

Founder : M. R. MASANI

Editor : K. S. VENKATESWARAN

34th Year of Publication

freedom first

FEBRUARY 1985 Price Rs. 2

384

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL IDEAS

"GIVE RAJIV A CHANCE"

MINOO MASANI

DURING the month of January I have come across a great deal of euphoria about the General Election results among the upper classes of Bombay. Whenever I ventured to express a lack of enthusiasm or doubt about the capacity of the new Prime Minister and Union Government to meet the country's needs, I have been met by the plea: "Give Rajiv a chance." Of course Rajiv has a chance. The Indian people have given it to him; and who can deny it to him?

A good example of this wishful thinking is provided by a recent advertisement in the press which reads: "The cityman. The villager. The businessman. The office-goer. The farmer. The artisan. All are filled with renewed spirit. Renewed confidence. A confidence that is unshakeable".

What I find difficult to appreciate is not the desire to give the new Prime Minister a chance, which we all share, but the assumption that the expression of any doubt on the subject must be ruled out as not fair to the PM. I, on the contrary, believe that it is only a sense of realism and constructive criticism from now on which will make it possible for the new Prime Minister to deliver the goods. It would seem, however, that many people do not wish their exaggerated expectations to be disturbed. As Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh has dryly observed: "If there is anything in which we excel, it is self-deception."

One is prepared to accept Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's good intentions, but one cannot help taking note of the constraints under which he will be functioning. These are:

1. A bloated majority widely described as a "massive mandate", which may lead to arrogance. It is conventional wisdom in Britain that "large majorities do not make for good government."
2. The absence of an effective Opposition, which means that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet

ANNOUNCEMENT

For quite some time now my colleagues on the Editorial Board and I have been giving anxious thought to the need to make *Freedom First* more meaningful and better known amongst thinking citizens in this country.

After examining the various options available to us, we feel that the only way to ensure the survival of the journal on a more meaningful and viable basis is to convert it into a quarterly with increased reading matter. We have accordingly decided to bring out four issues of *Freedom First* each year (in January, April, July and October) instead of the present twelve. The inaugural issue, which will be a Special Issue, will be in April 1985. S. V. Rajue who needs no introduction to readers of *Freedom First*, will be joining K. S. Venkateswaran in editing the Quarterly.

To ensure that our readers get their money's worth, we do not propose to raise our annual subscription rates which will continue to be Rs. 20 (for domestic subscribers) and £4 or \$6 (for overseas subscribers). Existing subscribers will automatically receive copies of the quarterly till the expiry of their subscriptions. There will, however, be no issue of *Freedom First* in March 1985.

We look forward to your continued support to *Freedom First* and shall appreciate it if you persuade friends and acquaintances to subscribe to the journal and help us in making it a more effective voice of freedom.

M. R. Masani

find themselves in the cockpit of a plane without brakes, a situation which, I imagine, a former pilot cannot possibly enjoy!

3. The Prime Minister may be a nice young man, but he is at the head of a corrupt political machine which lives on "permit licence raj". Will this "New Class" consisting of officials and politicians, as Milovan Djilas would describe it, permit him to dismantle the structure on which it thrives? In other words, as Lenin often put it: "Who, Whom?" It is in this context that Mr. Swaminathan S. Aiyar has asked: "Is Rajiv serious?"

In an editorial on January 10, *The Times* (London) set out its priorities for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi:

"There can be no better way for Mr. Gandhi than to start by attacking India's legendary bureaucracy, inefficiency and corruption. For 20 years, this triumvirate of ills has stifled India's economic performance, eroded its moral stature, and undermined its government's efforts to achieve meaningful social reform. To tackle this, Mr. Gandhi must begin at the economic level by relaxing the entire system of the rules, regulations, licences and permits which hinder development whilst creating opportunities for malfeasance and corruption. At the same time, he must act at the level of government as well. The sheer proliferation of offices, procedures and personnel makes for inefficiency and slowness. A slimmer and tighter government would also be more accountable and responsive to public demands."

MY PRIORITIES

On December 20, 1984, before the polling took place, I responded to a request asking for my own priorities for a new Union Government which would take over in January 1985. These were published in *The Indian Express* of December 30:

- (1) A "U-turn" in economic policy involving justice to the farmers; the removal of controls which are the main source of corruption; the winding-up of the National Planning Commission and the Soviet pattern of planning and its replacement by indicative planning on the British and French models; and the privatisation of Government monopolies and nationalised industries so that justice may be done to the consumer through a competitive economy.
- (2) A fifty per cent reduction in all direct and indirect taxation and the complete eschewing of all deficit finance with a corresponding reduction in wasteful public expenditure.

- (3) The restoration of the rights of the States as provided in the Constitution of the Republic and the appointment of Governors of States from now on by the President in his discretion in consultation with the Chief Minister of the State concerned.
- (4) The practice of genuine non-alignment, involving inter alia the termination of the Indo-Soviet Treaty and the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel.

I for one would be content if the new Prime Minister is able to implement not the full "U-turn" I desire but even half a "U-turn".

One is encouraged by the fact that, while in his speeches before the Elections the Prime Minister repeatedly promised to adhere to all his mother's policies both at home and abroad, since he assumed office he has constantly urged the need for change in almost every aspect. These two attitudes are of course not consistent, but the change in posture is welcome and one hopes it will be permanent and lasting.

