

HAS MR. PATEL MISSED THE BUS?

H. P. Ranina

THERE is no doubt that the Finance Minister took over a pretty messy economic situation. Apart from the fact that inflation has recently raised its ugly head and threatens to destroy the foundations of economic growth, the commitments made by the previous Governments as well as State Governments on the eve of the Lok Sabha elections made the task before the Finance Minister more complicated.

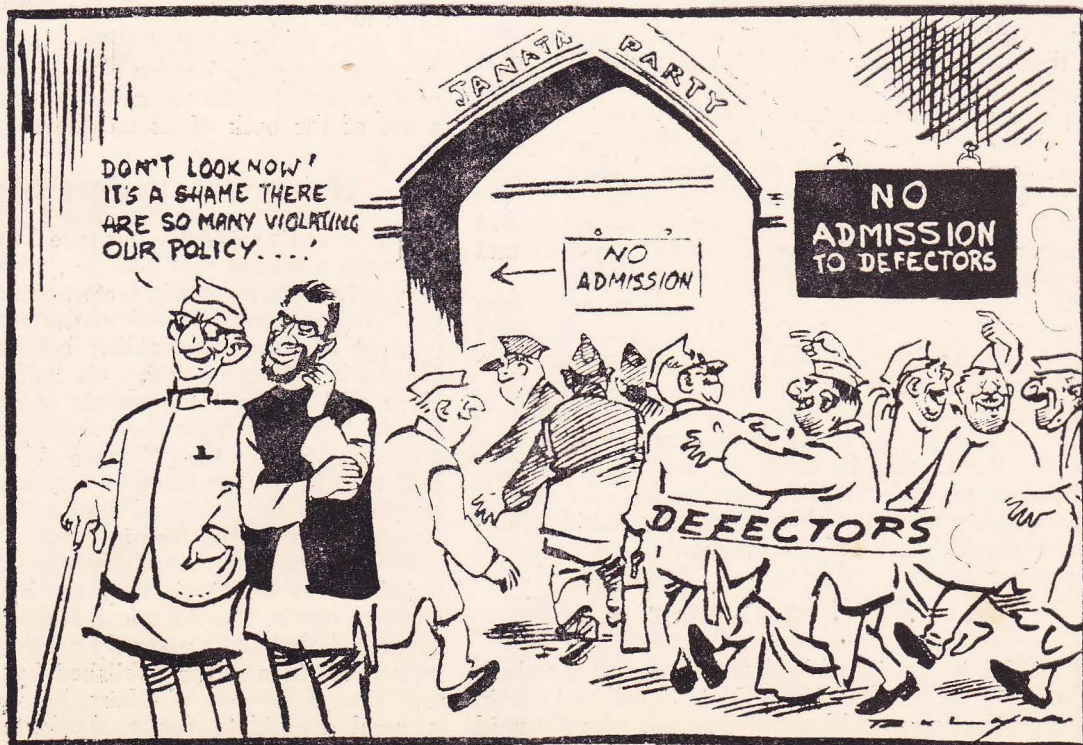
In this context, the Finance Minister was required to formulate proposals which would have made a revolutionary impact on fiscal policies. It was expected that he would take bold decisions and break away from the doctrinaire approach of the past. It is true that fiscal policy is not a magic wand but it can certainly lay the foundation and create the right climate for nurturing the kernel of economic growth.

It must be said to the credit of the Finance Minister and the Janata Government that they have realised that agriculture is India's main industry and given emphasis to this much neglected sector. However, the allocation of 30.4% of

the Plan outlay on agriculture, irrigation and allied services is still not enough considering the fact that almost half the gross national product is contributed by this sector and 80% of the people derive their livelihood from activities connected with it.

There is every reason to commend the allocation of Rs. 40 crores for assisting the State Governments in providing pure drinking water to the rural masses and another Rs. 20 crores for constructing approach roads in backward areas. He has also to be complimented for appropriating Rs. 35 crores for

(Contd. on page 13)



Courtesy: Times of India

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



P. C. Sen is Right

Kudos to Mr. P. C. Sen, leader of the Janata Party in West Bengal. Almost alone among the Janata Party leaders, he has shown the courage of his convictions and proved that he takes his democratic professions seriously.

Mr. Sen has tendered his resignation as the head of the West Bengal unit of the Janata Party. His protest is twofold. One is against the attempt of the Janata 'High Command' — that ugly word Nehru and his daughter popularized — seeking to impose an *ad hoc* committee on Bengal and thus frustrating democratic elections within Bengal itself. How familiar is that pattern which we had denounced for years now!

The more serious of Mr. Sen's objections, however, is against the way in which he has been pilloried by his leaders in New Delhi for not agreeing to an unholy alliance with the CPI (Marxist) during the State Assembly elections. Mr. Sen had let it be known that he would have no truck with the Marxist Communists because that party propagates a political philosophy and method of action basically clashing with those professed by the Janata Party.

For that act of courage the electoral prospects of the Janata Party in Bengal were scuttled by certain 'leftists' in the Janata leadership in Delhi who, by their propaganda, helped the Marxists to get a majority in the State Assembly elections. These people also preached the philosophy that the CPI (M) is the national alternative to the Janata party — a most dangerous and subversive doctrine.

Mr. Sen is, of course, perfectly right in saying that it is a familiar tactic of the Communists first to secure a foothold in the democratic system and then to destroy it from within.

Mr. Sen outlined these views while addressing a Convention of workers in Calcutta on July 10. After his speech he left the hall amidst shouts of "Pravardada will remain our chairman".

If the Prime Minister and other sane elements in the Janata Party do not bestir themselves to give Mr. Sen the support he deserves, they will soon find themselves out-manoeuvred by the 'leftist' elements in their party who are already making a bid to dominate the Cabinet and its policies.

P.E.N. in Danger

THERE is considerable disquiet among members of the All India PEN Centre and writers in other parts of the world about the visit recently paid by the President and General Secretary of the International P.E.N. to Moscow with a view to promote

the formation of a Soviet P.E.N. Centre. Such concern was also voiced widely at the recent International Congress of the P.E.N. in Hamburg where the Polish delegates were prevented by the Polish Communist Government from reaching Hamburg for the session.

Mr. Peter Elstob, the Secretary-General of the International P.E.N., has sought to meet these criticisms by saying that the Soviet writers concerned will have to accept the P.E.N. Charter, of which freedom of expression is the foundation. But is mere lip service by those guilty of persecuting Solzenitsyn, Sakharov and a host of other Russian intellectuals all that is required? Can it be seriously accepted as a proof of the *bona fides* of those writers who are loyal stooges of the Soviet dictatorship?

To cap it all, it is understood that the Soviet side would like to have at least six votes based on the so called multi-national structure of the U.S.S.R., while the reality, of course, is that the Russians are the ruling race and the other nationalities are really colonial subjects of Soviet imperialism. Along with the East European countries, which are already there, this would threaten to reduce the International P.E.N. to the plight of the I.L.O. and UNESCO where the Soviet *bloc*, along with ignorant and jejune representatives from the Third World, already make up a majority.

It is to be hoped that this naive and ill-conceived move of the office bearers of the International P.E.N. may yet be abandoned under pressure from the good sense of the bulk of its membership.

