

WE'VE BEEN THROUGH THIS BEFORE

M. R. Masani

(The September-October issue of ASIAN AFFAIRS, a prestigious bi-monthly published by the American and Asian Educational Exchange of New York, carries an article by the Editor entitled INDIA'S SECOND REVOLUTION. It is not a blow by blow account of the Emergency but primarily an analysis of the deeper roots of the collapse of Indian democracy and its restoration and a warning against the dangers of a backlash. The months that have passed since it was written have done nothing to dispel the apprehensions which were expressed in the extract from that article reproduced here.)

Fascinating as is the story of the fall and resurgence of democracy, the student of history will seek to get at the deeper meaning of all that has happened in India during the past two years. Why had this interruption in the relatively peaceful and democratic life of the people of India taken place? Did it *have* to take place or was it an aberration on which we in India and our friends abroad can now turn our backs and hope to live happily ever after?

As it happened, this issue came up as early as October 15, 1975, when a few bold spirits foregathered in Ahmedabad to hold an all-India Civil Liberties Conference. The inaugural speech was made by a distinguished retired Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and a former Cabinet Minister of Mr. Nehru's and Mrs. Gandhi's Governments. He said that the Emergency declared on June 26 that year was the original sin from which all our evils emanated. In one way, of course, he was right but when I followed him I took the occasion, as a student of history, to question his major assumption.

I believe that what happened on June 26, 1975 was only the *culmination* of what had gone before the last twenty-five years since Independence. The Fourth Republic in France did not fall and France did not turn to De Gaulle on a particular day by whim or caprice. The Fourth Republic fell because the politicians of the Fourth Republic had played the fool, because they were selfish and party minded. And because the people of France were bored and fed-up with them, they threw them out and brought in De Gaulle as a powerful President.

That is what I as a student of history feel happened in India.

I see two basic causes for the "Emergency". The first is the character of our public life, the fragility of our democracy, and the absence of an infrastructure of grass roots vigilance and voluntary organisation without which the political parties have floated on top with no roots below. In short, too much politics, too little citizenship. The questions Indian politicians could usefully ask themselves are: Did we show our fitness to enjoy the freedom the Constitution gave us? Did we play the game? Did we put the country before party? Did we put the country before self? Did those in office show a readiness to give up office or did they cling to it like

(Continued on page 12)

IN THIS ISSUE

We feel privileged to publish extracts from some significant statements on economic affairs made recently by Mr. Charan Singh and Mr. George Fernandes, by two important members of the Union Cabinet.

Editorial notes cover comments on the 'U turn' effected by the UNP Government in Sri Lanka, the disintegration of the ILO and the intrusion of the Arab political lobby even in the world of music in India.

Prof. S. P. Aiyar reviews a book on 'The Press She Could Not Whip'.

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Lanka Shows The Way

When one is asked what the Janata Government could have done within a few months in regard to economic affairs to ameliorate the plight in which the country finds itself at the end of twenty-five years of arid State Socialism, the answer is to ask the enquirer to look at what has happened in Sri Lanka after the new government of the United National Party has been in office for an even shorter period.

Mr. J. R. Jayawardene has been wise enough to relax foreign exchange restrictions and remove controls left as a legacy by Mrs. Bandarnaike's socialist regime. According to the *Times of India* correspondent in Colombo: "The United National Party government has liberalised the economy to stimulate the development of the private sector. The Marxist-oriented nationalisation programme of the previous Sri Lanka Freedom Party government came to be associated with inefficiency and corruption

"The government recently ended the state monopoly in the import and distribution of goods, clothing, drugs and fertilisers. Within a week, synthetic textiles were being freely sold on the pavements at half the price quoted in the black market earlier

"The rationale behind whittling down bureaucratic control and freer exchange allocations is that these steps will pave the way for a free economy which the ruling United National Party has pledged in its election manifesto."

While New Delhi is playing the fool by its handling of the IBM and Coca-Cola cases and antagonising foreign capital, Colombo has not only reversed Mrs. Bandarnaike's decision to nationalise two British Banks but has undertaken a 'U turn' by putting together an attractive packet of incentives to encourage foreign investment. One of the most encouraging developments is the outright abolition of the Ministry of Economic Planning.

A part of the new policy is the creation in December of a 200 mile duty-free industrial and trading zone. Foreign Minister A. C. Hameed, who was in London in the last week of October, told the *Sunday Times* that "every practical guarantee" would be given to encourage foreign industry and banking. Unlike other backward countries, said Hameed: "Sri Lanka would not require local participation. Investment and control could be entirely foreign."

The result of these liberal policies and measures is that Sri Lanka's economy has begun to recover after two lean years. As a result, the World Bank expects Sri Lanka's gross national product (GNP)

to grow by four to five per cent this year against three per cent last year.

PM Wants to Follow, But.....

Prime Minister Morarji Desai has added to the several constructive statements that he has made since he took office. Speaking in Madras on September 22, he declared that foreign capital would be welcome so long as it did not interfere with the country's economy. He also stressed that India was committed to a mixed economy. He further explained that if foreign capital is going to benefit us, "we will certainly have it, whatever may be the opinion of others about it. There should not be any hide-bound view about it".

On the question of diffusion of ownership of newspapers, he said: "Is it not the right of anybody to start any paper he likes? I don't think it is possible for the Government to deny this right. Let public opinion do it. No paper should utilise monies of any other companies or institutions. The money should belong to the press itself". Regarding Government's view on having one or more national news agencies, Mr. Desai said he would like to have more than one: "Let there be competition. Competition is good. Monopoly is bound to go against press freedom".

Speaking a few days later at Hyderabad on the 26th September, the Prime Minister declared that the Centre "wanted to remove all unnecessary controls as they led to corruption".

In New Delhi on October 28, the Prime Minister strongly felt that "if democracy is to function there should be decentralisation of the functions of the government down to the village level. The difference between a dictatorship and a democratic government was that the former did too much of governing and the latter the least possible".

This is all very sensible and Gandhian, but how about the Union Government giving practical effect and implementation to these liberal concepts?

I. L. O. Disintegrates

President Carter and his administration deserve to be congratulated on taking the step of withdrawing from the International Labour Organisation. The ILO has from the start been doomed by accepting the pretence that there are trade unions in the Soviet Union and other communist countries who were given membership in the organisation. The result is that the Soviet bloc countries each of whom have three representatives, — one for the government, one for industry, and one for labour — have

all three of these nominated by their respective dictatorships. This stranglehold has been misused by them to prevent the ILO from taking any measures for the elimination of forced labour in the Soviet Empire, while the countries of the free world have been burdened with unrealistic and utopian measures retarding their economies.

In more recent years, India and other countries of the Third World have been led by the Arabs to identify themselves with a smear campaign against Israel, and the ILO has indulged in striking racist attitudes which have nothing whatever to do with its work. Only recently the Soviet-cum-Third World majority used its voting power to stop the ILO from discussing a report drawing attention to the absence of Human Rights and the exploitation of labour in Czechoslovakia, Uganda and certain other countries.

