

WHY I HAD TO LEAVE PORTUGAL

Jose De Almeida Araujo

THE people who made last year's revolution in Portugal possible were really quite naïve about it. Their aim was to restore democracy, free speech and a free Press. But soon after the coup of April 25, 1974, and the downfall of the Caetano Government, they were overpowered by the political cells that had been waiting for just such an event.

The junior officers of the Portuguese Armed Forces believed not only in the programme put forward by the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) as a means of re-establishing democracy but also in Gen. Antonio de Spínola as the only person who, because of his national prestige, both could and would honour all points in that programme.

One important point among many was that the Army would be a transitional instrument able to bring about elections that would in turn lead to the establishment of an honest and democratic constitution.

Army Vital

The first raptures of a democratic revival had not lasted very long before it was seen that the promise of a path to democracy was unlikely to be fulfilled. A grab for power was led by a minority within the Armed Forces incited by the Portuguese Communist party. The pattern closely resembled the programme laid down by the Portuguese Communist leaders when they met in exile in Prague in 1965 and resolved that the real road to power lay through infiltration of at least half of the Armed Forces. Within weeks of the overthrow of the Caetano-Thomaz régime the pattern was evident in mass arrests, detention without trial and other abuses of executive power.

For instance, 300 warrant forms with the names left blank were sent to Brig.-Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, the military strong man in Lisbon, by the secretary-general of the Communist party, Alvaro Cunhal. The Brigadier had only to sign them. This stack of carteblanche warrants was used to arrest not only pro-

minent men of the Caetano circle but also many who had nothing to do with it, but disapproved of the trend towards a Left-wing dictatorship.

Spinola's Departure

Politically isolated, and seeing he could not fulfil his promise of a free and democratic society, President Spínola resigned on September 28. After his departure, about 2,000 Portuguese were put in jail, and I would have been among them had I stayed. I was accused of organising an armed counter coup that never existed in any form.

Spínola's resignation was provoked by Communist tactics in obstructing a rally of the "silent majority,"

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PORTUGAL GOES UNDER

Does history repeat itself? The cold-blooded manner in which freedom in Portugal is being strangled by the Communists using certain detachments of the army which they have successfully infiltrated reminds one of the similar operation carried out by Lenin when he used troops to dissolve the Constituent Assembly elected by the Russian people and took that unfortunate country into the long dark night from which it has still to emerge.

At the Conference of the Liberal International which your Editor attended in Florence last October, a report of developments in Portugal was given by Louis Arouca, Secretary of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Portugal. A few days ago he was arrested by the men who control Lisbon today.

On this page, we are privileged to carry an article by the Secretary-General of the Portuguese Liberal Party who tells us how the revolution there went wrong.

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Grechko in Delhi

THERE is considerable speculation and difference of opinion in regard to the implications and the outcome of Marshal Grechko's visit to Delhi from 24th to 27th February. Mr. Kuldip Nayar, writing in the *Indian Express*, says that "India has once again declined to accept the Soviet concept of collective security in Asia". *Everyman's*, on the other hand, takes a somewhat grimmer view when it says that the Russians were "able to extract Indian concurrence that 'special importance' should be given to strengthen peace and stability in the region 'by the joint efforts of all states' in Asia". This statement, according to *Everyman's*, means that "India has moved a little more from its earlier position on the Soviet (Brezhnev) Plan which was that it is worthy of consideration."

Be that as it may, Marshal Grechko, who played a leading part in shaping the Indo-Soviet Treaty of 1971, now sees the relations between the two countries as having been elevated to a "higher level". These words cannot but sound ominous to those concerned at increasing Soviet infiltration and domination in India.

The Soviets displayed their usual toughness in dealing with the Indian complaint that there was delay in the supply of spares for the Russian supplied equipment by flatly rejecting it and blaming the Indian side for its tardiness and laxity. The Soviets undoubtedly linked their ideological demands to the further supply of military hardware. It is a tangled skein to unravel without expert assistance.

Such expertise is fortunately provided by the latest book of A. G. Noorani *The Brezhnev Plan For Asian Security* just published by Jaico Publishing House (Rs 65/-). It is a fascinating book which makes understandable a great deal which would otherwise remain mysterious. Perhaps the title is not altogether fair to the text, which deals with the wider subject of Russia's policy towards Asia as a whole of which the Brezhnev Plan forms only a part. The book is also full of worthwhile documents among which is the hitherto unpublished text of a speech made in Tokyo by Prof. Zadorojnyi which Mr. Noorani has been able to obtain and which figures as Appendix II.

From a perusal of all this material, it is clear that the ultimate aim of Russia is to isolate and encircle Communist China and obtain a guarantee that the present Sino-Soviet borders remain sacrosanct.

The Chinese reaction is, not surprisingly, acid. Mr. Noorani quotes from Lord Chalfant's report in the *London Times* of July 9, 1974, a remark made to him

by a Chinese diplomat: "Negotiating with Soviet Russia about security is like negotiating with a tiger about the price of his skin".

US Lifts Embargo

SINCE the Russians obviously insist on linking business with politics and exploiting their monopoly in respect of arms supply to India, one would have thought that New Delhi would welcome other sources of such supply to put the Soviet monopolists in their place.

In this context, the Indian reaction to the lifting of the US embargo on the sale of arms to India and Pakistan takes one's breath away. Instead of welcoming this move, which gives India the necessary leverage *vis a vis* its Soviet suppliers, what we have witnessed is a chauvinistic ballyhoo. The most regrettable part is that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan should have joined in this outburst.

Let us coolly consider the background. India started this unfortunate cycle of an arms race in the Sub-Continent by wilfully exploding a nuclear bomb. According to America, India is buying a billion dollars worth of arms every year from the USSR. Against this background, how is one to justify or to understand the reaction of New Delhi, so slavishly followed by the opposition politicians and the Press? Why should not India take advantage of this lifting of the embargo also to buy arms from the US, while not turning its back on the USSR? If we choose not to buy arms from the USA, how can we justify this dog in the manger policy of denying our neighbours the right to buy their equipment from America? Does this not mean that we insist on Pakistan also having to purchase arms from Russia, which in turn means the USSR becoming the master of the Sub-continent?

The consequences of our "loud squawk", as the New York *Daily News* described it, have not been at all rewarding. Referring to the fact that at the very moment when all these histrionics were being indulged in a Soviet military mission was receiving a red-carpet welcome in Delhi, the journal suggested: "That display of hypocrisy ought to cure Washington once and for all of worrying about 'adverse reaction' from India to US policies in Asia".