Swatantra Budget My Foot

IT is sad to find the Finance Minister talk about the so-called public sector, which is in reality a very private government sector, continuing to occupy the "commanding heights" of the economy. The very concept of the "commanding heights" which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with his half baked Marxist ideas sold to the intelligentsia of this country is in flat contradiction with the existence of a mixed economy in which the Finance Minister claims to believe. In this, as in other respects, we seem to be reverting to the arid and sterile days of Jawaharlal Nehru's Prime Ministership.

In this context, the advice given by Prof. Milton Friedman to Britain is very much more relevant to our own needs. The American Nobel Prize winner has suggested that Britain should auction its nationalized industries. In a paper published by the independent Institute of Economic Affairs, he wrote: "Britain is a good candidate for a shock treatment in the sense of policies which would bring you into roughly zero inflation within something like three to five

years The obvious thing to do with the steel industry and all those industries currently governmentally operated is to get rid of them by auctioning them off".

At a time when Prof. C. N. Vakil and Prof. Brahmananda have drawn attention to the inflationary character of the current Budget, strong exception needs to be taken to loose statements made by the critics of the Budget that this is a 'Swatantra' budget. Stuff and nonsense. The difference between the two is as wide as the difference between chalk and cheese.

Let us, however, be grateful for small mercies. The Finance Minister told the Rajya Sabha that the Government have decided to withdraw the price preference extended to products manufactured by government enterprises since otherwise "it will hide inefficiency". He sought to mollify his 'leftist' critics immediately, however, by saying that "purchase preference" to government enterprises would continue. However, this did not mollify his 'leftist' critics who continued to bay at him. The Finance Minister will find that here, as elsewhere, appeasement will only breed further aggression.

An Example from Paris

A GROUP of French intellectuals, including Jean-Paul Sartre, organised a reception honouring Soviet dissidents on June 21. Among the distinguished dissidents so honoured were Mr. Andrei Amalrik and Mr. Vladimir Bukovsky. The point of this reception was that Mr. Brezhnev was on the same day in Paris being welcomed and entertained by the French Government. This is an example that Indian intellectuals might well follow when Mr. Gromyko or some other Kremlin character next visits New Delhi. The only snag is: where will we find Soviet dissidents to be with us at all this distance?

Barter: 13 for 1

THE Chileans have done it again. Having rubbed the nose of the Kremlin dictatorship in the dust by making them agree to trade Bukovsky for Corvolan, they have now released a prominent Soviet stooge in return for no less than 13 prisoners held by the East German dictatorship. This barter was executed through West Germany.

There are, however, 6500 political prisoners still in East Germany. Even at this favourable rate of exchange, their release unfortunately will not be possible because, alas, Jorge Montes, the Chilean Communist just released, was the last political prisoner the Chilean government claims to have held.

Incidentally, those who still doubt that President Allende and his government were stooges of the Soviet Union might be interested to learn that Mr. Montes, for whom the communists have paid this high price, was a Communist senator supporting the Allende Government.

A Bouquet for Miss Bhagwat

MISS Durga Bhagwat has already earned her laurels by the courageous way in which she behaved during the 'Emergency' for which she was rewarded with a spell of detention under MISA. It is good that she happens to be the Chairman of the 52nd Marathi Sahitya Sammelan which is about to take place. She has announced that no ministers will be invited to the Sammelan. Shabash! May we suggest that FICCI and ASSOCHAM might put this example of Miss Bhagwat in their pipe and smoke it before they repeat their abject performance of being kicked in the pants by successive Prime Ministers and Ministers whom they invite year after year? The trouble however, is that they would not know how to smoke a manly pipe.

Begin's Good Beginning

PRIME Minister Begin of Israel has started with a gesture much to his credit. A number of refugees from communist tyranny in South Vietnam were found in a sinking fishing junk in the South China Sea in the middle of June. To their shame, no country agreed to take in the refugees. As it happened, an Israeli merchant vessel Yuvali happened to be around and the Prime Minister arranged for the sixty six refugees to be rescued from the sinking ship and has offered them asylum in Israel. This was his first executive act.

This shipload was only one of many vessels in which Vietnamese sneak out of South Vietnam under communist tyranny. They continue to pour into Thailand at the rate of 1300 a month. According to the U.N. High Commission for Refugees 120,000 refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have flooded into Thailand during the past two years.

Explaining his action, the Israeli Prime Minister said that Israel had not forgotten the shiploads of Jews fleeing from Hitler's death camps who were turned back by the British rulers of Palestine during World War II. As an act of solidarity, Mr. Begin said the Vietnamese would have 'refuge and asylum' in Israel.

IN THIS ISSUE

An up and coming tax expert, Mr. H. P. Ranina, contributes a balanced critique of Mr. H. M. Patel's Budget.

President Carter's U. N. envoy, Mr. Andrew Young, imparts some good horse sense to the Third World on how to solve its problems.

There is a symposium on that great non-event, Brezhnev's Constitution for the U.S.S.R.

AMERICAN BLACK SPEAKS TO THIRD WORLD

Andrew Young

(Much of what Ambassador Andrew Young, President Carter's representative at the United Nations, has been saying, did not warrant being quoted in FREEDOM FIRST. The speech he recently addressed in Johannesburg in South Africa at a meeting of 200 businessmen is so constructive and could so easily have been made with advantage at a meeting of Indian businessmen that we reproduce below an abridged version of his address.)

I am an American. This is your country. Yet I hope I can convince you that I have some honest understanding of what is going on here, of the choices that you are facing. With all the obvious differences of time and place, I have myself lived through some experiences that I believe could have some meaning for you.

It is not my business to tell you how to face your future. But it is our business, as Americans, to plan our own future. And it's only fair to let you know where we stand, for the benefit of all our peoples.

Maybe the most useful contribution I can make to your thinking on this subject would be to draw from my own experience of the working partnership which many of us in the American civil rights movement developed with the business community.

After you hear me out, then you can decide how much of what I say is relevant to your situation. The decisions are yours, but I believe that we can work together if you want us to.

My argument boils down to my conviction that the free market system can be the greatest force for constructive change now operating anywhere in the world. The most successful transformations of society can come, not from some fiery ideologist's doctrine nor even from force of arms, but rather from advancing technology and organization for the production of goods and services to all people of this planet.

Constructive transformation of a society can come by this method only if businessmen decide that it should. There is nothing automatic or inevitable about it. An increase in wealth, by itself, doesn't do the job; wealth that is inefficiently created and unjustly distributed through a system built on denial will not produce a cohesive, productive society.

The partnership that some of the civil rights activists and businessmen built up in the American South proved an essential point about the free market system: When goods are shared with those at the bottom of the system, it doesn't mean they have to be taken away from those at the top.

Reducing the poverty of the poorest does not have to reduce the wealth of the richest. In fact, exactly the opposite can happen.

As long as the 11 million blacks of the American South were held down, the South itself was held down. The entry of this vast and ready population into the economic system transformed the South

from a depressed area to the most dynamic and rapidly growing region of the United States; that's what it is today.