As far back as two years ago, Mr. Kissinger had given notice to the U.N. of the U.S. intention to quit if the ILO did not restrict itself to its legitimate business. Since this has not happened, the U.S. Government has responded to the demand of American Labour represented by the AFL-CIO to withdraw from the ILO. President Carter's decision is a victory for that great old man, Mr. George Meany, the veteran President of the AFL-CIO, who deserves to be congratulated on the success of his campaign.

Since the U.S. have contributed not less than 25% of the ILO's budget, this withdrawal will mean a loss of \$20 million a year to the ILO. This will bring about a drastic cutting down of the bloated bureaucracy which the ILO has spawned all over the world.

A great deal of what is said against the ILO can also be truthfully alleged against the U.N. As recently as November 2, President Carter, in a message accompanying a report to the U.S. Congress, said: "The unwarranted linking of Zionism with racism is an impediment to serious consideration of human right matters and the United States continues to resist it by all possible means. In a number of cases, failure to take effective action has belied the commitment to human rights that all UN members have accepted".

India must take its share of the blame for provoking the disintegration of the ILO since, under the inspiration of the Ministry of External Affairs, we have become a camp follower both in the ILO and the U.N. of the Arab bloc.

'Secular' ?

The Janata Party in Bombay, it is announced in the press, has set up a Muslim cell in addition to the Janata Muslim Forum which already existed. In a statement to the press on November 2, it has been clarified that "the cell is an official part of the Bombay unit of the Janata Party".

Did someone whisper that India is a 'secular' republic as defined in the preamble to the constitution which the Janata Government has decided to accept? Don't make us laugh.

Kudos to Sadat and Begin

Kudos to President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin on the Egyptian President's acceptance of the Israeli Prime Minister's invitation to Jerusalem to address the Knesset.

But thumbs down for New Delhi for distinguishing itself by its churlishness at a time when the Egyptians and Israelis are showing them the Gandhian path to reconciliation.

Bombay is to do without the pleasure of listening to the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Zubin Mehta because the Arab lobby in the Ministry of External Affairs was too strong for our Prime Minister.

It appears that when Mr. Zubin Mehta met the Prime Minister during the latter's visit to London for the Commonwealth Prime Minister's conference, Mr. Morarji Desai had told Mr. Mehta that he would not object. Encouraged by this the eminent conductor made plans for a concert in Bombay but then received word from the Prime Minister that the visit would not be wise as the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra was allegedly owned by the Government of Israel. Mr. Mehta corrected this wrong information given to the Prime Minister by cabling to the effect that the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra was a private organisation and had no connection with the Israeli government. On this he got the green signal. But, alas, the Arab lobby in the Ministry of External Affairs was too strong for both the eminent conductor and our eminent Prime Minister, who finally informed Mr. Mehta that the visit could not be sanctioned by the Indian Government.

It is not surprising that Mr. Zubin Mehta is extremely disgusted and angry with the Indian Government's waffling and indecisiveness as well as its crude hostility and bias against Israel. He is so burnt up over this playing politics in the world of music that he has told friends that in future he will never even attempt to have professional relations with India. He has also mentioned that he will take the orchestra to Singapore where it is being welcomed with open arms by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kwan Yew.

More "Non-alignment"

Yet another example of "genuine" non-alignment is the way in which India has agreed to give an extra 28000 tonnes of wheat to the Soviets by way of repayment for the 2 million tonne wheat loan to India in 1973-74. Criticism of this act has come from none other than Janata Party MP, Dr. Subramaniam Swamy. In a statement issued on October 31, he said: "Gifting 28000 tonnes of wheat is unjustifiable, when our own poor people do not have enough to eat". He pointed out that there was no provision in the original agreement to give an extra quantity to the Russians who have "bared their fangs on the deal" by insisting on the protein content of the grain.

NEW ROLE FOR INDIAN LIBERALS

INDIAN LIBERAL GROUP REPORT TO LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL

(The International Newsletter of the Liberal International based in London has published the following report by Mr. S. V. Raju, a member of the Indian Liberal Group.)

THE traumatic experience of imprisonment without trial of political workers other than those belonging to the ruling Congress Party and the Moscow led communist party of India brought about a fusion of widely disparate elements to form the Janata Party (People's Party). The spectrum extended from Left Wing Socialists to Right Wing Congressmen and former members of the Swatantra Party (the Liberal party in India) which has now merged at the national level with the Janata Party.

The liberal point of view that bread and freedom are indivisible was vindicated by the election results. It is difficult to say what role liberals played because for the first time in post independence India politicians of the 'Left' and the 'Right' were seen sharing a common platform and what is more, talking the same language. At the same time the Janata Party manifesto while naturally containing quite a few socialist nostrums also has a sizeable chunk of the

liberal point of view particularly in the realm of values such as the inviolability of individual liberties, to demand for the conversion of the mass communication media into autonomous corporations and the right of Habeas Corpus.

Large numbers of the rank and file of the erstwhile Swatantra Party campaigned for candidates of the Janata Party. Some of its members have also been elected to the Lok Sabha (the House of the People) in New Delhi and to several State Legislative assemblies. A few also figure as ministers; for example the present Finance Minister of India, Mr. H. M. Patel, is a former President of the Swatantra Party.

The real role of the Liberals will begin now because we have to build upon the tremendous awareness among people of individual liberty and the concept of bread *with* freedom.

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WISDOM FROM NEW DELHI

(Freedom First is not unappreciative of statesmanship and sound thinking from whatever quarter they may come. Its criticism of the Janata Party Government policies and measures is directed to ensure better performance on its part. We are happy, therefore, to publish below extracts from recent statements of a constructive and encouraging character made by two Union Cabinet Ministers, Mr. Charan Singh, the Home Minister, and Mr. George Fernandes, the Industries Minister, the former from an interview published by a weekly journal on October 29, 1977, and the latter from a speech made by the Union Minister of Industry on 10th October to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and Industry).

MR. CHARAN SINGH

Question: Choudhury Saheb, you are known for your original ideas on the economic development of the country. Can you summarise the highlights of what has been described to us as your "new economic radicalism" for the benefit of our readers?

Mr. Charan Singh: I don't think we have the time to go through that in detail. But what are the problems that face the country? Let us begin from the very base. There are three main problems so far as the everyday economic life is concerned. Lack of goods or poverty, mounting unemployment and increasing disparities of incomes; and in my view, all three stem from neglect of agriculture and over-emphasis on heavy industry. Unless we produce agricultural goods surplus to the needs of the producer, there can be no agricultural development at all.

By economic development, I mean sufficiency of food — agricultural and non-agricultural. This is imperative for a civilised life. So the first necessity is food.

Now we depend upon foreign countries for our foodgrains. In our country, 72 per cent of the people are engaged in animal husbandry, agriculture and forestry: We receive so much solar energy, which is the root of food production; our land is so good or fertile; and we receive adequate rain-fall. Yet we are begging for food! During two years, 1974-75 and 1975-76, we had to shell out Rs 15 to Rs 21 crores purchasing food.

We must have non-agricultural goods also. These raw materials are necessary for most of the consumer goods. Raw material also is derived from the land. So, again we come back to agriculture. And it is the sum of agricultural and non-agricultural goods that constitutes wealth. Hence my view is that we have totally neglected agriculture.

