

The First Priority

B. K. Nehru

IT has been estimated that there were a little over 3 million unemployed in 1950 and around 14 million in 1970. During the next decade the gross additions to the labour force of India will be approximately 90 million people. The children who will provide this addition have already been born. As a result of better health and improved longevity a larger number of people of the age of 60 and over are likely to remain in the labour force in the seventies than used to be the case in earlier years. No more than 27 million workers are expected to die and retire in the next ten years. The net addition to the labour force in the seventies will thus be of the order of 63 million. The best estimate of additional employment created during the sixties is around 30 million. Taking an optimistic view, if present policies continue the maximum number of jobs that can be created in the seventies cannot possibly exceed 40 million. This would mean adding 23 million to the present 14 million unemployed ending up the decade with a total of 37 million—or no less than almost 14 per cent of the labour force of 1980. This means that for the next ten years the number of unemployed will increase on the average by the truly hair-raising figure of 6,000 per day.

The person who is unemployed and therefore by definition without means of livelihood, or the person who is technically employed but living a life below the level of subsistence has quite naturally no attachment and no loyalty to the preservation of a social, political and economic system which appears to him to be monstrously unjust, corrupt and hypocritical.

It is in the certainty that unemployment and under-employment or the low returns for employment—all of which really amount to the same thing—are driving us to the disintegration of our country and the breakdown of our society that I do believe that the first priority, over-riding all other priorities, should be to increase employment. Organised society in peace-time always has various objectives in view all of which it

tries simultaneously to achieve. Many of these objectives are conflicting in character and it is the function of the political balance that may be achieved from time to time to decide in what proportion what objectives will be pursued through the formulation of policy. My submission is that today we should subject any policy or action that comes to us for approval or decision to only one single test—namely whether or not it will create employment. If it does we should accept; if not it should be rejected.

'Gainful' Employment

It is necessary, however, to be very clear about what exactly is meant by the term employment. The Planning Commission always refers to "gainful" employment. To the experts in the Planning Commission the meaning of this phrase is clear—gainful employment is synonymous with productive employment. But to the vast mass of people who are not experts, and who are the sovereigns of this country, gainful employment means simply the holding of a job which enables the holder to draw a wage or salary at the end of every month. To them "gainful employment" means, in short, employment gainful to the individual without regard to the effect it may or may not have on the nation as a whole. Consequently employing 27,000 people in a

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Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



No Double Standards

THE achievement of their freedom by the people of Bangla Desh and the restoration to their midst of their chosen leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, are developments which gladden the hearts of all lovers of liberty. *Freedom First*, which has consistently championed over the years the freedom of the Tibetan people from Chinese Communist imperialism, of the Hungarian and Czech peoples from Soviet imperialism and of the people of Biafra against Nigerian domination can logically and consistently hail the freedom of the people of Bangla Desh.

In this respect we, along with men like Jayaprakash Narayan, are happily not in the ambiguous position of those in New Delhi and elsewhere who accepted China's 'sovereignty' over Tibet, maintained a guilty silence when Soviet armed forces overran Hungary and later Czechoslovakia and had not a word to say against the genocide in Biafra. These advocates of outdated 'national sovereignty' and practitioners of double standards must be left to face the verdict of history.

"Not to be Pressured"?

I AM not a person to be pressured by anybody or any nation". Thus the Prime Minister in an interview with *Time* magazine in its issue of January 3, 1972.

Last November, the Law Commission in its report had taken strong exception to certain aspects of the 25th Constitution Amendment Bill and had suggested various safeguards to rectify the more dangerous of its provisions. In response to this plea, the Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet decided to introduce three amendments which would meet partially the plea made by Dr. C. D. Deshmukh and his colleagues of the Law Commission.

The next act in the drama opened when, at an expanded meeting of the Executive Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party on the 29th of November, fellow-travellers and Young Turks staged a revolt against these amendments.

The following day, the Prime Minister, who was absent at the meeting of the 29th, had a meeting of the Party Executive convened. She roundly scolded those who had organised the previous day's revolt. According to a press report the following morning, "she took strong objection to the lobbying organised against

Government's stand by inviting several non-members to yesterday's meeting of the Executive Committee. Mrs. Gandhi remarked that she could not be pressurised by such tactics."

But, lo and behold, on December 1, when the Bill came before the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister who, only twenty-four hours earlier had announced that she would not be pressurised by such tactics, tamely announced that Government had decided to withdraw two out of the three relevant amendments!

Public memory is, of course, proverbially short, but amnesia has not developed so far that the people of India cannot recall what happened just two months ago!

IN THIS ISSUE

"Economic growth is very important to the country but it cannot be at the cost of social justice", said the Prime Minister in Ahmedabad on November 21. Not so, says Mr. B. K. Nehru, Governor of Assam and Nagaland. On the front page of this issue we publish an abridged version of the B. F. Madon Memorial Lecture recently delivered by Mr. Nehru. His message is one that India can neglect only at its peril.

Mehra Masani retired as Deputy Director-General of Broadcasting after a long and distinguished career in All India Radio. She discusses the effects of Government control over broadcasting which J. J. Servan Schreiber has described as one of the most cancerous traits of society and reminds the reader of the findings of the Chanda Committee, of which she was Secretary, which, alas, still await implementation.

In a cool and analytical look at the voting in the U.N. General Assembly and India's isolation there, Mr. S. V. Raju, unlike most Indian commentators, refuses to ape the soldier's fond mother who, at the end of the parade, said: "Everybody was out of step except my Johnny".

President Nixon is a favourite target for lampooning in the Indian press today. In this issue we join in the game by adding one more criticism of the U.S. President, coming this time from a young American. His, however, is a fresh approach which shows how wide of the mark is the line along which President Nixon has been denigrated by most of his critics.

"Fascist"?

