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EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

BROKEN NOSE "A MINOR AFFAIR"

Communist Minister Raghunath Reddy in Action

(We publish in the public interest a translation from Marathi of a report by a special correspondent that appeared in LOKSATTA, a leading daily of Bombay on 20th June 1973, which shows the mischief that results when a Communist is made Labour Minister.)

IT is learnt that after Mr. Raghunath Reddy has taken over charge of the Union Labour Ministry, the Centre has started interfering in a big way in industrial disputes in States. Even the Maharashtra State has not escaped from such interference. It is considered that the tripartite meeting held by the Central Labour Minister on 4th June in connection with the Voltas dispute is the beginning of such interference.

Mr. Raghunath Reddy was previously a Communist. Keeping in mind this background, many Communist labour leaders are trying to bring pressure on State Governments through him. What is more, it is learnt that leftist leaders have started a movement of bringing about interference by the Centre by defaming State Labour Ministers. The Voltas Employees' Federation had published a bulletin just two days prior to the tripartite meeting accusing that the State Labour and Industries Minister, Mr. Narendra Tidke, was favouring Management.

Need for a National Policy

However, in reality the Labour Minister, Mr. Tidke, was right from the beginning making efforts to bring the strike to an end. Mr. Tidke has been repeatedly putting forth his own thinking that there should be a national policy in respect of computers, on which issue the lock-out and strike originated. It is understood from the Labour Ministry that Maharashtra State was the only State which has advocated such a strong stand. In the absence of a national policy on computers, the State Government has laid down guidelines so that workers do not suffer even indirectly. Mr. Tidke persuaded the Management of Voltas to agree to these guidelines.

If this is so, why did the Central Labour Minister, Mr. R. Reddy, agree to hold a tripartite meeting on the Voltas dispute? It is reliably learnt that the

President of the Bombay Congress, Barrister Rajni Patel, took a lead in bringing about this meeting and before doing so, did not even discuss the matter or take the opinion of the State Labour Minister, Mr. Tidke.

From available information, it is understood that at the tripartite meeting held at Sachivalaya on 4th June, the Central Minister, Mr. Reddy, said that the present laws are outdated. He even expressed the opinion at

(Continued on page 15)

IN THIS ISSUE

For our lead story we have turned this month to the Marathi language press, which often distinguishes itself without the English knowing reader being any the wiser for it.

Unless your car was bashed by Communist hooligans on May 15th, you will enjoy reading Mr. Raju's article on the *bandhs* and what they did not accomplish.

Encouraged by the respectability given to it by U.S. accolades, the Kremlin is intensifying its relentless war on the Russian people and in particular the intellectuals. *Freedom First* is privileged to publish the Postscript to a Memorandum which the eminent Academician Sakharov addressed to Brezhnev without eliciting any reply.

Arthur Miller's *Collected Plays* are reviewed, as well as Benedict Costa's *Socialist Princes*.

Our last issue provoked to our delight several letters two of which we publish this month.

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Cure for a Monopoly

ONE of the funniest things to happen in recent days is the announcement from New Delhi on 6th June published in the *Indian Express* that, in order to put things right, "the disaster-prone Indian Airlines is to come under closer control of the Civil Aviation Ministry. The airline will be directly responsible to the Ministry in all aspects of its operations." If any further proof was required that the authorities in Delhi need to have their heads examined, this announcement provides it.

Surely it is well known enough by now that what is wrong with the Indian Airlines is that they are a Government run service and that they are a monopoly. Obviously, therefore, what is required is that the management of Indian Airlines should be conducted by professional management men on business principles free from Government interference, and that other Airlines services should be allowed to operate in competition with the IAC. But of course to expect such reasonableness from those in authority in Delhi would be asking much too much.

Orissa Swatantra Betrayed

MR. PILOO MODY'S attempt to describe the Pragati Party as "just a pre-election United Front" has been rebuffed by Mr. Patnaik himself who continues to describe the Pragati Party as "a federal Party." The situation has been made worse by Mr. R. N. Singh Deo's public acceptance of Mr. Patnaik's leadership discredited as it is.

Similarly, Mr. Patnaik has rebuffed Mr. Mody in regard to the number of seats the two groups are to contest in the forthcoming Assembly Elections. Mr. Mody's announcement that Swatantra would put up candidates in at least 90 constituencies was contradicted by Mr. Patnaik who declared that Swatantra would be allotted only 65 seats. Curiously, Patnaik's statement was published by the Swatantra Party's Oriya daily "Swarajya" without comment.

Already there are reports that the Swatantra organisation at the district level is being either sabotaged or underplayed for the benefit of the Pragati Party. If this process continues, it is quite on the cards that by the time the elections come round early next year, very little Swatantra organisation will remain.

Meanwhile, the voters of two Municipal areas have served warning to the Swatantra Party that they do not approve of the Pragati Party by routing the latter in both Municipal elections and voting instead for Mrs. Nandani Satpathy's Congress Party.

The national leadership cannot afford to be timid if it desires to preserve the Orissa Swatantra Party's organisation intact. Unless it acts boldly, it might well become responsible for the liquidation of what was until recently a well-knit unit of the Party. Even worse, they would be compelling the electorate to choose between a Party — two of whose three leaders are discredited politicians—and Mrs. Nandani Satpathy's Party. The Municipal elections show the kind of choice the electorate may make.

