loss by talent and unremitting toil, by a midnight dacoity. As though these were not enough for anyone's lifetime, a fresh misfortune in the form of a mis-

sing married daughter has given a new edge to his suffering. The poignancy of his extraordinary run of bad luck is highlighted by the reported remark of some close friends of his: "Any other person in a like situation would certainly have sought deliverance from a living torture such as is your life through suicide!" He believes in devotion to all that is good and noble in this sinful world, and as much self-abnegation as possible. For thus and thus only could he find purpose and fulfilment in his continued existence, and hence mental peace.

Incidentally I may add this tail-piece: He ungrudgingly paid tribute to cinema music, saying that it had aroused mass interest in music and earned mass popularity for itself. Unfortunately, in the process, it had debased their taste in music. He was of the opinion that it was the duty of all musicians of class to remedy this deplorable situation and help elevate their—especially the new generation's—taste in music. He included in his musical repertory all of Classical Music, *Natya Sangeet* and Light Music (in that order) so as to be able to cater to all tastes and rise to all situations, he confided. But he slyly added that the *Natya Sangeet*, *Light Music* served as mere sugar-coating to the "bitter pill" of *Classical Music*!



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Review

RATIONALITY AND HUMANITY?

The New Left: Six Critical Essays; edited by Maurice Cranston. (National Academy, Delhi. Price Rs. 5/-.)

IN its origins the Left was the party of humanity and of reason. In Marxism its abstract rationality succeeded in locating itself within the movement of history and also in what was held to be a rational understanding of that movement. The contemporary revolutionary of the New Left has to a great extent lost confidence in the movement of history and in the efficacy of reason. The New Left according to D. D. Laing has given up the experience of politics in exchange for the 'politics of experience.'

As Maurice Cranston points out in a short perceptive foreword, the Marx which the New Left follows is not Marx the economist and the author of *Das Kapital* but Marx the sociologist and the author of the early philosophical MSS. The revolutionary masses, for the New Left, are not the workers of the western world but rather the impoverished peasants and rural workers of the third world, the Negroes in the U.S. ghettos and the dropouts. All the persons discussed in the book upheld in various ways the Marxist ideal of the unity of theory and practice, though some are intellectuals like Sartre and Marcuse, others like Che Guevara are men of action and Fanon is a writer-cum-psychologist who indulged in guerilla warfare.

Kenneth Minogue's essay on Che Guevara is a fine introduction to this legendary figure. Ernesto Guevara trained to be a doctor and led a roving life till joining Fidel Castro's guerilla forces in overthrowing the Batista regime in Cuba. After acting for some time as a spokesman for the Castro regime, he disappeared from the country and later died in Bolivia while leading a band of armed guerillas. Francois Bondy writes an involved piece on the political thought of Sartre. Maurice Cranston shows up the logical inconsistencies in Herbert Marcuse's credo of violence. This, along with Frantz Fanon's advocacy of the purifying flame of violence and the creative power of revolution, are explored and revealed to be the cul-de-sac they are by Aris-tide R. Zolberg.

George Feaver traces the emergence of Black Power through the frustration of the Negroes with the moderate policies of Martin Luther King. He concludes that Black Power has not been a useful and constructive doctrine and actually blocks the road to the goal it claims to seek. David Martin concludes the selection with an evaluation of R. D. Laing, one of the main contributors to the theory and rhetoric of the New Left.

This low-priced Indian edition deserves to be read widely by all who are interested in the forces that shape our world today.

RUSI J. DARUWALA

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"SWEATY SHIRT"—Continued from page 1

of Marxism and patriotism but a meaningless absurdity? These two points of view can be "merged" only in generalised incantations, for history has shown us that in practice they are always diametrically opposed. This is so obvious that Lenin in 1915 actually proclaimed: "We are anti-patriotic." And that was the honest truth. And throughout the 1920s in our country the word "patriot" meant exactly the same as "White Guard". And the whole of this letter that I am now putting before you is patriotism, *which means* rejection of Marxism. For Marxism orders us to leave the North East unexploited and to leave our women with their crowbars and shovels, and instead finance and expedite world revolution.