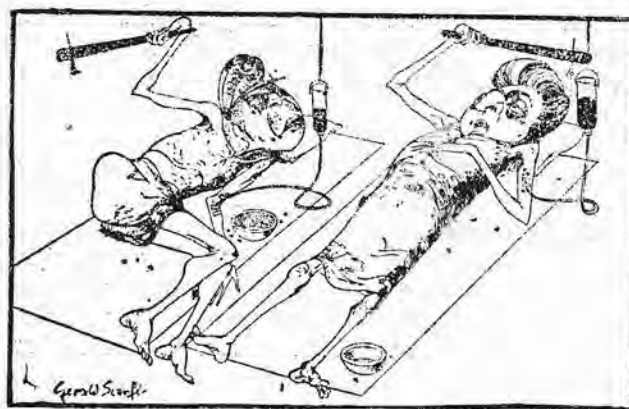
WHEN the word Fascist was used in sections of the press to describe the hooliganism in which leaders of the ruling Congress Party indulged when they broke into and occupied, with disgraceful acts of violence, the All India Congress Committee office on Jantar Mantar Road last November, one felt that perhaps such a description was at least premature. After all, one swallow does not make a summer. The feeling of concern was, however, aggravated when the Prime Minister, instead of repudiating the action of her followers, sought to excuse it by saying that the incident had been "exaggerated out of all proportion" and that the fact that the miscreants were "young enthusiastic elements" in her party was a mitigating factor.

Any doubt about the fascist trends in the Ruling Congress Party must now, however, be abandoned as a result of the behaviour of the same kind of people in Bhubhaneshwar on January 6 when they repeated in an even more disgusting manner the antics at Jantar Mantar Road a couple of months ago. The assault by these hooligans, who included Members of Parliament and Members of the Assembly of the ruling Congress Party, on the aged and respected Chief Minister of Orissa whom they manhandled and reduced to tears, while seeking to extort from him his resignation, can no longer be lightly dismissed.

Blot on a Good Record

BY and large the climate at home during the recent hostilities with Pakistan was one on which the people of India may congratulate themselves. The finest aspect of this was the complete absence of communal tension and clashes and the security in which the minority in this country lived during the period of the armed clash. It can also be claimed that the powers acquired by Government under the emergency were used generally in a reasonable and restrained manner.

To this there is one glaring exception and that was the detention of Mr. D. F. Karaka, Editor of *Current*. After perusing the charge-sheet that *Current* itself has since obligingly published, we are constrained to observe that the grounds for the detention do not hold water and that Mr. Karaka's detention must be therefore considered to be a misuse of the powers given to Government to further the defence of India and its security. For instance, was not the headline of the offending article "*Receivers of Aid are now at War*" a factual statement? Mr. Karaka made no discovery on this point, as can be seen from the cartoon published by the *Sunday Times* of London, on this page.



Gerald Scarfe — *Sunday Times*, London

While there could be a difference of opinion about the merits of Government's action under the Defence of India Rules, there can be none such about the burning of copies of *Current* by a gang of demonstrators in front of the office of that journal on 14th December, immediately following the Editor's arrest. Book burning was an invention of Hitler's Nazis. It is noteworthy that among those who led this demonstration was a Member of Parliament of the ruling Congress Party from Delhi.

Opposition's Pyrrhic Victory

THOSE who would like the declaration of National Emergency to be terminated and to breathe freely again under the normal law of this country must thank the Opposition parties for that relief being delayed. The Prime Minister and the Government came forward towards the end of December with a reasonable proposal, that if the Constitution could be amended by the 28th Constitution Amendment Bill making it possible for Government to declare an emergency only in certain border areas like West Bengal, the Government would withdraw the declaration of emergency at the national level. The 28th Amendment, it was claimed, had become necessary as it was held — somewhat dubiously — that the Constitution does not at present permit an emergency to be declared except for the country as a whole. Instead of welcoming this reasonable proposal, the Communist parties and their friends set up a howl having, no doubt, their own position in West Bengal in mind. Other Opposition parties unfortunately joined them. It was only the Swatantra Party through its President which supported the Government's proposal, but unfortunately, even they later whittled down their position to one of neutrality.

In the face of this, the Prime Minister decided that she would rather continue the national emergency and do without the Amendment. It is to be hoped that the postponement of a reversion to normality will not be

delayed long, but the responsibility for this unfortunate position must fall squarely on the shoulders of the Opposition parties.

Ellsberg's Lawyer

THE publication by the *New York Times* and sections of the American press of the Pentagon Papers passed on to them by Daniel Ellsberg and the judgement of the U.S. Supreme Court upholding their right to do so were undoubtedly a notable victory for the freedom of the press which should encourage those engaged in repelling current attacks on the Indian press. Ellsberg's own motivations are still, however, a subject of considerable obscurity.

Ellsberg's choice of his lawyer is, however, significant. He has picked on Leonard Boudin as one of his two lawyers. What makes the choice significant is the fact that Boudin has a long record of defending Soviet spies and communist traitors. It is he who appeared for the Soviet espionage agent, Judith Coplan. Mr. Boudin's firm has represented Castro of Cuba and was forced to register as an agent of a foreign government. Boudin has also been counsel for Paul Robeson, the well known Communist fellow-traveller, and has defended Dr. Spock. His daughter Kathy is wanted by the police in connection with the explosion in a town house in Manhattan in which several people were killed, and he himself has been denied a passport by the U.S. Government as being a suspected communist.

Is it not interesting and perhaps a pointer to Mr. Ellsberg's real character and motives that, of all the lawyers in America, he should have picked on a man with this record to defend him?

Rewriting History - Indian Style

LAST month we referred to an unfortunate example of rewriting history on the part of the American journal *Life*. In the intervening period, we have had an example of the rewriting of history not by one newspaper but by the entire Indian press. Reams and reams of paper were spent on paying tributes to Mr. G. M. Sadiq, Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, when he passed away in December. Mr. Sadiq had many likeable qualities and it was good that they should be recalled.

There was, however, one thing about Mr. Sadiq on which a veritable conspiracy of silence was maintained by the entire Indian press without exception and that was the Communist views which Mr. Sadiq held. It is well known to all who have followed developments in Kashmir that Mr. Sadiq was known as a Communist adherent right through the Fifties. Among the positions that he held was that of Vice-President of the All-India Peace Council. That was at a time when Mr. Sadiq was President of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly. On 30th May, 1953, *Thought* magazine of

Delhi, referring to Mr. Sadiq, wrote: "The Speaker of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, is, of course, a notorious instance of communist success in infiltration into key positions in organisations which they ultimately seek to destroy." Anyone who wants further details of this aspect of Mr. Sadiq's beliefs and activities should refer to an article entitled *Kashmir and the Communists* by Tilak Raj Chadha, a prominent member of the Praja Socialist Party, in *Thought* of 17th January, 1953.