A Ceiling on Taxes

AT a time when the Finance Minister in India refuses to be convinced that the Indian taxpayer is the victim of excessive taxation, the move made by Governor Ronald Reagan of California to introduce a State constitutional amendment to impose an unbreakable ceiling on the proportion of personal incomes that the State may take in taxes comes as a breath of fresh air. There is already talk that Mr. Reagan's proposal, which will be voted on later this year, may form a national model and Prof. Milton Friedman, the eminent Liberal Chicago economist, is among those who have welcomed the move. What is more significant about the proposal is that the ratio of the State tax burden to per capita income will decline slightly each year for the next decade.

In case this should be dismissed as a "capitalist" or "reactionary" thought, it may be worth while mentioning that in the Soviet Union tax on incomes above the exemption limit is levied on a sliding scale of 8%



SPYING ON PEOPLE — NOW IS THAT A CRIME?... HIS PEOPLE DONT REALLY UNDERSTAND HIM... POOR FELLOW! - - - -

Courtesy: Laxman, Times of India

roubles on the first 100 roubles and 13 roubles per 100 roubles thereafter. Thus the maximum rate of income tax in that Communist paradise is 13 per cent—much lower than even Governor Reagan proposes!

250—Not Out

ADAM SMITH was born in Scotland on 5th June 250 years ago. His *Wealth of Nations* published in 1776 provided the world with a liberal economic philosophy which delivered the goods and has outlived the false prescriptions of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* and *Communist Manifesto*.

Today more than ever the world needs to be reminded of Adam Smith's eternally valid reasons for his rejection of State intervention to regulate the level of economic activity and employment:

"The sovereign is completely discharged from a duty, in attempting to perform which he must always be exposed to innumerable delusions, and for the proper performance of which no human wisdom or knowledge could ever be sufficient; the duty of superintending the industry of private people, and of directing it towards the employments most suitable to the interests of society."

The prosperity of the countries that have practised Adam Smith's philosophy, including the German Miracle of Ludwig Erhardt, are the best memorial to Adam Smith. *Freedom First* joins in paying homage to that great economic pioneer.

Indian 'Credentials'

WITH the arrival of Mr. T. N. Kaul as Indian Ambassador in Washington, Indo-U.S. relations, we are told, have got off to a fresh start. Really?

Mr. Kaul presented his credentials to President Nixon on June 14. Fine. But, as it happens, he had been cooling his heels there for a whole month since May 16.

Mr. Kaul, it is reported, was told by President Nixon that the "U.S. respected India as a major country". Isn't that just dandy? But, as it happened, Mr. Kaul had to line up in a queue of seven diplomats awaiting the Presidential handshake and the recognition it brings. We are not told the names of the other six "major countries" in the queue, but it is known that Nepal was one of them.

The total time taken by the seven diplomats in presenting their credentials was twenty-five minutes—giving an average of 3½ minutes each!

By contrast, President Nixon found half an hour for a private discussion of "substantive issues" with Mr. Huang Chen from Peking, within a day of his arrival though he does not have ambassadorial status.

Reason? "India counts for almost nothing today in

comparison with the People's Republic". The quote is from the *Far Eastern Review* of June 11, 1973, which goes on to say: "While China grows in diplomatic stature and international popularity, India, formerly the bright hope of democratic liberals, fades into a murky background of indifference and ignorance among its erstwhile friends."

Moral? Do not send an Ambassador of the wrong political colour.

Precept & Practice

Mr. Y. B. Chavan, Union Finance Minister, addressing a meeting of the BPCC at Sunderabai Hall, Churchgate, on Saturday, advised motorists to use their vehicles sparingly and save on petrol.

He said that in spite of higher taxes, petrol consumption had increased.

Mr. Chavan then left the hall, sat in a large, foreign car and proceeded to the office premises of the Bombay Union of Journalists on D. N. Road. His car was preceded by a pilot car and followed by three cars carrying VIPs and friends. At the tail of the convoy was a car carrying security officers.

Mr. Chavan addressed several meetings on Saturday. And everywhere that Mr. Chavan went, the cars were sure to go.

—*Times of India*, June 10, 1973

Expropriation

EXPROPRIATE and allocate! The whole nightmare of Soviet communal apartments and the Soviet life-style rests on this idea, in accordance with which a mere handful of residential blocks have been constructed over the last 40 years, while the overcrowding of flats has undoubtedly surpassed the wildest dreams of Engels' workers. All our present-day 'enlighteners' have been through this experience. One might think they would have drawn their own conclusions. But no, the same pathetic idea is handed down from generation to generation, the fond hope of poor-spirited and shallow people. Their energies have somehow been dissipated and they find it easier to indulge in educational egalitarianism than to press forward and explore the higher reaches. They do not want to have the responsibility of saying something new, something original, the responsibility of building; they lie to themselves, evade the issue and feign modesty. They live in a hazy mirage of 'modest' hopes and cheap, sub-Soviet temptations.

—O. A. Altayev in *Survey*, Winter 1973

A TALE OF TWO BANDHS AND A HALF

S. V. Raju

BOMBAY established a record of sorts with two Bandhs in ten days plus a half-Bandh on the 11th day! This served to demonstrate if nothing else the bitter rivalry at the cost of the citizen of course, in the trade union movement.

Around April 22, an organisation, the United Council of Trade Unions (now reportedly in suspended animation) consisting of the CITU, AITUC, HMP, HMS, UTUC and the SSS decided to demonstrate their newly found solidarity by closing down Bombay (close is the literal meaning of the Hindi word "Bandh") and paralysing all activity. This was meant to be a protest against an inadequate ration, rising prices and the failure of the State Government to provide proper relief measures to the drought-affected people.

