

CONGRESS DECLARES WAR ON FARMERS

J. G. Tiwari

WHAT has emerged out of the Narora secret conclaves is a consolidation as well as an extension of that double-pronged attack on the farming community which has been going on with increasing vigour particularly during the last two years. The major significance of this secret meet does lie in the basic character of the line of action adopted there. This strategy has been taking shape for sometime past and was gaining in aggressiveness under the impact of the inflationary gyration. Two facts highlight the importance of Narora. The Communist arch-designers of government's anti-farmer policy have now become bold enough to come out openly in this particular role. Apparently under the instructions of the Prime Minister, the two storm troopers of the Communist Party of India in the Cabinet, D. P. Dhar and K. D. Malaviya, piloted and guided the discussion and finally obtained a consensus on their drafts of economic and political thesis, the quintessence of which is a country-wide economic, social and political warfare against the farming community, a strategy which aims to repeat, in the Indian conditions, what Stalin did against the farmers during the thirties and Mao, during the sixties. Both these documents now are the guide books, par excellence, for the indoctrination of workers of the Congress and its proposed five lakhs strong gendarmerie in the five hundred training camps that are proposed to be held during the next three months. Narora decisions unmistakably point out that the Congress programme of impoverishing the farming community, of denigrating it socially and politically and of finally reducing their strength to nought by transforming rural caste tensions into a veritable class war would now be pursued on a national scale, with unprecedented ruthlessness and with little regard or the norms of civilised political behaviour.

Government's economic offensive against the farmers can be understood in the light of that set of fantastic dogmas that guide it in this respect. These are like

this. The current food crisis is due to the lackadaisical character of the official machinery of food procurement and food distribution. The most essential condition for increase in food production is further structural changes in the rural economy, meaning more rigorous land ceiling measures. Further growth of heavy industry core of the public sector, which is a must for the economy of the country, has now become impossible without massive mopping of savings from the farm sector (i.e., ruthless taxation of agricultural community) for investment in this industrial sector. This is what Dhar is reported to have read from his economic working paper at Narora: "Our tax base already covers non-agricultural income and all forms of wealth. There is some scope for widening the taxation of wealth and property. But the principal area of widening lies in agricultural incomes. Even if the five per cent of the additional income generated in agriculture over the Fifth Plan period is collected by way of taxes, the resources raised would amount to Rs. 750 crores". He proceeds on to say if direct taxes like those recommended by Raj committee are not feasible due to certain reasons, human ingenuity can devise other methods such as "increased irrigation and power rates reduced subsidies for private irrigation and purchases of tractors, relatively low procurement prices."

Communist Model

He had probably the Communist countries in mind when he went to say "practically no country in the world has succeeded in developing without mobilising rural surpluses and it is unlikely that India would be an exception to this rule". Not only this, in Mr. Dhar's opinion, substantial enhancement of fiscal burden on farmers is the only answer to check inflation and hoarding. This is what he writes in another part of his paper: "There is another aspect of our inability to take surpluses arising in agriculture and trade. These surpluses provide farmers with money required to finance hoarding. Thus by extending the tax net to farmers and

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Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Satyameva Jayate

AMBASSADOR Daniel Patrick Moynihan certainly did his best to make friends with the regime in New Delhi but all he got in return was his first invitation to dinner with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi just a few weeks before he was due to leave. Unlike other ambassadors, however, Mr. Moynihan, a typical Irish intellectual, was not prepared to wait silently till he concluded his term. In December, he told the American and Indian pressmen a few refreshing home truths.

In an interview with the *Washington Post*, Mr. Moynihan expressed the view that "India's economy was stagnant not because of bad luck, mismanagement and corruption, but because its leaders decided that internal stability was more important than economic growth. However, the time came quickly when unproductive economic arrangements must undermine the very stability they were intended to create, 'that is what is going on in India today.' Widespread public discontent and chaotic parliamentary sessions, they are all due to basic shortages, to lack of production growth. You cannot expect anything else when you have a one per cent growth rate. It is no longer a secret that the planned economic system India chose does not work very well. It does not work well anywhere. Look at Burma. Even look at the Soviet Union. To use Gandhi's expression, we might as well try a few 'experiments with truth'. As illustration of a 'conscious' decision to sacrifice economic growth to political stability compare India's mainly State-owned steel industry with Japan's private-owned steel industry. . . . India's performance was due to the decision taken by Nehru in 1962 to turn down an American offer to build the Bokaro steel mill as a private enterprise. Instead Nehru opted for a public sector offer by the Soviet Union. Another name for the Indian situation is 'stagnation'—stagnation that is likely to lead to instability.

Mr. Moynihan expressed his "disenchantment with 'persistent anti-Americanism in India', his own lack of contact with intellectuals and even Government officials, the thin economic links between the USA and India and what he called the 'socialist rhetoric that makes too little distinction between socialist regimes which provide for individual liberty and those that destroy individual liberty. . . . I wish India would balance her interest in the Soviet Union with the USA and I wish we would balance our interest in China with India."

Obviously referring to those in India like the com-

munist who justify the detente between the USSR and the US but hate the thought of Indo-American friendship the Ambassador argues: "If it is good for the Soviet Union and the USA to cooperate or for that matter the Democratic Republic of Germany and Poland, what objection can they have to the Indo-US economic cooperation?"

Mrs Gandhi A Bad Second

THE Prime Minister's popularity which, during the quarter ended September 1974, had already touched its lowest point since eight years ago, when she almost lost the General Election of 1967, has plummeted still lower during the last quarter. According to the Indian Institute of Public Opinion, even the relative price stability which has existed during the last few months has not stopped a further marked drop in the Prime Minister's popularity in cities like Bombay and Calcutta. While, according to its sponsors, the poll closed on December 10, 1974, there is no reason to

IN THIS ISSUE

The recent Congress meet at Narora sounded the alarm for the farming community in India. The 13-point programme drafted at Narora is a declaration of war on the farmers, says J. G. Tiwari in his article.

We publish an Open Letter to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in which Mr. S. N. Misra, Congress MP, questions the Congress-Communist combination and analyses its dangers.

Prof. B. R. Shenoy, one of our renowned economists, has recently written a book on India's food problems. Mr. B. P. Singh, President of the Farmers' Federation, reviews this book for us.

The St Xavier's Boys' Academy, Bombay, has its annual "D" Day when all the Houses of the school hold a dramatics competition. Manjula Padmanabhan, who was one of the judges at the recent competition, gives an amusing account of her experience.

believe that the twenty days of December would denote any change.

The *Illustrated Weekly of India* of January 5 corroborates this trend by declaring Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan to be "The Indian of the Year" on the basis of his clearly outstripping Mrs. Gandhi who was an easy winner last year. If it was not for the crude and archaic British system of election which this country follows all this would make Mrs. Gandhi think a thousand times before she ventures on an early dissolution of Parliament.

African Neighbourliness

THERE is no end to the originality of the so-called developing countries in Asia and Africa. One of the status symbols such countries pine for is steel works. Another is a jet air service. But, alas, not every one of them can afford such a luxury and many ruin themselves in the effort.