OVERKILL

The Congress Party undoubtedly scored a success and deserves to be in Government. Its success, however, is grossly exaggerated by the archaic British system of elections which is more appropriate to a race course. The Congress percentage of the votes cast is 51.9% which means that almost an equal number of people voted against the Congress as those who voted for it. In any modern democracy except Britain and the USA, the Congress Party would have had a majority in the Lok Sabha of only around ten seats. Such a result would have been good for India and good for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, as it would have kept the new Government on its toes and provided an effective Opposition. As things are, we have had an "overkill" which may prove to be counter-productive. One is reminded of a similar "Indira Wave" in 1971. How long did it last? By 1975, Mrs. Gandhi had to scrap the constitution in order to survive.

There has been endless discussion about the reasons for the success of the Congress Party. My own hunch would be that the following factors contributed to it:

- (1) The absence of an alternative, thanks to the loss of creditability of all Opposition parties due to their leaders behaving like lemmings;
- (2) The sympathy or anxiety wave: The elections were more or less decided on the day of Indira Gandhi's assassination.

- (3) The desire for a change through youth, which I for one welcome. It was also, as an article in the *Sunday Times* of London dated January 13, 1985, puts it, a "vote against politics, which is not surprising in a country which holds politicians in contempt.";
- (4) A superior and one-sided campaign based on a monopoly of AIR and Doordarshan and a lavish resort to advertising in the press.

PRE-REQUISITE OF DEMOCRACY

Rajaji had once observed. "The successful working of parliamentary democracy depends on two factors: first, on a broad measure of agreement among all classes of citizens about the objectives of government; secondly, on the existence of a two-party system in which each of the big political groups possesses effective and continuous leadership and is strong enough to take over the responsibilities of government when the majority of the country's voters wish it. If political opinion does not succeed in crystallising into two fairly evenly balanced groups, the semblance of democracy may survive but real parliamentary democracy will not be there. When one party remains always in power and dissent is dissipated among unorganised individuals and relatively insignificant groups which

do not and cannot coalesce, government will inevitably become totalitarian."

These words of wisdom need to be remembered, particularly in the light of the gory events in Delhi on 31st October, 1984, and the following days.

How is this dangerous imbalance to be redressed? My own view is that the formation of a new national or unitary party is not a practical endeavour, but that the formation of a federal party based on regional parties at the State level is altogether feasible and desirable. The only pre-requisite is that all the regional groups which affiliate should believe in clean and limited government. For the rest, they can follow policies at the State level which are tailored to the needs of their State.

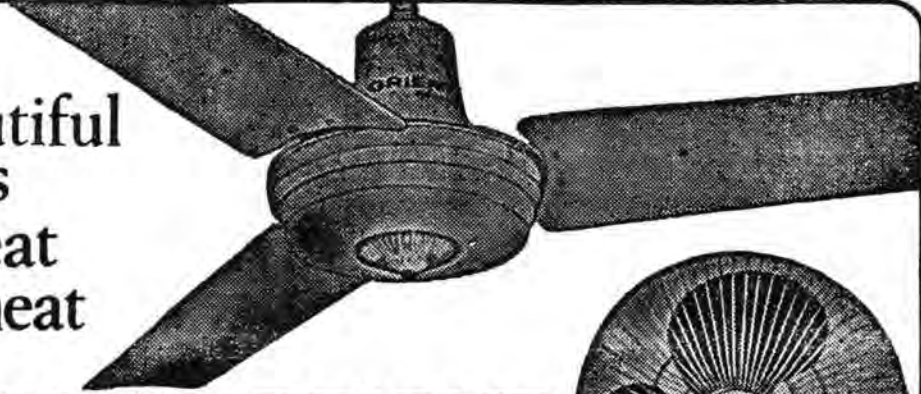
As I write, I see that Mr. N. T. Rama Rao has taken the initiative in announcing his desire to bring into existence a federal party which he describes as "Bharat Desam". I am glad he has been so quick on the ball but I frankly believe the move would have been more fruitful if he had first called for consultation Mr. Ramakrishna Hedge and Dr. Farooq Abdullah among others. Should not the name of the new party and its constitution be decided collectively? My concrete suggestion would be that, even now, Mr. Rama Rao should call a meeting of leaders of regional groups in various States for making progress with the move.

**Beautiful
ways
to beat
the heat**

Whatever your need, whatever your taste or your budget, Orient can offer more of what you want. More of quality, more of beauty, more of value, and more of choice—the widest selection ever!

Why sweat this summer? Beat the heat, with Orient breeze at your fingertips!

Guaranteed for two years



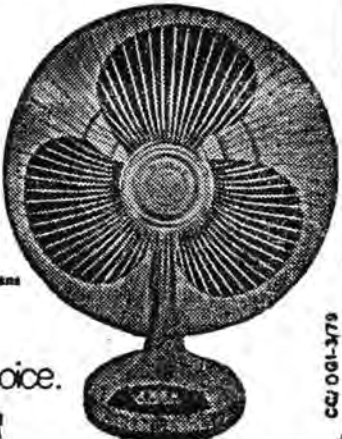
**ORIENT
FANS**

4 Ceiling Fans • 6 Table Fans • 2 Pedestal Fans



More of beauty. More of choice.