Now, there is nothing wrong dishonourable or surprising in Mr. Sadiq holding the views that he did. The interesting thing is why no single newspaper in India, while reporting his death or commenting on it, referred to his Communist views and alignment. A similar conspiracy of silence has marked more recent press reports about Mr. Rajni Patel who has been imposed by New Delhi on the BPCC as the local *Gauleiter*.

Why is it only in the case of people who hold Communist views that an attempt is made to make people forget that part of their past? Is it because there is some kind of consciousness that there is something unsavoury about their political colour? This hypothesis cannot hold water because, if that were so, the Communist papers at least would proudly claim these men as their own. The fact that they have not done so would therefore tend to indicate that silence on this subject furthers the wellknown communist tactics of infiltration by their fellow-travellers. No wonder such people are aptly referred to in France as *soumarins* (submarines).

Policeman Favours Aggressor

BY its un-neutral act in gratuitously raising the level of diplomatic relations with the Communist aggressor regime in North Vietnam without a corresponding modification in the case of South Vietnam, New Delhi has predictably raised a veritable hornet's nest.

That the Government of South Vietnam should react vigorously against the Chairman of the International Control Commission acting in this blatantly partisan manner in favour of the aggressor is altogether natural and only to be expected.

The really damning condemnation of the Indian Government's action has, however, come from India's colleague on the I.C.C., Canada. On January 11, M. M. Sharp, Canadian External Affairs Minister, told pressmen in Ottawa that India's action had "further weakened the I.C.C."

While too many tears need not be shed over the demise of the I.C.C., which had already been rendered ineffective by Polish obstruction and Indian connivance, the way in which the large Indian community in South Vietnam has been needlessly exposed to local hostility is a matter which causes concern. It is to be hoped that the Indians in South Vietnam will not be made to suffer for the sins of New Delhi.

AIR: The Voice Of The Government

Mehra Masani

PUBLICITY organs of the Government of India, such as the Press Information Bureau and AIR have, in recent weeks, made much of the fact that Radio and TV broadcasts and newspaper comments in the United States have been out of tune with President Nixon's attitudes and ideas on the Indo-Pakistan war and the emergence of Bangla Desh. We also read in our papers a few days ago that the BBC broadcast a programme on Ulster which the Home Minister of Britain had suggested it should drop. Lord Hill, the Chairman of the BBC, rejecting the suggestion of the Government, said that it was for the BBC to decide whether or not the broadcast would worsen the situation as the Home Minister feared. Can we imagine AIR broadcasting a programme in which, let us say, our "special" relations with the U.S.S.R. were analysed and criticised? The prospect is very remote indeed. How is it that in a society which claims to be free and democratic the broadcasting system is neither?

Broadly, the world's radio and TV systems can be classified under three categories. In the first of these, radio and TV stations are privately owned, financed through advertisements and generally operated for profit, though some stations run by universities, municipalities and cultural associations are not profit making. This system prevails in the U.S.A. and in South America and it co-exists in Australia, Canada and Japan with the second category in which broadcasting is entrusted to autonomous corporations.

Both private and autonomous broadcasting organisations are subject to certain types of regulation and control by the State. They have to fulfil international obligations in the use of radio frequencies and are restrained from putting out programmes which offend against social and moral values.

All the democratic countries of Western Europe have public corporations, run independently by a body specifically set up for the purpose, which are largely independent of Government financially by raising money through licences for the operation of radio and TV sets. The Governments concerned retain control by prescribing rules under which the Corporations must function but in practice, the powers vested in the Government are invoked only if the Corporations behave irresponsibly. The best known examples of such bodies are the BBC, NHK (the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation), the Australian Broadcasting Commission, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Corporations of West Germany.

During the last twenty years, many Asian and African countries which have attained freedom and

which have a parliamentary form of Government have changed over to this system. Even in underdeveloped countries it is now unusual for broadcasting to be run by the State. That form of organisation is now found predominantly in the totalitarian countries of Eastern Europe (including the U.S.S.R.), in China and in India. Ours is perhaps the only democratic country adhering to this undemocratic broadcasting system.

Why are we out of step with the rest of the free world? Is it because the Indian Government's incomplete commitment to democracy does not cause concern to the Indian people? The same indifference to democratic principles and policies which allows the Government to whittle down our Fundamental Rights, to dragoon the Press, to undermine the rule of law, evidently allows the Government to deprive the Indian people of a free and democratic broadcasting system.

Until five or six years ago, the Government was committed to a change in the structure and status of AIR. As long ago as March 1948, Pandit Nehru had said in the Constituent Assembly: "My own view of the set-up for broadcasting is that we should approximate as far as possible to the British model, the BBC: that is to say, it would be better if we had a semi-autonomous corporation under the Government, of course, with the policy controlled by the Government, otherwise being not conducted as a Government department but as a semi-autonomous corporation.... In fact, in most matters we should aim at the semi-autonomous corporations, the policy and other things being distantly controlled by the Government, but the Government or Government departments not interfering in their day-to-day activities."

In 1964, in response to serious criticism in Parliament and in the press, Mrs. Gandhi, as Minister for Information and Broadcasting, appointed a Committee to go into this question. On this Committee on Broadcasting and Information Media she appointed among others five members of Parliament, including Mr. Nath Pai of the PSP, Mr. Gurupadaswamy and Mr. Vidya Charan Shukla of the Congress Party, and Dr. L. M. Singhvi, an independent. She had then stated that she was prepared for a radical change in AIR's structure if the Committee considered it necessary.

The Chanda Committee, as it came to be known after its Chairman, Mr. A. K. Chanda, a former Comptroller and Auditor General of India, discussed the future of AIR with a number of eminent men and women; it studied numerous memoranda submitted to it; it considered different systems of broadcasting in different parts of the world; and came to the conclusion that no improvement could be made in the work-

ing of AIR as long as it was an attached office of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, subservient to the Government in respect of every aspect of its working, staffing, financing, programming, or development. It therefore recommended that AIR should be converted into an autonomous Corporation by Act of Parliament and given the authority to run broadcasting in the best interests of the country, subject to certain obligations to provide educational and instructive programmes at the behest of the Government and to observe certain regulations to ensure that the programmes did not offend against propriety.