For sheer originality, Tanzania must take the cake. It has reportedly thought of the bright idea of building



an airline of its own by skyjacking other countries' planes. The plot was simple enough and aimed at thus acquiring a number of planes to give the country its airlines. Kenya was evidently to be the main victim. It is not surprising the result has been strained relations between the two countries.

Long live Afro-Asian solidarity!

A Pity

*"That is how the world ends,
Not with a bang but a whimper."*

MR. A. B. Vajpayee's brave declaration of his intention to resign from Parliament followed by his not-so-courageous yielding to his party's veto makes one recall this verse.

In the statement of his resignation, Mr. Vajpayee had given a biting but accurate description of the state to which the Lok Sabha had been brought by the contempt for Parliament shown by the Government in New Delhi and the irresponsibility of the attenuated Opposition that survived its well deserved debacle in the General Elections of 1971. Unfortunately the Jan Sangh, like all other opposition parties, are still wedded to the electoral and parliamentary game and not all Jayaprakash Narayan's efforts have taught them any better.

What a pity that when the Central Parliamentary Board of the Jan Sangh decided not to allow Mr Vajpayee to resign the Lok Sabha seat, he should not have stuck to his decision, but weakly eaten his words. Mr. Vajpayee's retraction has not in any way lessened the accuracy of what he said about the state to which the Lok Sabha has been reduced but only shown that his resignation was after all the usual political stunt which the Indian people have come to expect from their politicians.

Radioizdat

AFTER *samizdat* (publishing of dissident literature) and *magnitizdat* (secret circulation of tapes), there is now *radioizdat* (illegal radio broadcasting) which has come into vogue in the Soviet Union. Official broadcasts are often interrupted by illegal radio stations calling out, "Danube calling—Danube calling. This is the programme for the young". Not all the illegal broadcasts are political. Many of them are young people enjoying the adventure of defying the secret police.

The police are, however, not amused and have arrested not less than 1000 amateur broadcasters. Officially these pirate broadcasters are called "radio hooligans". While some of their stations play Elvis Presley tapes others are dissident intellectuals like an operator from Lithuania who was recently sentenced to three years' imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation."

And so the fight for freedom spreads.

X'mas in USSR

IN our January issue, we had quoted a fake coming out of Poland about the alleged absence of inflation behind the Iron Curtain. The basic facts about the economy in the USSR and the captive countries of

Eastern Europe are that there is an absolute physical shortage of consumer goods and the laws of the market are not allowed to operate. Also, there is a phenomenon called "repressed" or "hidden" inflation which means that the quality or the content of an article is allowed to decline while the price remains the same.

The latest news from the Soviet Union shows, however, that prices there have also shot up as elsewhere. Christmas shoppers in Moscow report that the first ever Soviet-made jeans were selling at high Western prices the equivalent of US \$ 10 to 20 a pair while women's panties cost \$10 each. Electric shavers cost \$35 each, while woollen overcoats cost \$250, which is \$50 more than an industrial worker's entire month's salary! It seems that the Soviet planners, faced with shortages of goods, have moved to mop up the excess demands by raising prices from 5 to 20 per cent not only on luxury goods but even on necessities like fish and meat.

When Khrushchev said that the Soviet economy would by 1980 overtake that of the USA, perhaps he was referring to the quantum of inflation?

And now UNESCO

LAST month we published an editorial note captioned "UN Antics". We are glad that our protest against the way in which the majority in the UN Assembly has been behaving has been echoed by no less a person than the Nobel Prize winner Alexander Solzhenitsyn who has observed that in the last twenty-five years the UN has changed from being the hope of mankind to an immoral organisation.

The crowning act of irresponsibility which has brought protests from world intellectuals is the action of the General Conference of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Science and Cultural Organisation) which succumbed to Arab pressure by voting for two blatantly discriminatory motions against Israel. The Cultural and Educational Commission of the Council of Europe has issued a statement that the exclusion of Israel from UNESCO's regional bodies shows "partisan" politics and an "affront" that has tarnished UNESCO's image.

The vicious decision of UNESCO has already led to a backlash. Switzerland has cut 10 per cent of its contribution, France has threatened to follow suit. The US, which contributes \$19.5 million to UNESCO's budget cut out part; and Israel has suspended the payment of its dues to UNESCO. Nineteen Nobel Prize Laureates are among hundreds of intellectuals who have signed a manifesto refusing to cooperate with UNESCO published by the French paper *Le Monde*. Film makers and performers are among the signatories.

The world's intellectuals, including Daniel Bell, Heinrich Böll, Andre Malraux and Stephen Spender, have expressed outrage, while novelist Saul Bellow is so angry that he exploded: "They are stupid, ignorant

partisan. And I think they are a lot of swine." It is noteworthy that the International PEN chose Jerusalem as the locale of its annual conference in December 1974.

The kind of considerations by which representatives of Afro-Asian countries are asked to vote were disclosed to *Time* Magazine by the ambassador of an African government. He said his government had instructed him to vote for the Afro-Asian position; if there was no such position he should vote with the Arabs; if no clear Arab position was seen then he should vote with the Arab majority!

Shame!

FREEDOM FIRST has from time to time reported on the plight of the unfortunate Chinese, particularly the youth, fleeing from Chinese communist tyranny by swimming in hundreds across the shark-infested stretch of water which separates Hong Kong from the Mainland. Now even this little outlet is to be closed since the Hong Kong Government has decided to send back to China refugees near the border effecting illegal entry into Hong Kong. Portuguese Macao, to its shame, had taken a similar decision some time back and it is indeed a pity that the British authorities in Hong Kong should have capitulated in this manner. It appears that, according to the Hong Kong police, 6000 to 7000 Chinese arrived in Hong Kong from the Mainland illegally in 1974; while legal immigrants numbered about 3000. Already more than 212 "freedom swimmers", as they are called, had been handed over to the Chinese border guards by X'mas Day.

It is good that Derek Davies of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, English language magazine from Hong Kong, has in his popular column "Traveller's Tales" in the December 13 issue, described this decision as "despicable" and as one as "well garnished with twisted logic and special pleading." Mr. Davies points out that young men who have proved their dynamism by swimming across the bay between Hong Kong and China and are willing to do dirty and hard jobs which no one else in Hong Kong wants to do can hardly represent a threat to the city's high living standards and job security. Davies also points to a confidential report of a year ago which disclosed that when immigration was balanced against emigration, there was a net outflow. All in all, as Davies puts it, this is a "pathetic story".

An attempt was made to pass the buck by alleging that the Republic of China in Taiwan was not prepared to accept refugees entering Hong Kong from the Mainland. That alibi has now been refuted by Premier Chiang Ching Kuo of the Republic of China who announced on December 25 Christmas Day—that the Republic would welcome to Taiwan Chinese refugees who had sought freedom by fleeing from Mainland to Hong Kong.