Another consequence is that the beautiful friendship which we have all been following with such rapture between Mr. Kissinger and Ambassador T. N. Kaul has been brought to an end, accompanied by the peculiar announcement that while Mr. Kaul's remarks were "unacceptable" the US would not ask for his recall.

By far the most intriguing sequel, however, is that Iran is about to transfer 50 F-5 aircraft to Pakistan and, though several days have passed since the report was published, not even a squeak, let alone a squawk, has come out of Delhi. Are we then to have one more example of that double standard of morality that Delhi has practised for the past two decades and a half by which the quality of an act changes according to whether it is attributable to the US or to some other country?

Shelepin Not Wanted

THE British TUC has not been living up during the last two or three years to its traditions of either patriotism or statesmanship, but nothing it has done is quite as offensive as its invitation some time in April to Alexander Shelepin to visit Britain for discussions between the TUC and the Soviet Trade Union Federation of which he is the head.

Every schoolboy knows that there are no trade unions in the Soviet Russia and that the institutions which pass under that name are nothing but a Labour Front of the Soviet dictatorship whose aim is to extort "surplus value" from the workers at the lowest possible wage. That the British TUC should have forgotten this basic fact is deplorable.

What makes the invitation even more obscene is the fact that Shelepin's earlier job for three years starting in 1958 was to head the dreaded KGB during which time he was responsible for the butchery of numerous Russians, Ukrainians and others.

The British, however, are nothing if not a vigilant people. The TUC's invitation has aroused a storm in the British press. Mr. John Biggs-Davison, Conservative MP, has likened Mr. Shelepin to Heinrich Himmler, former head of the Nazi Gestapo. Mr. Michael Ivens, Director of Aims of Industry, makes a similar comparison when he says: "If Himmler had taken over the job of running the German trade unions, surely the TUC would not have asked him along. The situation is the same with Shelepin." Even some Labour MPs have joined in the protest.

British newspapers on March 4 reported a call to nearly 30,000 Ukrainian, Hungarian and Latvian trade union members to resign their membership if the invitation was not cancelled, made by Mr. Bohden Sweryde, Northern Secretary of the Ukrainian Association of Great Britain. Mr. Sweryde said: "We are still exploring the legal position, but should he come here, we would hope to start proceedings to have him arrested for murder."

In an editorial, the *Daily Telegraph* of March 4 spoke for all decent people when it wrote: "Alexander Shelepin, former head of the Russian KGB, is a person with a most unsavoury reputation and past record. He is at present head of the Soviet Trade Union organiza-

tion. It is necessary to put 'trade union' in quotation marks in this context because the so-called trade unions in Russia are, of course, full organs of the State. They are used to coerce workers, maintain discipline in factories and increase productivity. They have also certain 'welfare' activities such as running collective holiday camps for the use of workers who do not blot their copy-books."

Politics in Sport Again

LAST time it was tennis, now it is table tennis, but the intrusion of politics in sports continues. We refer to the thoroughly unprincipled behaviour of the Indian Government in refusing to issue visas to the members of the table tennis teams from South Africa and Israel for the International Table Tennis tournament held in Calcutta recently. The Indian TT Federation appeared to have capitulated to this unwarranted pressure of the Indian Government. The *March of the Nation* did not put this matter unfairly when it wrote on February 1: "Our politics-ridden sports bodies have reached the nadir of stupidity. The decision to ban Israel from the World Table Tennis Championships in Calcutta smacks not only of unsportsmanship but also of shameless duplicity."

By contrast, the 50-member team from Communist China, which is still in possession of Indian territory, was given a warm welcome. When a resolution condemning India was put to the vote in Calcutta, there was a tie: there were 15 countries supporting, 15 opposing it, and 24 abstentions. Among those who abstained were—guess who?—Communist China and several Arab countries! "Et tu, Brute!"

Though India escaped censure, world disapproval was obvious from the defeat of the Indian candidate, Mr. Ranga Ramanujam, for the position of Deputy Chairman at the hands of Japan. "Hypocrisy still re-

IN THIS ISSUE

We publish verbatim the most important chapter in the Report of the Electoral Reform Committee appointed by Jayaprakash Narayan and an article by Prof. K. D. Desai, one of the members of the Committee, analysing the various aspects of this vital issue which will be discussed at a Conference in Delhi called by Mr. Jayaprakash on April 12 and 13.

Dr Zulie Nakhooda writes about the child in India.

Book reviews on the Multi-national Corporation and Soviet Dissidents follow.

mains India's prominent export" was a remark in a foreign journal about the Indian policy of double standards in the field of sports.

The Lights Go Out

WHILE threats to democracy in India are being vigorously discussed, the lights of freedom are being snuffed out in our neighbouring countries. Pakistan and Afghanistan are already authoritarian regimes and now Bangladesh and Ceylon are moving in the same direction.

Within the space of one hour, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman made a constitutional *coup d'état* and changed over from the Parliamentary form of government to the Presidential. But that change is unexceptionable and the least of all the changes. The real counter-revolution lay in the one-party system sanctioned by the so-called new constitution. The one-party-system is based, we are told, on the model of Tanzania and other authoritarian regimes in Africa and was brought into effect on February 24—a month after the constitutional *coup*. By a dictat, President Mujib directed the establishment of the one and only party to be named the "Bangladesh Kriśak Sramik Awami League", while all other political parties were declared "automatically dissolved". It is amusing that the Order also laid down that all Ministers should be "deemed" to be members of the new Party.

These developments enabled Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan mockingly to ask leaders of his Opposition parties who had hailed Mujib as the champion of democracy earlier: "What do these same opposition leaders now say about Sheikh Mujib's action in transforming the entire Constitution in an hour without any public debate or discussion?" Mr. Bhutto said that he could have introduced the same system within half an hour if he had so desired, but he wanted democracy to flourish in Pakistan.

In India, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sent Sheikh Mujibur Rehman a telegram of felicitations on his achievement. The Congress President, Mr. D. K. Barooah, did his bit by deprecating the demonstrations in front of the Bangladesh Embassy in New Delhi, while a Congress MLA evoked cheers from the Congress benches in the Punjab Legislative Assembly by congratulating Mujib on his *coup*. If in the light of all this there are people who regard these developments as a portent of the shape of things to come in India, who can blame them?

And Now Lanka

ON May 27, 1975, the life of Parliament in Ceylon came to an end. Unwilling to face the people, Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandarnaike had already

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enacted an Amendment to the Constitution in 1972 extending the life of Parliament by two years till 1977. The United National Party, which is a Social Democratic Party, never accepted the validity of the Amendment. Now that the date was approaching, Mr. J. N. Jayawardane, Leader of the Opposition and head of the UNP, decided to resign his seat in Parliament and seek a mandate from the people by challenging the ruling party to face a by-election.