Preparations went ahead with the AITUC and the CITU taking the major burden of mobilising the workers. Since "Bandh King" George Fernandes with his buses and taxis was supporting the Bandh, it was certain that the Bandh would be a total success. For the key to a successful Bandh, as George demonstrated on May 25, is the ability to paralyse vehicular traffic.

All went well; that is, till May 11, when George exploded his bombshell. 'I need time to organise an effective strike and May 15 is therefore not suitable. Why not have the Bandh on May 25? What does it matter when we close Bombay?' he seemed to ask.

Furious

Comrade S. Y. Kolhatkar, President of the Maharashtra branch of the CITU (CPI-M), was furious. For by then he had along with the AITUC organised 150 gate meetings at different textile mills, 100 street corner meetings and 20 mass rallies! Surely George did not expect Comrade Kolhatkar to tell the workers that George found the date inconvenient and hence the Bandh was postponed. This would be an admission of George's indispensibility for a successful Bandh.

It is obvious that George was challenging the Communists to hold a Bandh without his support. The Communists accepted the Challenge—up to a point. Admitting that with the buses and taxis on the road it would no longer be a Bandh in the real sense of the term, they said they would go ahead anyway. But the Bandh, they said, would now be better described as "collective action by a large section of the working class" working in the textile mills and engineering industries.

While this was going on, there were others who decided to get into the act. Foolishly assuming that

they could steal the leftist thunder, a delegation of the BPCC waited on the Chief Minister, Mr. V. P. Naik, on May 9 and submitted a six-point demand which, among other things, had this breath-taking one—"that government should immediately check rising prices"! Naturally the Chief Minister gave the delegation led by Comrade Rajni Patel his "firm assurance" that "everything" would be done to relieve the hardship of the people. The delegation returned fully satisfied and announced that this was the way to solve problems by obtaining a "firm assurance" from the Chief Minister and not by bandhs. As it happened neither the communists nor the socialists were able to obtain any such "firm assurance" after their May 15 and 25 affairs from the Chief Minister!

The Jan Sangh, whose economic policies are anyone's guess but who love to strike radical postures, were quick to jump into the fray. Not for us the 15th May Bandh, they said. Maybe we shall consider the one on 25th May. But the Jan Sangh had its own plan. Nothing less than a Statewide "Satyagraha and Gherao" campaign. An amalgam of the Gandhian/Marxist approach? Why not? After all they may not have provided food to the drought stricken but, as their Maharashtra State Executive pointed out, their legislators and workers did contact famine stricken people in 10,000 villages and organised conferences, demonstrations, fasts, gheraos and bandhs, thus providing at least plenty of food for thought to the hungry villagers. As it happened, the Jan Sangh's Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh did join George's Bandh on May 25.

Premature

Mr. S. R. Kulkarni, leader of the Dock Workers and Mr. R. J. Mehta of the engineering workers were perhaps the only trade unionists of consequence who kept out of both bandhs. Kulkarni pointed out very pertinently that his men would not join the bandh as it only "served the political objectives of some political parties". He thought the Bandh was both "premature and inappropriate". Mr. Kulkarni's position was laudable, though one of the factors for his decision may be the fact (as pointed out by a columnist in the *Times of India*) that "some of his colleagues especially those who had recently joined the Congress were strongly opposed to the Bandh".

Predictably the 15th May "Collective action by a large section of the working class" flopped. George Fernandes must have rubbed his hands with glee for two reasons—one, that the Communists lost face, and two, that the desperate action of Communist goons in

damaging a large number of cars and a few buses guaranteed the success of his bandh.

If press reports are to be believed, only 12 of the 62 mills and 58 of the 259 factories obeyed the call for closure. Otherwise life was normal till about noon when the sponsors realised that their "collective action by a large section of the working class" was turning into isolated action by a small section of the working class. Something dramatic had to be done so that people would remember the anger, if not of the proletariat, at least of the vanguard of the proletariat, what better symbol to vent their spleen on than that symbol of the reactionary—the motor car? And so they went about smashing the windscreens of almost 500 cars. So great was their mood of frustration that they would even have smashed the windscreen of a Maruti car if one had been around!

The following were the concrete achievements of the May 15 "collective action.":

One car completely burnt; the windscreens of over 500 cars including a few taxis smashed; one bus partially burnt; four buses damaged; a number of glass fronts of big commercial establishments, including two of the Khadi Bhandar (damage Rs. 8,000/-), broken Alitalia Office's glass front defied the Communists. It was bullet proof. Perhaps in their anger they forgot that Alitalia comes from a country with the largest Communist party outside Eastern Europe!

The attitude of the police was curious. A report in the press observed that young men wearing Mao-style caps or flags wound round their heads attacked buses and cars even while two police officers on motor bikes passed them by and a constable was seen walking on the other side of the road.

Why were the police soft on the demonstrators? A reporter asked the Chief Minister, who replied "the government did not desire to stop people from ventilating their grievances"!

Negative

And thus it was onward to 25th May. As against the "negative action" of the Communists, George promised a Bandh with a positive purpose on May 25. The object of his Bandh, said George, would not be merely to protest against government policies which had created the present crisis in Maharashtra but to present to the people "an alternative programme which would form the basis for further consolidation of the people's movement". Among the demands was his favourite one: "Abandon the Twin City project".