OPEN LETTER TO MRS. GANDHI

My dear Smt. Indira Gandhi,

I had sent to you a letter only yesterday but the entire proceedings in the Parliament and the atmosphere surcharged in the Parliament and the feelings of the Members and real Congressmen has compelled me to write to you today again with a clear request that I must have a reply by 4th December 1974. If no reply is received, I have decided to release this letter also to everybody all over the country and particularly in the constituencies of persons named below.

It is undoubtedly that today you are full well in the clutches of those who had been card holders and those who have red-base and those who have financed by pivots and centres outside with red affection and the real Congressmen feel highly *dissatisfied, disgruntled* and disagreed by your treatment extended to them. While on the other hand these people with red base having received your affection, protection, support and guidance are reported to have not only collected money in and out of India but amassed unaccounted money directly or indirectly disproportionate to their original status 10 or 15 years ago. These persons are given as below.

Hon'ble S/Shri

D. P. Dhar
H. R. Gokhale
K. D. Malviya
D. P. Chattopadhyaya
R. K. Khadilkar
S. Nurul Hasan
K. Raghunath Reddy
Chandrajit Yadav
K. R. Ganesh
Kedar Nath Singh
Smt. Subhadra Joshi
Smt. Mukul Banerji

Those who are in the Ministry and had no faith in our Congress but have for selfish ends become the saviours of the Congress are gathered likewise to have collected funds from inside and countries outside and being regularly financed to cut our throats and destroy the Congress. They are reported to finance the Communists and all anti-Congress activities and they are—
Hon'ble S/Shri

H. D. Malviya
Shashi Bhushan
Unni Krishnan
Satpal Kapur
H. K. L. Bhagat
R. K. Sinha
R. K. Misra
Amrit Nahata
Vayalar Ravi
D. P. Singh

In this matter, may I very humbly request you as the Leader of the Congress Party and Prime Minister to call upon each one of these persons named above to publicly declare their assets and position today and which they had 10 or 15 years ago. They must declare their present position, status and holdings directly or indirectly possessed, controlled and owned by them within a week whereafter it has been decided that arrangements shall be made in their respective constituencies to make a propaganda against them and they shall not be allowed to enter their constituencies nor they shall be allowed to speak anywhere in any part of India unless they have openly complied with the request for declaration of their status which they had 10 or 15 years ago in their minutest details and declare their present position and status and holdings clearly, unambiguously and unhesitatingly.

May I place two things for your cool consideration. Firstly that you have to choose either.

CPI—(what they are known for), corrupt Ministers and other corrupt

OR

Continuance of Democracy, sustenance of Congress Party, saving country from chaos and anarchy and you and your good name.

If you falter in your choice and be guided by the Communist wedlock you will be guilty of destroying Democracy, *burying the Congress* for ever and ushering in chaos and anarchy in the country. With them you and your father's good name shall go down for ever. Realise where the Communist alliance has placed you. Today the Congress cannot have even the President to choose Congressmen as Secretaries and he must have himself red outlook and choose only the red based pseudo Congressmen who never had or have any base in the Congress. It is a pity where remains the Congress, how shall the Congress survive. Shall the Congress realise that it never bargained for all annihilations at your hands? Whatever the selfish admirers may say today the economic chaos, distress and crisis have been brought by the policies guided by your so-called *Red Friends*. God bless them for their selfish ends.

If, I do not as already mentioned above, get a reply by 4th December 1974, this letter would be circulated throughout the country in largest numbers and the real Congress shall unhesitatingly take cudgels for the disgrace that you have extended to them on whose shoulders you have prospered and on whose shoulders and support you have come into prominence. I am

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INDIA REJECTS FOOD AID

—Daily Telegraph

(In view of the manipulation of news in a large part of the Indian press, we publish an editorial in the 7th January issue of the Daily Telegraph of London as a service to our readers.)

AMERICAN plans to resume supplies of cheap grain to India were welcomed not only for the relief they would bring to a country in desperate need, but also as a symbol of the healing of the rift opened in 1971 by the Indo-Pakistani war over Bangladesh. Now suddenly India has refused to accept the first 300,000 tons because of what she calls "humiliating" American conditions. One is that India should not re-export the grain—for example to Russia, who last year lent India two million tons, to be repaid in kind. The other was that the grain should reach the poorest section of society. With regard to the first, America has in the past habitually provided India with vast amounts of aid and often got little thanks, while Russia exacted maximum political returns for minimum outlay. America wants to be sure that she is not paying this debt too.

As for distribution, it is notorious that large amounts of aid go astray in India through inefficiency and corruption. Both are getting worse, and are aggravated by the strain imposed on the whole economic, social and political structure by the higher price of oil. Mr. Moynihan, the American Ambassador to New Delhi, is backing India in the dispute. The fact is however that the American Congress is just as determined not to be taken for a ride as India seems to be to stand on her dignity. At the world food conference last November President Ford, already committed to a world programme of 3.3 million tons of food aid, refused to be bullied into giving another million tons at a time when Russia and the Arab oil producers would bind themselves to nothing. America will not exploit her grain power as the Arabs exploit their oil power, but she is right to be prudent.

OPEN LETTER TO Mrs GANDHI — Cont'd from page 5

sending this letter most confidently and hope you will take necessary steps otherwise it shall be a public property and beyond my control and I am prepared to take any steps for rightful cause and rightful action.

With apologies,

Yours sincerely,
(S. N. MISRA)

Smt. Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
1, Sardarjana Road,
New Delhi.

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

Lakshmi's
BELLERINA voile sarees
Enchanting. Wear for work.
Wear for fun. Around the town.
Around the picnic spots.
Any where-and BELLERINA
will please you every wear.
Made from 90s & 100s
pure imported cotton.



HERE COMES THE JUDGE

Manjula Padmanabhan

THE Earth's seasonal patterns change, international currencies fluctuate around gold points and *dal* prices soar, but come the end of the year at St Xavier's Boys' Academy, and there is the annual inter-house dramatics competition. The toil of months quickens to fruition as the date for this, allegedly the most favoured of the school's extra-curricular activities, draws nigh. And when the curtain goes up on the final night the seals on the fates of tomorrow's stage personalities are opened one by one.

But just as there can be no play without actors, there can be no competition without judges. "We try to have different people every year," said Ms Amy Billimoria, who is in charge of Dramatics at the Academy. Playful providence perhaps and close contact with one veteran of the school's footboards landed me a position among these three hand-picked individuals. "Once, the judges asked to see a play again," Ms Billimoria continued, impressing on one the dedication with which past judges had viewed their exalted position, "and the boys always get so impatient because they take so long to agree." With me were to be Sean Mahoney, artist and designer, and Pheroza Shroff, owner of Cymroza Art Gallery and an actress in her own right. Keeping Ms Billimoria's words in mind, and hitherto only having been at the receiving end of a dramatics competition judge's criticism, it was for me an intensely emotional experience: which histrionic bud would I help to nip off in nascence? Which rising star propel to fame? And above all, which parent's heart cause to kindle with righteous pride as their young one with the peach fuzz toddles up to take his battle honours? It is not every day that such opportunities are granted to mere mortals.