Orient General Industries Limited
8, Ghore Bibi Lane, Calcutta 700 084



CCJ 001-379

Stop!
Your search for a perfect typewriter ends here!

PRIMA from *Godrej*



Makes a good secretary a great one.

For a free catalogue, attach this coupon to your company letterhead and mail to us.

Name: _____

Designation: _____

Organisation: _____

Address: _____

Godrej & Boyce Mfg. Co. Pvt. Ltd. (B.S.O.),
Godrej Bhavan, Home Street, Bombay 400 001.

ULKA-GS-PR-9-83

PERSPECTIVES ON THE U. S. WITHDRAWAL FROM UNESCO

GREGORY NEWELL

THERE ARE conflicting views as to the manner in which the United States could best move to achieve the ideals to which UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation) was originally dedicated. There is no disagreement that those were worthy ideals. There is no disagreement, either, that UNESCO has strayed far from fidelity to them. Our experience in receiving the official responses of some 126 nations to our UNESCO decision emphatically confirms that.

The responsible question now is this: "What can the United States do to achieve those objectives—by what means, in what forums, through what co-operative activities?" Our basic thesis is simple: I believe it is also sound; a methodical analysis of present realities can diagnose what must be done to produce genuine and necessary international co-operation and development.

Our decision to withdraw from UNESCO is a paradigm of the process of keeping workable international co-operation alive.

Our critics seek a roll back of the withdrawal decision and would urge us at this time to explore no other alternatives. Such an approach is, indeed, negative. It will achieve no needed reforms in UNESCO; will fail to advance co-operative activities in international education and communications; and will divert attention from the sole object on which attention should be focussed—the conduct of UNESCO in discharging its legitimate mandate.

We really should move on to the remaining questions—with their implications for other UN system agencies. I want to discuss the question of UNESCO reform; not merely to re-examine the US withdrawal decision. That decision was scrutinised before it was effected and was responsibly announced in December 1983—with constructive results. It has, in fact, been ratified by an overwhelmingly affirmative response on the part of unbiased parties genuinely concerned for the welfare of the multilateral system.

In our many multilateral consultations, one statement has consistently been made. The recurring

Raymond's suitings

A GUIDE TO THE WELL-DRESSED MALE



The Raymond Woollen Mills Limited

J. K. Building, N. Morarjee Marg,
Ballard Estate, Bombay-400 038

statement is that the Reagan Administration has charted a course of renewed commitment in the multilateral system that is strong and coherent, clearly understood, and decisively implemented though there are those who say the United States—the Reagan Administration—has created a UNESCO crisis. Such critics imply that our withdrawal is the source of UNESCO's problem. More thoughtful observers of our foreign affairs are quite aware that UNESCO has long known that it was coming to face an increasingly troubled existence. The United States does want to find a way to solve the problems that are found in UNESCO. The United States desires also to describe the basis on which we believe that essential functions, once entrusted to UNESCO, can be preserved in forums that are effective.

Much of the work of UNESCO is praised, naturally enough, by those who are paid to do it. Plainly, their judgments should not be presumed to be unbiased. Often, we are now discovering, those who criticise our UNESCO withdrawal decision imply that they speak for large and deservedly respected scientific and cultural organisations—but speak, in fact, only for themselves. The truly responsible are quite aware that we have acted responsibly to cure long-festering problems that were coming to discredit genuine attempts to effect international development in education, science, culture and communications.

Making the decision to withdraw—When the Department of State confronted the question of whether continued US membership to UNESCO could be productive—given UNESCO's declining effectiveness and the long-standing adverse impact of its programmes

and attitudes on US interests—we asked basic and important questions.

UNESCO policies had frequently served anti-US political ends, and the Reagan Administration had frequently advised UNESCO of the limits of US (and Western) toleration of misguided policy and programmes and budgetary mis-management. For nearly three years we applied to UNESCO the same priorities and criteria that guide our relations to all multilateral organisations. Our policy priorities have been to:

- Re-assert American leadership in multilateral affairs (we are no longer interested solely in a practice of damage limitation);

- Implement a strict budgetary policy of zero net programme growth and significant absorption of non-discretionary cost increases for the first half of the decade (we will no longer acquiesce in budgetary expansion that has tripled outlays in the UN system during the past decade);

- Obtain equitable American representation within the Secretariat of multilateral agencies (we expect to have Americans in key policy positions);

- Reduce the burden imposed on all nations by an excessive number of lengthy international conferences (we have no desire to send American delegates to all of the 1,000 major conferences scheduled each year); and

- Advocate and create a role for the private sector in each of the international organisations (we recognise the value, experience, and resources of the vital private sector).

With respect to each of these priorities, UNESCO's

TVS:

THE ONE-STOP-SHOP

For a minor part-replacement or complex mechanical repairs, for a spot of tinkering or a major engine overhaul : : : **TVS is the right place for your vehicle.** Because it has sophisticated equipment, highly skilled technicians and reliable spare parts of high quality, available at fixed and fair prices.

And not just spares or service. TVS is also the one-stop-shop for a wide range of motor vehicles: a family car or a light commercial vehicle, a truck or a bus.

Remember, TVS service is backed by a tradition of over 70 years in uncompromising quality and total reliability.

YOU CAN TRUST TVS.

T V SUNDARAM IYENGAR & SONS LTD.