Barring one or two newspapers whose political affiliations make them averse to the reduction of State control over any activity, all the major newspapers and magazines in the country welcomed and supported the Committee's recommendations for autonomy for AIR. At that time the spokesmen of all the political parties except the Congress Party and the Communist Parties also demanded autonomy for AIR in Parliament and outside. After the split in the Congress Party, the Cong(O) has also come out in favour of a greater measure of independence for AIR and, in a recent symposium in the *Times of India*, it was a pleasant surprise to find that Mr. Indrajit Gupta of the CPI also spoke up in favour of an autonomous corporation. The ruling Congress Party is thus isolated on this question but, because Indian public opinion is supine and indifferent the ruling Party can ignore the demand of all informed sections of society.

The first and most frequently given reason for keeping AIR a department of the Government of India is that its earnings from licences and commercial advertisements are sufficient only for its recurring annual expenditure and cannot pay for the development of radio and TV. The Chanda Committee had met this point by suggesting that just as Government, through the University Grants Commission, gives funds to universities, which are autonomous bodies, it can give AIR funds to enable it to fulfil its nation-building obligations. Moreover, several public corporations and companies have been formed with a large investment of public revenues for purposes considered beneficial to the community. Once an autonomous corporation is formed it can raise loans to finance its development.

The second argument is based on the presumption that an autonomous Corporation would be open to commercial influences and would neglect educative and informative programmes which would be sacrificed in favour of trivial and popular programmes. There is nothing in the experience of autonomous organisations anywhere in the world to warrant any such fear. The BBC and other autonomous bodies provide excellent programmes, including educational broadcasts, far superior to anything AIR has ever done in all its years of working under direct Government control. AIR's own commercial broadcasts have not

affected the quality of its performance in any way.

Thirdly, members of Parliament are told that their control over AIR would be lost if it were an autonomous corporation. Unfortunately, our MPs appear to have fallen for this argument without stopping to consider precisely what control they exercise at present. Apart from interpellations on trivial matters and an annual debate on the Budget demands, Parliament exercises no control whatever. Through serious discussions in the Committee on Public Undertakings, Parliament could exercise far more effective control than at present.

Fourthly, it has been said that without the direct supervision of Government, the broadcasting authority may not function in the interest of the security and integrity of the State—as if the radio organisations of Japan, Italy, Germany, France and Scandinavia, act against the security and welfare of the States in which they function. Of course the example of the American radio and TV services, given at the start of this article, stresses the need for an organisation to distinguish between the interests of the State or society as a whole and the interests of the Government of the day or the political party and personages in power. Autonomous bodies have always functioned in the interest of the societies they serve but often they have considered such interest to be in opposition to the interest of the ruling party and have rightly upheld the former to the annoyance of the latter.

The real reason for Government's refusal to accept the demand for an autonomous corporation is its fear that loyalty to the Constitution may lead the Corporation to oppose the Government and prevent the party in power from using the State's control of broadcasting for its own narrow political ends.

Finally, it is said that an autonomous body would not be any more independent than a department of the Government because the directors of the Board appointed by the Government will be so selected as to carry out the Government's orders and anticipate its wishes. This can be overcome if the Board is appointed by the President and not by the Prime Minister or Cabinet but, apart from that, it is obvious that if the Government forms an autonomous corporation with the intention of sabotaging its independence and autonomy there is nothing to be gained by it. But one would not except this of a Government which is genuinely interested in promoting and strengthening democratic institutions. That this argument should be used by members of the Congress Party and by senior officials only confirms the suspicion that the party in power has no intention of allowing AIR to act as a trustee for the national interest.

If our broadcasting system attains the degree of freedom achieved by those of other democratic countries, it will only be when public opinion asserts itself to make AIR the voice of India instead of being the mouthpiece of the Government.

THE U.N. VOTE: AN ANALYSIS

S. V. Raju

ADDRESSING a public meeting in Jullunder on January 3, the External Affairs Minister Mr. Swaran Singh observed that "the 104 members of the General Assembly who voted for the cease-fire resolution (in the U.N. General Assembly on December 7) did not understand the basic problem. They took the issue in a routine manner—to have a cease-fire wherever hostilities broke out".

Conceding for the sake of argument that the Chinese and the Americans voted for the Resolution fully aware of the "basic problem", who were the other 101 nations (other than Pakistan) who were unable to "understand" the "basic problem" viz., the fact of large scale genocide in Bangla Desh and the presence in India of millions of refugees who had fled to escape slaughter by the Pakistan Army? All the Arab countries except Oman, which abstained; all the African countries except Madagascar and Senegal, which abstained, and Equatorial Guinea, Guinea and Lesotho, who absented themselves from the session; all the countries of South and South-East Asia, except Afghanistan, Nepal and Singapore, who abstained, and Mauritius, Maldivas and Burma, who absented themselves from the session; all the countries of Latin America except Chile, which abstained, and Cuba, which voted against the resolution. In Europe, the only countries to support us were the USSR and seven of its satellites. Britain, France and Denmark abstained. The rest, including Rumania and Yugoslavia, went along with the resolution.

Naturally, as an Indian, I was most unhappy that as many as 103 nations (Pakistan excepted) failed to understand the Central issue involved—an issue involving the sufferings of millions of people who had been deprived of their human rights. How could this be so after droves of official delegations capped by a tour by our Prime Minister herself had perambulated all over the world to explain our country's stand?

Could it be that our explanation lacked credibility in the light of our past performance in international relations? We were always among the first, and very rightly so, to support calls for ceasefire whenever fighting erupted in other parts of the world. "Stop shooting and start talking" was generally our response. Can we blame other countries for taking the same line when we are involved?

Not only did we turn a blind eye to the occupation of Tibet by Communist China but actually acquiesced by signing the Panchashila Agreement with the Chinese. There was not that same kind of fervour in protesting against Chinese genocide in Tibet. We further refused to recognise the Dalai Lama as the

rightful head of a Tibetan government in exile. Nor did our Government raise a whimper over the slaughter of the Hungarians by Soviet tanks and bullets in 1956 or in Czechoslovakia much later. Naturally, when we rightly tried to awaken the world's conscience to the tragedy being enacted in Bangla Desh, our voice lacked credibility.

The Soviet veto did help us to ward off the issue in the Security Council and gave us valuable time to complete our operations in Bangla Desh.

Soviet support also secured for us eight votes in the General Assembly of the U.N. the remaining two being India and Bhutan. But would we have obtained more votes in our favour had we not been championed by the U.S.S.R.?

The single biggest casualty caused by the India-Soviet Treaty was the destruction of our image of non-alignment. We were proud to be identified with the "Third World", but where was the Third World when the vote was called? Or is it that, because of that Treaty, we were no longer considered to belong to that club?