But if anyone thought that the brave lady—who lacks the courage to face the people after losing one by-election after another to the UNP—would be daunted, they made a mistake. Mrs. Bandarnaike has announced her intention of bringing about another Amendment to the Constitution to make by-elections unnecessary if any member chooses to resign on any issue. The reason given is that, at a time of economic crisis, the country cannot afford the cost of a by-election!

We strongly suggest that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi follows her fellow Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandarnaike by sponsoring a similar Constitutional Amendment in case Mr. Mohan Dharia resigns his seat in the Lok Sabha and seeks a mandate from his constituency in Poona to send him back with a thumping majority as a "peoples' candidate" for opening discussions with "fascist" Jayaprakash Narayan!

Dangerous Old Lady

YUGOSLAVIA, to whom many people had turned hopefully when it broke away from the Soviet Union in 1948 and tried out its new style of Communism based on "workers' control" as opposed to the reactionary State Capitalism in the USSR, is slipping back to Stalinism. In the last few days, the journal *Praxis*, the last voice of free discussion in Yugoslavia, has been suppressed. Mihajlo Mihajlov, the hero of many fights, has been sentenced once again to seven years' imprisonment despite Mihajlov's plea in Court: "In my articles I always wanted to help Yugoslavia. I am simply fighting for the rights set out in the Constitution."

Milovan Djilas has come forward to the defence of the younger dissident by asking in a newspaper why Mihajlov was not sentenced earlier when the articles were first published. The reason Djilas gives is that, during the last three years, "Yugoslavia's ideological and political course has changed." Mihajlov's real crime, according to Djilas, is that "he did not fall in line with the new course". Djilas does not say so but the fact is that the "new course" is nothing but sucking up to Moscow in order to avoid the fate of Czechoslovakia as and when Tito dies.

The depths to which the regime's vindictiveness has sunk is brought out by the persecution of 51-year old Mrs. Zdenka Sirc who lives in Kranj in Slovenia. It is understood that the old lady wished to visit her son, Prof. Ljubo Sirc, who is a Lecturer in Political Eco-

nomy in the University of Glasgow but, who being a liberal associated with the Liberal International, cannot possibly be expected to approve of Tito's trend back to Stalin.

So, on January 31, 1975 the Department of Internal Affairs deprived Mrs. Sirc of her passport, quoting Article 43 of the relevant Act stipulating that passports can be withheld "in the interest of State security and national defence". The Order did not say whether Mrs. Sirc had become a threat to national defence or to State security, but Yugoslavia must be in a sad state if an 81 year old lady could threaten either!

Vellore vs Karunanidhi

THE Christian Mission College Hospital is a rarely bright spot in the murky landscape not only of Tamil Nadu but also of the entire country. Recently, this noble institution, whose dedication to relief from disease and whose standards in surgery are unparalleled in India, had to fight for survival against the DMK Government and its Trade Union goondas.

Inspired by Jayaprakash's call to fight corruption—JP owes his life to the devoted services rendered to him during his operation there last year—the management and the medical staff sought to root out corruption which was seeping into the Hospital. But they counted without the champions of corruption within their own trade union and its patron saint, Chief Minister Karunanidhi, who incidentally finds it possible to profess sympathy for Jayaprakash's campaign. The Hospital faced not only a strike in defence of corrupt practices, but the doctors and surgeons became the victims of violence at the hands of trade union hooligans.

When the matter was raised in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly on March 10, Chief Minister Karunanidhi distinguished himself by supporting the corrupt DMK Union and saying that, if the Hospital were shifted to some place outside Tamil Nadu, the State would not be the poorer for it.

This disgusting remark led to a massive demonstration in the form of a procession of citizens and medical students led by Dr. K. V. Mathias, famed neuro-surgeon who, with his colleagues, has put Vellore on the world map. Earlier, Dr. Mathias had been the victim of a vicious and murderous assault by a group of strikers. The police, who had all this time, denied protection to the Hospital, now arrested Dr. Mathias on a charge of inciting the security staff to beat up striking workers on October 24—five months earlier! Vellore thereupon observed a complete hartal on March 11 as a spontaneous protest against Dr. Mathias' arrest and the Chief Minister's complicity in the local Union's corrupt and hooliganistic behaviour.

This is one more example of political interference in the affairs of hospitals, colleges and other voluntary institutions.

ELECTORAL REFORM

Kirtidev D. Desai

THE issue of electoral reform gained suddenly in prominence during the year 1974. On the one hand, the erosion of people's faith in the electoral process assumed frightening proportions, while on the other, the demand for electoral reform began to gain wide and strong support.

The process of the erosion of belief in the legitimacy of the electoral system became more evident after the Presidential elections in 1969. The dramatic and prolonged Court hearings regarding the alleged abuses of authority in the Presidential election were the first of their kind. The 1971 Parliamentary elections attracted allegations about rigging and "mysterious ink". Further, the election of the Prime Minister herself was also challenged for the first time. During the 1972 Assembly elections, serious charges were made about rigging of elections in West Bengal. This was capped by the vulgar and shameless use of money and power during the U.P. elections of 1974. All this seriously undermined people's confidence in the fairness of elections. The people failed to see any moral right to rule on the basis of electoral victories. The Navnirman agitation in Gujarat and the Bihar movement were the logical culmination of this erosion of legitimacy.

Hence, the issue of electoral reform became one of the major issues of the movements in Gujarat as well as in Bihar. In August 1974, Jaya Prakash Narayan appointed a Committee to study this problem which submitted its report in February 1975. The demand for electoral reform has also found a place in the seven-point Charter presented to Parliament by the mammoth people's march on 6th March 1975. Thus the issue of electoral reform has become a central one in national politics and it can no longer be ignored or by-passed.

The Causes of the Malady

The malady of the present electoral system can be attributed to three major factors—the misuse of governmental machinery, the large-scale use of big money, and the inequities of the 'first-past-the post' system. The electoral battle that is supposed to be an equal and open game becomes grossly loaded on these three scores. Hence the creation of a fair and just electoral system is not possible without three basic pre-conditions—one, effective check on abuse of official machinery; two, some parity in the use and availability of money in elections; and three, the removal of vote-seat distortion inherent in the present electoral system.

The misuse of official machinery makes nonsense of fair elections. The pattern in this regard is by now familiar—undue postponements of elections to suit the

convenience of the ruling party; the use of governmental power and patronage to collect election funds; the announcement of pay-hikes and the inauguration of projects at the time of elections; travel and propaganda by ministers at official expense, in the name of skilfully arranged "public functions"; the use of government planes and jeeps; the advertisement of government achievements at government expense at the time of elections; the transfer of inconvenient officers; the tendentious and partisan use of Radio and Television. Such a list can be endless, but this should suffice to bring out the enormity of the distortion that such a misuse of authority can bring about.