Question: Can you supply relevant figures to prove the neglect?

Mr. Charan Singh: Of course, the financial allocations for agriculture tell their own story. In the First Plan, 37 per cent of the financial allocations were devoted to agriculture and only five per cent to heavy industry. That plan was formulated by Indian economists in an environment which was full of Gandhian thinking. So they devoted the largest share to the agriculture.

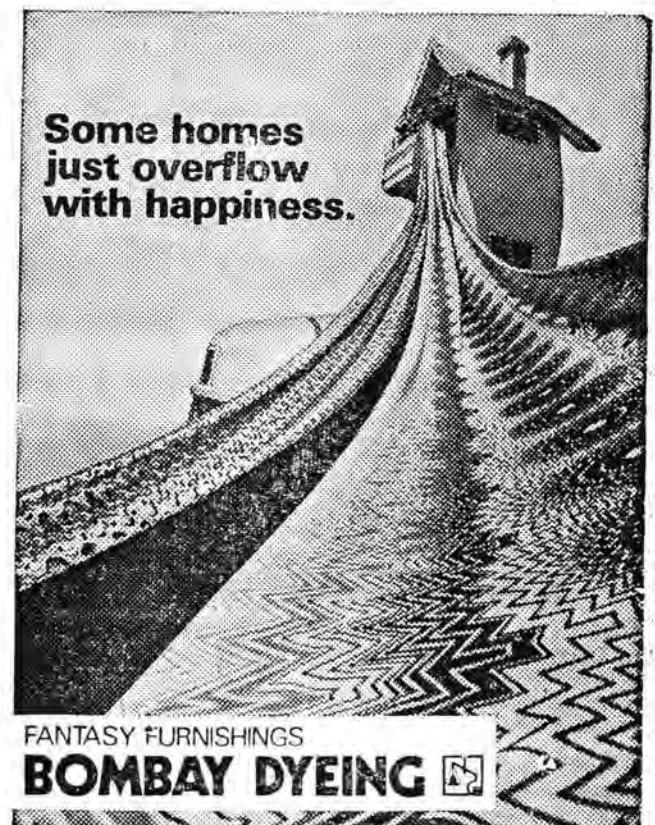
Then came a period when Gandhi was gone. Sardar Patel was gone, and there was only one dream which

filled the akash, the sky of India, and that was Nehru. So in 1955, the Congress party overnight turned into an organisation wedded to the Socialist Pattern of Society. Now Socialism tends to place greater emphasis on heavy industry.

So they formulated the Second Plan. I understand Nehruji sent for certain planning experts from the USSR on the advice of Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, who was the Financial Adviser of Nehru, and also a Member of the Planning Commission. They framed a Plan — the Second Five-Year Plan — in which the allocation of agriculture was reduced from 37 per cent to 17.5 per cent or so and that of industry raised to 23.8 per cent. And that has been the pattern since.

Question: True. But what was so wrong about it?

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WISDOM FROM NEW DELHI (Continued from page 5)

Mr. Charan Singh: I am coming to that. This Second Plan began from April 1, 1956. It came into operation from that day. And only four months later, our Government entered into the PL-480 Agreement with the USA in August 1956, which shows that Nehru was determined to devote every pie which he could collect either by way of taxes or loans to heavy industry and, if necessary, to import food from outside, just to shut the mouths of the urban people who read newspapers. The theory was what if the food prices rise high, then increase the supply just to keep people silent, so he decided to import food-grains.

Here I invite your attention to a speech which he delivered on January, 16, 1956, before a meeting of the National Development Council in which he went on record saying, "Of course, if there are more factories producing goods such as soaps, oil, pins, etc., these do not matter. They have their place. But it is only the heavy industry which matters. It is the heavy machines, machine-making machines that are the root and base of development. Nothing else matters."

So he laid all emphasis on heavy industry. Now nothing could be more wrong. In a country which requires both things — steel and heavy industry as well as food — and we have not the necessary financial resources to carry out both these programmes, then which one should Nehru have chosen? He should have chosen agriculture.

After eight years or so, he himself arrived at this conclusion. On November 18, 1963, before the meeting of the same National Development Council, Nehru admitted that it is not industry — heavy or light — which is the base of development but it is agriculture. And three days after, during his speech on a debate about the Planning Commission initiated perhaps by Mr. Kamath he admitted to the Opposition charge of framing a Plan which had led to increased unemployment, which had led to concentration of economic powers in a few hands and thereby led to wider disparities — He admitted all these three charges.

Question: Very strange? Is that on record?

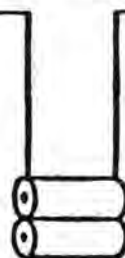
Mr. Charan Singh: Yes, it is on record. You kindly consult the Lok Sabha proceedings of December 11, 1963. There Nehru said: "I have been a great admirer of modern industry, but it has not been able to solve the unemployment problem". Then, after a few pages of that debate, he is reported to have said: "I admit that it is owing to my mistake and that of the Planning Commission... (In fact, it was his own mistake; he should not have dragged the Planning Commission which was simply the breath of his nostril; the Planning Commission simply did what he desired) ... So he said, "... owing to my mistake and that of the Planning Commission, that the Economic power has gradually come to be concentrated in a few and fewer hands".

These are Nehru's exact words with the conclusion: "This shall not be allowed to happen in future."

So my complaint or my charge against Nehru, if I can call the word "charge", is that he laid too much emphasis on heavy industry, which meant neglect of agriculture due to paucity of resources for agriculture. And if you take any period of five years, you will find that during that period of five years, we have imported more food than during the preceding five years. And that is true even today. ...

So my view is — although Gandhiji has not stated so anywhere in his writings — that whatever can be manufactured on a cottage scale should be manufactured on the cottage scale. Whatever can be manufactured on a small scale should be manufactured on the small scale. And whatever can be manufactured only on a big scale, that alone should be manufactured by the big scale factories. The trouble is that a big scale factory can manufacture all kinds of things, even those which can be manufactured by cottage industry

However, in my picture of things, the number of such large factories, whether in the public sector or in the private sector, will be very few. And so we will be saved this problem of trade unionism and all these industrial-labour headaches. Trade unionism is good so far as the interests of the labour are concerned, but now it is being used to hold the country to ransom. Our greatest asset is cheap labour. We



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are not able to make use of it owing to trade unionism. Now this has developed into almost a political problem. I do not say that had I the power, I would abolish trade unionism. No. We will have to live with the trade unions, but in my project, as I told you just now, that problem would have been reduced to insignificant proportions because the numbers of heavy industries would have gone down.

Question : Now in the economic notes circulated by you there are some staggering revelations about corruption. For example, in regard to the Public Sector, you say that "a substantial part of the investments which may vary from 20 to 40 per cent shown in the account books get converted into private incomes..."

Mr. Charan Singh : These figures are taken from B. R. Shenoy's study. They amount to crores upon crores of public loot.

Question : If your charge is correct then even if the lowest figure of 20 per cent is taken, the swindled amount would add up to over 2,000 crores of rupees. What is being done to save the nation from this gigantic fraud?