The Soviet Veto protected us in the Security Council. But the Communist Chinese too have the Veto. Is it inconceivable that at a future date if the Chinese Communists repeat their 1962 performance they will use their veto to prevent the Security Council from coming to India's aid? The Veto may have been relevant in the immediate post-war period. But is it not reactionary that five Powers should have within them the power to obstruct international decisions let alone sanctions? And what is the guarantee that, when such a situation arises, the General Assembly will invoke the "Uniting For Peace" resolution with the same alacrity and the nations of the world, including the non-aligned, will give us a better deal?

Let us look at the pattern of voting. After years of efforts at befriending Arab nations, not one of them excepting little Oman thought it fit to ask the sponsors of the resolution: "It is all very well to ask the Government of India to stop fighting but what about the savage massacre of the people of Bangla Desh, what about the future of the millions of refugees that had fled to India? What about their legitimate political aspirations? Answer and we shall then consider the Resolution". But they did not do so. Perhaps the failure to secure Arab support represents the single biggest failure of our foreign policy.

Or take the countries of South-East Asia. Even Mauritius, whose Prime Minister and others we have been wining and dining, stayed away from the session.

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Ceylon voted for the Resolution. Burma too absented itself from the session. Singapore abstained. In Africa too, the story was the same. All major nations on the African continent failed to appreciate India's point of view.

Our isolation from our neighbours in South-East Asia was complete. Why? Because we had no time to cultivate our "neglected backyard" as someone described it. We had more pressing things to do like sounding off our views on matters relating to Europe and the West. Even worse was our attempt a year or so back to sell the Brezhnev Doctrine of collective security to Asian nations.

An old lady, the mother of a soldier, went to see a parade. At the end of it all she observed: "Everyone was out of step except my Johnny". If this is going to be the reaction of the Government to the adverse U.N. vote, then we shall have learnt nothing. But if it has had a traumatic effect on our foreign policy planners and compels them to undertake an "agonising reappraisal", the disaster at the United Nations could be a blessing in disguise.

A reappraisal of our foreign policy would involve *inter alia*:

- (a) Taking a fresh look at our West Asian policy. The Arabs equivocated in 1962 when China attacked us, in the 1965 hostilities with Pakistan, and on

this occasion. As one writer observed in a letter to the editor of the *Times of India* "... it should be remembered that even as the Arab nations were accusing India of aggression against Pakistan, the Government of Israel was dispatching 75 tons of vegetable proteins to help feed the refugees of Bangla Desh". There is no reason why we should not establish diplomatic relations with Israel. If the Arab nations can profess neutrality in our dispute with Pakistan, can we not by the same token express our neutrality in the Israeli-Arab dispute?

- (h) We must give top priority to the nations of South and South-East Asia. There is need to re-establish our bonafides with many of them. The recent action in raising our diplomatic status in Hanoi is certainly not the way to do so. Our policy in Asia needs to be based on the realisation that the people of this region are watching the two Asian giants, China and India. India has to prove that she can be relied upon to 'deliver the goods'. We must seek their friendship by promoting regional economic and security arrangements free of power blocs.
- (c) Our stance on all international issues should be based on the principles of reciprocity and national self-interest. And finally, we must resist the temptation to preach and moralise to nations on matters that are not our business.

HAVE YOU JOINED THE FORUM?

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A YOUNG AMERICAN LOOKS AT NIXON

Richard Brookhiser

IT was between the hours of ten and eleven; my brother came running down the hall and threw open the door:

"Tricky Dick's going to China!"

I was amazed. A President of the United States seeks and accepts an invitation to go to Communist China: The very idea was impressive, it struck home with a force quite unrelated to the fact that this President was a conservative Republican who had made his name twenty years ago by denouncing Communists at home and abroad. This went beyond euphoria—this had elements of audacity.

And so, later, reflecting on my own initial reaction, and other things besides, I have come to feel that Richard Nixon is a Romantic, and that his attitude toward China rises from a deep-seated Romantic vision of politics. This might come as a shock to most people—Richard Nixon, Tricky Dicky, politician, pragmatist, manipulator and cheap circus side-showman who sold his election snake oil all the way to the White House. In a hundred subtle ways, by the *New York Times*, and Hugh Sidey, and Norman Mailer, and most magazines, and all Democrats, we have been fed the lie so often that we have come to believe it. And yet here is the same Tricky Dicky, packing his bags and preparing to run off to a Tilsit upon which may hang issues that will make Napoleon and Alexander seem puny by comparison.

We have seen the type before, perhaps. The day after the announcement the name of Neville Chamberlain was already in the air. Two hundred pages into *The Gathering Storm*, Winston Churchill pauses to give an appreciation of this man:

Neville Chamberlain, on the other hand, was alert, businesslike, opinionated, and self-confident in a very high degree. Unlike Baldwin, he conceived himself able to comprehend the whole field of Europe, and indeed the world. Instead of a vague but none the less deep-seated intuition, we had now a narrow, sharp-edged efficiency within the limits of the policy in which he believed. . . . His all pervading hope was to go down to history as the Great Peacemaker. . . .

"Alert, businesslike, opinionated. . . narrow, sharp-edged efficiency"—what better words could describe the outer image, the "Tricky Dicky," of Richard Nixon? A belief in his ability to comprehend the whole field of the world—in what field does Richard Nixon most prize himself on his expertise but in foreign affairs? The hope, the desire to be remembered as the

Great Peacemaker is perhaps the most difficult to swallow—but since entering office, what has the President done but steadily and persistently pull troops out of Vietnam? What did he look for when he went to Rumania, what was he looking for when he sent Rogers to the Middle East—or Kissinger to Peking?

The desire to do good and the firm belief in one's ability to do it resided deep in the souls of both Wilson and Chamberlain; and when the stage was set, they took the plunge. We are told by *Life Magazine* that Richard Nixon cherishes the Chinese character for the word "crisis," which is a compound of the characters for "danger" and "opportunity"; when the stage was set, they took the plunge.