"D" Day

"D" (for Dramatics) day dawned fair and sunny. Dressing with the careful skill required of all good judges of youthful play competitions, we made it to the appointed venue, Patkar Hall, with time to spare. Instead of the customary throngs of the city's social elite wont to be milling around the theatre entrance, there was a sizeable gathering of concerned looking parents with their uncontrollable offspring, and an air of revelry which reigned overall. Interspersed between the ranks of clucking mothers and carefree sons were the cool, efficient teachers, quietly going about assigning seats, pointing out to distraught ticket holders that "yes, Row C follows Row B," retrieving lost infants and generally reviving one's faith in academic institutions. It was one of these who materialized at my side to hand me the tools of my profession of the moment and instruct me as to their use—four score-sheets with the

names of each play and the actors in order of appearance and last of all a master sheet on which we were to tot up all the points per play, judging on various criteria; an altogether extremely complex process. Excellence in any field, for instance, was to be awarded six points but as any sharp, philosophically inclined mind will perceive, one might judge a particular performance as excellent and also worth many more points than six. Why six, one questions, why not sixty? Or, when it came to evaluating each play on the counts of its production, acting, diction and interaction, one became completely enmeshed in the metaphysical aspects

"HAMLET!" THEY PROMISED ME, "KING LEAR! OTHELLO!.."



of the thing: Does the production come before the acting, one could ask, can diction be viewed in alienation? What is the deeper interpretation of interaction (that one foxed me completely)? And of course, what is drama? But fortunately, before I could be quite submerged in a wave of academic speculation, my teacher trustfully suggested we venture to our seats, and proceeded to make light of darkness as to be the system of gradation.

As the theatre filled, we were joined by the other

two judges and their respective teachers. Pleasantries were exchanged and I noted to my satisfaction that the others appeared similarly bemused about the methods of allotting marks as I had been. We had been given excellent seats, with a clear unobstructed view of the stage. Meanwhile, excitement around us was approaching fever pitch; one became gradually conscious that not only were there several people in the audience dressed somewhat unusually (in long brown hooded robes, for instance) but there were some rather sweet looking girls who actually weren't. In no time at all one began to question the gender of any young thing whose lips were a shade too red and whose jaw a trifle pugnacious, but then the lights began to dim and hush fell over the company. The magic moment had arrived—the silence broken only by the sounds of judges biting their pencils in critical anticipation.

"Good evening ladies and gentlemen," came Ms Billimoria's firm calm voice from out of the darkness, and some inborn instinct caused a spotlight to rivet itself onto a corner of the darkened stage in expectation of the unseen speaker. For the benefit of those who may not have known, she explained that this was a play competition, each play having been produced and directed by each of the four different houses. "The judges are sitting in the third row," she pointed out, making one involuntarily feel a blaze of lime-light and formed of course the high point of the prologue. That being done the show went on.

It was a scene straight from the Middle Ages: a huge bare room, sparse furniture, no doubt in strong old oak, and in one corner, right up front, a corpulent young person with streaming black hair sat astride a bench. "Oh dear, oh dear, oh dear," he said, apparently bent on mutilating a somewhat worn-out boot, and in a flash it became obvious that this was the cobbler of the play entitled "The Cobbler's Wife." As is the trend these days, it turned out to be a stirring social commentary on marital problems in Medieval times. The cobbler, it seemed had suffered a long standing phobia that should he die, his wife would not care the proverbial fig. Accordingly, he decided to feign death, but his wife, being a woman of wit, soon recognized that few corpses are found to have sturdy pulse-beats. Several ribald moments followed, as an accomplice to the husband's death complicated matters by falling in love with the cobbler's wife and almost making her husband's demise a reality. The strong influence of the Catholic Church prevailed however, and the play ended once again on a scene of wedded bliss.

After a short interlude, during which to collect our bearings and sharpen our critical faculties, "A Husband for Breakfast" followed. Far from being a trenchant exposé of cannibalistic habits in Darkest Africa, the play dealt with the shocking effects of heavy drinking in India, and no doubt was intended to reinforce the argument in favour of Prohibition. Tall husky

voiced Jumbubai, just married to Pasha, woke up to find that her husband in a fit of pre-marital frenzy, had sold his future wife for the princely sum of three rupees in order to buy yet another bottle of liquor. She was informed of this heartening news by a dainty little boy, who made a charming spectacle in his *ghagra* and *choli*, complete with a fluting voice and fussy feminine habits. "Wha-a-at!" cried Jumbubai, her voice cracking in indignation, while the truant lay snoring off his excesses. Despite this, when the person to whom she was sold came in to demand his three rupee loan back, he found to his horror, that Jumbubai was far from perturbed at having been so callously given away—that she in fact loved him dearly and would only relinquish her hold on him at a great price. This was what he eventually paid rather than entwine his fate with that of a virago such as Jumbubai, and the play ended with the last mentioned rubbing her hands in glee and urging her husband to sell her more often. It was surely among the most morally uplifting of the evening's offerings!

Solid Benefits

During the Interval that followed, one learnt some of the solid benefits of being a judge—we were taken backstage and treated to chocolate cake and sandwiches. There were glimpses of boys traipsing around in various states of disarray, those we had not seen, some with their faces smeared in black and looking disconsolate, and those such as Jumbubai, transformed from her regal heights to just a lanky schoolboy. Bits of scenery were being trundled around and the air was punctuated with "Where's my moustache?" and "Who put the coffin here?" and "Move the tree further right."

"Any members of the audience who are late coming in from the interval must please wait until Nehru House's play is over," warned Ms Billimoria's before the Interval. Grim music filled the hall to herald in the third play entitled "The Seekers", and the curtains opened to a stage coloured in a lurid slash of pink light. "There is a moral to the play," Ms Billimoria had said in the introduction, making it the first serious production. With the advent of four sombre figures bearing a bulky coffin and a fifth leading them, tapping a heavy stick, this fact became immediately obvious. Again taking place a few centuries ago, the play dealt with three characters who scoffed at the taciturn gravediggers. "Who is Death?" they asked flippantly when one of the figures told them that He is a person no-one played games with. Despite these dire warnings, however, the feckless young men (all unfortunately a mite squeaky) decide to seek out Death, with the inevitable result that they found him—each through the treachery of the other. As a particularly dramatic climax, the hollow thump of the fifth grave-digger's stick was

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MAN AT WORK

(This is the policy statement of the Liberal International adopted at its recent conference of 3rd to 6th October in Florence. A committee, of which your Editor was a member, was formed to look into the problems of Man At Work, and produced the following statement.)

THE LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL

Declares that economic democracy is the corollary of political democracy; that a freer world cannot be conceived without ending the alienation of labour and preventing the social emancipation of the employee;

Recognises that today the very large majority of the world population has no right of influence at work, that in the industrialised world the positive effects of technological and economic development are unfortunately combined with negative effects such as large bureaucratic organisations, monotonous work, psychological strain, noise, pollution.