But George had another gladiator to reckon with. Mr. Bal Thackeray, who had remained silent on the May 15 Bandh, declared that as his party did not see eye to eye with the Socialist party, the Shiv-Sena would not support the Bandh. The Shiv Sena Chief declared that his Union, the BEST Kamgar Sena, controlled 5 bus depots and would see that buses rolled

out from these five depots on May 25. If anyone tried to put obstacles in our way, warned the S.S. Chief, 'we will retaliate'. Mr. Thackeray added that the Bandh was merely an effort by Mr. Fernandes to re-establish his lost prestige in Bombay.

George pretended he could not understand Thackeray's opposition. After all, said George, he was only carrying out the directive of the Shiv Sena Pramukh who had organised a Malad Bandh on May 7 to demand that the ration quota be increased from six to twelve units per month. The May 25th Bandh made the same demand!

Tongue in cheek, George invited the Communists to join his Bandh. Comrade Kolhatkar said he would think it over but wondered aloud whether he could because the workers who joined the Bandh on 15th May wouldn't want to lose one more day's wages. In the end, the Communists did not join. But the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh of the Jan Sangh did, and so did the Foodgrain retailers. The Hind Mazdoor Sabha cried off.

The Bandh was more of a Bandh than the non-Bandh of May 15.

At Home

The 15th May incidents still fresh in their minds, car owners kept their cars at home and the buses stayed in their depot (including the five depots controlled by the Shiv Sena). Taxis were off the road—many attending to pre-monsoon repairs and servicing.

Angered that despite the Shiv Sena's offer of protection against George's Bandhwallas, shopkeepers had downed shutters and taxis had kept off the roads, Shiv Sainiks were reported to have intimidated shopkeepers in Central Bombay to close on May 26. As you did not open yesterday, you must close your shop today, appeared to be the slogan. A few taxis were damaged. But it turned out to be only half-a-Bandh. This time the police acted quickly.

What did the Bandhs finally achieve? Nothing. Only 12 cinema theatres were closed as they were controlled by Mr. Fernandes and so people living near the theatres relaxed; those living near the beaches enjoyed the sea breeze. A considerable amount of petrol and diesel was saved; food prices continue to soar; the price of eggs have shot up to nearly Rs. 6/- per dozen. No increase in the quantum of foodgrains to ration card holders is anywhere in sight; the rains came; power failures continued; and not even a "firm assurance" from the Chief Minister was forthcoming.

Mr. George Fernandes went to Delhi and from there declared four days later that he proposed to contest the by-election to the Lok Sabha from a Bombay Constituency and that many parties including the Swatantra Party, Congress(O) and CPM had asked him to do so, and the three parties concerned promptly denied having made any such offer.

SAKHAROV WRITES TO BREZHNEV

Postscript to a Memorandum

(On 5th May 1971 Academician Andrei Sakharov who enjoys great prestige as a scientist in the Soviet establishment sent a memorandum to Mr. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CPSU. Not receiving any reply he sent Mr. Brezhnev a Postscript (printed below) written in June 1972, the day Pytor Yakir was arrested and fifteen months after his memorandum.)

I BEGAN my activity approximately 10 to 12 years ago, when I realised the criminal character of a possible thermo-nuclear war and of thermo-nuclear tests in the atmosphere. Since then I have revised my views to a considerable extent, particularly since the year 1968, which began for me with work on *Reflections on Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom*, and ended, as for everybody else, with the rumbling of tanks in the streets of unyielding Prague.

As before, I cannot fail to appreciate the great and beneficial changes (social, cultural and economic) which have taken place in our country in the last 50 years, realising however that analogous changes have taken place in many countries and that they are a manifestation of worldwide progress.

Tragic Conflicts

As before, I consider that it will be possible to overcome the tragic conflicts and dangers of our time only through the convergence of capitalism and the socialist regime.

In capitalist countries this process must be accompanied by a further improvement in the protection of workers' rights and a reduction in the role of militarism and its influence on political life. In socialist countries it is also essential to reduce the militarization of the economy and the role of a messianic ideology. It is vitally necessary to weaken the extreme forms of centralism and party-state bureaucratic monopoly, both in the economic sphere of production and consumption, and in the sphere of ideology and culture.

As before, I consider the democratization of society, the development of openness in public affairs, the rule of law and the safeguarding of basic human rights to be of decisive importance.

As before, I hope that society will evolve along these times under the influence of technological-economic progress, although my prognosis have now become more cautious.

It seems to me now, more than ever before, that the only true guarantee for the safeguarding of human values in the chaos of uncontrollable changes and tragic upheavals is man's freedom of conscience and his moral yearning for the good.

Our society is infected by apathy, hypocrisy, petit bourgeois egoism and hidden cruelty. The majority of representatives of its upper stratum—the party-state apparatus of government and the highest, most successful layers of the intelligentsia—cling tenaciously to their open and secret privileges and are profoundly indifferent to the infringement of human rights, the interests of progress, security, and the future of mankind. Others, although deeply concerned in their hearts, cannot allow themselves any freedom of thought and are condemned to the torture of internal conflict. Drunkenness has assumed the dimensions of a national calamity. It is one of the symptoms of the moral degradation of a society which is sinking ever deeper into a state of chronic alcoholic poisoning.

The country's spiritual regeneration demands the elimination of those conditions which drive people into becoming hypocritical and time-serving, and which lead to feelings of impotence, discontent and disillusionment. Everybody must be assured, in deed and not just in word, of equal opportunities for advancement in his work, in education and cultural growth, and the system of privileges in all spheres of consumption must be abolished. Full intellectual freedom must be assured and all forms of persecution for beliefs must cease. A radical educational reform is essential. These ideas are the basis of many proposals in the *Memorandum*.