By and large, blacks in the United States know they have a solid stake in the system. They don't want to overthrow anything. Alongside their white neighbours, they are working, building, and enjoying a new pluralistic society. I'm the last one to say we've solved all our problem, but we're working to solve them in an expanding framework of social justice and equal opportunity.

This change came about in less than a generation.

We had a slogan in the civil rights movement that we used when some of our workers got a little too excited and wanted to go out and cause trouble that would backfire on us. I've been using it in my talks all around this continent, in arguing for non-violent means to bring about social and political change. And I should use it with you here, too.

The slogan is: "Don't get mad—Get smart." South Africa's biggest enemy is not some external military threat or even subversion from within. What you should be worried about above everything else is the passage of time.

The reason I say that time is your biggest enemy is that the rest of the world is not standing still and is not going to wait for you. New nations, new societies, new economies are growing, some of them on this continent. The markets farther north, which could be your markets, will be taken over by others. There are some lucrative investment opportunities up there, and capital that once might have come to you is going to them.

In plain and simple terms, this country is in danger of being left behind.

I want you all to know that whenever you're ready to start along this course of fundamental and peaceful change, I'm ready to give you all the help I can. I know my country is, as well.

So this is the opportunity for change through the market place—change that is nonviolent, productive and humane. This is what our system can do—better than any other so-called revolutionary system going.

The Soviet Union itself looks to the market systems of the West for productive capacity, the variety and quality of goods and services that their communist system has never been able to provide.

(Contd. on page 5)

BREZHNEV CONSTITUTION A NON-EVENT

(A symposium of clipped comments providing a world view)

Peter Osnos
(The Guardian)

THE Soviet Union's new constitution published at the weekend after 15 years' preparation emphasises the dominant role of the Communist Party, restricts free expression, and apparently clears the way, for the party chief, Mr. Brezhnev, to become Head of State.

However, none of these formulations or changes in ideological rhetoric — such as dropping "dictatorship of the proletariat" in favour of "state of the whole people" — will have any fundamental impact on the real conduct of Soviet life or political policies.

The adjustments are essentially a refurbishing of party doctrine, and that they took so long to make shows how complicated debates on such matters can be in the Kremlin.

The new constitution, which has 173 articles, will be formally adopted after a "national debate" at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet next autumn. It will replace a charter drawn up in 1936 by Stalin that Khrushchev first undertook to overhaul in 1962 as part of the destalinisation process.

ANTICLIMAX IN MOSCOW
(International Herald Tribune)

In Moscow the effort seems to be to alter the troika system which has functioned on and off since Stalin's death — party secretary, premier and president — and perhaps centralize the power in the hands of Brezhnev or his successor. In other words,

AMERICAN BLACK SPEAKS TO THRID WORLD
(Contd. from page 4)

The inner strength of the market system is that it has to bear people in mind if it is to succeed for very long. It produces things for people, it produces the things people want. This is what it is all about.

And this is what the aspirations of blacks across this continent are all about—a standard and quality of life that is better than what their parents knew, better not only for being more comfortable, but better also for being more fair. No market system can function at peak efficiency if it has to differentiate between first and second class buyers, first and second class citizens.

The opportunity for South Africa, as it was for the American South, is to expand and improve an economic order, to draw into the system an entire population that otherwise would grow disaffected and turn to some other system. Your challenge is to draw your majority into your system. There is no reason why the kind of economic changes that I've been describing could not build a working political majority in which people of all races share an interest, have their own stake, for their own well-being, and the prosperity of the whole country. We would all benefit.

the main effect of the new constitution will be on the small group in the Kremlin and not on the millions of Soviet subjects

Moscow has brought forth an anticlimax.

THE BREZHNEV DRAFT
Editorial (The Statesman)

Judging by the official summary, most of its provisions are remarkably liberal; but so are those of Stalin's Constitution of 1939 which is still in force.

NEW, IMPROVED AND REDDER-THAN-RED
(The Economist)

"You can do anything you like Just try!" Thus a policeman explained to a Russian the essence of a Tsarist constitution early this century. The point remains valid. It fitted the Stalin constitution of 1977, published on June 4th. Indeed, the Brezhnev version spells out the theoretical rights of Soviet citizens in even greater detail.

Soviet constitutional lawyers have mastered the art of writing such documents. They are at pains to describe the balance of powers between the two chambers of the Soviet parliament, without questioning whether either of them has any real power. The 15 republics which form the Soviet Union cannot in practice do anything without Moscow's approval, yet the new text once again guarantees their "right of secession". It also declares that the tapping of telephones and the opening of mail are strictly forbidden in Russia.

Yet there is not much beating about the bush in the articles that really matter. The new constitution proclaims more emphatically than ever that the Communist party "is the force which leads and directs Soviet society; it is the central element in the political system and in all the state and social organisations". And since "the exercise by citizens of rights and freedoms must not injure the interests of society and the state" (article 39), it is the ruling party which decided what is to be tolerated: the party or, to be more accurate, the party's leadership, for the constitution stresses the familiar concepts of "democratic centralism", which has come to mean the enforcement of central decisions and the concentration of power at the top.

In practical terms, there are few alterations from Stalin's constitution A word for those who may be sceptical about the deep involvement of the Soviet people in the shaping of their country's future. Before the text of the new constitution had even been published, telegrams were already pouring in from all over the Soviet Union welcoming its contents.

THE BREZHNEV CONSTITUTION
Editorial
(The New York Times)

But we are more puzzled than when we began. Why all the fuss? Why struggle for a decade and a

half, from Khrushchev to Brezhnev, for the collection of platitudes, loopholes, hypocrisies? (The Soviet Republics, please note, have retained the right to secede).

From Brezhnev's point of view, it is no doubt pleasant to envision a time when people will speak of the 'Brezhnev Constitution'. There is no reason to expect the new Constitution to alter the relationship of Soviet citizen to their state. They will enjoy freedoms only as privileges and only as Brezhnev and his successors extend them. Brezhnev is not Stalin; but no constitution can turn him into a democrat.

What, then, is the point? We tend to forget that the Soviet rulers, as practical statesmen and politicians, are acutely aware of their lack of legitimacy in relations with their people and therefore with others.

The Soviet state cannot, and will not, wither away. It must be justified in law if it intends to govern by law. Ergo, yet another try at a "constitution". It is an instrument created by and for the ruling class to define and to rationalize its powers and privileges. If ever the political rights that the Constitution pretends to offer could really be exercised by the Soviet people, the rulers would surely begin rewriting it yet again.

NATIONWIDE DEBATE

Victor Zorza
(*International Herald Tribune*)

The Soviet Union is now in the throes of what the Moscow newspapers describe as a "nationwide debate". Every day *Pravda*, which usually runs to about six pages, gives a whole page to reports of the debate, with accounts of meetings being held in various parts of the Soviet Union, letters to the editor, and specially written articles, all on one subject: The new Soviet constitution.

So, far, however, not a single voice has been raised in protest against any of the provisions of the new constitution. The meetings being held in each of the 15 republics which make up the Soviet Union pass resolutions which "unanimously" approve the draft of the constitution recently unveiled in Moscow by Party Secretary Leonid Brezhnev.

THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION

George F. Will
(*International Herald Tribune*)

Such is the Soviet leaders' zest for constitutionalism that they have manufactured no fewer than four constitutions since the Glorious Transition to Socialism began 60 years ago. The busy Benjamin Franklins and James Madisons of Mother Russia have just brought forth the fourth, and Soviet "news" agencies report that the constitution has generated warm debate and even warmer approval.

That is understandable, considering that it is replete with ringing affirmations that lift the spirit like tongues of trumpets. Is it a good constitution? A particularly piercing soprano, after auditioning for

Franz Liszt, asked anxiously, "Maestro, do I have a good voice?" Liszt replied, earnestly: "Ah, my dear, 'good' is not the word".

The most remarkable of the 13,000 words are found in Article 71: "Every union republic shall retain the right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R." So South Carolina was right after all; Lincoln erred in saying that no nation's organic law could provide for the dissolution of the nation.

You can well imagine that from one end of the Gulag Archipelago to the other, inmates are bursting into cries of "Hallelujah!" as they read Article 50:

"In conformity with the interests of the working people and for the purpose of strengthening the system, citizens shall be guaranteed freedom of speech, press, assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations, abilities, training, education, and with due account for the need of society".

Queen Elizabeth said it more tersely ("I will not make windows, into men's souls"), but the Soviet Union's latest human rights language has been well tested. It is basically that of Stalin's 1936 constitution, promulgated during the purge trials. Then as now the fundamental constitutional principle was that expressed in the anthem of an earlier workers' state:

'Animal Farm, Animal Farm
Never through me shalt thou come to harm!'

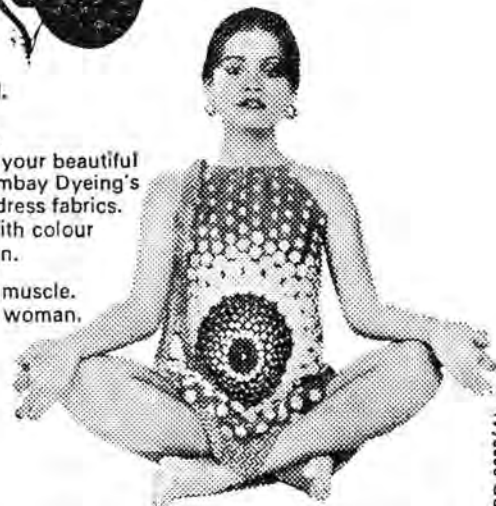
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BOMBAY DYEING

J. P. PRESIDES AT I.C.C.F. MEETING

A minute's silence in honour of the victims of the Emergency was observed by members of the Executive Council of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom who met at the Express Towers with Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan in the Chair.

In a resolution, the Council recorded the "Committee's appreciation and acknowledgement of the contribution made by thousands of men and women in all walks of life towards the restoration of political freedom" and expressed pride that "the central figure in this story of liberation has been Jayaprakash Narayan, a member of the Committee since its inception in 1951."

The Council felt that the prevailing awareness of the importance of civil rights needed to be strengthened and with this end in view decided to hold discussions and seminars on such topics as the

Role of the Press and the Role of Voluntary Agencies in a Pluralist Society. The Council also decided to campaign for the conversion of AIR and TV into Autonomous Corporations and the repeal of the 42nd Amendment as pledged by the Janata Party Manifesto.

Of particular significance was the decision that such discussions should not be confined to Bombay City but should be carried to the mofussil towns and thus provide an opportunity for the intelligentsia in the rural areas to participate.

Those present included Mr. M. R. Masani, Dr. Freddie Mehta, Mr. Ramu Pandit, Dr. S. P. Aiyar, Mr. Arvind Deshpande, Miss Sheela Singh and the Honorary Secretaries, Mr. J. B. H. Wadia and Mr. S. V. Raju.

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WORLD NEWS

LEE KWAN YEW SPEAKS FOR ASIA

THE leaders of 33 Commonwealth countries, assembled at Lancaster House in London for the opening day of their 1977 summit conference found themselves wrenched away from guerrilla war in Southern Africa and the failure of the North-South dialogue in Paris to be confronted by the spectre of militant communism east of Suez.

The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kwan Yew, did the wrenching in the speech he delivered to launch the first working session.

Mr. Lee of Singapore, with his long lists of political detainees branded as Communists, and his free-wheeling open market economy, raises the hackles of his fellow members of the Afro-Asian and Caribbean world.

Mr Lee's desire to see a resounding denunciation of communism came close to splitting a meeting which had begun at the morning session in an amiable atmosphere of Silver Jubilee euphoria.

"We are engaged in a test of stamina and will between the Communist, and the competitive non-Communist systems".

His address, which lasted a few minutes short of an hour, did have the desired effect of provoking vigorous debate. It was a contentious diatribe, later distributed as a 20-page document, which is going to provoke further heated argument in this morning's session.

The Singapore Prime Minister said in his speech, that he felt obliged to warn his colleagues of the other 32 member countries of what happens after a Communist takeover, because his country has had a roadside seat after the ending of the Vietnam war.

He said: "The working of the system after victory make for fascinating, sometimes terrifying, reading for the rest of non-Communist Asia. Two years after the war, refugees still flee every day across the borders of Laos and Cambodia into Thailand. Whole Vietnamese families risk a watery grave as they make for the open seas in coastal fishing boats to dash for freedom.

"Is the non-Communist world worth saving? In economic performance, dynamism, and cultural creativity, it is the more productive and abundant world, the one which holds out promise for the deprived and the poor, the vast majority of mankind. Every time people are given the choice the flow of refugees is always from Communist areas to non-Communist, and never the other way round.

Mr Lee included the Southern Africa crisis within the scope of his thesis. He said it is now entering "a classic guerrilla struggle akin to Vietnam." He then said: 'the question is, whether, after a black

majority government is installed in Rhodesia, is it possible to dissuade Marxist-trained guerrillas from going on with their insurgency until Marxists have installed themselves in power in Rhodesia even after it becomes Zimbabwe."

—*The Guardian*, June 9

COMMONWEALTH DOUBLE TALK

In Commonwealth discussions about Southern Africa, now ended, the tone of the speeches on Rhodesia was warlike, to say the least. Mr. Callaghan went along with the trend. He would, he said, "in no way seek to criticise those in Africa who in despair had turned to force". Despair at what, one might ask? Despair at the backwardness, lack of the ability to produce enough to feed their population, inequalities, oppression and corruption existing in their own homelands? Not a bit of it. The "despair" Mr. Callaghan referred to is presumably that arising from the frustration of people like President Kaunda of Zambia at not being able to interfere in a neighbouring country where the black population is much better off than in his own country. They "despair" because Rhodesia does not have one-man-one-vote. But nor do Zambia, Tanzania or Nigeria. Is that a cause for "despair"?

The truth is that the animus against Rhodesia is racist. It is hatred at the sight of black people being ruled by white people, as even more so in the case of South Africa. That is understandable. But the emphasis placed by Dr Kaunda — and implicitly supported by Mr. Callaghan — on war as the only means of changing the situation is a recipe for disaster. Zambia, of all countries, stands to lose the most if the policy of war against Rhodesia is carried to its full conclusion. Dr. Kaunda of all people, should know what the consequences would be if Rhodesia is reduced to a smoking ruin, with all White influence and expertise driven out.