Mr. Charan Singh : You are right. It is a colossal swindle. I would like to know from you what can be done. It will take time. It will take a long time. I am against the Public Sector, except in exceptional cases.

Only those industries should be in the Public Sector which constitute the infra-structure. So this problem of corruption arises only because now, perhaps, more than 50 per cent of our industrial capacity is in the Public Sector, and all the time it is mounting, mounting and mounting. I am against it. But I am being regarded as a reactionary.

In America, in the Scandinavian countries, in Japan, in all the advanced nations, the people work very hard. They reach their office at 8 a.m. and work for 9 hours. They leave the office at 7 p.m. My own son is in the USA. He is employed in a electro-computer factory. He tells me he has to leave his house almost at day-break and return after sunset and there is only a half-hour break in the afternoon.

Here, you know, Nehruji gave us that idea of overtime, as if people here are overworked! A poor country — and added to it, this device of cheating the Government! Now a Class III employee in the LIC get Rs. 2,700 per month, whereas a Class I officer in that very institution gets only Rs. 1800/-

Question : Due to overtime?

Mr. Charan Singh : And bonus! Somebody was telling me that even the porters, the coolies at stations nowadays demand bonus for taking out your luggage from trains!

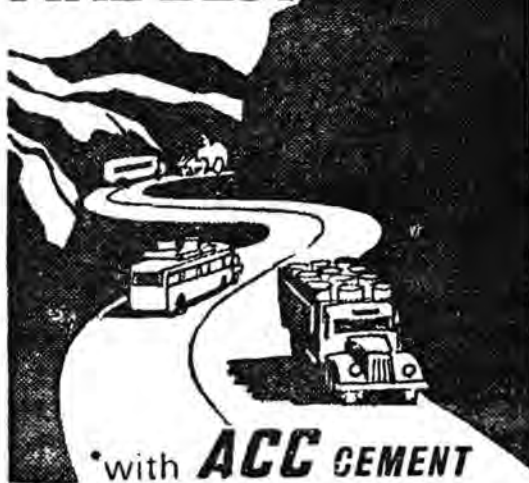
All this is the legacy of Nehru I tell you. It is called the Nehruvian approach. But we have to bring about a complete psychological change of outlook if we want to develop the country and bring prosperity to the people.

MR. GEORGE FERNANDES

Banishing unemployment in this country in the next 10 years means creating, on an average, about 10 million jobs a year. This is assuming that there are 40 million unemployed as on date. People may differ and I know there are differences. If somebody works outside this hall, looking after someone's car, polishing it and seeing that no one punctures the wheel by the time all of us go out from here and if you say that I paid a Rupee for the job and therefore he is also employed. I am sorry, I do not believe that that is employment. And if you add up all those people who outside the Crawford Market where they wait with baskets on their heads the whole day, to those who tout cinema tickets or some other tickets elsewhere and think they are all employed and, therefore, the total number of people who are in need of jobs today is not 40 million, I am sorry, I do not share that view. I believe that we need create employment that really satisfies people. Not employment that just gives a rupee or two to get a loaf of bread and may be something else that goes with it. Employment must be something that satisfies. Human beings are not just one more commodity that has got to be accommodated, to be put in a slot somewhere. That, certainly, is not the philosophy that I subscribe to and that certainly is not the culture of our country. If you are going to look at that man and give him a job, then I believe, we have as of date 40 million un-

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WISDOM FROM NEW DELHI (Continued from page 7)

employed and in the next 10 years, on the basis of the available statistics, we may need to create jobs for not only 40 million people, but another 60 million who will be joining the employment market, i.e. 10 million jobs a year. When you mean to create 10 million jobs and if you do not, if your entire planning mechanism is not geared to creating 10 million jobs a year in this country, then I and my government will be guilty of the same power mongering, of the same hypocrisy that we have accused the predecessor Government...

That is why I have been repeatedly saying that it is not ideology, it is a question of making the country go. As at now, it is a question of making the country go. That is the mandate which my Government has. For 30 years, there has been stagnation, for 30 years there has been a slide back. Arrest it, stop it and let the country go...

What we are today trying to do is to see the purchasing power which is today concentrated in urban areas which has reached saturation point in respect of certain people, this purchasing power gets diffused and goes to the rural area, to the people who need it, who deserve it and who want it desperately. Because if we do not do it, then I cannot visualise any great future for industry in this country. You have reached saturation point, your capacities are lying unutilised. There is no market and if a market has to be created — I also get terribly worked up with this idea, when new applications for licences come and you have all these conditions that you will export 80% — here is a vast mass of 630 million people, but they have no purchasing power, you may produce everything on earth, you will produce all those. whatever it is that you want to produce — Rubber bands — alright. You will export 80 per cent — who is going to buy the rubber bands? You will have to export them! Unless you create purchasing power down there in the villages where your people are, all your rubber bands will have to be exported. This is a matter of shame that we should be expanding industry and while expanding our industry we should be accepting conditions, we should be inviting conditions "Please give me licence so that I can export". What about the 630 million people market? One of the biggest markets in the world! I say, in the whole world! I have been round a bit discussing with counterparts, with people concerned with industry, with bankers, and even with heads of State about our industry and everyone of them considers this country as a potential market!

When people ask me what is my concept of industry, I have a simple answer; the central theme of our industrial policy is Man. I know it hits people sometimes. Not profits. No diversification, not public private sector controversy, the central theme is MAN. He is the centre. Put him in the centre, consider him as the essential aspect of your economic and industrial development and growth, then everything will fall into its own place. They you will have to go to the villages, then you will have to lay emphasis

on the small scale sector, cottage and rural industries, on small scale sector, on the rural sector. Give that man the purchasing power so that the industry right down the line is in a position to expand on its own.

I am provoked into making just on final observation on the controversy that is going on about the public and private sector and the role of the multinationals.

Anything that hurts India's national interest will not be allowed, will not be accepted, will not be tolerated. Only yesterday I got the latest figures. Out of the 400 largest companies including the banking institutions of the world, 200 are dealing in Moscow, in Moscow and not with Moscow, i.e., Soviet Union. 200, and that includes Coca Cola and Pepsi Cola. In Moscow, yes. There are Coca Cola Plants and Pepsi Cola Plants... In those areas where we need high technology, where electricity generation is concerned, or any other area of high technology, if we need the expertise, we shall have no quarrel. We shall lay down the ground rules. Anybody who is prepared to accept the rules that are laid down by our country, then we have no quarrel with them.

Similarly when one discusses Public and Private Sectors. There are lot of efforts made to denigrate one against the other, play one against the other. I believe that both have their roles very well-defined, both have their vices and both have their virtues. My effort as Minister of Industry, my effort as Government, will be to see that whatever faults, whatever vices show up, are eliminated and whatever virtues can be inculcated, are inculcated.

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WORLD NEWS

SOVIET RECORD ON AID TO THIRD WORLD 'SHOCKING'

By Patrick Keatley

THE EEC Commissioner for Development, Mr. Claude Cheysson, who is responsible for the aid and cooperation programme between the European Community and the Third World, had some trenchant facts to put before a London conference yesterday when the questioning turned to the activities of Eastern Europe.