MADURAI AND BRANCHES

SUNDARAM MOTORS

MADRAS AND BRANCHES

performance had fallen significantly below that of other major international organisations. UNESCO alone, among the major organisations, had not responded.

In June 1983, consequently, an in-depth policy review of US participation in UNESCO was commissioned. At the same time, a special effort was made to describe our reasoned expectations as to policy, programmes, budget and management.

At the conclusion of this two-pronged effort to re-assess, reason, and rehabilitate, the President concluded that continued US participation in UNESCO—as it is currently organised, focussed and directed—does not serve the interests of the United States. What appeared was a persistent pattern of three major problems.

— Extraneous politicisation of virtually every subject dealt with: education, natural and social science, culture, communications, human rights, disarmament.

UNESCO programmes and personnel are heavily freighted with an irresponsible political content and answer to an agenda that is consistently inimical to US interests. The approach that UNESCO consistently takes to “disarmament” reflects either a specific pro-Soviet bias or, at best, adheres to the naive and simplistic New Delhi Declaration. Human rights programmes and resolutions in UNESCO are almost invariably infected with Soviet and statist concepts of alleged “collective rights,” in denigration of individual rights and freedom recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. UNESCO lends itself to the machinations of those who think that “collective rights” (including those of the State) are equal to or more significant than the rights of the individual.

UNESCO's current budget for educational programmes—once widely respected and professionally effective—now places heavy emphasis on Soviet-inspired “peace and disarmament” initiatives. Some 978,000 dollars is spent on that activity, as against 62,000 dollars for the eradication of illiteracy among 10 million of the world's refugees.

Voluble UNESCO participants are persistently hostile to US political views, values, and interests. Our participation, then, in UNESCO “consensus” can, on occasion, amount to complicity in vilification to the United States—which is part of everyday life there. The UNESCO environment is relentlessly hostile to our ideals, and this environment is unlikely to change, whatever reasonable effort we bring to bear.

— An endemic hostility towards the basic institutions of a free society, especially a free market and a free press, coupled with the promotion of statist theories of development.

Various US agencies seek to give life to their vision of a “New International Economic Order”—compul-

sively statist and necessarily ineffectual. UNESCO functionaries soon undertook their own quest—to create the “New World Information and Communication Order”. This contemplated “new order” of things would, in particular, establish a programme in which we will not acquiesce. If implemented, it would threaten our First Amendment rights—the freedom of the press. To this programme we remain unalterably opposed.

There is no sign that powerful elements within UNESCO have now abandoned advocacy of their cherished “new order”. In line with the agenda of the “New World Information and Communication Order”, repression of a free press will persistently be advocated within UNESCO. This we can surely infer from the statements of Associate Director-General Gerard Bolla in Paris in November 1983, and of UNESCO's Director-General (Amadou-Mahtar) M'Bow in a December 14, 1983, press conference in New Delhi.

And yet another “new order” may be waiting to be born in Paris. A large number of UNESCO members have pressed for action to create a “code of conduct” controlling the operations of multinational corporations. This would include the film, book publishing, music and television industries, whose receipts from abroad are estimated to total some 3,500 million dollars each year. This initiative, with or without our opposition, will return again and again as circumstances seem propitious to its proponents. We oppose such a movement. We suggest that opposition from without—principled and total opposition—would be most effective.

(This article is adapted from an address delivered by Mr. Newell, an Assistant Secretary of State, at Stanford, California.)

**For The Most Professional Service in Air
Cargo Bookings—Domestic and International**



Regd. Office : Neville House, Nicol Road,
Ballard Estate, Bombay 400038.

Branches : Bangalore, Bhopal, Calcutta,
Hyderabad, Madras, New Delhi,
Kanpur, Pune, Srinagar, Tri-
vandrum and Varanasi.

(Approved by I A T A)

ASK BY NAME OUR FABRICS!

100% POLYESTER SAREES
SUBRABHA, GALAXY & SUVARNA

100% POLYESTER PRINTED SHIRTINGS
SUPER STAR & SUPREMACY

100% POLYESTER BLOUSE MATERIAL
APSARA

100% POLYESTER AND POLYESTER BLENDED SHIRTINGS
EXCELLENCE, EMPEROR, ROYAL GOLD, GOLD CROWN & LAKSHMI STAR

100% COTTON PRINTED DRESS MATERIAL
CITIZEN

100% COTTON PRINTED SAREES
PRITI & BALLERINA

2 X 2 AND 1 X 1 BLOUSE MATERIALS
PRIYA & ROOPMATHI

POLYESTER / CELLULOSIC BLENDED SUITING
POLY CROWN & CHANCELLOR

MANUFACTURERS OF FABRICS AND YARNS OF THE FINEST QUALITY



THE LAKSHMI MILLS COMPANY LIMITED

348, AVANASHI ROAD
COIMBATORE 641 037

TELEX:

COIMBATORE: 0856-212 KOVILPATTI: MA-0445-286 SINGANAILLUR: 0855-236

TELEGRAMS:

COIMBATORE: LAKSHMI KOVILPATTI: LAKSHMIMILL SINGANAILLUR: RUKMANI

TELEPHONE:

COIMBATORE: 30251 to 30255 KOVILPATTI: 613 and 614 SINGANAILLUR: 87335 to 87337

SPINDLES: 2,14,560 LOOMS: 504

JS

THE PERILS OF REVERSE RACISM

CHARLES LAURENCE

CALLS FROM race relations activists for "positive discrimination" policies aimed at advancing racial minorities should be firmly rejected by the Government, an independent report said on November 21.