Mr. Smith has accepted that majority rule in Rhodesia has to come. What he does insist on — and he said it again on Thursday — is that it must be "responsible majority rule and not mob rule". Is that simple proposition too much for Dr Kaunda, Mr. Callaghan, Dr. Owen and the rest to stomach?

— *Daily Telegraph* June 11

LONDON 'COURT' HEARS DEFENCE OF SOVIET CIVIL RIGHT CAMPAIGNER

THE "trial" of Professor Yuri Fyodorovich Orlov opened yesterday. But the venue was not one of the plain courtrooms of the Soviet Union but the plush Wedgewood blue and white offices of the Institute of Physics in Belgrave Square, London.

The room, lit by television lights, and the view of the City out of the window, gave the proceed-

ings an optimistic air. But there was nothing to alleviate the panorama of human misery that unfolded before the "court" through the testimony of perhaps the largest gathering of Soviet dissidents ever seen in Western Europe.

Professor Orlov, of course, was not present. He is in Moscow's Lefortovo prison, where he has been held for four months. So far, he has not been charged but that did not prevent his wife, Irina, from retaining Mr John Macdonald, an English QC, to defend him.

Mr. Macdonald has been refused an entry visa by the Soviet authorities. So he decided to conduct the case for the defence in London, and submit the transcript to the Soviet authorities. Soviet courts are obliged to study all written evidence.

So, when Mr Macdonald opened the case for the defence he was speaking not only to a room full of journalists, dissidents, diplomats and campaigners for human rights but to Mr Aleksandr Tikhonov, the Moscow public prosecutor, who is handling the Orlov case.

The witnesses for the defence included such known dissidents as Mr Vladimir Bukovsky, Mr Andrei Amalrik, and Mr Vitaly Rubin and Mr Ramsey Clark, the former American Attorney-General.

Mr Clark, who was obviously deeply affected by the proceedings, moved the hearing from the particular to the general by making an eloquent appeal for human rights all over the world.

Professor Orlov is a founder-member of the Group to promote Observance of the Helsinki Agreements in the Soviet Union and it is for this reason that he has fallen foul of the authorities.

Miss Lyudmila Alekseyeva, who worked closely with Professor Orlov in the formation of the group, flew from New York to give evidence. She told the hearing that from the first they had been completely open about the group even calling a press conference to launch it and sending its reports to the appropriate Soviet authorities and to the embassies of the other signatories of the Helsinki Agreement.

Professor Orlov was warned by the KGB that what he was doing was unconstitutional. He rejected the warning, on the day the group was formed, and since then the group has issued 19 major reports on violations of human rights in the Soviet Union, ranging from religious oppression, abuse of psychiatry, harassment of those trying to emigrate to, oppression of minorities.

Witness after witness gave evidence of the horrors of persecution that those in opposition to the Soviet system suffer.

As he closed the case for the defence, Mr Macdonald addressed himself to the Soviet authorities, saying that though they could prevent him from attending when, and if, Professor Orlov is tried, they could not prevent him from making sure that the world knew both sides of the case.

—*The Times*, June 14

STOLEN WINDSCREEN WIPPERS

Letter from Moscow by HELLA PICK

IT'S raining as a group of Western residents in Moscow leave a friend's house and make for their cars. But before anybody drives away windshield wipers are brought out of handbags, or the boot of the car, and fixed back on where they belong.

A very official Soviet journalist takes me to the Moskvich car factory, one of the Soviet Union's show pieces of modern technology. But before we go into the main office block — inside the factory gates — my friend takes off windscreen wipers, hides them inside the car and firmly locks it.

Normally, when we park in Moscow, he also fixes some kind of a crowbar on to the steering wheel, to immobilise the vehicle completely. He hates to concede that some anti-social Soviet citizen might have designs on his car. But he finally explains the windscreen removal mania: if he left them on the car, somebody might remove them; it might start raining; "somebody" might then appear fortuitously with a pair of windscreen wipers, and he would have no alternative except to buy them. ... So, private enterprise is still alive and kicking, even in the Soviet Union.

The private car poses major problems in every big city and in all industrialised countries — congestion, fuel supplies, pollution and so on. But in the Soviet Union, there is an additional factor which its ideologists take very seriously.

The car is, after all, a manifestation of individualism, the very antithesis of the group consciousness which the Soviet system fosters.

In spite of excellent, cheap public transport, Russians evidently want to be car owners just as much as the products of the capitalist system; and because cars are still in very short supply, and very expensive in the Soviet Union, and spare parts are often hard to buy, car stealing and cannibalism of components is evidently very prevalent.

Soviet officials do not hide the fact that there are special problems. In 1975, there was a meeting in Moscow to discuss the social implications of car ownership.

Car production is nevertheless being allowed to expand at a steady pace. In 1970, the Soviet Union was making 350,000 cars a year. Now the annual production is 1.2 million cars, and by 1980 the target is 2.1 million. A proportion of this is reserved for export, and at present there are still only 12 cars for every 1,000 Soviet citizens.

Prices are high, especially in terms of Soviet incomes; credit is available only for selected workers in the car factories, and even the cheapest car costs about three times the annual average income.

Nevertheless, there are endless waiting lists, and it takes between 1½ and three years before the beast

is finally delivered.

However, even those lucky enough to acquire a car are left with plenty of headaches. There is the chronic shortage of spares (Pravda has written that batteries, car mirrors and radios disappear even while the cars are being transported from the factory to their distribution points); there are very few service centres, and even when he finds one, the owner leaves it there at his own risk, because the chances are that some parts will be removed for use on another car up for repair.

While petrol is cheap, filling stations are few and far between, and there are many letters of complaint in the Soviet press.

There is no compulsory third party insurance. Traffic police are everywhere, and often stop cars for the most minor offences. But the punishment frequently takes the shape of sending the offending driver to classes — on ideology and responsible social behaviour, rather than on good driving.

Soviet officials always point to the increasing size of the car population as a major yardstick of economic progress towards a consumer society.

— *The Guardian*, June 13

AGATHA CHRISTIE SAVES CHILD

A nurse who was reading an Agatha Christie thriller indirectly saved the life of a severely ill child whose condition baffled doctors at Hammersmith Hospital, London, it was learnt yesterday.

One Sunday morning a girl, aged 19 months, flown to England from Qatar, was admitted to the hospital semi-conscious and unresponsive to speech or commands.

All the resources of the hospital were used to establish a diagnosis, but doctors were at a loss.

The routine ward round, Marsha Maitland, the nurse with particular responsibility for the child, put down the book she was reading and interrupted the doctors' discussion with a suggestion that the child seemed to have thallium poisoning.

The doctors were surprised, Nurse Maitland said that in *A Pale Horse*, the Agatha Christie book she was reading, thallium poisoning was described, and the child's symptoms were remarkably similar. The one consistent feature emphasized in the book, loss of hair, seemed to be developing in the child that morning.

The laboratory test showed that the child's body contained more than 10 times the permitted maximum of thallium. A reappraisal of her condition showed white Mee's lines on her fingernails and hair showing a dark band of thallium deposition.