He was addressing a seminar, organised by the London Chamber of Commerce and the Royal African Society, held at Guildhall. On the aid programme of the Soviet block, he said: "It is shocking that the Soviet block countries are virtually absent from the field of development aid. Compared to the total of \$13,000 millions being given this year by the OECD nations, they are giving barely seven per cent of that amount. Last year it was \$1,100 millions but now this has dropped to \$800 millions.

"If you take Guinea-Conakry, for example, and that is supposed to be a territory where they feel particular concern, the Soviet aid programme is \$7 millions over four years compared to \$70 millions for us in the European Community."

Mr Cheysson said that Soviet intervention on the world commodity markets was made seemingly without regard to Third World producers: "They show no commitment to the principle of controlling fluctuations. Their purchases are, indeed, often the cause of these fluctuations." The Soviet wheat purchases in 1973 emptied the US granaries, and the price of wheat rose by 50 per cent in six months, with severe effects for the national budgets of many developing countries.

By contrast, Mr Cheysson said, the EEC had found that the Chinese were more flexible and cooperative. There had been coordinated projects, such as the integrated rice schemes in West Africa.

— *Guardian*, October 21.

SUPPORT FOR SMITH FROM GUERRILLA LEADER

From Ian Mills in Salisbury

The former guerrilla leader, James Chikerema, who was allowed by the Rhodesian Government to return after 14 years in exile, said yesterday that he supported two of Mr Smith's main settlement demands — a parliamentary blocking mechanism for the country's 280,000 Whites, and retention of the armed forces.

Mr Chikerema, a leading nationalist figure for nearly 30 years, returned yesterday from Zambia, where he played a leading role in mounting the guerrilla war against the Smith Government. The

former leader of the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe, has returned as the first vice-president of Bishop Muzorewa's United African National Council.

He said he had returned to help settle the country's problems peacefully, and attacked outside interference by the five so-called front-line State of Tanzania, Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana.

He was aware of the need to reassure the Rhodesian Whites and to retain their trust and confidence. "In particular, I believe they should be reassured by affording effective guarantees of individual and group security in our future Constitution, such as a blocking mechanism in Parliament in order to provide the necessary safeguards against retrogressive legislation which would undermine these guarantees.

"I also believe that, apart from one qualification which I think may be necessary, the country's security forces should remain intact because that will be the best reassurance to anyone genuinely concerned for the future peace and welfare of our country, as opposed to those concerned only with their own particular power, irrespective of the cost to the State." He did not elaborate on the qualification.

Attacking "self — appointed referees" (the front-line states), Mr Chikerema said: "We do not want unruly spectators and biased referees to confuse our struggle. We do not want outside interests to stake claim to our future. Zimbabwe is not a commodity for sale for the economic benefit of African independent states who have, through their own shortsightedness, squandered their economic resources and foreign exchange assets left to them by their former colonial masters."

In supporting a parliamentary blocking mechanism and retention of the Rhodesian armed forces he was expressing personal "principles." At this stage they were not part of formal UANC policy, he said.

Mr Chikerema said that the Rhodesian Government had not imposed any conditions for his return. But his statement is seen as a clear indication of why he was allowed to return. Mr Smith has been attempting to consolidate non-militant nationalist opinion inside the country to form a front against the external militant Patriotic Front which has taken over the guerrilla war effort and which has the full backing of the front line states as the "sole" nationalist movement.....

— *Guardian*, September 20.

(Continued on page 10)

RHODESIAN REALITIES

One of the reasons why last year's Geneva conference on Rhodesia failed was the impossibility of finding black leaders who were really capable of speaking for the majority. Now, with a connecting link between the Owen/Young proposals and a feasible plan still not found, it would seem a matter of urgency to find a group of black leaders who might ensure that a solution on Kenyan rather than on Angolan lines could be put into practice. But given the facts as they stand, this is rather like trying to square the circle.

— *Neue Zuercher Zeitung (Zurich).*

BANK NATIONALISATION OPPOSED

Most people do not want the banks to be nationalized, and if they were, most also think it would lead to higher charges and worse service to customers, according to surveys conducted on behalf of the Committee of London Clearing Banks, published today.

Questioned on the drawbacks of nationalization of banks, 67 per cent thought that there would be higher charges, 65 per cent that it would be easier for tax inspectors to look at accounts, and 62 per cent that negotiating loans would take longer.

Fifty-nine per cent thought bank nationalization, if put forward in a general election, would lose the Labour Party votes. More than half the Labour Party supporters questioned believed that such a policy would be politically damaging.

Support for nationalization was highest among young people, Labour Party supporters and trade unionists, people at the bottom of social class scales and those who did not use banks, but those groups never exceeded a quarter of the total.

Nationalization of any industry elicited only moderate public support. At the top of the table were the railways, with 38 per cent supporting nationalization. The postal services and the gas industry received one point less and banking shared 14 per cent at the bottom of the list.

— *Times, August 29.*

ELVIS PRESLEY

Ten drugs were present in singer *Elvis Presley's* bloodstream when he died in August and they probably contributed to his death, the *Commercial Appeal*, of Memphis, Tenn., reported Wednesday. Among the drugs in his bloodstream were an antinistamine, codeine, demerol and several tranquilizers



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including Valium. The report said the drugs were all within prescribed levels but their interaction had an effect on the singer's diseased heart. The autopsy report took two months to complete because of difficulty in identifying the drugs.

— *International Herald Tribune*, October 21.

BRITISH WORKERS OPPOSE CLOSED SHOP

Peter Kellner Reports

A HUGE credibility gap separates the leaders of Britain's trade unions from their members. Most union members oppose the closed shop, mass picketing, and the unions' close links with the Labour Party. By a margin of two to one, they think most unions are run by extremists and militants.

It may come as little surprise that the public has little good to say about the unions; what may be less known is that union members are almost as critical as non-members. Market & Opinion Research International put nine statements to a representative sample of voters: four statements reflected the kind of things union leaders say; five statements put arguments voiced by their opponents. Interviewees were asked to say whether they agreed or disagreed with each statement.....

Nor do voters blame unions alone for Britain's troubles: a small majority holds bad management more responsible, and some believe unions help to improve efficiency.

What appears to give offence is the "bully" image conjured up by closed-shop disputes, "munch-ups" on picket lines, and the belief that extremists have taken over. If the police were given powers to stop mass picketing they would have the support of 68 per cent of trade unionists.

Our survey suggests that unions have become more unpopular over the past two years, though the need to have unions to protect workers' interests is no less keenly felt. In 1975 MORI found that one voter in three thought all workers should have to belong to a union; the figure is now one in four. Union members were evenly divided on this issue two years ago: now a clear majority of them opposes compulsory union membership. In addition, more people think that unions have too much power than did two years ago.

In 1975, 73 per cent of voters agreed that unions were essential to protect workers' interests. Last year this figure dipped to 63 per cent, possibly reflecting the inability of unions to win pay rises outside the Government's rigid limits. Now collective bargaining of sorts is back, the figure has risen to 75 per cent.

Dislike of the trade unions' close links with the Labour Party is widespread among union members; and it is naturally resented by Conservative and Liberal supporters. But even supporters of the Labour Party — which relies on union cash — are divided.