The report came from the Social Affairs Unit, an educational charity. It said that there was a growing trend in the "race relations industry", to call for "positive" or "reverse" discrimination to favour blacks or Asians in housing, jobs and education.

This "industry" included the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) a Government quango.

The report, "Reversing Racism: Lessons from America", said that quota systems imposed in America to ensure that the levels of blacks in local industry, for instance, equalled their strength in the population had back-fired and tended to worsen, rather than, improve, race relations.

It called on the CRE to "go some way towards earning its £8,000,000-a-year public subsidy" by making a clear published statement to employers and local education and housing authorities that "reverse racism" was as damaging as any other form of racism.

The report also suggests that the "increasing number of race relations activists funded by the taxpayer" should remove their ideological blinkers to realise that the American experiment with reverse racism had failed.

Analysing the American experience, Prof. Kenneth Holland of the University of Vermont said that racial quotas negatively affected the attitudes of whites towards blacks, the self-image of blacks and their attitudes towards whites.

He pointed out that being members of minority races had not stopped Jews and Orientals out-performing whites and said "The truth is that many proponents of racial preference fear that blacks may be genetically inferior to whites, and thus believe that blacks cannot make it on their own and must, accordingly, be granted preferment."

Prof. Holland said that black failure was rarely due to discrimination. "The real cause of failure today is black attitudes and values, which are due to cultural differences between blacks and whites."

Mr. Geoffrey Parkins, a lecturer at the Willesden Polytechnic said in the second half of the report that racism "is not widespread" in Britain.

But this would never be believed from the recent outpourings of the race relations industry.

The crucial difference between race policies was between those advocating "equal opportunity" and those advocating "equal outcome" and using quotes to achieve it.

Positive discrimination was illegal in Britain under the Race Relations Act of 1976, and recognised to be so by the Commission.

"However, a review of the relevant literature clearly shows that Britain is in danger of moving, as did the USA, from a concept of equality of opportunity to a new concept of equality, involving equality of outcome," said Mr. Parkins.

The report concluded that "government positive racism is as dangerous as individual negative racism."

(Courtesy: *The Daily Telegraph*)

Looking for quality

intermediates & dyestuffs

As a leading manufacturer we have

a wide range to offer you.

For particulars contact :

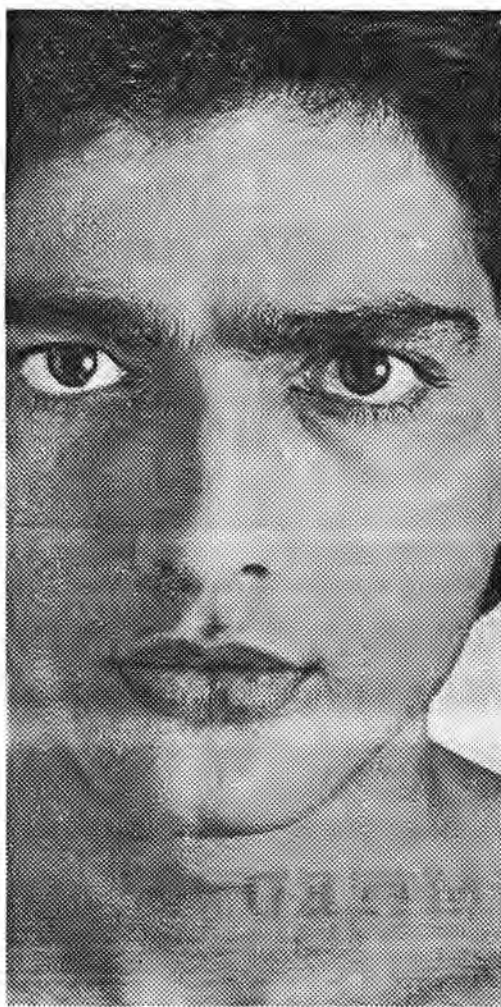
K. C. A. LIMITED

**Rang Udyam, Sitladevi Temple Road,
Mahim, Bombay 400 016.**

**KCA—A Subsidiary of
AMAR DYE-CHEM LIMITED**



A FRESH TWIST TO SHAVING.



Now! Godrej adds a touch of freshness to shaving. The tingling freshness of lime. Subtle and appealing. With rich creamy lather. Makes it so much more pleasant to face yourself every morning. Day, after day. Shave after shave.



New Lime-Fresh fragrance. Plus a choice of your favourite Rich Foam & Menthol Mist.

Godrej Shaving Cream
The one brighter spot
in a man's
morning.



CLARION/GS/6/203

BOOK REVIEWS

THE HEARTBEAT OF A TRUST: Fifty Years of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust by R. M. Lala; 1984; Tata McGraw Hill; Pp. 177; Rs. 45.00

I read the book in one sitting. This is a story of man's generosity to mankind, to his future well-being. An example of Gandhiji's trusteeship in action. A book that restores one's faith in human nature.

Soon after putting the book down I turned to the day's newspaper and the headline that caught my eye proclaimed: "Trust Funds diversion not on record" (Indian Express, June 28). The daily was reporting on the Antulay trial. There is no need to name the trust. Everyone knows. The report however brought me back to earth with a thud. For, the story of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and the men who had made his vision a reality had made me forget for a blissful three hours that I was living in an era of opportunism, chicanery and cynicism. I had been transported to a not-so-distant past when men were men and a trust was exactly what it claimed to be.