Czar Alexander, already referred to, could not refuse to go to meet Napoleon at Tilsit, a conference whose consequences happened not to be immediately disastrous. There were doubtless sound political reasons for a negotiation between them, hard, practical points that had to be picked over and thrashed about: Russia had been in and out of European affairs before, and would be in and out again. But these were not the reasons which drew the Czar to meet Napoleon in person: Napoleon was a force, Napoleon was something elemental—he was a totem of the Romantics, he held a place in their pantheon; he had dazzled everyone on the Continent, Goethe, Hegel, even (for a time) Beethoven—and Alexander rode on his raft to the center of the river, not to talk nitty-gritty, but to have his head filled with schemes of grandeur and an Eastern empire. He was shortly to be disillusioned; he had grasped at opportunity and caught only danger.

There are just some types you can't talk to. Reconciliation is possible and old hatreds can be broken up and wiped away: It was logical that the United States should eventually become friendly with England, logical that England should become friendly with France, logical that France and England should become friendly with (West) Germany. But some nations and leaders cannot be talked to; some nations and leaders establish themselves on the far side of chasms that have nothing to do with prejudice or politics. They embrace insanity and repudiate civilization; they are outside the pale and there can be no reconciliation with them.

This is something a Romantic can never really believe, because he believes most strongly in the goodness of men. There is no man so far gone that he cannot be coaxed back, there is no nation so blind that it cannot see the light. To the Romantic it is inconceivable that men could send a nation down an unalterably wicked course, or that they could allow them-

selves to be ruled by a state rooted in intractable hatred. History tells us otherwise, but do we believe it? The Nazi ovens and engines of death are thirty years old—do we really believe it? We have all read *Brave New World* and *1984*, but have we understood them? Do we—does Richard Nixon—realize that 1984 is not thirteen years away, but now? and thirty years ago? and always? There are some people you cannot talk with, but the Romantic, so long as he remains one, never quite sheds his faith in the "spirit of Man."

World cooperation is fine, but it can never be universal; whether you trace it back to Adam and Eve, or to some African genesis, à la Robert Ardrey, there are some people you cannot talk to. The Congress of Vienna got along without Napoleon; the United Nations was originally the name of the alliance designed to crush Hitler.

Mr. Nixon, if he goes to China, will not give them the state of California. He is still the man most conservatives voted for in 1968, he is still Tricky Dick; he was never a fool. But China has caught his imagi-

nation; I think it has struck a spark off the Romantic flint that lies deep in his soul. There are a hundred reasons why he may never make the trip, there is every chance that it will be materially unproductive—from the Communist point of view. But the project has captured him—it has elements of greatness, it is something to win elections with, something to celebrate bicentennials with, something to commend his Quaker soul to God and posterity. And the strength of the vision will increase as he comes closer to it; the nearer he comes to collision with it, the more he will be confirmed in it. Surely he himself rose from the depths—surely he bounced back from two great defeats and an awful press conference to become President of the United States. Surely history did not let him beat all the odds without laying out *some* destiny, *some* purpose.

Maybe it's all a fantasy. Maybe I'm reading something into it and the words came too easily. Blessed are the peacemakers. Let us pray.



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A Ballad from Soviet Underground

Mikhail Nozhkin

(Alongside of the Samizdat underground publications, a new form of Soviet dissent has developed in the Soviet Union. It is called *Magnitizdat* — which draws its name from the words *magnitofon* (tape recorder) and *izdat* (to publish). Among the most popular performers of the underground ballad is Mikhail Nozhkin who sings of the quest for social justice and a less materialistic way of life. This ballad forms part of a voluminous collection of Soviet songs on record and tape belonging to Mr. Misha Allen, a Canadian specialist in Russian folklore. In this ballad Mr. Mikhail Nozhkin deals with the "New Class" in Russia, of which our own prototype is rapidly developing in New Delhi. A visit to Birla House, where Gandhiji's few possessions are to be found, might provide a refrain.

Year by year our life gets better.
Every shop has customers galore.
We grab up food and clothing—
What we need and often something more.
In our apartments crystal stands in rows;
In our homes, ceramics by the pound.
We snobbishly crave imported clothes.
And with junk our wardrobes all abound.

While in the Lenin Museum
There are two overcoats with bullet holes.
Two worn-out suits, a pair of shoes,
A cap, some books, and nothing else.

We should live more austere and simple lives.
Yet we worship fashion, luxury;
Put on airs of greedy merchant wives;
Fill our bankbooks with deposits;
Spend thousands on our pleasure cars,
And tend them as our precious dears;
Drape ourselves in sealskin and in mink.
And diamond jewels wear upon our ears.

While in the Lenin Museum... (*refrain*)

We live much better now, that's clear.
One might even say that life is great,
The life we labored for from year to year
And justly did anticipate.
Only, we should take great care
Lest we soar too high (and fall).
To save our human soul, let us
Once in half a century recall...

That in the Lenin Museum... (*refrain*)

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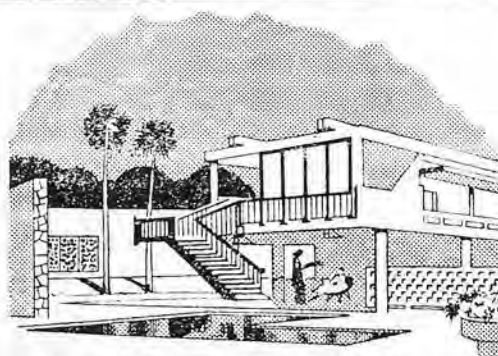
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Review

Shadow of the Bear

Edited by A. P. Jain, 176 pages, Price: Rs. 15.

AUGUST 9, 1971, will go down in the history of India as a day to remember. For it was on this fateful day that the Indo-Soviet Treaty came to be signed with consequences which have already begun to alter the political map of the Indo-Pak subcontinent and which promises to change the entire map of South Asia before the current decade is out.

It becomes imperative, therefore, that one should try to foresee in the light of all that has already happened in the short space of time since the Treaty was signed what the future yet has in store for this part of Asia. One thing is certain: with the struggle between the two giant communist powers for the domination of Asia extending to this region, it can never be the same again.

An attempt to understand the Treaty's economic and political implications was made at a seminar in New Delhi on the 5th of September 1971. Among the participants were eminent politicians, scholars, journalists and retired army officers. The result of their deliberations has been brought out in the form of a book entitled *Shadow of the Bear*.

The title of the book may at first sight appear to be slanted against the Indo-Soviet Treaty, but a dispassionate reader will find it fully justified in the context of its background. Who can quarrel with M. R. Masani, for instance, when he asserts: "Clearly, this Treaty stems from the Brezhnev doctrine of collective security in Asia spelt out two years ago" and quotes T. N. Kaul as having said "We have been working for this Treaty for over two years". That, after all, is right from the horse's mouth, as it were.