These figures are influenced by the fact that white collar members — now more than a quarter of all trade unionists — back the Conservatives two to one. Since the growth in union membership is now chiefly among the middle class, the idea of Conservative trade unionists is likely to grow yet more familiar.

The survey was conducted by Robert M. Worcester of MORI among an interlocking quota sample of 1,248 electors (including 354 trade union members) in 63 sampling points throughout Great Britain on August 24-25, 1977.

— *Sunday Times*, October 23.

TITO'S WIFE HELD FOR QUESTIONING

From Michael Dobbs in Belgrade

THERE is no longer any doubt that President Tito's wife, Jovanka, is in political disgrace. Yugoslav sources have at last conceded that she is being questioned by a commission inquiring into the extent of her influence over political and military appointments.

It is understood that Mrs Tito, who at 52 is more than 30 years younger than her husband is being held at the presidential palace in Dedinje pending the outcome of the investigations.

Yugoslavs have been aware for some time that Jovanka, as Mrs Tito is popularly called, is in disfavour. But until recently the nature of her disgrace has been a closely-guarded secret known only to the inner circle of Communist leaders.

From the fragmented details that are now gradually being handed down to more junior officials, a picture emerges of a woman who used her personal position to control access to the President. Contrary to some reports she does not appear to have been particularly interested in political policy, but she did try to influence senior appointments.

The name most often mentioned in connection with Jovanka is that of General Djoko Jovanic, who held the post of Assistant Minister of Defence until last year. Like Jovanka, General Jovanic is a Serb from the Lika district of western Croatia. Their acquaintance goes back to the Second World War when Jovanka, then a beautiful young partisan, served under General Jovanic's command.

According to one account Mrs Tito pressed for General Jovanic to become Minister of Defence in place of the present Minister, General Nikola Ljubicić.

President Tito does not appear to have been aware of the extent of his wife's activities until comparatively recently. Matters are believed to have come to a head shortly before he visited the Soviet Union, North Korea, and China in the middle of August.

Yugoslav sources say that the President may have begun asking his staff questions about Jovanka's influence after a row over whether or not she would accompany him on the trip. According to diplomatic sources she was not invited to the Soviet Union.

— *Guardian*, October 25.

WE'VE BEEN THROUGH THIS BEFORE (Continued from page 1)

leeches? Did those in opposition till 1975 get together to give the country a united opposition and an alternative government? The answer, quite clearly, is "No". We in opposition certainly played the fool as much as those in Government. We were undisciplined, some of us often defied the Speaker, invited contempt on Parliament and, when efforts were made by some of us to get together, they were sabotaged by those who later were detained in prison by Mrs. Gandhi.

Nor was all this difficult to foresee. Many years ago, in 1962, in the course of a talk on the Indian Party system at the Harold Laski Institute in Ahmedabad, I had described these evils of Indian democracy. I had warned: 'If we do not stop misbehaving like this, the day is not far distant when people will turn away from us and seek escape from us.'

That day had come in 1975. The people of India had not shown that passionate concern for democracy that they could have done, because we who were in power or in Parliament had behaved in a way that had forfeited their confidence.

The second major cause, in my view, of the debacle of democracy had to do with the economic pattern which was embodied in our Five Year Plans since the Second Five Year Plan in the mid-fifties. We had adopted an economic pattern with excessive Governmental controls which was not compatible with democracy. Statism, which we call 'socialism' in India, cannot for long co-exist with democracy. One or the other had to go. Many of us had said in Parliament throughout the sixties that if we went on with the concentration of political and economic power in the same hands, Parliamentary democracy would shrivel up and die. The ugly fruit of that Statism which we tasted in 1975 and 1976 showed that this kind of Statism is not compatible with democracy.

These developments are not peculiar to India and should not really surprise us because, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, that great Italian political philosopher, Benedetto Croce, had warned that a free society and democracy would not survive unless there were within it autonomous social forces such as the landed farmer, the shopkeeper, the factory owner and the self-employed professional man like the doctor, lawyer, auditor or consultant. He had explained that, unless these elements who had economic strength were there, no Constitution could guarantee freedom because everyone would be an employee, tenant or agent of the Government. When that was so, who would oppose or dissent?

No Demonology

Bearing all this in mind, I had argued in Ahmedabad in October 1975: "This is not the time to create a new demonology. Hitler was not an accident. Stalin did not come out of a vacuum. These people came to the top because certain social and

economic conditions existed which facilitated their emergence, of which they could take advantage. I would like to suggest that it is in this spirit of historical enquiry that we should accept our own share of the responsibility in letting our people down."

Mr. Nirad Chaudhuri, one of India's most courageous writers, in an article he wrote for *Encounter Magazine* in January 1977 states some interesting conclusions.

"Given the regime which was established in India with independence and the conditions in which it worked, Mrs. Gandhi's regime is a natural though pathological development from Nehru's government, instead of being a reaction from it. That is, just as she is his daughter, so is her autocratic authority the off-spring of her father's authority. The descent is incontestable, though the filiation has been obscured by certain assumptions, which might be described as sheer illusion..."

"The course of Indian politics ran relentlessly towards a vacuum and, since nature abhors it, the vacuum created by the disappearance of the benevolent personal power of Nehru has been filled up by a different kind of personal power. His daughter has acquired it after a tussle for power lasting over nine years..."

"Such a tyranny as Mrs. Gandhi has established and is sustaining cannot be without a firm basis in the mental and social life of the Indian people..."

"In India those who have had power have always commanded obedience and submission of the people, and that normally has all the outward appearance of spontaneity and enthusiasm. But these also disappear quickly as soon as power is lost. Then the autocrat who had become the idol of the people is not regretted or venerated even in retrospect."

What now?

The few months that have passed since India went through these stirring changes have done little, unfortunately, to discount Mr. Chaudhuri's grim analysis.

There is, of course, a great deal to rejoice about — particularly the maturity displayed by the Indian electorate, including the rural masses, who have shown that the poor crave for freedom as much as they want bread. The people of India have shown that they have learnt to respond to Mahatma Gandhi's repeated exhortation that "India must learn to say 'No'." Jayaprakash Narayan was perfectly right when he described the result of the Parliamentary elections as being "more an anti-Mrs. Gandhi vote than a pro-Janata Party vote." The quick removal of all restraints on freedom of expression and of the press and the restoration of the Rule of Law by the new Government is something for which we have reason to be grateful.

The satisfaction that these happy developments bring is, however, dented by the obvious dangers that are now surfacing — in particular, a revolution of rising expectations which it might prove difficult to fulfil. The ease with which those in office had seized absolute power on 26th June 1975 showed that the faith of the people in democracy and Parliamentary institutions had weakened and they were prepared to put up with authoritarian rule in the hope that it would solve some of the country's basic problems. Thanks to the eighteen months of authoritarianism and its excesses, the people became painfully aware of the need for freedom. But public memory is short. If the politicians now in office were to behave as they had done in the past, then once again the demand for a "strong man at the top" would go up. Next time the people might turn away from democracy and accept authoritarianism on a much more permanent footing.