Inquiries from the child's parent suggested that the most likely source of the thallium, probably ingested by the child over a long period, was a domestic poison commonly used where she lived to kill cockroaches and rodents.

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Although the prognosis, once neurological symptoms have set in, is usually thought to be hopeless, the child was treated and after three weeks was obviously recovering. She was discharged and after four months had improved remarkably.

The case is reported by Dr T. G. Matthews, a registrar in paediatrics at the hospital at the time, and Professor Victor Dubowitz, professor of paediatrics at the Royal Postgraduate Medical School, Hammersmith in the British Journal of Hospital Medicine.

— *The Times*, June 23

WHO IS JAMES CARTER?

THE Soviet press is treating the President of the United States like a naughty child. He came to power as Jimmy Carter; it is thus that he took the Oath of Office. And everyone everywhere since then has called him Jimmy Carter — including Tass, the official Soviet news agency.

But Tass is not pleased with President Carter any more. And so they have decided to chide. They have decided to call him James Carter in future. There must be some one high up in the affairs of the Soviet news agency very proud of himself for this evidence of his familiarity with the nuances of the English language.

"James Carter", however, is evidence of something else too. The Soviet Union is growing more offended than ever about President Carter's attitudes, particularly on human rights. This is because they are hurting, and they are hurting because they are effective. The American President is as aware as anyone that it is not possible for Soviet interests to be trod upon without the Soviet Government being offended. They are only in a good mood where they are winning.

It is in this spirit that we should view Tass's announcement that President Carter's stand on human rights is a threat to detente and is likely to have an adverse effect on Soviet-American relations.

Quite unashamedly, the Soviet news agency is playing on the fact that many of the Soviet Union's best allies are countries where there is scant respect for human rights.

But the Soviet news agency has forgotten one important thing: unlike citizens of the Soviet Union, millions of citizens of the Third World countries to which it is addressing itself live in freedom; many of them have been to the United States, and the rest have read plenty about it. They will take no part in the chiding, and to them James Carter will still be Jimmy.

— *Swiss Press Review*, June 20

CHINA REPRIEVE FOR SHAKESPEARE

FIRST Beethoven and Bach, and now the Bard. Like the 'bourgeois' Bs of music, William Xia-shi-pi-ya has been reprieved and is respectable again in China, after 10 years in cultural limbo during which his works were swept from all shelves.

His rehabilitation is part of the movement to liberalise the arts in the People's Republic and to 'let a hundred flowers bloom' after the downfall of the bigoted 'Gang of Four' led by Mao's wife, Chaing Ch'ing, who prescribed all foreign classics as 'capitalist art.'

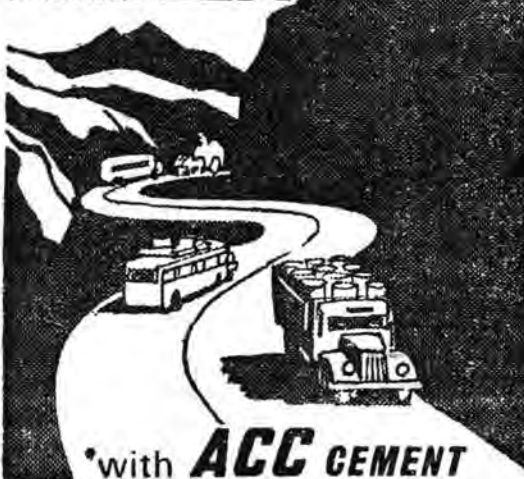
But although a new Chinese-language edition of Shakespeare's play is to be published in Peking, few in China are likely to see some pensive Oriental Hamlet pace the boards to murmur what the vernacular renders at present as 'Survive or perish: this is well-meriting-consideration question.'

What his rehabilitation appears to mean is that he may now be an approved subject for study in drama schools and — theoretically — specified university faculties. His works will be on display in shop windows, and may even be read by certain cadres. Visiting foreign companies may act his plays (or extracts from them), foreign orchestras may perform the music he has inspired, and foreign dancers the ballets — without political embarrassment.

Otherwise, this is an exercise in cultural diplomacy. China is opening doors on the world, and expects the world to open doors on her.

— *The Observer*, May 29.

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STALIN 'DECIDED ON THIRD WORLD WAR'

STALIN'S policy towards Western Europe changed from a comparatively soft approach to a decision in early 1951 to start a third world war, according to the first instalment of the Kaplan papers due to be published tomorrow by the Italian weekly *Panorama*.

Mr Karel Kaplan, aged 48, arrived in the West last autumn, from his native Czechoslovakia after having had access to documents of the highest secrecy in the archives of the Czechoslovak Politburo and Central Committee, the secret police and the special archive devoted to political trials.

He was given access, he says, when in April, 1968, just three months after Mr Alexander Dubcek came to power in Prague, the new leadership commissioned him to head a group of investigators in drawing up a report giving the truth about the political trials which took place in Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1954.

The group discovered, he says, among other things, that these trials, including that of Rudolf Slansky, the party secretary, had been ordered and followed personally by Stalin.

In his first article for *Panorama*, Mr Kaplan describes a meeting in the Kremlin in January, 1951, at which Stalin announced that the Americans had to be swept out of Europe by armed force before their increasing political and military strength could be consolidated.

This meeting was attended by the Soviet Party and military leadership and by two representatives each — the party secretary and the Minister of Defence — from East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Czechoslovakia.

The meeting lasted three days, with Stalin himself speaking on the second day. At the end, the delegates went to the headquarters of the Soviet Army where the ministers of defence signed a document so secret that in Czechoslovakia only Klement Gottwald, the head of state, knew about it, apart from General Alexei Cepicka, then Minister of Defence.

In this document, the ministers of defence of the other communist countries undertook to place their troops under direct Russian command in the event of war.

Stalin estimated that the war would have to begin within three or, at the most, four years because by 1955 the American bases would have been completed. The Americans would then be able to answer a Soviet attack by using heavy bombers carrying nuclear weapons, which would have made the third world war too dangerous a proposition for the Russians.

According to Mr Kaplan's account of the development of Stalin's thinking, the Kremlin leader never lost sight of his ambition to carry Soviet hegemony to the Atlantic, but for some two years after the war he did not contemplate a new armed conflict.

He saw Europe as a great power vacuum. Russian military power on the continent was overwhelming and Britain, exhausted by the war, was no longer in a position to maintain a balance of power. He thought that America was once again losing interest in a European role and would be attracted more towards Asian affairs.

With Eastern Europe safely in Soviet hands and with communists in government both in France and Italy, Stalin's confidence looked reasonable. The economic crisis was hard on the workers. Europe was shifting left. There was civil war in Greece.

He concealed his ideas about a communist Western Europe and produced the theory of a peaceful and non-Soviet way to socialism.

The Czechoslovak secret service prepared a report in the summer of 1946 on the basis of information had from London which threw light on Stalin's outlook.

What defeated Stalin's plan was that the communist economic system simply could not support his demands on it.

Stalin died in March 1953. Three months later, the workers of East Berlin were in revolt. Other protests followed in Czechoslovakia and to varying degrees in the rest of Eastern Europe. Malenkov succeeded Stalin and announced investments in light industry and foodstuffs. The dream of Stalin was finally buried.