Hidden

In particular the Memorandum mentions the problem of improvement in the material condition and independence of two of the most numerous and socially significant groups of the intelligentsia, the teachers and medical workers. The sorry state of popular education and of the health service is carefully hidden from the eyes of foreigners, but cannot remain secret from those who wish to see. A free health service and education are no more than an economic illusion in a society in which all surplus value is expropriated and distributed by the state. The hierarchical class structure of our society, with its system of privileges, is reflected in a particularly pernicious way in the health service and education. The condition of the health service and of popular education is clearly revealed in the run-down

state of public hospitals, in the poverty of the village schools with their overcrowded classes, the poverty and low standing of the teacher, and the official hypocrisy in teaching which inculcates in the rising generation a spirit of indifference towards moral, artistic and scientific values.

The most essential condition for the cure of our society is the abandonment of political persecution, in its judicial and psychiatric forms, or in any other form of which our bureaucratic and bigoted system, with its totalitarian interference by the state in the life of the citizens, is capable, such as dismissal from work, expulsion from college, refusal of residence permits, limitation of promotion at work, etc.

Blind Terror

The first beginnings of a moral regeneration of the people and the intelligentsia which resulted from the curbing of the most extreme manifestations of the Stalinist system of blind terror met with no proper understanding in ruling circles. The basic class, social and ideological features of the regime did not undergo any essential change. With pain and alarm I have to note that after a period of largely illusory liberalism there is once again an extension of restrictions on ideological freedom, efforts to suppress information which is not controlled by the state, fresh persecution for political and ideological reasons, and a deliberate aggravation of nationalities problems. The 15 months since the submission of the *Memorandum* have brought new and disturbing evidence about the development of these tendencies.

The wave of political arrests in the first few months of 1972 is particularly alarming. Numerous arrests took place in the Ukraine. Arrests have also taken place in Moscow, Leningrad and other regions of the country.

The attention of the public has also been drawn during these months to the trial of Bukovsky in Moscow and of Strokotova in Odessa, and other trials. The use of psychiatry for political purposes is fraught with extremely dangerous consequences for society and constitutes a completely inadmissible interference with basic human rights. There have been numerous protests and pronouncements on this question. At present Grigorenko, Gershuni and many others are being kept in prison-type psychiatric hospitals, the fate of Fainberg and Borisov is unknown; there are other instances of psychiatric repression (e.g. the case of the poet Lupynis in the Ukraine).

Cruelty

The persecution and destruction of religion, which has been carried on with perseverance and cruelty for decades, has resulted in what is undoubtedly one of

the most serious infringements of the rights of man in our country. Freedom of religious belief and activity is an integral part of intellectual freedom as a whole. Unfortunately the last few months have been marked by fresh instances of religious persecution, in particular in the Baltic states.

In this postscript I am passing over a series of important problems which were dealt with in the *Memorandum* and my other published documents—in the open letter to the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 'On freedom to leave the country' and to the Minister of Internal Affairs, 'On discrimination against the Crimean Tartars'.

I also pass over the majority of international problems dealt with in the *Memorandum*. I will single out from their number the question of arms race limitations. Militarization of the economy leaves a deep imprint on international and domestic policy; it leads to encroachment on democratic rights, the open conduct of public affairs, and the rule of law; it constitutes a threat to peace. The role of the military-industrial complex in US policy has been thoroughly studied. The analogous role played by the same factors in the USSR and other socialist countries is less well-known. It is, however, necessary to point out that in no country does the share of military expenditure with relation to the national income reach such proportions as in the USSR (over 40 per cent). In an atmosphere of mutual suspicion the problem of control mentioned in the *Memorandum* assumes a special role.

Humanity

I write this postscript a short time after the signing of important agreement on the limitation of ABM and strategic missiles. One would like to believe that political leaders and the people who are active in the military-industrial complexes of the USA and the USSR have a sense of responsibility towards humanity.

One would like to believe that these agreements are not merely of symbolic importance, but will lead to a real curtailment of the arms race and to further steps which would improve the political climate in our long-suffering world.

In conclusion, I consider it necessary to emphasize in particular the importance which I attach to the proposal for the setting up of an international consultative committee, 'The International Council of Experts', which would have the right to put forward recommendations to national governments which they would be obliged to consider. I think this proposal is feasible if it receives the wide international support for which I appeal, and I appeal not only to Soviet but to foreign readers. I hope too that my voice from 'inside' the socialist world may contribute in some measure to the understanding of the historical experience of the last decade.

Reviews

ARTHUR MILLER'S COLLECTED PLAYS

Allied Publishers (India) Rs. 15. pp. 439.

ARTHUR MILLER'S *Collected Plays* is a moderately handsome hard-bound edition, that will, in the words of a character in a recent English movie, "make its own quiet statement" on your bookshelf. Granted Arthur Miller's plays will look swell next to your complete collection of F. Scott Fitzgerald Short Stories, and your T. S. Eliot Collected Poems but what about the inside of the book?

The pages first reveal a dedication "To Marilyn" that reminds the reader that Miller was married to the late glamorous actress, Marilyn Monroe. Next comes a substantial heavy-going, but highly informative introduction in which Miller steps across the footlights and suggests to the reader some ways of looking at the plays. Then follows five plays "All My Sons", the Pulitzer Prize winning "Death of a Salesman", "The Crucible", the lesser known "A Memory of Two Mondays", and "A View from the Bridge".