Suggestions

In order to remove such misuse of authority, many steps are suggested. The Election Commission should be made more independent by increasing its membership and improving the method of appointment. Moreover, there should be Election Commissions at the State level. There is an imperative need to evolve a convention, backed by legal sanction, to the effect that the government should act as a care-taker government for some time before elections. The Committee on Electoral Reform has made significant progress towards defining the concept of such a care-taker government and the kind of restraints it should impose upon itself. Further, Radio and Television should be converted into autonomous corporations.

The reckless use of money has been another source of the malady of our electoral system. During the last five years, money-power in elections has reached endemic proportion. With the decline in the institutional base of politics and the rise of populism, money has become more critical in winning elections. The concentration of political as well as economic power and the alliance between the two under the licence-permit system are largely responsible for unaccounted or "black" money and its increasing role in elections. The Nagarwala episode and the Pondicherry licence scandal are the sordidest manifestations of this growing evil.

Proper regulation of money power in elections would require effort in three directions. The ban on company donations should continue. Arguments for the lifting of the ban are not convincing. Helping political parties or causes is naturally extraneous to the legitimate concern of industrial or commercial firms. Moreover, such a donation would be unfair to the shareholders who may hold different judicial views. The ceiling on election expenses should be more rigorously and strictly en-

forced. This would require the inclusion of Party expenses also for the purpose of the ceiling on election expenses as well as the effective audit of the accounts of political parties. Finally the government should provide infra-structural facilities like distribution of voters' slips, and the sending by post of election manifestoes of all candidates.

The last but not the least strain in our electoral system is due to the vote-seat distortion. In the relative majority or the first-past the post system, such a vote-seat distortion is not uncommon. Such a distortion is often justified on two counts: (i) it leads to two or three competitive parties by eliminating small splinter groups and thereby gives a clear choice and alternative to the people (ii) it is kept within credible limits, so as not to do violence to the concept of representation.

In India, the vote-seat distortion has violated both these conditions and hence become largely dysfunctional.

Discrepancies

The major discrepancies of the electoral system in India need elaboration:

- (i) The system has created a one-party dominance instead of a two-party system. It has proved a great handicap against the growth of a healthy and strong opposition. The continued and monopolistic dominance of one party and a fragmented and stunted opposition are not conducive to genuine democracy. This is a *democracy without an alternative*. The people have to choose between the Congress and chaos.
- (ii) In India, the vote-seat distortion has always operated against the opposition. In other countries such distortion favours two major parties and operates against third parties. Thus the system has not acquired a pro-government bias in countries like England, U.S.A., Canada and Australia. Such a continuous anti-opposition bias in the system is bound to create a legitimacy problem for the electoral system. Opposition forces and half the electorate supporting them are bound increasingly to challenge the system. In India, the vote-seat distortion has reached outrageous proportions.
- (iii) Such distortion leads to ridiculous results from the point of view of genuine representation. Often relative majorities of a very small group ensure victory. Many seats are won on minority votes. An analysis of the 1974 Assembly elections in U.P. indicates that only 47 out of 425 seats were won on majority votes. A further 62 seats were won with less than 30 per cent votes; and 188 seats, with 30-40 per cent votes. Similarly in the 1972 Assembly elections in Gujarat, the Congress won 53.3 per cent of the seats on a 50.5 per

cent vote; and 61 out of 139 seats on a minority vote. Such a position strains the credibility of the concept of representation.

- (iv) The vote-seat distortion found in India is unusual even when compared to similar electoral systems elsewhere. The 25 to 30 per cent distortion is unparalleled and unprecedented anywhere in the world. In the electoral history of eighteen elections (1885 to 1951) in England, the highest vote-seat distortion was 21 per cent and that too in only two exceptional elections in 1924 and 1931. In nine elections, it was less than 10 per cent. Even such a degree of distortion has created a great debate in the U.K. regarding the adequacy and the credibility of the system. Similarly the study of Canadian elections from 1925 to 1940 indicates that only once in four elections was the vote-seat distortion 21 per cent; in the other three elections, it was less than 10 per cent.

Evil Consequences

This record of the distortion of popular will is damning enough for our electoral system. It has created huge legislative majorities on minority votes, which in turn has made the ruling party insensitive and irresponsible. Further, it has enabled an electoral minority even to amend the Constitution in its basic features on the strength of its overwhelming legislative majority. It has reduced opposition to a permanent periphery; and it has created a serious legitimacy problem.

The vote-seat distortion and its evil consequences can be combated at two levels—the adoption of a suitable form of proportional representation, and the consolidation of opposition parties into a larger political identity both of which are complementary.

The Choice

Though the case for the adoption of the PR system is more widely accepted now there is considerable debate regarding the choice of a suitable method. The discussion centres round the second ballot, the list system, and the mixed system as in West Germany. Each has its merits and limitations. The Committee on Electoral Reform has done an admirable job of articulating and presenting the major alternative methods of PR on which a national debate may take place.

Reforms in these three major areas of our electoral system are long overdue. The problem is not one of electoral reform in a narrow and technical sense. It permeates the whole political system. Inequities and distortions in the present electoral system are undermining the foundations of democratic politics. Hence, in reforming the electoral system, we attempt nothing less than saving our democracy.

DISTORTION OF POPULAR WILL

(Chapter from the Report of the Electoral Reform Committee)

ON no subject within the terms of reference of the Committee has it heard such conflicting evidence as on the reform of the present electoral system. The Committee was, however, impressed by the near unanimity of opinion on the basic premise that the present system of election of "first past the post" does not lead to a fair reflection of the popular will in the legislatures. On this point opinion is fairly unanimous, and, indeed, the figures cited in the successive reports of the Election Committee prove it.

The seat-vote distortion in India has reached grave proportions. The following table relating to General Elections to the Lok Sabha shows the extent of the distortion:

Year	Congress Vote %	Congress Seats %	Congress Multiplier	Vote-seat distortion
1952	45.0	74.4	1.65	+ 29.4
1957	47.4	75.1	1.57	+ 27.7
1962	44.7	73.0	1.63	+ 28.3
1967	40.9	54.4	1.35	+ 13.5
1971	43.5	67.9	1.56	+ 24.4

The picture in regard to State Assembly elections is not very different.

The most striking fact is that, in the quarter of the century of the working of the Constitution, the ruling party at the Centre has won no more than a minority of the votes polled and yet has commanded a predominance of seats in the Lok Sabha such as has enabled it even to amend the Constitution in basic respects. The Committee would like to stress, however, that this factor has occasionally weighed in favour of other parties in certain States such as Tamil Nadu, Kerala and West Bengal.