— *The Times*, May 6

EXPORT AWARD WINNERS. year after year!



This time, Bombay Dyeing has bagged both the Central & State Government awards for export performance: The Government of India Award for Outstanding Achievement in Export Promotion for 1972-73; and the Government of Maharashtra Directorate of Industries Prize for the Best Export Performance for 1973-74.

Bombay Dyeing has received, on an average, an award a year since 1969. We're the only textile mill with a consistent record of growth in export promotion. Sales abroad for 1974-75 touched Rs. 18 crores. The exceptionally high standard of fabric quality and design have brought world recognition to our textiles even in the sophisticated markets of the USA, UK, Canada, Germany, France, USSR, Poland and Australia. That's reward enough for us.



BOMBAY DYEING

Has Mr. Patel Missed The Bus ? *(Contd. from page 1)*

khadi and village industries which would create employment opportunities for 25 lakh persons.

Though the Government has given tax relief to small scale industries which set up undertakings in rural areas, such incentive will not have the desired effect because the period for which it is available would in fact not be 10 years as provided in section 80-HHA of the Income-tax Act, 1961, but it would be for a much shorter period of perhaps three to four years.

This is because deduction would be available at the rate of 20% only if taxable profits are made by small scale undertakings. Normally, a commercial unit does not make profits for a period of at least two to three years or even for longer periods depending upon the gestation period of the industry. When an undertaking is set up in a backward area where the infra-structure is lacking, costs are bound to be higher and profits much lower. Apart from that, taxable profits can only be made if the commercial profits are sufficiently high to absorb the various incentive allowances permitted under the law. Hence, it is unlikely that any small scale undertaking would make a taxable profit during the first five years of its commencing production and, therefore, at best such benefit under the proposed section 80-HHA would not be available for more than five years, as against the ten years provided under the statute.

Therefore, if the Government earnestly desires to encourage small scale undertakings so that greater employment opportunities could be created, it is imperative to allow the benefit of this deduction for any period of ten years and not necessarily the first ten years of commencing production.

Self-Defeating

It is difficult to understand why the Finance Minister has enacted a provision, section 72A, which is so drafted as to defeat the very purpose for which it is inserted in the Income-tax Act. The number of sick units has increased at an alarming rate. It is, therefore, eminently desirable that healthy units should be encouraged to take over the sick ones. One such way is to permit a healthy company to set off against its own profits the unabsorbed depreciation and past losses of the sick company. But the provision is enacted in such a way that it would first be necessary for the companies to merge and then apply to the prescribed authorities for getting the benefit of the set off. If the amalgamation is not approved by the Government, the benefit would not be available but the healthy company would have to suffer the consequences of such merger without getting the benefit of the set off. The logic of this is on a par with that of a Municipality which demands that a couple should first have a baby and then apply to it for a marriage certificate which may be granted in its sole discretion!

Three conditions are laid down subject to which the prescribed authority may recommend to the

Central Government for approving the amalgamation and the Central Government may, thereafter, in its discretion, declare that the healthy company would be entitled to carry forward and set off the loss of the sick company. These conditions are:

- (1) the loss of the sick company should be equal to or should have exceeded 50% of its share-capital and reserves;
- (2) the sick company should not have been economically viable; and
- (3) the amalgamation should be in the public interest.

Sick Companies

The Central Government has also reserved the right to prescribe certain additional conditions which may be necessary for revitalising the sick company. The last two conditions of the aforesaid three are so vague that no industrialist whilst taking the crucial decision to amalgamate his company with a sick one would be able to determine whether he would be entitled to the benefit of the set off of the loss and depreciation. Hence, if at all amalgamation takes place hereafter it will only be in cases where there are compelling reasons other than to take advantage of the set-off of the depreciation and loss.

In fact, even if the Central Government approves the amalgamation, the healthy company would be entitled to the benefit only if two further conditions are fulfilled. First, the healthy company should not modify or reorganise the business of the sick company. In other words, the Government want the healthy company to continue to run the business of the sick company as inefficiently as before the amalgamation. One had never imagined that the bureaucrats in the North Block were so wooden-headed! Secondly, the prescribed authority is required to give a certificate each year the set off is claimed with the healthy company that it has taken adequate steps to revitalise and revive the sick company. Here again there could be difference of opinion on the question whether or not the steps are adequate.

Hence, it is clear that at every stage this provision is imbued with uncertainties with the result that no businessman would ever take the risk of amalgamating his healthy company with a sick one, merely to take the slender chance of availing of the benefit of carried forward loss or depreciation. Hence, it would be advisable to delete this provision altogether and not encumber the statute with a section which would not achieve the object for which it is enacted.

Rural Development

The other provision for giving an incentive to companies to incur expenditure on a programme of rural development is also not likely to have any significant impact on uplifting the rural masses of India. In the first place, the programme is to be framed and it has then to be forwarded to the prescribed authority for its approval. No guidelines have

been laid down as to the circumstances in which such a programme would be approved. For example, would the construction of roads in rural areas be approved as a programme of rural development? The Supreme Court recently held that any expenditure incurred on constructing roads is not deductible as business expenditure and even depreciation cannot be claimed on such expenditure since it results in the bringing into existence an asset of an enduring nature which does not belong to the assessee.

It is therefore necessary that suitable guidelines be framed so that entrepreneurs would have some idea as to the lines on which the programme of rural development should be drawn up. It is imperative that the construction of roads should be included in the programme of rural development since such a programme would result in the creation of maximum opportunities for employment, apart from contributing to the strengthening of the infrastructure in rural areas.

The granting of the benefit of the investment allowance to all industries except those specified in the Eleventh Schedule is all to the good. However, even such allowance will not be sufficient to meet the replacement cost of assets on account of the high rate of inflation in every part of the world. In many progressive countries, there is a system of indexation under which the written down value of the asset is adjusted to the extent of the inflation that has taken place each year and depreciation is allowed on such adjusted value. This to some extent ensures that at the end of the life of an asset sufficient resources are generated within the industry itself to permit the replacement of old assets with modern ones.

The Finance Minister should also have considered the need for differential rates of taxation under which retained profits or profits which are ploughed back for rehabilitating plant and machinery are taxed at lower rates. Such a measure would prevent companies from declaring more than a reasonable rate of dividend, since they would be more inclined to retain as much of the profits as possible.

Capital Gains

Coming to the amendments made in respect of capital gains, the Finance Minister has taken bold decisions to reduce the period of short-term capital assets from 5 years to 3 years and to advance the date for substituting the market value in respect of old assets for their cost of acquisition from 1st January, 1954, to 1st January, 1964. This will make the taxation of capital gains more realistic and fair in view of the fact that inflation itself accounts for a substantial portion of the capital gains.

The provision to exempt capital gains if the sale proceeds of any long term asset are reinvested in the approved forms of investment is long overdue because transactions in immovable property brought into existence a sizeable amount of unaccounted money. Even during the terrorizing days of the

Emergency, 40 to 50% of the sale proceeds were passed under the table. The proposal to exempt such capital gains would deal a stunning blow to the evil of tax evasion. Secondly, this provision would also result in the voluntary freezing of the sale proceeds for a period of three years so that inflation is curbed and conspicuous consumption curtailed. In fact, this provision seems to be the extension of the compulsory deposit scheme, the only difference being that the Finance Minister has given a sufficiently strong incentive to assesseees to divert the full sale proceeds in the approved forms of investment for a period of three years.