Grand Stature

On perusing the plays, one of the first characteristics one would notice is their complete readability. Some of the plays are over one-hundred pages long, yet one can read them at a sitting with no feeling of restlessness and very little page counting. The dialogue in the plays is ungrammatically colloquial and the vocabulary is small and simple. The playwright has told us in the introduction that his motivation is to write plays that make sense to the common man. The plays certainly deal with common American humanity. In "All My Sons", and "Death of a Salesman", the heroes are contemporary American Businessmen. "A Memory of Two Mondays" deals with a group of stock clerks. The hero of "A View from the Bridge" is an Italian-American stevedore in Brooklyn. John Proctor of "The Crucible" is a typical prosperous farmer of his time in colonial New England. Miller's characters are simple in station. He argues with Aristotle's theory that true heroes must be of a grand stature. His heroes attain stature, not from their high status among men, but in their operation of free will within a given iron bound set of circumstances. A pattern emerges in many of the plays: the hero recognizes the truth of his situation, he faces the reality of his responsibility or guilt in bringing about his circumstance, and this realization forces him to make a dramatic decision.

"All My Sons" takes place in the all pervading atmosphere of anti-climax and retrospection of post World War II America. Joe Keller is a small manu-

facturer who during World War II, knowingly sold cracked cylinder heads for airplanes to the U.S. Army, resulting in the death of twenty-one pilots. Joe Keller is also the father of a fighter pilot who was lost in action. Legally, Joe has gotten away with his crime, but has never come to terms with his guilt. Through his other son's striving for the truth, Joe is forced to make the very personal connection between the loss of his son, and the loss of the twenty-one other pilots, other sons. The full weight of his guilt leaves Joe with little option but to become his own executioner, and he kills himself.

Bluffed

Willy Loman recognizes a more complex truth in "Death of a Salesman". The truth that Willy must face is that financially, as a salesman, and as a father he is a failure. His shining *credo* in life has been that of the Horatio Alger success story, personified in his brother Ben who "Walked into the jungle at seventeen, and came out at twenty-one a millionaire". Willy has raised two sons on the belief that it isn't *what* you know it's *who* you know that counts. Thus principles, rules, hard work and education were deemed unimportant. The sons were bluffed by Willy into thinking that all they needed was a pleasing personality and they too would walk out of the woods of life millionaires.

As the play unfolds, Willy is going more and more into debt, and has lost his job, and his boys are entering their thirties as a mere farm hand and a clerk. Throughout the play Willy still tries to convince himself, as he has always done, that everything is alright, but his older son, Biff, who has come to terms with his situation in life, tries desperately to make his father see the truth. As Willy faces the fact that he has not made a success in business, his life long belief that only the top dog in life has a right to live, leaves him little mental room to exist. Willy also recognizes that Biff's attempt to make him face reality is not spite, but love. Willy is left with one shining way to return that love to his son, a twenty-thousand-dollar life insurance policy. Willy kills himself, both as a recognition of his failure in life, and as one last glorious attempt to grasp the elusive dream. His sons will have twenty thousand dollars to go into a sporting goods business, and maybe, "Make It Big".

According to Miller, one of the most powerful influences on his writing is an attempt to answer not only why a character does what he does, but why "he cannot simply walk away and say to hell with it". Willy Loman was committed to killing himself because of his love for his son, Biff. John Proctor in "The Crucible" is also fatally motivated by love. Proctor has committed adultery with a servant girl named Abigail Williams. The sin of adultery is not lightly taken in the Puritan theocracy of colonial Salem

Massachusetts. John is in an agony of guilt. Witch hunts have broken out in Salem and Abigail has accused many people of being in league with the devil. Illogically, the community of Salem lets free those who admit themselves to be witches, and hangs those who protest their innocence. Thus people wishing to save themselves make spurious confessions, and add fuel to the hunt. Abigail uses the opportunity to accuse Proctor's wife of being a witch so she can marry Proctor. John Proctor is forced to admit his past relations with Abigail in a desperate attempt to discredit her and save his wife. The kangaroo court turns on John and convicts him of witchcraft. In his love and admiration of the noble people, including his wife, who faces death rather than lie, and strengthen the Witch trials, John Proctor refuses his opportunity to confess and hangs.

In contrast to the high drama in "The Crucible", "A Memory of two Mondays" is a quiet, tender period piece of late adolescence. It is about a boy who goes to work as a clerk in a warehouse to save money to go to college. He shares the minor troubles and triumphs of his fellow workers, but comes to the realization that for the opportunity of achieving something better in life, he pays the price of never really being one of them. He is unimportant to them.

Eddie Carbone, the hero of "A View from the Bridge", finds himself psychologically unable to walk away from, or to say to hell with, the situation in which he finds himself. He has raised his sister-in-law's orphaned daughter and has developed a terrific fatherly-protective passion for her, which is combined with a sexual jealousy which he cannot admit to himself or deal with. As the niece grows up she, naturally enough, falls in love and wants to marry. All the best advice which anyone can give Eddie is to bless his niece, and let her go, but Eddie is violently opposed. His passion for his niece is the one real strong current in his otherwise routine life, and he remains true to himself. He pushes aside all opportunities for reconciliation with the boy's family, wilfully becomes involved in a fight with the boy's brother, and is fatally stabbed.

Arthur Miller's *Collected Plays* is a trendy little volume which will give you a with-it image, but the modern image belies an actually, Miller is rather an old-fashioned playwright. He has an archaic idea that men can be deliberately and unnecessarily committed to evil, and that despite circumstances they can choose to do good. His epic heroes deal with the classic problem of fate in conflict with free will. He deals with the absolute necessity of a realization of truth to the dignity of man. He shows the obligations and commitments necessary in love. He, in his own words, is dedicated to the un-mod pre-twentieth century notion that "man is more than the sum of his stimuli".