It is relevant to point out that there is so far no indication of any progressive decline in such distortion with the passage of time. The proportion of distortion ranges normally between 24 per cent and 30 per cent. The long-term operation of this electoral system does not, of course, hold out any prospect of this distortion being mitigated.

It is noteworthy that even in the home of this system where it has not been challenged for generations, the inequities of this system have now led to major controversy and demand for electoral reform.

The objections to these are not academic or abstract. They have led to concrete evils and have created a situation where there is danger of people losing faith in democratic institutions and the electoral process. Such a situation is generating large-scale popular alienation and apathy.

Search for a Fair System

These considerations lead to a search for a fair system of election where each vote has equal value and the votes of a large number of electors are not wasted or ignored. Systems of Proportional Representation. While this Committee is not interested in any preference for any particular system, it is truly and deeply concerned with the evolution of an alternative system which at the same time would avoid the disadvantages which some of the alternatives mooted frequently might entail.

The Committee has heard evidence on this point both from those who support a system of Proportional Representation and others who have expressed the fear that such a system might well lead to political fragmentation and give rise to a large number of parties on the basis of caste, religion, language or parochial interests and increase the power of the party caucus over individual members of the party. On the other hand, others have pointed out that since World War II these fears have been disapproved by the stable government enjoyed by certain countries practising such a system, notably the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Committee has considered the various alternatives to the present system such as the List System, the Single Transferable Vote, the Cumulative vote and the Second Ballot. It has found difficulties in the way of the adoption of one or many of these systems although some of them have advantages.

Mixed System

The Committee would like the adoption in this country of what might be described as a mixed system which, on the one hand, combines the advantage of maintaining the nexus between the member of the legislature and his constituency and does not reduce the importance and independence of individual candidates and which, on the other hand, implements the important principle that a legislature should fairly reflect the various trends of public opinion.

The Committee is led by these considerations to recommend the study of certain "mixed" systems. One of these is the West German system which provides for the election of one half of the members of the Bundestag by single member constituencies on the model prevailing today in India and the election of the remaining half of the members of the Bundestag from lists of candidates submitted in advance of polling by the various recognised parties in such a way that the Bundestag

as a whole fairly represents the voting strength of the various parties and groups.

An objection to this system, which would otherwise be eminently desirable, is that its adoption would lead in a country like India, proportions and population either to increasing the size of the Parliamentary Constituency which is already large, or increasing the size of the Lok Sabha which would again not be desirable.

It has been suggested to us that, if two-thirds of the seats in a legislature were elected by single-member constituencies and one-third from Lists, the size of the constituencies would have to be increased by not more than fifty per cent.

The Committee has endeavoured to consider some other variants of this system. An alternative system to the German which preserves its mixed character and also deserves study is the following formula:

1. The country would remain divided into single member constituencies, both for Parliament and Assemblies, as at present. As at present, candidates of political parties and independent candidates can stand for election. The polling would take place as at present.
2. Any candidate with more than 50 per cent of the valid votes polled in the constituency would be declared elected.
3. Where no candidate gets an absolute majority of the votes polled, the seat allotted to that constituency will not be filled as a result of the direct election.
4. Before the day of polling, each recognised party will be asked to submit a list of candidates in order of preferences, Statewise for the Lok Sabha and Districtwise for the State Assembly, which would be published in advance of polling.
5. All seats which are not filled by direct election will, after polling, be distributed, Statewise in the case of Parliament, Districtwise in the case of a State Assembly, among the various parties in such a manner that the total number of seats they get in the Lok Sabha or in the State Assembly, as the case may be, are in proportion to the valid votes polled by each party list as will result, as in West Germany, in the total strength of each party, including directly elected members as well as those elected from the Lists, being roughly proportionate to the votes polled by each party, including those polled by its successful candidates.

The Committee is not only aware that this system, too, has its disadvantages. One is that, where the pattern of polling is somewhat one-sided, it may not be possible to correct the distortions and the waste of votes that take place. Where, for instance, in a particular State or District, as the case may be, about all the candidates or a large number of candidates of a particular party

get elected by narrow majorities, there would be little relief for the other parties in this proposed system. This point is proved by a perusal of the figures of voting in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Assam in the Lok Sabha elections in 1971.

Another defect of this system would be that it does not make the prospect of the independent candidate, difficult as it is in the present system, any the easier. On the contrary, for all its merits, this formula would impose on an independent candidate, a greater handicap than he is being called upon to bear. The Committee has before it two alternative suggestions for mitigating this hardship.

One is a proposal that independent candidates may also figure on a separate list. This is generally not feasible, because independent candidates have nothing in common and, indeed, many of them may object to being included in a list with other independent candidates whose points of view may be diametrically opposed to their own. At the same time, it is possible that there are worth while people who may not be interested in joining any particular political party but who may conceivably group together in an organisation which stresses integrity, character and public record and who, at the same time, would not differ basically amongst themselves. Such organisations may take the form of Voters' Councils which might feel into putting up candidates for securing the facility of a list, viz, a certain amount of homogeneity and common values on the one hand and an organisation which sponsors such candidates on the other.

Another alternative suggestion is that the formula should provide that an independent candidate would be declared elected if he secures the highest number of votes as at present despite the fact that he does not poll a majority of the votes polled as is required by a party candidate.

Discussion for Consensus

The Committee is of the view that these various suggestions outlined above would require to be spelt out carefully and in detail, bearing in mind all their implications. The Committee feel that there is considerable merit in them, but is of the view that a matter of this nature should, in the national interest, be the subject of widespread public discussion out of which a consensus may emerge. It is, therefore, placing more than one formula before the public.

Mujib's Last Card

The problem now for Sheikh Mujib, and for Bangladesh, is that he has played his last card. After this there will be no more convincing alibis.

—*The Economist*, February 1.

WHITHER CHILD WELFARE IN INDIA?

Zulie Nakhooda

IN his famous book "Two Worlds of Childhood" Urie Brenfenbrenner raises the question—how would you judge a society?

On what basis is it possible for us to assess its progress and to predict how well a nation will survive and prosper? The criterion proposed: the concern of one generation for the next. A society which neglects its children—however well it may function in other respects, risks eventual disorganisation and demise.

In our country however, till recently, the truth that investment in childhood is investment for a better future, was not realised by our planners. If it has been realised, it was not fully reflected in our policies and planning during the last 20 years. The target of free and compulsory education at primary level has still to be achieved. The Fifth Five Year Plan does give child welfare programmes priority status, but to what extent their implementation will be effective in attaining the targets remains to be seen. The concentration of our resources on economic development through the development of our natural resources has meant the neglect of our human resources — our children.