In his preface, Mr. J. R. D. Tata points out that Sir Jamsetji Tata "had to operate within a climate of servitude, in a primarily agricultural country whose age-old industries were drained by foreign rulers..." Quite so. But what about today? Trusts in independent India operate no doubt in a free country. But

can we honestly say that they do so in an atmosphere of freedom? Trusts today have to function amidst myriad legislation that makes charity a mockery and trust administration a hazardous venture.

What is so magnificent about the Sir Dorab Trust is not the size of its trust fund but the manner in which it was used. When launching the J. N. Tata Endowment Scheme for Higher Education, Sir Jamsetji Tata said "What advances a nation or a community is not so much to prop up its weakest and most helpless members but to lift up the best and the most gifted so as to make them of the greatest service to the country." I cannot resist wondering if this beautiful thought translated as an object in a Trust Deed would ever pass muster today when the 'popular' notion is of levelling down! Be that as it may, Sir, Jamsetji's pursuit of excellence paid rich dividends. For instance as the author points out, three decades after the establishment of the endowment, "one out of every five Indian in the ICS was a J. N. Tata scholar."

Sir Dorab Tata left one crore of rupees to the Trust that bore his name. And this amount (which Lala rightly notes is equivalent to Rs. 25 crores in today's currency, resulted in "India's first institute of social sciences (TISS), India's first cancer hospital (the Tata Memorial), India's first institute of fundamental research in mathematics and physics which

**WITH BEST COMPLIMENTS
FROM**

CONSOLIDATED COFFEE LIMITED

(Regd. Office: POLLIBETTA—571215, Karnataka)

INDIA'S LARGEST COFFEE GROWERS AND CURERS,
ONE OF LEADING EXPORTERS OF CHOICEST INDIAN COFFEE,
SHIPPING, CLEARING, AND FORWARDING AGENTS,
AND DEALERS IN ESTATE SUPPLIES

●
Now in the Fifth Decade of Service

to

COFFEE CONNOISSEURS

●

CURING WORKS AT

MANGALORE
KUDIGE (Kodagu District); and
TELLICHERRY (Kerala)

became the cradle of India's atomic energy programme (TIFR) and National Centre for the Performing Arts."

Just read the list again and realise the magnitude and sweep of the Sir Dorab Tata Trust and all of it in just fifty years!

People make organisations. Russi Lala makes the man who organised these great tasks come alive. Outstanding men, men who rose to distinction in and through the organisations they so carefully nurtured and developed.

Lala deserves commendation for his narrative skill and thanks for weaving a story that keeps tugging at one's heartstrings, page after fascinating page. It was with sadness that I laid down the book. Alas, such men are no more and the handful that are still around will also go. And then what?

—S. V. Raju

INDIA AT THE POLLS, 1980: A STUDY OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS: ed. Myron Weiner; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington DC; Pages 198; Price not stated. NOW THAT the 1984 general elections to the Lok Sabha are over and the results, to nobody's surprise, are in, it would surely interest many readers to know what happened in the 1984 elections and why.

The last two elections each took place against a momentous background. The Janata leaders had fallen out among themselves in 1979, barely two years after their party had been elected with a stunning majority and fresh elections had become imperative. The elections in 1984 had to be held anyway though they may have been postponed by a couple of months. But the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi forced Congress (I) hands to pre-date them to cash in on the sympathy for her son generated by the murder. No doubt a study of these elections will appear in due course. What Myron Weiner, a distinguished student of Indian affairs, has done is to analyse for us the issues the Indian public faced five years ago and how and why they were resolved in the way they were.

In 1980 the largest swings to the Congress were among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and, to a lesser extent, the Muslims. But Weiner makes the relevant point that had Janata not split, the Congress probably would not have won a majority of seats in the Hindi-speaking states and that its parliamentary majority, if any, would have been precarious. That lesson was never learnt with what consequences we now know.

As Weiner sees it, the 1980 general election was a re-instating election. And the main casualty of that election was the country's national leadership. That election spelled the political deaths of many elders in all parties. But the election slogan "elect a government that works" was a conservative, not a radical

message. The masses were not urged to rush to the barricades against the rich, nor did Mrs. Gandhi promise, as she had done earlier, that if elected she would make ending poverty her priority. All that she promised was to bring an end to strikes, to restore electric power, to get the trains moving, to end hoarding, to bring prices down, to protect Muslims and untouchables against violence, and in general to provide a government that worked. In the end she failed in all the promises.

Says Weiner: "To what extent Mrs. Gandhi has been guided by the conviction that India needs a stronger centre to be governed effectively, or by her own fear that she needs such authority to protect herself against her political enemies is a matter on which her supporters and critics disagree. No doubt both elements are at work. Mrs. Gandhi is not the first or the last political leader to believe that what is good for the country is good for herself or vice versa".