Desires that everything technically, economically and socially possible within the established framework of each country, should be undertaken in order to initiate, continue or extend a policy of economic democratisation;

Realises that no standard solution can be found for all countries but that a policy, in order to be efficacious,

must be global and must deal at the same time with the humanisation of labour, the methods of the remuneration and the democratisation of the company;

Recommends that effort should be initiated to enlarge and enrich jobs, diminish the use of excessively fragmented tasks and, in particular, production-line working; and set up working groups having a certain degree of technical autonomy within the company;

Declares that wages alone do not constitute and adequate financial counterpart on the part of the company vis-à-vis the employees and that it is necessary to offer the employees the possibility of participating in the fruits of the expansion of their company;

Contents that a democratised company should be based on the principle of substituting a dependent status which subordinates labour to capital, by a relationship of partnership, such that the employees participate not only in the work, but also in the responsibility and the results.

HERE COMES THE JUDGE — *Cont'd from page 8*

heard, as they slowly made their way back down the aisle and onto the stage to collect their grisly burden. At moments of high tragedy the audience was heard to murmur, "Oh poor thing!" certifying that the evening had provided its quota of emotional depth.

Nothing like rounding the evening off with another situation comedy, and "A Mate in Two" involved the inevitable results of playing with forces beyond one's control—in this case, women. The play had clearly been written in pre-Women's Liberation days, as Ms Billimoria warned, adding, "it is after all a boys' school!" Representing the bastion of male chauvinism was Joss, a bachelor farmer with an adipose, figure-conscious housekeeper, Sarah by name, who thought it necessary to punctuate every few sentences with "Eeee". His friend Seth shortly entered the scene in a condition which could only be described as pitiful. It was discovered that in a moment of drunken abandon (the evils of drink again!) he proposed to the widow next-door, even having gone so far as to have committed the ultimate indiscretion, by kissing her. Being a somewhat retiring sort, he was covered in blushes; and the only way out Joss could see for him was to embroil himself further in the trammels of sex. Thus—quite by accident!—the widow walked in to find Seth in Sarah's ample arms and as a result, soon left him to his carefree celibacy once more.

"Well I've used my own system of evaluation," said Pheroza once we were backstage again for the final reckoning. Any notion that we would simply have been able to total the scores and allow the matter to

settle itself comfortably was destroyed since it was shortly demonstrated that we had all employed our own personal techniques. Being resourceful, however, this small problem was surmounted by calling out our personal preferences and settling the vote by majority. When the teachers came in to enquire after our deliberations, we presented them with a *fait accompli*; there remained then only the question of who would make the little speech required at all these occasions and read out the results, but it was unanimously agreed that Pheroza was best equipped for the purpose.

A sea of upturned faces gazed stageward in anticipation. Heightening the tension by reading the results out backwards, Pheroza worked upward through the prizes to supporting actors, and leading actors. A succession of boys came forward to collect their awards, extending limb hands on whispered admonitions from the Principal, and smiling shyly. There was a dramatic pause before the winning house was announced—a dozen voices called out their choice of winner—and then a storm of applause broke out as "The Seekers" was named the recipient of the Dramatics Trophy. Flashlights leapt to action, cheers broke out, garlands were handed out and the Principal announced that there would be a half holiday the next day. The world of make-believe which had briefly been brought into existence faded quickly as the various characters quickly assumed their real-life aspects and genders. Outside ears revived into action and the chill night air signaled the passing of yet another year, another dramatics competition.

Reviews

CONSEQUENCE OF MISCONCEIVED POLICIES

P.L. 480 Aid & India's Food Problems, B. R. Shenoy (Published by the Affiliated East-West Press Private Limited, New Delhi, Pages 342, Price Rs. 60/-.)

IN his latest book, Prof. Shenoy has exploded many myths, which have been put into circulation to explain away the failures of the Government on the food front. He does not believe — and if readers will follow his reasoning, they would also come to the conclusion — that floods and droughts are not the main causes of the present food scarcity in the country. He also does not believe that our food deficit is marginal, if we take into consideration the total nutritional requirement of the country. While the market deficit is marginal, 3% to 5% of the total production of the country, the nutritional deficit is more than 20% of the internal production. The gap between the market deficit and the nutritional deficit is on account of the low purchasing power of a large percentage of our people, who are unable to purchase adequate food for themselves even if the same is abundantly available in the market. The ultimate aim of our policy should not only be to make good the market deficit, but also the nutritional deficit. This latter deficit, though so large, that it cannot be covered by any scheme of food imports, is not beyond the capacity of Indian agriculture to make up, if it is given its due share of credit and capital.

Prof. Shenoy has compared the per hectare yields of important crops in India with the average yields in other countries, as well as the yields on demonstration plots in India, and has come to the conclusion, that there is tremendous scope for increasing agricultural production in India. According to him, "Even simple innovations are known to bring ample returns. A survey in Mysore, conducted a decade ago, showed that better quality seeds alone added 7-15% to the output of rice; transplanting, in place of broadcasting, 20-25%; rotating paddy with gram, 15-50%; and pest & disease control, 10%. Improved ploughing, more fertilizers, and better irrigation—for all of which there is considerable scope—could raise yields still higher. Subsequent studies of a similar kind have repeatedly restated the same story—abundant scope for stepping up yields. Any one of the improvements listed in the Mysore survey should yield more than 6% increase in production and altogether cancel the market deficit in food supply. An extensive scientific management of the soil and use of manure fertilizers, and water should enable exports of foodgrains in place of imports".

Analysing all the alleged causes of the backwardness of Indian agriculture, Prof. Shenoy rules out the human factor, including illiteracy, fatalism, inertia, belief in the sanctity of cows and other subjective attributes of Indian farmers, as the main impediments to agricul-

tural progress. He says: "The backwardness of Indian agriculture cannot reasonably be attributed to the subjective qualities of the Indian farming community. The spread and success of HYVP is sufficient demonstration, that the subjective attributes are not a major obstacle to the rapid growth of Indian agriculture, and the expansion of food production. We have seen, that wheat farmers as a whole, did not respond fatalistically to the PL 480 dumping of wheat and later, to the cessation of wheat dumping. They reacted very much like seasoned entrepreneur farmers, who are eminently cost-price conscious . . . Indian farmers are no less interested in raising two blades of cereals, where only one grew before—thereby increasing their incomes—than farmers in materially advanced countries." In support of his view, Prof. Shenoy has quoted the examples of Ludhiana and Tanjavur districts. In Ludhiana, in the fifth year of HYVP, as much as 95.59% of the total wheat area in the district was covered by this programme and the per hectare yield was 32.8 quintals, higher than the average for Europe (28.5 quintals) during the same year. In 1965-66, the average yield of wheat in Ludhiana was 18.75 quintals per hectare. The HYVP pushed up the yields in the district by 75% in five years. The same success story was repeated in Tanjavur in South India, where the hold of tradition on life is stronger than in the North. Tanjavur farmers did not lag behind in plumping for higher yielding varieties of seeds. "They did this in double quick time. There was mass conversion of land under rice in Tanjavur from one crop to two crops, at lightning speed; with the coming of the HYV rice strain ADT 27, the double crop area rose from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total area of 1.2 million acres in the district."