The population projections for 1973-74 show the ratio of children to adults at 3:3. No economic growth is possible with such an imbalance of independent young on working adults. Our current birthrate of 1,200 babies per second has to be reduced drastically to reach the right rate for balanced economic growth.

If we were to take a survey of the population in residential institutions for children in the country (numbering about 55,000) it will be found that more than 60 per cent of the inmates have parents and families. The main reason for their being in institutions is poverty — a result of indiscriminate, surplus breeding.

But for every child that finds shelter in a residential institution, there are many more destitute children who are on the streets—left to fend for themselves.

These children who are victims of irresponsible parenthood are further victimised and exploited by their employers due to their helplessness and ignorance. They constitute a considerable percentage of our child population who are out of school at a school going age.

According to the Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Child Care, appointed some years ago, almost 10 per cent of our total child population needs some sort of social welfare services due to social disorganisation leading to destitution. The services that are provided at present cover about 1 per cent of this juvenile population. There are many more—almost 80 per cent of our juvenile population who are both eco-

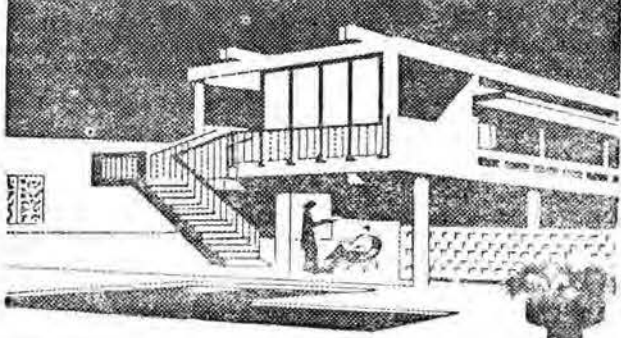
nomically and culturally deprived, need services that could provide minimum requirements of growth.

These are the children who have serious disadvantages. They come from poor homes with unemployed or unemployable parents or only one parent. They have too little of everything: space, food, medical care, money, clothing, reading material—and above all, too little of personal attention resulting in lack of energy, confidence and motivation to try and perform.

The homes of most of these children are substandard in every respect — noisy, over-crowded, under-furnished, and disorganised. It may be a tin-shed in an urban shanty-town or a hut in a village. There is little material in these homes to stimulate intellectual curiosity to learn about the world, about one's self or about life. Parental interest and encouragement in children's educational progress is lacking, partly because most of these parents are not literate or educated enough to help or guide their children, nor have they the time nor inclination to concern themselves with the child's pro-

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Reviews

IMPORTANCE OF MNCs

Business and Developing Countries (UBS Publishers and Distributors Private Ltd., Price Rs. 15).

THE Diebold Institute has sponsored a series of analyses and positions based on research, dealing with the theme of private enterprise in a post-industrial society. We deal here with the second of the projected series of periodic studies and this study is devoted to the role of private enterprise in economic development. This is without doubt a very objective and useful study for any student of current affairs who is interested in the current debate on multinational corporations.

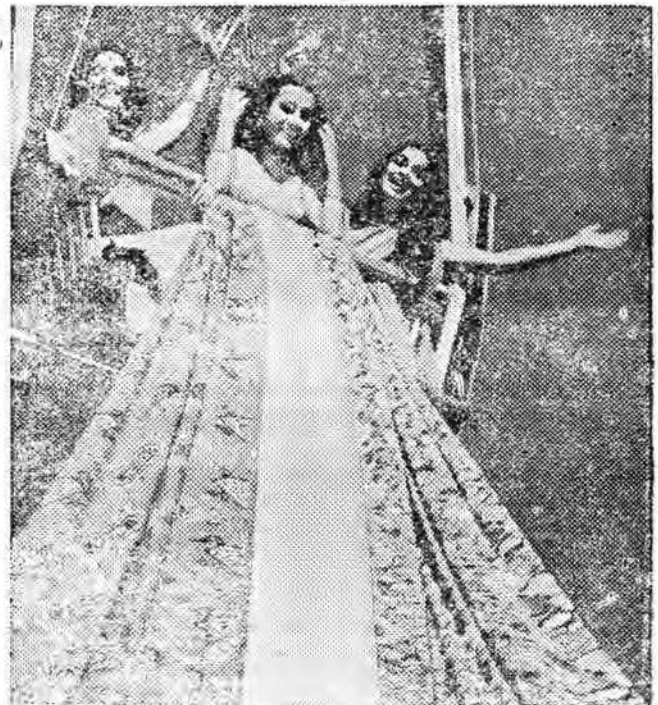
We are reassured at the very beginning that the United States itself was a developing country in the 19th century and it follows that those who are prepared to work hard with a measure of self-confidence can emulate that country's example.

The study strikes an optimistic note and says that private enterprise and Multinational Corporations will survive the present attack on them and economic nationalism is unlikely to impart a serious check to the forward march of economic development. The pattern or the forms in which the transfer of technology takes place may be more or less efficient and may differ in detail but the march will continue. The study has mentioned the different strategies pursued by some of the countries who have doubled their real gross national product in under 15 years. These include the Socialist Singapore which allows unfettered entry of MNCs, Mexico which insists on joint ventures, the Liberal Democratic Japan, two countries with extremely uncertain political futures such as Hongkong and Taiwan and lastly Brazil.

The study considers the arguments of the critics as seriously as the arguments of the proponents. In fact, it was pointed out that by far the most important moral, economic and business problem for mankind today is that of raising incomes in the poor two-thirds of the world. It goes on to say that even as we stand between two ages, it is apparent that the total environment in which business must operate has altered dramatically in terms of what is accepted in business, in concepts of social responsibility, and in the kind of difficulties that will be encountered in achieving profitable markets for new and more varied products and services. For those who are worried about the American Empire and of dumping unwanted products onto an unsuspecting consumer, the study reveals that it will be the West European corporations and Japanese corporations which will be going multinational, i.e., exporting manufacturing businesses rather than manufactured goods to the outside world and that a very large proportion of world manufacturing production in 1993 will consist of products that have not yet been invented.

As for the new responsibilities, the Diebold Group believes that a very major need of the next two decades will be the devising and export, under some system, of new technology especially appropriate for developing countries. It very rightly says that there is an imperative need to create multinational *service* corporations. It is no use wasting time on the form of these service corporations but the important need is to get them operating and the study points out three particular fields as urgent examples: Education, Nutrition and Computerization. The last is already becoming a service industry.