JOAN CONTRACTOR

HYPOCRISY + PARASITISM = RADICALISM

India's Socialist Princes and Garibi Hatao by Benedict Costa, (Kalyani Publishers, Ludhiana pp. 164 Rs. 18.)

SOcialists all over the world mainly fall into two categories: Honest thinkers, who have given up the old slogans, who cherish human freedoms more than blind ideology, who wish to create a humane society—such as Willy Brandt of West Germany, Roy Jenkins in the U.K. or Lin Kuan Yew in Singapore. The other variety—the Radicals—swearing by Marxist socialism, mouthing slogans of equality and parading as champions of the people while living as parasites on them, and above all indulging in conspicuous hypocrisy—is to be found in Brezhnev's Russia, Ne Win's Burma, and presently in Mrs. Indira Gandhi's India.

These self-appointed Messiahs of radicalism are not just professional politicians. Their "avatars" in India are varied: there are lawyers and doctors whose black money and "White Horse" dealings are as shocking as their radicalism; trade union leaders who trade in unionism; cooperators, who are mostly "operators", perquisitive enjoying executives for whom the slogan "left-of-centre" is intellectual leavening; even socialist businessmen, if you just forgive them their black money and love for closed markets.

All of them can be summed up in one equation: Hypocrisy + Parasitism = Indian Radicalism.

Opium

Benedict Costa's book tells us many things about most of them. In 164 pages, he has packed information which should enlighten thinking citizens and expose these parasites into shame. However, nothing of the kind happens in India, immediately that is. Our radical socialists have no sense of shame or self-respect. And, the intelligentsia, as yet, prefers to sleep. "What is the Use?" is the opium it gulps down to deaden its sense of good citizenship.

In eight essays, some of them earlier published in "Illustrated Weekly of India", the author covers "socialist ministers", Governors living in "feudal splendour", the rural rich, sugar lords, black money holders, foreign exchange smugglers and executive "Nawabs" living at company's expense.

To those who have been reading their daily papers closely, most of the material in this book is all too familiar. For instance, who has not heard of Maharashtra Ruling Congress M.L.A. Shankarrao Mohite's socialist wedding dinner for 1,00,000 (one lakh) persons, with socialists like Y. B. Chavan gracing the occasion? Once again, N. Dandekar and M. R. Masani

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have familiarised the public with the hypocrisy of our Union Ministers, who draw taxable "socialist" salary of about Rs. 2,500/- per month, but enjoy a tax-free perquisitive income of a lakh of rupees a month. (Incidentally, Costa's figure of Rs. 4,48,000 a year has been outdated by the subsequent upping of the income-tax rates which is applicable only to all honest citizens and the salaried class once described by T. A. Pai, before he became a Minister as "patriots by no choice".)

The feudal splendour of Governors' living is a subject of much criticism, and as little action. Black money is the subject of constant discussion, so also is smuggling. The merit of Costa's book is that he has integrated all this material and brought it within the folds of a single book. The cumulative impact is, therefore, terrific. Incidentally, Costa has a quality rare among authors in India—to quote the source of his information.

There are some drawbacks though. Some of the figures are outdated as in the case of minister's salary. A few figures are out of focus. For instance, the number of kisan families with less than 5 acre holdings is given as 85 million on page 40. A table on page 77 puts that number at about 30 million. The demonetised amount mentioned on page 82 as one crore does not tally with the figure of nine crores given by Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, a former Reserve Bank Governor. An index is essential for a well-documented book like this, which is full of names, and other references. With a little editing, some repetitions could have been avoided.

While appreciating the author's efforts in educating the public on this vital question, one can view this problem of parasitism from a different angle than the one taken by Benedict Costa.

In the first place, it is unfair to the princely class to call our post-Independence parasites as "India's Socialist Princes". Whatever might have been the faults of the princely class—and they were many—most of them had some nobility, and a good number of them had genuine love for their subjects. This is not true of the parasites dealt with in this book.

Our outdated socialists—which includes the communists—are to be viewed in the context of our feudal society which is reeling under the impact of technology and industrialisation. The modern approach of drawing straight, big salaries, paying taxes on them and buying everything at market price does not suit the ministers or legislators because the feudal set-up requires radical, vote-catching slogans of "equality" and "ceiling on incomes". Hence they indulge in conspicuous consumption through perquisites at taxpayers' cost, behind their backs, while drawing small salaries. This is nothing but a fraud on the public.

The black money business men are also products of closed markets, scarcities and inflation which a socialist

economic policy guarantees. Are they not the true beneficiaries of this socialism, while the consumers are mulcted?

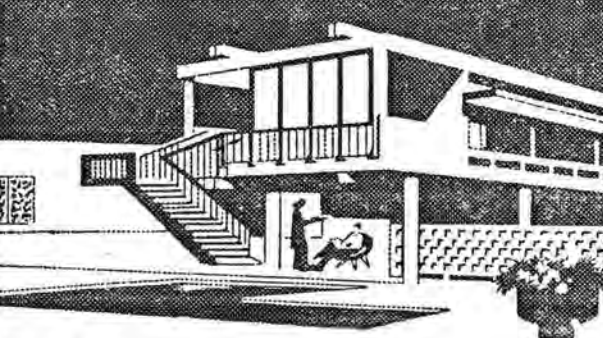
Costa raises the question in his introduction: "Will She (Indira Gandhi) succeed where others have failed?" The answer is written large in the book itself. It is a big "No", because the evils described in the book are result of an outdated socialist policy implemented by rulers with a feudal outlook who have revelled in destroying public morality. They are the "New Class" whom Milovan Djilas saw perceptively through the smokescreen of Marxism in communist societies, battenning on the masses while posing as their saviours.