The step seems a hard one at first, but in fact, once you have thrown off this rubbishy ideology of ours, you will quickly sense a huge relief and become aware of a relaxation in the entire structure of the State and in all the processes of government. After all, this ideology, which is driving us into a situation of acute conflict abroad, has long ceased to be helpful to us here at home, as it was in the twenties and thirties. In our country today *nothing constructive rests upon it*, it is a sham, cardboard, theatrical prop—take it away and nothing will collapse, nothing will even wobble. For a long time now, everything has rested solely on material calculation and the subjection of the people and not on any upsurge of ideological enthusiasm, as you perfectly well know. This ideology does nothing now but sap our strength and bind us. It slogs up the whole life of society—minds, tongues, radio and press, with lies, lies, lies. For how else can something dead pretend that it is living except by erecting a scaffolding of lies? Everything is steeped in lies and *everybody knows* it—and says so openly in private conversation, and jokes and moans about it, but in their official speeches they go on hypocritically parroting what they are 'supposed to say' and with equal hypocrisy and boredom read and listen to the speeches of others: how much of society's energy is squandered on this! And you, when you open your newspapers or switch on your television—do YOU YOURSELVES really believe for one instant that these speeches are sincere? No, you stopped believing long ago, I am certain of it. And if you didn't, then you must have become totally insulated from the inner life of the country.

This universal, obligatory force-feeding with lies is now the most agonising aspect of existence in our country—worse than all our material miseries, worse than any lack of civil liberties.

All these arsenals of lies, which are totally unnecessary for our stability *as a state*, are levied as a kind of tax for the benefit of Ideology—to nail down events as they happen and clamp them to a tenacious, sharp-clawed but dead Ideology. And it is precisely because our state, through sheer force of habit, tradi-

tion and inertia, continues to cling to this false doctrine with all its tortuous aberrations, that it needs to put the dissenter behind bars. For a false ideology can find no other answer to argument and protest than weapons and prison bars.

Cast off this cracked ideology! Relinquish it to your rivals, let it go wherever it wants, let it pass from our country like a storm-cloud, like an epidemic. Let others concern themselves with it and study it, just so long as we don't! In ridding ourselves of it we shall also rid ourselves of the need to fill our life with lies.

Let us pull off and shake off from all of us this filthy, sweaty shirt of Ideology which is now so stained with the blood of those 66 million that it prevents the living body of the nation from breathing. This Ideology bears the entire responsibility for all the blood that has been shed. Do you need me to persuade you to throw it off without more ado? . . .

All you have to do is deprive Marxism of its powerful state support and let it exist by itself and stand on its own feet. And let all who wish to do so make propaganda for it, defend it and din it into others without let or hindrance—but outside working hours and *not on state salaries*. In other words, the whole *agitprop* system of agitation and propaganda must cease to be paid for out of the nation's pocket.

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—Tennyson.

Mr. Gorwala is an incorrigibly public-spirited Indian, which really is a contradiction in terms and equivalent to being an enemy of the state.

—D. in *Quest*, January-February 1974.

Equality is anyway impossible. Equality at breakfast time is inequality at supper time.

—Sir Keith Joseph quoted in *The Economist*, January 26.

Indian pseudosecularism may have a certain cachet among those who are unaware of the actualities of Indian life.

—Edward Luttwak in *National Review*, October 22, 1973.

For millions of Americans, happiness is a full tank of gas.

—*Time*, February 18.

My feelings are similar to that of Mrs. Gandhi when she was expelled from the Congress by the present Old Congress leaders.

—Mr. Chimanbhai Patel in *Indian Express*, March 2.

Why call it the Indian Ocean? One may well call it Madagascar Sea.

—Ambassador Daniel Moynihan in *Times of India*, March 5.

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Non-alignment is buried five fathoms deep in the Indian Ocean.

—Editorial in *Mysindia*, February 24.

Castro is the longest-lived failure in today's world. If ever there was a vivid display of how his brand of Communism ruins a good thing, it is on exhibition right there in Cuba.

—Howard Flieger in *U.S. News & World Report*, February 11.

He (Nixon) just had to live long enough to find out I was right.

—Senator Barry Goldwater in *U.S. News & World Report*, February 11.

We've never been in a worse position to talk about *detente* than we are today.

—Senator Barry Goldwater in *U.S. News & World Report*, February 11.

In my heroes in politics outside India, Lenin alone gave me exciting experiences. Shall I say I am almost rapturous when I think of this great man?

—C. M. H. N. Bahuguna in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, March 17.

Coalition is like cohabitation; easy to go into, hard to conduct, and messy to escape.

—*The Economist*, March 9.

The washing of clean linen in public is an irritating exercise.

—*The Economist*, March 9.

We are all minorities now.

—Jeremy Thorpe in *Time*, March 18.

If it weren't for the name he gave to his culinary creation, the Earl of Sandwich might have been another crumb on the tablecloth of history.

—Advertisement in *U.S. News & World Report*, March 11.

If there be a conflict between the call of country and that of party, the call of country must come first.

—Enoch Powell quoted in *The Economist*, March 2.