What should interest a lay student of affairs in all this, is the training and information revolution that is likely to take place in the next few decades. Mankind is on the edge of a breakthrough in the whole concept of his learning and information processes. The logical and eventual development of this would be the irrelevance of nationality and national governments as we know them. Less and less would people live out their lives where they were born: more and more would live where *they choose*. Seen against this background, much of the debate that is now going on, looks or seems irrelevant. Even so, the study has laid down a number of ground rules which MNCs must follow in developing countries one of which says — Resist appeals to pay wages far above the local rate and indi-



**FANTASY FURNISHINGS FROM
BOMBAY DYEING** 

cate that you would rather pay higher taxes to help infrastructure development than bring in wage inflation. There are several other useful rules which for want of space we will not refer to. What we should be worried about is the strategy that a developing country should follow in regard to MNCs. The study very correctly points out that the key strategy for successful developing countries should be to put themselves in a position where they can choose. If a developing country has a thriving domestic business ethos and domestic business sector, it is likely that the MNCs will beat a path to its door, asking to be allowed in. Here is how a businessman describes the situation obtaining in India today:

"Contradiction follows contradiction; the Prime Minister calls for higher production but the where-withal for producing more is denied. The Planning Commission pleads for more investment but does nothing to remove the hundred hurdles you have to cross before implementing a project. There are just too many pitfalls to avoid. You cannot be a Big House; you must not ask for foreign exchange; you cannot expect credit facilities; the Capital markets have been rendered temporarily inoperative. Electric power is in short supply, raw materials cannot be imported. The State Government must sponsor your case; the Central Government must approve it. The DGTD will do a techno-economic survey of the project; the CGS will consider whether suitable credits are available. Some department must satisfy itself that the indigenous angle has been properly covered whilst some other department must make sure that the project is not reserved for the small scale sector. The government must make sure that you are not too rich — that is bad for income distribution; but then you cannot afford to be too poor because nationalised banks and financial institutions will doubt your creditworthiness. Does the project compete with other similar projects? That implies a waste of scarce resources; does it then not compete with any other project? That is wicked because it implies a monopoly. So the list goes on and on whilst no decision is taken. The only dimension that becomes quite irrelevant in the entire exercise is *time*, for after all if Tatas can wait for seven years without a decision on a fertiliser project, what are a couple of years for less essential schemes?" A Government, or to use a more popular word, "system", which treats its own enterprise with such solicitude and consideration can hardly look at the MNCs without prejudice.

The study in a very 'cold' way tells us that there are pessimists who do feel that some developing countries may not want to develop at all. The new class of rulers can be as opposed to disruptive enrichment of the common people as the old aristocratic oligarchies and with much less sense of 'noblesse oblige'. The enjoyment of status and government power by these new men of government may stop economic development

in some of the poorer countries; in which the class struggle may often be between these new men of government and the men of business, both national and foreign — with the men of government winning because the masses can be expected to support them by economic apathy or by emotional romanticism, racism and anti-capitalism. It is for the enlightened citizens to choose. The choice is of course between autarky and well-being of the masses. One can only hope that we will not make wrong choices for all time to come. Gandhiji's test of thinking of the poorest man's interests for deciding a matter of public policy can help us in making a right choice.

ARVIND A. DESHPANDE

ABOUT SOVIET DISSIDENTS

Fat Sasha and the Urban Guerilla: Protest and Conformism in the Soviet Union by David Bonavia. (National Academy, Delhi; 193 pp. Price Rs. 5/-.)

DAVID Bonavia is the well known Moscow correspondent of the *Times*, London. This book contains his conversations and interviews with various people in the Soviet Union from 1969 to 1972.

Most of the people Bonavia met and talked to were what are now described as 'dissidents', convert or otherwise. In reading their accounts one gains insight into this vast political state, founded on the premise of human brotherhood, and which uses its entire machinery of persecution against the people who have questioned the Soviet communistic mystique.

The book begins with an account of Khrushchev's funerals and narrates the case of various dissidents some of whom have since been extradited or are behind bars. Liberalism, despite their posture abroad is an unwanted word in the Soviet official dictionary. "The Soviet citizen," Bonavia tells us, "is not only denied the right to hold a view opposite to that of the leaders (unless he keeps it strictly to himself); he is deprived of the prerogative to doubt, or even to suggest the possibility of several alternative and equally valid answers to problematical issues. This applies in every social sphere: politics, foreign affairs, religion, morals, economic development."

This was even applied to science, particularly biology, under Stalin. But the disastrous practical consequences of dogmatism in research led Stalin's successors to allow scientists a greater measure of intellectual freedom in their own fields. This liberty is however denied to scholars in the humanitarian disciplines as they are more closely related to politics. This may account for the fact that today in the Soviet Union independent political thinking is more often found among natural scientists than among historians and philosophers.

The Soviet system is a closed system of ideas to ex-

plain every phenomenon or to prevent discussion of the inexplicable. In the article, "The Closed Circle," Bonavia discusses the system of Soviet propaganda and the suppression of dissidents. "If a government," writes Bonavia, "had a totally persuasive policy, it would not need intensive propaganda to put it across. The less attractive its policies, the more propaganda it needs. The more lies it tells, the more it has to accuse its opponents of lying. These simple principles have elaborated into a complex system of misinformation and distortion in the Soviet press." He cites the tactics used by the Soviets:

1. Exhaust your opponent with the sheer volume of words.
2. Render your opponent speechless with anger.
3. Indignantly refute non-existent accusations.
4. Attribute your own views to your opponent, saying he has been 'forced to admit' them.
5. Repeat, repeat and repeat again.
6. Ban all your opponents' arguments.
7. Make your opponent feel guilty.
8. Deprive the accused person of the opportunity to defend himself.

The stormy career of Samizdat, the famous underground publication, is traced. Although Soviet Russia claims to be the world's biggest book publishing country, the vast majority of its publications is propaganda which no one wants to buy or read except for want of anything else or in order to get ahead politically or in a job. Anything which is 'more than faintly unorthodox or unusual' is sold out immediately. Nineteenth century classics are unobtainable not because they are proscribed but because of public demands and because tons of scarce paper are wasted on propaganda and reprints of speeches by political leaders. And this at a time when the world faces an acute shortage of paper.

Bonavia writes engagingly of the 'listeners' — the K G B — and the essay which forms the title of the book reveals the subtle ways in which the K G B agents pose as 'dissenters' to foreigners, in order to get information about insurgent activities. The problems of the Jews and of the younger generation in Russia are discussed at length. Bonavia has sharp observation, a spare literary style and great emotional sympathy for the people he writes about. The book makes depressing reading and one is appalled at the senseless waste of human material in this 'closed' society.