Prof. Shenoy has produced in his book massive data to establish that agriculture has been neglected in the plans, and denied its due share of capital and credit. Public sector undertakings have been appropriating the bulk of the available investment resources, though their contribution to the national income has been marginal, ranging from 3.5% in the first plan to 6.5% in the annual plans period, 1966-69. In the First Plan, the public sector took 46% of the total resources. The public sector share rose to 55% in the Second Plan, and its share is placed at 62% in the Third Plan, 60% in the Fourth Plan, and 66% in the Fifth Plan. Even in private sector investments, share of non-agricultural part rose from 79.8% in the Second Plan to 80.5% in the Third Plan, and is placed at 82.2% in the Fourth Plan. Prof. Shenoy had concluded, "The facts regarding the availability of investment resources to the farm sector—i.e., the pace of capital formation on farms and the supply of agricultural inputs—are glaringly at variance with the official professions of priority interests in agricultural development."

The promise that on nationalisation, the commercial banks would provide adequate credit to agriculturists has not materialised. Though the number of

branches of commercial banks in the rural areas has nearly trebled in three years from 1969-1972, the advance-deposit ratio in rural centres has slightly declined, and was 41.6%, as compared to 83.1% in "bigger centres", i.e., those with populations above 25,000. The rural branch offices, in the words of Prof. Shenoy, "instead of being so many taps, pouring credit into the market for farm loans, are really so many suction pumps drawing funds away from the rural sector into the industrial sector."

Prof. Shenoy, like other economists, seems to be concerned only with the availability of credit, but from the farmer's point of view, mere availability is not enough. There should also be scope for its profitable utilization. Pumping out of funds from rural to urban centres, through the nationalised banks is an indication that farming is not so paying as are other non-farming enterprises. The economists of the country should now be getting more concerned about the credit utilization capacity, of farmers. For example, can a farmer of 20-25 acres earn enough to pay off within 5 years, a loan of Rs. 35,000 required for a tractor, together with interest accrued on it, at 12-15% per annum and also meet his current family expenses? Or, can a farmer hope to remain in business for long, who applies the full recommended doses of fertilizers, and pesticides at their inflated prices, and is forced to sell his produce at the low procurement price fixed by the Government.

Next to capital and credit starvation of agriculture, Prof. Shenoy holds the Price & Procurement Policy of the Government responsible for stagnation in agricultural production. He is of the view, that the Government policy is characterised by the following three misconceptions:

First, that the problem of food shortage can be tackled with confidence if Government could build up from domestic production—through compulsory levies, monopoly procurement, confiscation or open market purchases — large enough reserves that could be mobilized to meet undue scarcities, and to prevent prices from getting out of hands. This is not a valid proposition, because the problem is of aggregate demand. In such a situation, there can be no surplus from current production for anyone to collect and mobilize. Prof. Shenoy could have gone further and said, any attempt to compulsorily procure stocks, which bear no relation to total production in the country, and which are not surplus of the rural needs is an attempt to starve the rural people for the sake of more vocal sections of the population.

Secondly that a price rise may be corrected by anti-hoarding methods. Citing the example of the much publicized Operation Dehoarding in U.P. in June 74, and quoting figures of weekly average prices of Hapur Mandi, Prof. Shenoy has shown, that except for two and half weeks, during which panic sales took place, the

prices not only recovered, but rose very much higher than in the pre-dehoarding period, and were quoted at Rs. 185 per quintal on 26th June against the procurement price of Rs. 105. Anti-hoarding measures are no corrective to rising prices. Once markets recover from the panic, prices continue to reflect the prevailing state of the uncovered market deficits and inflation, however drastic the police action may be against hoarding. The only way to contain high prices is to stop inflation and to make good the market deficit, either through higher production or imports.

And thirdly, that farmers should have no reason to complain, if they receive for their produce, a price that covers cost and brings a "reasonable" profit. This is the basis on which the Agricultural Prices Commission operates. But this basis is altogether inadmissible in case of agriculture, because what is considered "reasonable" in case of industry is totally "inadequate and unreasonable" in case of agriculture due to two good reasons. First, in industry, the processes of production are either mechanical, or chemical, which are very much under human control, whereas in agriculture, the processes are biological, which are not yet fully under human control. To cover the uncertainties and risks of agricultural production, a much higher margin of profit needs to be allowed. Secondly, in agriculture the units of production are so small, that unless the



**FANTASY FURNISHINGS FROM
BOMBAY DYEING**

profit margin is great, agricultural families will not be able to survive at any human standard of living.

The above three misconceptions have led to a bizarre situation for farmers. In the words of Prof. Shenoy, "Wheat farming has not become merely bad business; it may also bring the farmer in serious difficulties with the law. If he stocks more than the prescribed quantities of his produce, he engages in an anti-social activity, 'hoarding'; if he directly sells the produce to retailers or consumers beyond certain limits, he is a 'black-marketeer', if he transports wheat to a neighbouring district or state, which has been declared a deficit one, he is a 'smuggler', and, in terms of the latest ordinance on the subject, his wheat, the container, and the vehicle, all may be confiscated to the President of India; and if he transports the grain to a mandi in a truck, in preference to the less efficient modes of transport, he once again attracts the charge of smuggling."

Prof. Shenoy has fully dealt with capital starvation of agriculture on account of wrong priorities in the plans, and also on account of price and procurement policies of the Government. But he has failed to take note of the prevention of capital formation within the agricultural sector, on account of heavy taxation, both direct and indirect, even on those farmers, whose

incomes are not taxable and also of the everlasting threat of more and more land reforms which have completely sapped the sense of security amongst farmers regarding their land ownership, and which is in no small measure, responsible for pumping out of funds from rural to urban centres.

In spite of minor commissions—which is natural, because no single book can cover all the aspects of agriculture—Prof. Shenoy's latest book is the best reading for anyone, who is interested in acquiring an insight into the state of agriculture in India today. If it were possible, this book deserves to be made a compulsory reading by all the legislators in the country, whose failure to lay down sound agricultural policies is mainly responsible for the economic mess in which we find ourselves today.

B. P. SINGH

BAD OLD DAYS AGAIN

What Price a Free Press? The Statesman Case, (ed.) V. V. John and A. B. Shah, (Nachiketa Publications Ltd., Calcutta, 1974, pp. 135, Rs. 12/-.)

IN one respect India has not changed since the bad old British days and that is with regard to the freedom of the press. After independence the Party in

music in his ears

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This vibrant sound of clear grains surging from a Jyoti Thresher*

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power has always viewed the press with some concern and attempts were made from time to time to browbeat it. One favourite way of bringing the press to heel was to withdraw advertisements: parties, such as the DMK have taken to more severe measures to curb the unfriendly journals and with a couple of notable exceptions the Party has succeeded in muzzling the press. The International Press Institute has observed that the press in India is no longer independent as it was immediately after independence.