Though the proposals for raising the surcharge on income-tax and the rates of wealth-tax are not likely to impose a severe burden on tax payers, in principle the increase in the rate of surcharge on income-tax is to be objected to because the rates of income-tax were reduced on account of the well-considered recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee appointed by the Government in 1970. In fact, the reduction in the rates of income-tax had a galvanizing effect on the tax revenue which has registered unprecedented growth. This clearly shows that by lowering the rates of taxes, more incentive is afforded for hard work, and greater compliance with the tax law is ensured. Thus the Government should have unhesitatingly given a further incentive to honest and hard working tax payers by deleting the surcharge altogether. Instead, the Finance Minister has unwisely increased the surcharge by 50%.

Avoidable

The increase in rates is not going to bring a windfall to the Exchequer but it has done immeasurable harm by making tax payers feel that once again the trend has been reversed and is likely to lead to higher rates of taxation. In fact, many tax payers may now once again start thinking of so arranging their affairs which would make tax evasion possible should the rates be hiked up in the coming years. There is not the slightest doubt that this small increase could have been easily avoided by the Finance Minister and he could have given the tax payers a fair chance to show that the reduction in rates would actually bring more revenue to the Government because the greater the fiscal stimulus the larger would be the national cake and the bigger would be the slice available to the Government. It is a pity that the Finance Minister has forgotten the advice of several economists who have opined that money fructifies better in the pockets of individuals than in the coffers of the Government.

It must be emphasised that to point out the shortcomings of the Budget proposals is not to detract from the praise due for the good that has been done. However, one cannot help feeling that the Finance Minister could have done better and taken this golden opportunity to usher in a new era of economic development which could have secured for him a place in history as the Erhard of India.

Letters

OUR ELECTORAL SYSTEM

I was greatly interested in your article "How the People Really Voted".

We have adopted the British Electoral system. The characteristic of the system is that irrespective of the number of candidates in an electorate, and of the number of votes polled by each candidate, whoever gets the highest number of votes is declared elected. This system worked very well when in Britain there were only two parties — the conservatives and the Liberals — and also where there were practically no "independent" candidates. Thus, with only two candidates in each electoral precinct, the winner was bound to secure more than fifty per cent of the total votes polled. As soon as there was a third party in the field in Britain, the system failed to meet the test of democracy and very often candidates were elected with less than the majority of votes.

In India, there never has been a time when there were only two political parties. Further, there have always been a large number of "independent" candidates. Except therefore in those rare electoral contests where there were only two candidates, the elected representative of the people actually represented only a minority of them. This is certainly not democracy, which, whatever else it may be, must be defined as a system of government according to the wishes of the majority of the people. Neither the Congress government during the entire period of 30 years of its rule, nor the present Janata government are democratic in this sense.

What then is the remedy? We may study the systems in some other countries. In Germany, for example, the electors do not vote for individual candidates, but for a party. The seats allotted to each party are in proportion to the total votes polled. It is the party which arranges its candidates in a particular order and the seats won by it go to the candidates in that order. This has a major disadvantage that the electors cannot consider any particular member as their representative.

In France, if there are more than two candidates in an electoral district, and no candidate secures more than 50 per cent of the votes polled, a second election is held a definite period (usually one week) after the first, where only the top two candidates contest. Then one of them is bound to get more than 50 per cent of the votes polled.

The committee on Electoral Reform appointed by Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan has suggested a *via media*, which adopts a partial system of proportional representation. In my opinion, we should adopt the French system of two elections if in the first no candidate secures more than 50 per cent votes. This will probably be very expensive, but it will definitely be

democratic. The present system is not only not democratic, but practically a gamble, because nobody can control the number of candidates, particularly the "independent" candidates offering themselves for election and prepared, if necessary, even to have their deposits forfeited.

D. D. Karve

VOLATILE LOYALTIES

Let me convey my congratulation to the writer of "Indian Ballot Box Revolution," (June 1973).

Under the sub-title "volatile Loyalties" he cautioned the ruling party in a right manner.

Of late, we have some sad experience. The 'Janata' leaders already have plunged in the same malice as old one. There are much infighting. A sharp erosion of their dogged determination to fight against poverty and corruption, is being noticed.

Their performance, in recent "State Assembly" elections, has furnished the image of a honourable orderly political party.

I do not know how far the leaders are conscious of their own prejudices and shortcomings.

I am afraid of their behaviour. If they fail to understand their own behaviour, the people will throw them in debris much sooner than Congress. Democracy suspended once, can be suspended again.

Thanking you

Yours Sincerely
D. Ghosh

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—Tennyson

You Americans conquered space but you are abandoning your place on earth.
— King Hassan of Morocco in *Newsweek*, May 16.

The great democracies are free because they are strong and prosperous. I believe they are strong and prosperous because they are free.
— President Carter quoted in the *Indian Express*, May 24.

There are certain well defined limits within which the game of acquiring more muscle for a group at the expense of others in the party has to be played.
— S. M. in the *Indian Express*, May 24.

The distribution of Janata tickets is one long sordid story of how the paltry ambitions of individuals and factions have been wantonly allowed to override public interest.
— S. M. in the *Indian Express*, May 24.

You cannot justify a trade embargo on racist Rhodesia and not on racist Uganda.
— Mr. Greville Janner, Labour MP, in the *Guardian*, June 7.

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They (the Arabs) can't drink oil. They have to sell it.

— Prime Minister Menachem Begin quoted in *Himmat*, June 3.

In 30 years since Independence, the Muslim community has not contributed to national politics one leader of the calibre of say Minoo Masani who, though belonging to a minority community, was a national leader in its true sense.

— Hameedudin Mahmood in the *Youth Times*, June 10.

We do not choose our convictions but they choose us and force us to fight for them to the death.

— Col. William Wedgwood Benn quoted in *The Economist*, June 11.

Lucknow

It was more like a mob scene from a Cecil B. de Mille movie than a solemn swearing in ceremony featuring the chief minister and four of his colleagues. If it is Janata style, Janata must come to mean mobs and muscling in, noise and neglect of traditions and propriety.

— *Times of India*, June 24.

Neither the new premier — the dour and self-righteous Morarji Desai — nor Jayaprakash Narayan — the fuzzy Gandhian who is the spiritual leader of the Janata — looks like being the man to prepare India for the twenty-first century.

— *Insight*, April 77.

No political idea is altogether new. Its time has come when large numbers of men feel as if they had thought of it themselves. This is to politics what critical mass is to physics.

— Robert Strausz Hupe quoted in the *International Herald Tribune*, June 23.

The recently deposed president of the Soviet Union, Nikolai Podgorny, who made a two-week tour of Africa in April, urged his hosts to make use of Soviet experience in their "state construction", that is, in devising the political system for their countries. He then returned to Moscow to be unceremoniously dismissed from his post, thus providing a graphic illustration of the political procedure which he had been commending to African leaders.

— Victor Zorza in the *International Herald Tribune*, June 23.