"Russia", writes David Bonavia, "does not merit bitterness, but sadness. This very sadness is built into its literature and its history, is an element of the nation's psychology. Everyone has heard of the Russians abroad who weep when they hear their native songs. Are they weeping out of a desire to return there, or out of a deeper sadness which they acquired through living there in the first place?"

"Russia does funny things to people. Some it un-

locks, others it closes up tighter. It arouses disputes and arguments so sharp that people living there temporarily learn to avoid them altogether, for fear of that very sharpness. The people who have to live there all their lives exist at a different level of emotional activity from people in freer societies. Their emotions are stronger, but more carefully suppressed for most of the time. They can live and work in situations which would drive Western people half insane. They acquire obsessions which help to keep them stable, and they fight long social and psychological battles with a single-mindedness which seems to be its own reward. They spend so much energy struggling to make the system workable, that they become built into it. Many of them would go to pieces if suddenly moved into another environment.

"On a moral or philosophical level, the sadness is a correct appraisal of what the last fifty years of Russian history have done to humanity, above all in Russia itself. Leaving aside the questions of the Terror and the captive nations of Eastern Europe, no thinking person can become well acquainted with a sizeable number of Soviet citizens who dare to speak their minds to him, without experiencing a sense of loss and waste. He will mentally contrast the courage, frankness and sincerity of the people whom Soviet society casts aside, with the callousness and instinctive mendacity of those whom it raises up."

—RUSI J. DABUWALA

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WHY I HAD TO LEAVE PORTUGAL — continued from page 1

which would have shown the world how large was the opposition to their intended take-over.

Today, all key positions are under control of the Communist party, either directly or through its strong influence in the Superior Council of the Armed Forces (the Council of Twenty).

An important factor is Portugal's economic plight. Eighty per cent of commercial companies are unable to meet their liabilities or to pay interest to the banks on their borrowing. Inflation is running at nearly 35 per cent and unemployment at 20 per cent. No doubt this figure will be increased by the return of emigrants from elsewhere in Europe and from the overseas territories, especially Mozambique.

National insolvency has been prevented until now by the very large sums sent home by Portuguese in employment in other countries.

The Emergency Economic Plan, which includes nationalisation of major industries and land reform, will tend to decrease output for some years.

'Fascists' blamed

All these problems will be made worse by some of those in power who continue to blame "the Fascists" and "the counter-revolutionaries" for the poor results that they are achieving.

A spokesman of the Council of Twenty declared the other day:

We won the revolution of April 25. We won on September 28. We have complete control of military power. If we wanted to instal a military dictatorship we would not need to ask anybody's permission.

The fact remains that Portugal is living in a military dictatorship already dominated by the Communist party. The great Soviet Encyclopaedia (14th volume, new edition), describes Alvaro Cunhal, secretary-general of the Portuguese Communist party, in these terms: "Under Stalin he was noteworthy in all the decisive moments, such as in 1939 when backing the Hitler-Stalin treaty." In August, 1968, opposing most other Communist parties, Cunhal backed the invasion of Czechoslovakia in a public statement.

Fictional

Today both the moderate and the radical sections of the MFA want to institutionalise their movement before the Constituent Assembly elections due in April. If they get their way the Council of Twenty, which contains the present Prime Minister Vasco Gonçalves (Communist party number 1062) will have the power to veto the legislation of any subsequent Government, reducing the authority of elected rulers to a fiction. This would benefit only the Communist party—and fits

in with history, which has never yet seen a Communist party elected anywhere in honest elections.

I believe that the Socialist party commands approximately 25 per cent of the electorate, the Popular Democratic party (Centre Left) 30 per cent, the Central Democratic Socialists (Centre Right) 25-30 per cent., and the Communist party and its small satellite parties 12-15 per cent.

Most of the Plenary Council of the Armed Forces, 200 strong, would like to see Gen. Spínola return to power. If that happens, Portugal will move back to the ideals and principles that really lay behind the revolution of April 25.

Part of Europe

Socially, economically and politically, Portugal belongs to Western Europe. Integration in the Common Market appears to be her only reasonable future. That would solve both her short-and middle-term problems. It would also exclude the possibility of domination by either of the two big Powers, Russia and America, thereby easing international tensions.

This, for the West, though expensive to begin with, would be a long-term investment, enormously advantageous both in political stability and military security. To achieve this outcome, Britain, France and West Germany could and should play a decisive part.

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

I'll always be fond of dear Ted (Heath), but there's no sympathy in politics.

—Mrs. Margaret Thatcher in *Time*, February 17.

I wish that the telephone company would fail to send the bill as often as the phone fails to give a dial tone.

—Bhupat Nansi in *Hi*, February 19.

It was not an ordinary thing that two leaders of the CPI had been conferred the honour of two Orders of Lenin by the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union in a single year.

—Mohit Sen in the *Indian Express*, January 31.

Iran, with ambitions to become a world power, dislikes being lumped with the third-world poor.

—*The Economist*, January 25.

Recently, a London meet of economists came to the startling conclusion that, at the end of the present century, there will still be five poor nations: the UK, India, Pakistan, Burma and Sri Lanka. And the reason given was as provoking as original. These are the only countries in the world which are practising economic theories taught in the London School of Economics in the '30s.

—B. Kalotikar in *Democratic World*, February 2.

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If the United States wants us, a friend, to die like a man, then the United States should provide us adequate means to defend ourselves.

—Um Sim, Cambodian Ambassador to the US, in *Washington Report*, January 1975.

From a single trade union to a single political party may be only one short step.

—Portuguese weekly *Expresso* quoted in *The Economist*, January 25.

It is a source of great historical anguish in the U.N. that the dreaded and odious Israel was formed as the result of a U.N. resolution.

—Wm. F. Buckley in *United Nations Journal*

Most political controversies are as dead as a dodo after ten years.

—*The Economist*, February 8.

'Yanks-under-the-bed' paranoia is strong on the British left.

—*The Economist*, February 8.

Britain is sleepwalking.

—*The Economist*, February 8.

Israel's basic diplomatic strategy is that it would only give 'a piece of land for a piece of peace.'

—*Time*, February 24.

If a Tory does not believe that private property is one of the main bulwarks of individual freedom, then he had better become a socialist and have done with it

—Mrs. Thatcher quoted in *Time*, February 24.

I've seen her (Mrs. Thatcher) strip really able people, leading men, like unzipping a banana so that the skin is lying at her feet.

—A Tory colleague in *Time*, February 24.

Sheikh Mujib's own motives for carrying out his long rumoured 'revolution' may well be no more complicated than a standard case of megalomania tinged with paranoia.

—*The Economist*, February 1.