One chink in the press armour (though this is no chink at all according to the reviewer) has been that in India the daily prestigious press is an industry. It does employ a number of people, has enormous capital assets and shares many characteristics of a well-oiled industry. One sees nothing culpable about this, for a similar thing happens in other democratic countries as well. Gone are the days when a newspaper can be what it perhaps was at some distant past. If there is a paper that once was small (say the *Guardian*) it has a tendency to grow with the years. In India where everyone is a socialist, bigness in everything except in government and public undertaking is a sin. Therefore encouragement must be given to smaller papers even if it be at the cost of the freedom of the larger ones. Simultaneously, attempts have been made to influence newspaper men, especially those in positions of authority through rewards, blandishments, threats and attempts at removal.

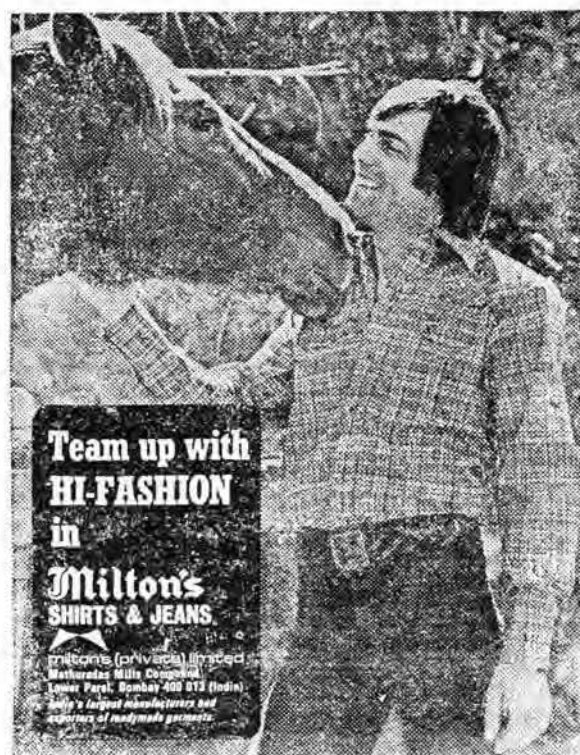
It will be difficult in our country to instance definitively things that can be regarded as attempts to muzzle the press. But over the years, several things have happened and these together have effectively frozen a great deal of initiative among our pressmen. In this respect "the public" and the government seem to work in harmony; the management too seem to oblige. Removal of editors or suspending them, organized break up of newspaper offices by rowdy "public" crowds (but the police remaining ineffective) withdrawing advertisements from selected newspapers, political figures condemning "the jute press", organized demonstrations against "offending" reporters, all these result in a situation, where liberty is the first casualty.

Fortunately, the newspapers have fought in the courts and at least in two important recent cases have vindicated their rights. The present book under review, relates to a case that was lost by the *Statesman* against the Government of India. The Government of India appointed a committee in April 1972 under Professor B. Datta to enquire into the economies of newspapers. The *Statesman* filed a suit requesting for a writ of mandamus to restrain the Committee from proceeding against the newspaper. It asserted that economy in a newspaper is not a matter on which there could be a unified pattern — for different categories of newspapers have different types of expenditure and

large newspapers have to incur large expenditures on many items like news correspondents which may not be incurred by smaller newspapers. It also cited pressures brought upon the newspaper by the Registrar of Companies. His enquiries into the Managing Director's expenses in Delhi was one of the instances "to pressurize the newspaper into a particular frame of mind." Discrimination into the contravention of the law with regard to distribution of advertisements was again cited. It questioned the composition of the committee, the terms of reference, as constituting bias against the *Statesman*. It also alleged that the Government was hostilely disposed to the newspaper. It argued that there was a threat to its rights. The judgment did not countenance these allegations and held that the committee has been set up legally and the government had not acted mala fide against larger newspapers.

Though the case was technically lost by the *Statesman*, the interested public is entitled to know the grounds on which the case was contested and argued. There are references of past cases, particularly the Sakal and the Bennett Coleman cases which have figured in our battles for the freedom of the press. The book is a valuable addition to the meagre literature available on the problems faced by the press in a "developing" country. It originally was issued as an entire issue of the journal *Quest*.

R. SRINIVASAN



—E. M. P. 11

WAR ON FARMERS — *Cont'd from page 1*

tightening the net in their areas not merely will we raise resources for development but also reduce hoarding and restrain inflation, which is the other major factor behind the shortage of funds for public investment."

Thus the growth of India's socialistically oriented economy has reached a point where two things are absolutely inevitable, if its process of growth is to be kept up. These are heavy fiscal burden on farmers and nationalisation of trade in grain along with its concomitant, monopoly procurement of output from the producers. But this is the inevitable fate of the farming community in all processes of socialist transformation that have taken place in history.

Fate of Middle Classes

We are not going to be an exception. India's economic history has reached such a stage where the cultivator must allow himself to be economically ruined in order to provide investment for the core industry in the public sector. Concurrently, this too is going to be the fate of other stratas of middle and lower classes pursuing independent avocations.

The economic offensive against the farmers is closely integrated with its political counterpart. For one, the discontentment generated in this community by the exploitive and expropriative measures of the government is too formidable for the government to allow any other course open for it except to liquidate the community politically. For another and a deeper reason, viable land-holders constitute perpetual obstacles to socialistic transformation. They give birth to a number of mighty forces which are authentically related to the interests of socialistic development because of their unlimited potential to generate independent local leadership and to encourage individuation of human personality and its ability to assert its rights and freedom.

Evidently, ideology as well as the force of circumstances has made our government committed to social and political liquidation of the self-employed middle class of which the viable farmers constitute an overwhelming part. So far, legal measures predominated the efforts to attain this objective. Off and on, the government has been trying social weapons, wielding them all alone or in accompaniment with the Communist Party. But the need to reinforce legal measures with social tactics is now being felt with compelling urgency because of the rising tempo of popular revolt against socialist policies. This explains why Narora camp has decided upon the use of the tactics of transforming caste difference in rural community into class struggle on a national scale. A number of rehearsals of this tactics have been successfully staged during recent months

in Gujarat, West Bengal and U.P. This has emboldened the Congress to wield this tactics on a national scale. The importance of the new weapon was articulated at Narora in the political thesis in these words: "Fundamentally the present political situation and the threat to democratic institutions arisen from the still unresolved battle between the social groups and classes which have benefitted immensely from the growth process and refuse to part with a portion of their gains and the social forces which are seeking through the mediation of the Congress a satisfaction of their basic needs". Barooah, the pro-communist Congress President, further elucidating the new approach, pointed that the Congress has to wage its battle both inside and outside the parliament and legislative assemblies by mobilising the working masses, the rural poor and the industrial workers and youths.