There was, in fact, a consensus of opinion among the participants that although Bangla Desh was the provocation for it, the Treaty had been in the making for two years behind the back of Parliament and the people. "I was more than surprised when I saw in the papers" says India's former Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Cariappa, "that some twenty top officers of the Foreign Ministry from Moscow, under the leadership of Mr. Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., were coming to India to discuss the Indo-Soviet pact."

What is more, the Soviet leaders know what they want and are going for it with a vengeance. Says Prithvis Chakravarti, Diplomatic Correspondent of the prestigious *Hindustan Times*, "Whatever India may or may not do under the Treaty, the Soviet expectations from the Treaty are clear. It is the Soviet intention to seek India's co-operation in its drive for gaining a foothold on the Asian continent and the Indian Ocean". The *Shadow of the Bear* is certainly lengthening right across our country to darken the Indian Ocean horizon.

It is significant, however, that most of the participants should have thought of the Indo-Soviet Treaty as a brake on India's freedom of action. D. R. Manekar, former Resident Editor of the *Times of India*, sums up this viewpoint in these unmistakable terms: "What this Treaty does is to completely debar any military solution of the problem". And in his Introduction to the book, A. P. Jain writes more than a month after the Seminar: "The signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty had closed down India's options. . . . India is not likely to get any support from the Soviet Union which may lead to the creation of an independent Bangla Desh separate from Pakistan."

To be fair to them, it all looked like that at the time. Had not the joint communique issued by the Soviet Union and Algeria referred to the territorial integrity of Pakistan? And, what is more, did not Swaran Singh declare at the AICC session at Simla as late as on 9th October, 1971—more than two months after the signing of the Treaty—that the Government of India would not be averse to a political settlement of Bangla Desh "within the framework of Pakistan"?

What would have happened thereafter for the Soviet Union to have given India the green signal for military action backed by the supply of Russian arms and a warning to other world powers to keep away from the conflict? That is the sixty-four thousand dollar question to which the participants at the Seminar will now do well to apply their minds. For, as the London *Economist* has warned: "The whole of Southern Asia has now been drawn into the competition of the great powers. They (the Russians) have established themselves as India's guardian super power. The Chinese will now set out to protect themselves against the expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence along their southern flank. . . . Where the two super powers are involved, the third is not going to stay out: the United States does not intend to leave Southern Asia to a tussle between the two kinds of communists. The new Great Game has begun."

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THE FIRST PRIORITY — *Cont'd from page 1*

steel mill when only 7,000 are required to produce the maximum amount of steel; doubling the number of clerks in a government office—so that they might more effectively come in each other's way; building village roads in every dry season to be washed away in the monsoon; these are all defended by people holding responsible positions on the ground of creation of employment.

Employment in this sense of everyone being on the payroll is merely a function of the amount of currency that the Government of India might be prepared to print at the Press in Nasik. The entire population of India could be enrolled as government servants and given a salary of a hundred rupees a month which would at one stroke satisfy those who agitate for a need-based minimum wage and for all-out nationalization! If people felt there was something immoral in drawing a salary for doing nothing they could also be provided with pencil and paper and told to write letters to each other all day! (I cannot help remarking that much of the larger increase in employment in public offices in recent years has been exactly of this kind.) The reason why the Government of India does not deliberately follow this short-cut to universal employment is also fairly simple and that is that all the people who would thus be "employed" would still be without food and shelter or clothing because no additional amounts of these would be produced.

Employment is no employment, even though it may be gainful, unless it is also productive. It has to produce goods or services which, after going through the complicated process of internal or international commerce, can be exchanged in the end for food, shelter and clothing and other goods and services required for consumption. And it has to be productive not only in the sense of somehow managing to produce more than is consumed in the process but productive in the sense of employing the best available techniques and the best available mix of the factors of production that may be available at any particular time or place.

The objective of creating employment is in reality the objective on the one hand of increasing production and on the other of ensuring that the total purchasing power in the country is so distributed that as much of the needs of as many people as possible are met from the total production of the country. The problem of distributing purchasing power, of which such heavy weather is made and which seems to occupy almost exclusively the forefront of the public discussions of our economic policies, is in reality the easiest problem of all to solve. Through the whole powerful armoury of progressive direct taxation, Government can distribute purchasing power exactly

as it pleases; it can give disguised grants of public money for emergency programmes of so-called employment; it can achieve the same purpose through granting virtually irrecoverable loans through Government or quasi-government agencies; it can go on supporting uneconomic industries. Political pressures in any case forces it to employ three or four times as many people as are necessary to do a job in a government establishment while Trade Union pressure achieves the same result in industrial establishments whether public or private.

It is in the second part of this equation, namely, the increase in production to satisfy in real terms the money incomes thus generated and distributed that the real troubles arise. And it is here that our economic policy has faltered, for instead of devoting itself wholeheartedly and single-mindedly to increase production, it has permitted a large number of other considerations, all of them desirable in themselves to affect policy to the detriment of productive activity. If once we accept that we are at a stage in our national life where we do not increase the real incomes of millions of our people we will be faced with the collapse of our entire social system, the one and only priority that will remain to us and to which all other priorities must, at least for the time being, be subordinated, will be the priority for production.

N.E.P.

IN 1921, four years after the October Revolution, the whole Soviet system was faced with collapse because of the catastrophic fall in material production. This failure was caused, apart from the wars internal and external, through the following of what, with the benefit of hindsight, can only be described as the most fanciful policies designed to establish instant communism. In these circumstances the great Lenin himself threw to the winds all those priorities and objectives for which he had worked all his life and started the New Economic Policy, the one and only object of which was to increase production in the shortest possible time; and for doing which no means, including private enterprise and concessions to foreign capitalists, was excluded, even though these were anathema to the communist theology.

The aim was "at all costs to increase the quantity of products". "We have no right", Lenin said, "to forego the opportunity of immediately improving the condition of the workers and peasants, for our impoverishment makes it essential".

I submit that our circumstances today are becoming very similar to those of the Soviet Union of 1921 and though our economy is by no means about to collapse there is little doubt that a situation is building up which can burst with explosive violence the first

intimations of which are clearly visible in my part of the country.