As a study of the system, Weiner's work is quite thorough. It consists of six parts. The first part deals with the rise and fall of the Janata Party. The second with the actual election campaign. The third discusses the effect of the Janata-Lok Dal split, India's electoral geography, partisanship, voter turnout and the election outcome. The fourth dissects election results region-wise. The fifth studies how the Muslims, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes voted. And the last part discusses India's political economy in the 1980s and contains the author's conclusions. To the student of political history the book has a bonus in the shape of an entire list of tables which is invaluable as a guide to voter behaviour. Weiner found that while, undoubtedly, there were shifts in the behaviour of the electorate since 1977, there was, in fact, less electoral volatility than meets the eye. Turnout in 1980 was 57 per cent, lower than in 1977 (60.5 per cent) or in 1967 (61.6 per cent); attendance at political rallies during the campaign was low—enthusiasm for Janata had petered out and none of the middle-class groups so active in the 1977 elections were in evidence. All that the 1980 election seemed to prove was that the 1967 and 1977 elections were somehow special. But it also proved another point: the larger the voter turnout, the less the percentage of votes for Congress (I) candidates; the lower the voter turnout, the greater the chances of Congress (I) victory, though Weiner is careful to point that this is true mainly of the states in the Hindi belt.

Though the Congress (I) won 351 out of the 525 seats in the 1980 elections, in popular votes the victory was less impressive. The Congress (I) won 42.7 per cent of the votes, compared to 34.4 per cent in 1977 and 43.7 per cent in 1971, except that the increase of 8.2 per cent in popular vote increased the

Congress (I) share of parliamentary seats from 153 to 351. But here again Weiner attributes this to the fragmentation of the Opposition.

The author's conclusion is that essentially the same coalition of social classes, castes, tribes and religious groups that had given the Congress Party its victories before 1977 returned it to office in 1980. Surely, there is a moral here.

—M. V. Kamath

HINDUISM: AN INTRODUCTION by Shakuntala Jagannathan; Vakils, Feffer and Simons Ltd., Bombay; 1984; Pp. 84; Rs. 70.

NOT SO long ago one perceptive observer compared India to a donkey carrying a sack of gold—"the donkey does not know what it is carrying but is content to go along with the load on its back". The load, of course, is, in Adi Sankaracharya's words, "the accumulated treasure of spiritual truths discovered by the *Rishis*."

To capture this immense treasure and present it in book form is obviously a herculean task—a task which has been performed with varying degrees of success by scholars and commentators over the years. But how does one summarise this almost limitless ocean of knowledge in a coffee-table book of less than a hundred pages?

And yet this is precisely what Shakuntala Jagannathan has done. While admitting that the most for-

midable problem she faced was that of selecting the contents, her primary objective has been to put together a compact volume "to explain Hinduism to Indians and to visitors from abroad, so that the urban Hindu can understand the roots of his civilisation, and the tourist can comprehend the various aspects of Hinduism and relate them to what he sees around him in India." In doing this she has largely succeeded.

The book is divided into three chapters. The first seeks to explain, in the simplest of terms, what Hinduism is all about. "Philosophic thinkers of recent times do not like to describe Hinduism as a mere religion," says the author, "as they feel that this narrows it down and does not bring out adequately its great qualities of catholicity of outlook and free thinking, as even as atheist is not precluded from being a Hindu and no hell nor doomsday envisioned for the agnostic."

The second chapter deals with the Scriptures ("verily a cornucopia of Spiritual literature") while the third seeks to explain such essential concepts as *Nirguna Brahma*, *Saguna Brahma*, *Karma*, *Dharma*, the four *ashramas*, etc., in simplified language. There are also thumbnail sketches of prominent Hindu saints and colour prints of gods and goddesses which complement the text. Perhaps the most useful part of the work is the Glossary and Index of Pronunciations which is indispensable to any foreign initiate to the subject.

—K. S. Venkateswaran

In Gouramma's hunger ravaged body lies a baby to be born.
Yet for her living she was forced to work on...

NOW THE STATE GOVERNMENT HAS STEPPED IN WITH A HELPING HAND...

Karnataka Government's Maternity Allowance Scheme to landless Agricultural women labourers, now offers expectant mothers a new support during their pregnancy.

Life was tough for young Gauramma. From dawn to dusk she toiled in the fields. But now, her advancing pregnancy was beginning to tell on her. Often she felt faint and ready to drop. Yet she had to work on. She needed the wages to feed her family.

Gauramma's dilemma ended when the Karnataka Government introduced its revolutionary scheme of Maternity Allowance to landless agricultural women labourers. Thus giving her a new support.

This scheme provides a Maternity Allowance of Rs. 300 to landless agricultural women labourers, for three months during the period of advanced pregnancy. This assistance is available in the birth of the first and the second child. It enables them not only to support their family while they are unable to work, but also to ensure better nutrition for themselves.

Already 1,514 agricultural women labourers have benefitted in four months of the introduction of this scheme. And thousands more will follow.

Yes, this is just one instance of what the Government has done for the people. The Government's numerous welfare programmes have lifted the lives of the weak and the downtrodden. From landless agricultural women labourers to destitute widows to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

"KARNATAKA INFORMATION"

A LETTER

Sir,

I was amazed that a magazine like yours, which is devoted to the cause of freedom, should reproduce the "open letter" to Mrs. Thatcher from a South African newspaper.

The letter preaches a sermon to Mrs. Thatcher on the evils of allowing terrorists to operate from one's country and suggests that having had personal experience of what one set of terrorists (IRA) can do, Mrs. Thatcher should expel another set of terrorists (ANC) from Britain.