Artificial Transformation

The predominant character of this mobilisation has been laid down in the 13-point programme which lays special importance on holding district conferences of agricultural labourers and rural poor and the involvement of Congress youths and volunteers in them. In other words, the political situation of the country has entered a stage which can be basically characterised by a government aided process of transformation, involving the use of all sorts of artificial methods, of rural caste difference into the flames of class war. The intensity of these flames may not be so forbidding, as there would be more propaganda than rural social tension. But what is really dangerous is that such an exacerbation of social tensions, in the absence of a correct tactics on the part of democratic forces, may create an atmosphere congenial for the gendarmery of the Congress to conduct raids on the hearth and farm of leading sections of farming community, humiliate and denigrate their family members and thereby demoralise them into submission to the monster of totalitarianism. Those of the items of 13 point Narora programme which aims to provide economic relief to the rural poor are, on face of it, a piece of highly dishonest political gimmickry, due to the absence of financial resources or their implementation. But there is a method in this madness: a method which aims at perpetuation of political power. It is a thinly disguised communistic move to carry class war to the country-side.

The leadership of this movement for democracy has now evolved upon those who give priority to the interests of the farming community, in its broadest perspective and have the vision and capacity to pursue such tactics as are capable of socially isolating the opponents rather than getting themselves isolated.

Letters

Churlish

OUR policy towards Israel has been such that we have failed to take advantage of the agricultural progress by that country, with particular reference to irrigation, desert reclamation and small-scale industries.

May I cite a few instances in which Israel's generous offers to us in the past were rejected without even a word of appreciation? Dr Weizmann offered in 1947 to send three experts to India—one on fertilizers, a second on soil conservation, and a third on cooperative farming. I conveyed the offer to Mr Nehru who at first showed interest but later told me that he could not get Maulana Azad's assent.

When I was a member of the University Grants Commission (1962-68), I was asked by the Israeli Consul in Bombay whether India would be willing to send the Vice-Chancellors of three agricultural universities as guests of the Israeli Government so that they might see for themselves the kind of agricultural research being done in the Agricultural Research Institute near Tel-Aviv. I was informed by the UGC Chairman that the Government was not willing to accept the invitation and the matter was dropped.

A Jewish farmer, who had achieved remarkable results in his farm in Israel, called on me in New Delhi and offered to spend some years in Rajasthan and grow good quality dates, olives and citrus fruits. I took him to the Minister of State for Agriculture at the time to discuss details. By a coincidence, Rajasthan's Minister of Agriculture entered the room and after listening to the discussion, offered the farmer a plot of land of about 30 acres with all facilities to carry out his experiments. The farmer made one stipulation: that he should be left undisturbed for five years and not asked to leave India until the expiry of that period. That assurance was not forthcoming from the Government and the offer was rejected.

B. SHIVA RAO

New Delhi

Why This Insult?

WHY did the Government want to prevent Israel from participating in the World Table Tennis Championship? The reason, we are told, is not sport but politics. But even on political considerations, where self-interest ought to be the motivating factor, this decision is inexplicable.

What has Israel done to merit this insult? It was Israel which repeatedly offered us help at times of crisis, both in 1965 and during the Bangladesh war, which was unceremoniously turned down by our Government.

The Indian press and the public must dissociate

themselves from this decision. Let the Israelis know that we are embarrassed by our Government's attitude.

MINI SEN

Calcutta

On Murdering Children

I am a Tibetan refugee and can, to a certain extent, understand the plight of the Palestinians. But I feel disgusted and sickened by their deliberate murder of innocent Israeli children, their cowardly destruction of property and the killing of people from countries that have done no harm to the Palestinians. To me, Yasser Arafat and his colleagues are just spoiled brats who, when denied something, smash and tear whatever they can lay their hands on.

We Tibetans have long fought against the Chinese army. It is a difficult war, and it is made no easier by the rules of conduct and ethics insisted upon by our leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Yet no nation can ever be built without a firm moral foundation—and no moral principle can ever condone the deliberate slaughter of innocent women and children.

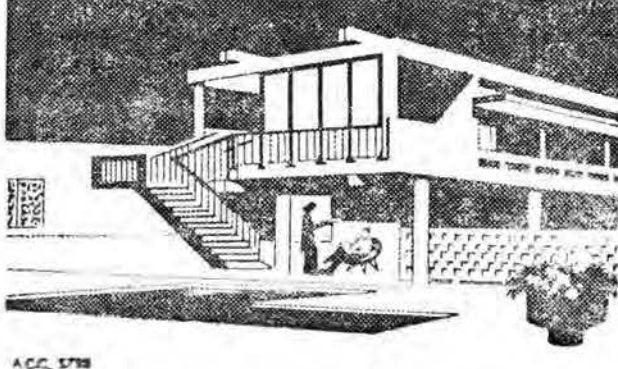
JANIYANG NORBU

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WITH MANY VOICES

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

'We come now, brethren,' said the Scots divine in the story, 'to a verra considerable deefeculty. Let us look it squarely in the face, and pass on.'

—*The Economist*, November 16.

Tanks are not the only danger to democracy: the greater peril is the demagogy that leads to the tanks.

—Prime Minister Karamanlis quoted in
—*The Economist*, November 23.

U Thant dead had done what U Thant alive did not and could not do: his body had sparked a popular uprising.

—Rajmohan Gandhi in *Himmat*,
December 20.

'Beta car banata hai, Ma bekar banati hai',
'Indira, Bakhia aur Mastan: milke luta Hindustan.'

—Slogans quoted in the *Indian Express*,
December 29.

The whole of our economy is more adjusted to respond to market forces than to regulations. This is said by a Social Democrat. The deeper you get into regulations the deeper you get into red tape and the more you hamper the dynamic development of your economy.

—Chancellor Helmut Schmidt quoted in
National Review, October 11.

The writing is on southern Africa's wall—in black on white.

—*The Economist*, December 21.

For a believer in free markets like *The Economist*, consideration of import controls is as unpleasant as eating gruel.

—*The Economist*, December 21.

Ethiopia has caught the Robespierre fever.

—*The Economist*, November 30.

Reading Mr. Wilson's speeches is like an exercise in Kremlinology.

—*The Economist*, November 30.

Society's new under-dogs, the self-employed.

—*The Economist*, November 30.

We are, aren't we, an egalitarian society in the Pindari sense, very indigenous, very authentic.

—Ramesh Thapar in *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 14.

The biggest room in the world is the room for improvement.

—Chancellor Schmidt quoted in *The Economist*,
December 7.

It is a sobering thought that two years' worth of oil money surpluses would be equal to the entire sum of direct investments made over all the years by American corporations abroad. The *défi* Américain was a fleabite compared with the *défi* Opec.

—*The Economist*, December 7.

For every worker it employs, British Leyland makes six cars a year. Continental producers make twice that. In Japan Nissan makes 37 cars per worker.

—*The Economist*, December 7.

Guns will make us powerful; butter will only make us fat.

—Marshal Hermann Goering quoted in *The Economist*
December 7.

Not since the days of Adenauer and Dulles have Bonn and Washington seemed more in tune.

—*The Economist*, December 7.

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