I do not intend to list here all the technical steps that are needed to increase production but I do want to indicate some areas in which we as a nation will have to revise our mental attitudes and our policies if we want the maximization of welfare. The first is of course our attitude towards the creation of material wealth. If we wish a national effort to create more wealth we must hold those who create it in higher social esteem than those who regulate—and restrict—its creation.

Next, we must realise that though for short periods the human being can be made to give of his best through enthusiasm generated of emotion—this is always true during wars and revolutions whether violent or non-violent—this cannot work over the very long haul with which we are concerned. The daily urgings and exhortations—“jawboning” as it is irreverently called—to work hard and make sacrifices for the good of the nation—exercises at which Governors are particularly adept!—produce little effect. What is required is that the incentives and disincentives to each individual engaged in the task of creating wealth should be so arranged as to encourage production. Neither our taxation nor our labour policies are at present so designed; and both need a long, close, new look. Over the long haul the carrot and the stick are the only two instruments which make people work. Both communism and capitalism in their earlier stages laid greater stress on the latter; as economies have developed and grown more complex more emphasis has been given to the former. Our trouble is that our democracy does not allow us to use the stick; our socialism does not allow us to use the carrot.

It is high time also that we began to realise that ownership in the third quarter of the 20th century is an almost irrelevant concept and that consequently the long drawn out and wholly sterile public sector—private sector controversy needs to be well and truly buried. What is relevant is management; whoever can produce at less real cost to the economy should be allowed to do so. We need to professionalize management. In the private sector the tendency to family management, which is its great weakness, will disappear as soon as the regime of restrictive regulation yields place to competition—for the private sector's capacity to lose money is very restricted. In the public sector, which is permanently insulated from bankruptcy, the malady is more deep-seated. Its roots lie essentially in the bureaucratising and centralising urges of Ministries, arising partly out of fear of parliamentary criticism. It is compounded of course by the tendency to use these public enterprises, of vast importance to the nation, as intermediate stops for able men on their way from one attractive assignment to another.

Big, therefore, Bad

We must also really get rid of our macrophobia and microphilia. In this gigantic country of ours whose problems demand gigantism in production, we seem to display an incredible fear of anything which is not small. The result is that the units of our production, industrial and agricultural, as well as of our management tend to be well below the optimum which modern technology requires. It is also assumed that small-scale industry should be encouraged and large-scale industry discouraged without any regard to their relative efficiencies. Through an elementary transference of ideas small industry is assumed, in total disregard of the nature of modern wealth, to benefit the small man while big industry is supposed to benefit only the capitalist. The ever-increasing smallness of the agricultural unit is similarly regarded as automatically of benefit to the weaker sections of the community. It is well recognised that the reduction in size of the unit of cultivation, which is already small, reduces rather than increases productivity. The effect of such a course can only be to increase the under-nourishment of the common man.

Linked to this fear of large-scale production is the unproved assumption that capital-intensive industries necessarily produce less employment than labour-intensive ones. This is of course tautologically true as far as direct employment is concerned. But altogether insufficient work has been done in determining the secondary, tertiary and quaternary employment potential created by large-scale capital-intensive enterprises. It has now generally begun to be accepted that automobiles, particularly trucks and buses, which require a great deal of capital to manufacture, create indirectly a very large amount of employment.

This fear complex spreads also to the use of foreign capital and foreign collaboration without both of which in a capital-short and technologically backward country rapid progress is not possible.

Finally we might re-examine the content of the term social justice which in daily parlance in India seems to have come to mean equality in material wealth. The question really is whether the homeless, hungry, naked man would prefer to have a house and food and clothes or whether he would prefer to ensure that everybody around him was reduced to his own level of poverty.

I shall conclude by asking one philosophical question. That is whether it is at all possible to reconcile the kind of political liberty that we have, bordering as it does on anarchy, with the carefully regulated economy we are trying to create. Is it not necessary, if the economy is to be orderly for political life also to be regulated; and if we want to keep our political liberties which give our political life such vitality, will we not also have to tolerate some disorder in our economic life which might give to it also the vigour which today it so sadly lacks?

WITH MANY VOICES

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

—Tennyson.

I am against anybody being killed, but one must view things in perspective.

—Mrs. Indira Gandhi at press conference quoted in *Times of India*, January 1.

I can only say I am amused at any one imagining or asserting that he is more patriotic than me, or that he is more concerned about the defence of India against aggression than I am.

—C. Rajagopalachari, *Swarajya*, December 25

Every nation has the sovereign right to its obsessions.

—Aba Eban, *Times of India*, December 20.

Only if one suffered from a strong inferiority complex in regard to Pakistan and allowed the thought of its prowess in war to completely dominate one's mind would one be so very elated by success over it.

—*Opinion*, December 21.

If the Indian army clears the way for an independent state of Bangla Desh, India will acquire a dependency in the east more expensive and more potentially disruptive than the refugees, and an enemy in the west more implacable than the united Pakistan. These are two very bad reasons for going to war.

—*The Economist* (London), December 4.

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Any work is preferable to welfare.

—President Nixon, *U.S. News & World Report*,
December 6.

That was the first round of the war for Southern Asia, and it is the Russians who have won it.

—*The Economist*, December 11.

"Someone will say Bhutto made mistakes. Someone will say Mujib made mistakes. Someone will say Yahya made mistakes. And someone will say all three made mistakes, and he will be speaking the truth."

—President Bhutto, *Times of India*, January 4.

The birth of Bangla Desh has been accompanied by the death of the area's claim to non-involvement.

—*The Economist*, December 18.

The last good Egyptian joke was the one about President Sadat issuing a decree prolonging 1971, and that stopped being funny some time back.

—*The Economist*, December 18.

If you are getting to a stage where one has to be provided with a paper bag in the theatre as in an aeroplane, I shall stay at home.

—John Weightman in *Encounter*, October 1971.

I have heard it said by orthodox Marxists that the only class struggle that exists in the Soviet Union is the struggle between the Ruling Bureaucracy and the Soviet people.

—George Urban in *Encounter*, October 1971.

Indian foreign policy is in general rightly known for being more hypocritical though no less violent or self-seeking than that of other nations.

—Prof. Peter Wiles in *Encounter*, October 1971.

If it is permissible to send your army across an international border to make sure that the local people get the sort of government they want, there are precious few borders that cannot be crossed for the same reason.

—*The Economist*, December 18.

If the Creator had a purpose in equipping us with a neck, he surely meant us to stick it out.

—Arthur Koestler, quoted in *Encounter*, October 1971.