It is, of course, too early to judge the new Government on the basis of their first hundred days in office. Judgement on this point must be suspended. Enough, however, has happened on the plane of political behaviour and morality to make the observer, however sympathetic, wonder unhappily whether the necessary lessons have been learnt from the debacle. Though there still remains a lingering reluctance to do anything to weaken the effort on which the country's hopes are centered, even those who suffered under the authoritarian regime and are good friends of the new one now in office have felt impelled to sound a note of warning in the spirit of the old Russian proverb: "A yes-man is your enemy, but your friend will argue with you."

Here then is a sample. Listen to the voice of A. D. Gorwalla, a distinguished veteran of the Indian Civil Service, whose little journal *Opinion* was throughout the dark days perhaps the most courageous voice of dissent, writing on May 31, 1977:

"One would like to support this Government — if it would let one. It is the best Government that has been in the country since Independence. Its emergence marked the end of a period of unbridled tyranny and personal rule. It has quickly restored several of the freedoms the previous Government had suppressed. But ... But what? Its behaviour has been unethical in several respects. It said it would not topple Governments of other parties in the States. It actually has overthrown nine of them. It said it would not accept defectors. It has in fact accepted large numbers of them. It said it would not put up as candidates for election people of doubtful character or sullied reputation. Now, it seems among its lists there are quite a number of such. There are, it will be, and has been argued, good reasons for all these aberrations. Constitutional lawyers and jurists have presented elaborate cases in favour of the courses adopted, justifying them amply. Some of them have moreover been initiated,

and almost all of them supported, by the most important of the new saviours of the nation, referred to above. Yet even despite such powerful backing, to simple minds like this writer's the objection remains: "You say one thing and you do the opposite. Is your word just pie-crust then, to be broken at the least provocation? Great sirs, you came in with a burst of moral fervour. Has that all evaporated so quickly? If so, we must judge you to be the usual politicians and assess you accordingly, men of the type of which it was said,

'A merciful Providence fashioned them hollow, In order that they might their principles swallow.' This Government then may be better than any other available, but it cannot be supported without reservation by men of principle. Each one of its acts must be examined on merits. It must be regarded with the same watchfulness and suspicion, as was Mrs. Gandhi's before the Emergency, or her father's in the past decades. Whatever it says, it will not bring in the millenium. There is nothing so elementary as keeping your word. It is the first step in the creation of trust. This Government has failed in that. The rest is ... need we say it?"

There is a sense of *deja vu* about it all. One has constantly to remind oneself that one is not back in the days of Jawaharlal Nehru.

The danger of reconciling oneself to the Congress regime, deodorised of the excesses of the past two years, is that it was Nehru's inadequacies and half-baked Marxist dogmas that opened the way to Indira Gandhi and, while history might not repeat itself in every detail, there is yet a danger of the wheel turning full circle once again. All this is not yet irreversible and every effort must be made to help the new Government to live up to the people's expectations.

What of JP?

But what of Jayaprakash, who made this liberation possible? Can he not keep those whom he has put in power on the straight and narrow path of virtue? Has JP used the politicians to rid India of Indira or have the politicians used him to get into the seats of power? Can Jayaprakash continue to influence those in office without getting tarred with their brush in the eyes of the people?

On March 24, in New Delhi, the constituents of the victorious Janata Party took a solemn pledge, underwritten by Jayaprakash's presence, to practise "austerity and honesty in personal and public life" and "to endeavour earnestly to fulfil the task that he (Gandhi) began." Will Jayaprakash be able to hold those concerned to that pledge?

Soon after the transfer of power in August 1947 from British to Indian hands, Nehru and Patel, installed in power, brushed aside Gandhiji's advice and asked him to leave the country's administration to them. Can it be that Jayaprakash may one day have to share Gandhiji's experience?

Review

THE PRESS SHE COULD NOT WHIP

Edited by Amiya Rao and B. G. Rao

(Popular Prakashan, 1977 Price Rs. 48. pp 395.)

When emergency was declared and censorship imposed on the Press, the citizen's Right to Know was suppressed with a severity unknown in the worst days of British Rule in India. With some notable exceptions, the Indian Press succumbed before the blast. Editors of large newspapers who wrote thundering editorials suddenly began to coo like sucking doves! An iron curtain would have isolated the country from the world outside but for the courage of some foreign journalists who refused to be cowed by the brandishments of V. C. Shukla and other enemies of the Open Society. As one reads this account of the emergency as it appeared in the foreign Press during that period one realizes how much one owes to world opinion for the restoration of democracy. The fact of the matter was that Mrs Gandhi was highly sensitive to what appeared in the foreign Press; and one of the many reasons for her announcement of the elections was her desire to demonstrate to the whole world that she was not after all as wicked and dictatorial as she was painted by foreign journalists. Ironically, it was the very severity of censorship within the country which isolated the rulers from the people and made the overthrow of the tyranny possible.

Amiya Rao and B. G. Rao, who earlier authored that most devastating criticism of Jawaharlal Nehru prime ministership in *the six Thousand Days*, have patiently selected from a mass of available writing what has gone into this book. The selections appear from 52 newspapers and periodicals in the U.S., U.K., France, Germany, Australia, Pakistan and Hong Kong. Some of the articles and editorials from the *Economist*, *The Times* (London) and *The Guardian* were in circulation through underground channels and as one reads them again one recalls how they served to boost up a shattered morale during 'The Long Night' of the emergency. It is worth recording here that at least one of the "foreign" journalists like Brian Brooks was on Indian — K. R. Sundara Rajan who provided a fine example of what one individual could do in a desperate situation. Some four contributions of this intrepid journalist are included but one wishes that the editors had drawn attention to their real authorship.

Much of what appeared in the foreign Press has now received support from other sources, especially from the evidence deposed before the Shah Commission. But the value of these writings far exceed their topicality and help in interpreting the emergency and the part played by Mrs Gandhi. Most of the journalists refused to be taken in by the official

propaganda of the regime and checked the veracity of what they heard with as much professional thoroughness as was possible under the circumstances. Unavoidably, some of the evidence hangs on what individuals narrated and as it generally happens the narrator claims that he saw the thing happening "with his own eyes."

Other writers have spoken of the hypocrisy of the regime thinly cellophaned by the 20 point programme. In "Paranoia and Paradox", which appeared in *The Guardian*, David Selbourne, who visited India during the emergency, as Aneurin Bevan Memorial Fellow, spoke of the paranoia and Bonapartism, repression and double talk which characterized Mrs Gandhi's regime and he ruthlessly exposes the sycophants within the country and abroad. There was R. K. Karanjia of Blitz who wrote of the "highly evolved Renaissance mind of this prodigious lady, to whom the Gods have entrusted the destiny of India"; Selbourne also recalls that "egregious Baroness of Ashridge (Jennie Lee) telling him that" only a political illiterate would be opposed to the emergency." The reviewer vividly recalls Jennie Lee's visit to the Bombay University Campus when she extolled the gains of the emergency, specially of the trains running on time! Selbourne, as the readers will know, has written that aptly documented *expose* of the emergency, *Eye to India*. The hypocrisy of Mrs. Gandhi herself is now proverbial and it will assure her a permanent place in our history. Several foreign journalists had seen through it and some expressed their distaste in strong language. An editorial in *The Daily News* (New York) speaking about Mrs Gandhi's arrest of her opponents observed that "the action comes as no surprise at all to acute observers who long ago penetrated the lady's disguise and perceived beneath a Grade A phoney and a 24 Karat hypocrite."