While I do not condone the murder of women and children, which the ANC has been accused of, my objection is to the attempt to equate South Africa with Britain. Britain is a free society in which the IRA is attempting by means of terrorist activities to detach one portion of the country and incorporate it in another country. South Africa is governed by a system that is little short of Nazism and where the main object of the African National Congress is to raise the black

people from oppression, discrimination and exploitation to which they are subject because they happen to be black. If Britain had been the kind of society that South Africa is, the IRA would have been exterminated long ago. In South Africa, merely espousing the cause of equality for the blacks has resulted in members of the ANC being detained without trial or otherwise persecuted.

If some members of the ANC have resorted to terrorism, it is probably because they despair of achieving anything by peaceful means, given the nature of the government they are dealing with. The IRA on the other hand has never seriously tried to achieve its aims by legal and peaceful means. The fact that the ANC sometimes uses violent means is no ground for equating it with the IRA or the systems of government in South Africa and Britain.

You would have done better to ignore the "open letter" altogether rather than reproduce it without comment, thereby implying your silent support for the views expressed in it and thereby to a barbaric and despicable form of government.

—Satish J. Shah



*Polyester Blended
Suitsings Shirtings*
Navsari Cotton and Silk Mills Limited

Nachiketa Publications Limited

5 Kasturi Buildings, J. Tata Road,
Bombay 400 020.

A STATESMAN ENTERPRISE

Books for all bookshelves and budgets:

		Rs.
Bihar Shows the Way	by S. K. Datta-Ray	10/-
D. M. K. in Power	by P. Spratt	6/-
Education in the Fourth Plan	by J. P. Naik	6/-
Gandhi and the American Scene	by C. Seshachari	6/-
Glimpses of Old Calcutta	by R. R. Chowdhury	33/-
German Scholars On India—Vol. II		30/-
Indira's India: A Political Notebook	by S. Nihal Singh	12/-
The Career Of the Secondary School Teacher in Poona	by P. Kale	9/-
Under the Indian Sky	by A. Chanda	6/-
Writings and Speeches Of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan	by S. Mohammad	12/-
What Price A Free Press? edited	by V. V. John and A. B. Shah	4/-

Also available from:

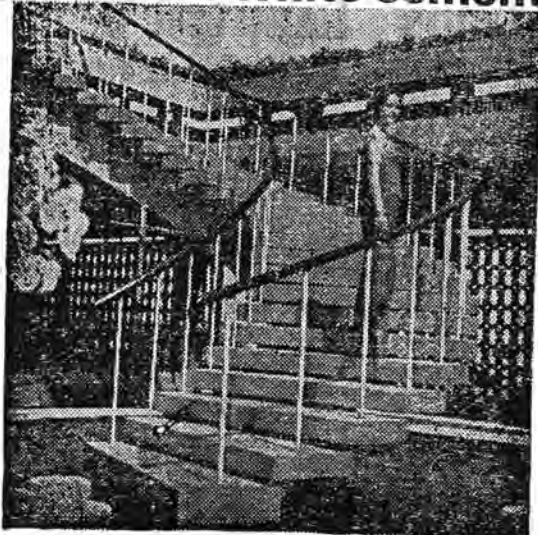
THE STATESMAN LIMITED

Statesman House,
Connaught Circus,
New Delhi 110 001

Statesman House,
Chowringhee Square,
Calcutta 700 001

Fagun Mansion
26 Commander-In-Chief Rd.
Madras 600 105

Silvicrete white cement




not just exclusive...marvel-lous!

a product of The Associated Cement Companies Ltd

ACC

Freedom First

Subscription Order Form

127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay-400 023.

Please send *Freedom First* to me for one year
(four issues) at the following address :

NAME : _____

ADDRESS : _____

This is a New/Renewal* subscription.

I enclose payment of Rs. 20 in favour of *Freedom First* by

*Cheque *Bank Draft *Postal Order

I have remitted by money order, receipt enclosed. For outstation cheques kindly add Rs. 2 for bank charges. Renewal intimation cards are posted to subscribers separately.

(Overseas subscription rate £4 or \$6)

Signature _____

WITH MANY VOICES

The right way to bargain with Konstantin Chernenko is with a clear voice.

—*The Economist*, December 1.

We need . . . to get rid of this Government. That campaign will not be won in the House of Commons. It will be won on the streets of Britain.

—Arthur Scargill quoted in *The Times*,
November 15.

The USA is a much more *de facto* member of the Commonwealth than India or the other non-Anglo Saxon Countries.

—Woodrow Wyatt in *The Times*, December 29.

I do not believe that India would fly apart without a Nehru in power.

—Trevor Fishlock in *The Times*, December 28.

I'm a reasonable and moderate man.

—Arthur Scargill quoted in *The Times*,
November 15.

It was galling for Sikhs to see him (Rajiv Gandhi) all day on television receiving condolences beside his mother's body as it lay in State, while Sikhs were being attacked and getting little protection.

—*The Economist*, November 10.

The Russians have abandoned their policy of refusing to negotiate about nuclear weapons until NATO's Cruise and Pershing II missiles are removed from Western Europe! NATO's posture and Reagan's return has forced them back to the negotiating table.

—Editorial in *The Sunday Times*, December 23.

He (Scargill) is betraying the coal industry single-handed.

—Neil Kinnock, Labour Party Leader, in
The Daily Telegraph, December 28.