Most foreign observers like their Indian counterparts were inclined to think that the dictatorship im-

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posed by Mrs Gandhi was not likely to be reversed in the near future; some however doubted if she would be able to carry on for long and suppress the opposition to her system. Said *The Times* (London), "Not only will she find it difficult to revert to the democratic way, she will also meet with opposition of a kind that is not likely to be cowed." David Loshak writing in *The Daily Telegraph* was more categorical when he said that, although Mrs. Gandhi appeared strong, her position was "essentially fragile." And he added, "But today (August 1976) as never before, Mrs Gandhi is in sole charge, with no one left to blame when things go wrong. One fears it can only be a matter of time before Mrs Gandhi, or the gang led by her son who now seeks total control of India from her heavily guarded Delhi bungalow, are called to account. The price in blood could be heavy."

Why did Mrs Gandhi declare emergency? *The Times* observed that it was not "intended to clear the decks for social and economic reforms"; that the coup was planned when her own security was threatened. Indira Gandhi as prime minister was no democrat; Oriana Fallacci writing in *The Australian* (Canberra) recalls an episode at the end of a long interview. Let Oriana tell the story: "But when we reached the outer door she fell silent. An aged beggar, lying on a heap of rags, was asleep on the payment. Beside him a cow was evacuating its bowels soiling him with its excrement. I murmured, 'Things do move a bit slowly in India', I had barely uttered the words when five steely fingers gripped my arm and an icy voice retorted: 'What do you want me to do? I am surrounded by a bunch of idiots. And Democracy!' I never reported the phrase because she had uttered it outside our interview. I am publishing it now because these words do much to explain the despotism with which she is ruling the country after the coup."

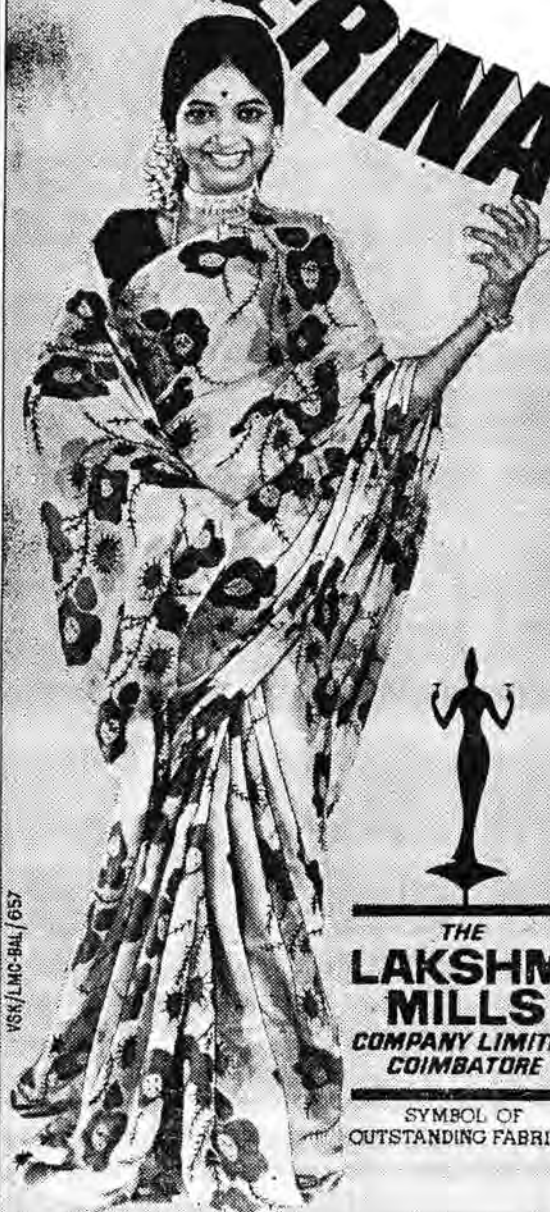
Apart from helping us in interpreting the emergency and the character of Mrs Gandhi, what appeared in the foreign press holds our interest for the courage and frankness with which the views were expressed.

In their brief introduction the editors deal with censorship and the attack on the Indian press. Perhaps, the book would have gained immensely if they had told us more about the problems of the foreign journalists in their dealings with the censors and with Shukla himself. There are some interesting cartoons but their effect would have been enhanced if art paper had been used. As it is, they disfigure the printing on the back page of the cartoons. Altogether this is a book which goes a long way in helping us to understand the most unfortunate period of modern India's history. The editors richly deserve our grateful thanks for what they have given us.

S. P. AIYAR

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"The deep

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

—Tennyson

This unadulterated non-alliance is unadulterated nonsense.

— Mr. Ram Jethmalani quoted in *Indian Express*, October 19.

The best democracies in the world are monarchical.

— Mr. B. P. Koirala, former Prime Minister of Nepal, quoted in *Indian Express*, October 26.

The Janata party 'wave' is the phenomenon that swelled last winter, crested in March, ebbed during the summer and is now fast dissipating into rippling insignificance as Mr Desai's government cowers before a welter of criticism.

— *The Economist*, October 15.

What worries Jack Jones is that the leaders of the Labour Party are living too well; what worries me is that the ordinary people aren't living well enough.

— Mrs. Thatcher quoted in the *Guardian*, October 15.

Whereas a Socialist polishes his clichés through a lifetime of hard labour, a little Conservative is born with a silver cliché in his mouth.

— Robert Teare in *Times*, October 20.

We live in a time, and under governments, in which bad economic decisions are taken for worse

political reasons.

— Bernard Levin in *Times*, June 8.

All I would ask of Americans is that you go on being yourselves — valiant without being fanatical, individualistic without being selfish, proud without being conceited, confident without foolhardy, skeptical without being cynical, openminded without being indecisive, generous without being naive, patriotic without being nationalistic and good without being perfect".

— British Ambassador Peter Jay in *International Herald Tribune*, October 16.

She (Mrs. Gandhi) has not as yet given up her obsession with the belief that the Nehrus were born to rule.

— Piloo Mody in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, October 23.

It is impossible to assess Mrs. Gandhi's role, past or future, without involving Sanjay, any more than it would be possible to write about Barnum without referring to Bailey.

— Piloo Mody in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, October 23.

This had been Mrs. Gandhi's political dilemma up to her arrest. She could have a party without a son, or a son but no party.

— Piloo Mody in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, October 23.

Mrs. Gandhi has launched a campaign against the Government which occasionally borders on the truth.

— Piloo Mody in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, October 23.

If we are strong enough militarily, we don't have to be either Red or dead.....

— *Washington Report*, September 1977.

Who wouldn't eat caviare if it was offered?

— Mr. Reginald Maudling in the *Observer*, October.

Forces that cannot win will not deter.

— *Washington Post*, September 1977.

Advice is something to be accepted or rejected.

— *Times*, September 1.

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