Unless outdated socialism and all the humbug and hypocrisy which go with it are given up, the cancer of corruption will spread in the body politic. And what is worse, the physicians who promise to cure the malaise are to be dreaded more than the disease they profess to cure—they have neither competence nor character. Benedict Costa has done well in exposing these quack doctors. A revised, up-to-date edition as a pocket-book should be published as a public service.

M. R. PAI

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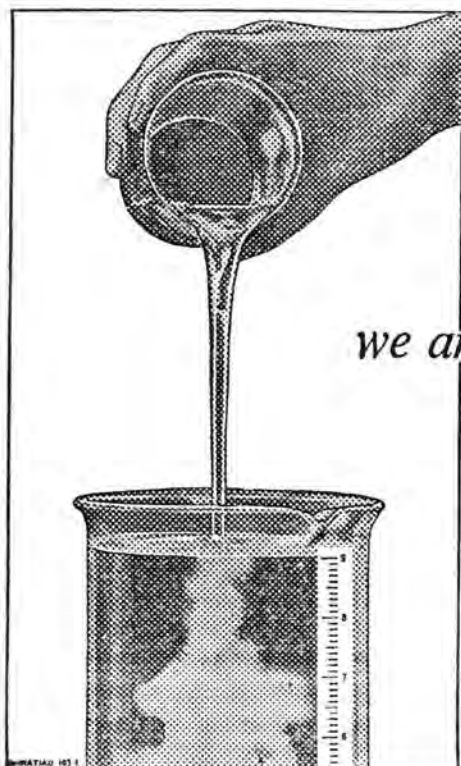
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Letters

"Freedom is Indivisible"

Sir,

Apropos your excellent Editorial "Freedom is Indivisible" in your issue of June 1973, I want to make a few comments. Quoting you "But—this is too significant—singularly little has been said about the real-politik behind this development. One would imagine that this particular act of interference with the freedom of the judiciary is an isolated act and has no relation to what has been happening elsewhere in the national life of this country. There has been almost a conspiracy of silence on this point. It thus becomes necessary to put this particular development in proper perspective." It seems that the Editor of *Freedom First* has taken on a Messianic role.

Long before the supersession of the Judiciary, the late Shri Purshottam Trikamdas, the watch-dog of the independence of the Judiciary, had times crossed swords on this very same issue with the great Jawaharlal Nehru, made a statement way back in 1968 about the Amendability of the Constitution in which he had warned that the axe would fall on the Judiciary first if this 25th Amendment was passed in Parliament besides the abrogation of the Fundamental Rights of the citizens. He had also warned that this was a clever tactic, paving the way for a communist take over. He had again warned at a meeting when the "Rape of Czechoslovakia Day" was observed that very cleverly and slowly freedoms were being cut from under our feet and unless we awake from our slumber one fine morning we would find ourselves bereft of all the freedoms that we enjoy today.

The plethora of editorials, articles, the *Hindustan Times* where Hariharan has fiercely attacked the Government for the supersession of the Judiciary as well as Bhattacharjee in *Times of India*, the forth right and frank and critical articles written by A. G. Noorani, Nayantara Sehgal and Jayaprakash Narayan which were all published in the press as well as the letters to the Editor which were all strong indictment of the Government particularly in the *Hindu* in Madras which kept on a tirade against the government for nearly a month in their daily issues are an indication of the passions roused as well as realising the danger that has become the greatest threat to this country, in view of the derogation and subordination of the highest Judiciary in the land. The criticism of the press you have made regarding their inability to call a spade a spade may be correct in certain section of the press, but generalisation is unfair as the above statements I have made could be considered proof enough. I had also added my little voice of protest by writing a strong Editorial on this which the *Indian Express*, instead of publishing in full, tore out of con-

text, but the matter was remedied by *Thought* which published it in full.

The very well attended meeting consisting of nearly 50 per cent of the intelligentsia in Delhi to Honour the Superseded Judges who maintained their dignity and integrity by resigning is proof enough of the anger of the public.

Your statement about this conspiracy of silence is unfair to the democrats, to the liberal and the intelligentsia in our country.

Last, but not least, I could not agree with you more that "our lawyers will have to learn once again to act as citizens."

LEELA P. TRIKAMDAS

[The Editor yields to nobody in his admiration for the prescience and the zest with which Purshottam Trikamdas fought for freedom in all its aspects. His absence amongst us today is a loss we bitterly feel.

Mrs. Leela P. Trikamdas has missed the point of our Editorial which was that, among the numerous manifestations of protest to which she refers, there were hardly any which clinched the argument by describing the supersession of the three judges as a step in the Communist take over of India, or showed how Mr. Kumaramangalam's defence of that step in Parliament was in line with Vyshinsky's theories which justified Stalin's horrible "Trials", or showed how the judiciary cannot expect to be free if the rights of the farmer, the foodgrain dealer, the capitalist or the worker on strike are suppressed. —Editor]

"India and the World"

I HAVE seen Mr. Chatterjee's review "India and the World" published in the latest issue of the *Freedom First*. I question Mr. Chatterjee's claim to have spent a week in carefully reading the book before he wrote the review. The Acknowledgements clearly say that the five articles in Part II have been bodily lifted from the *Orbis*, *Mizan*, *The China Quarterly* and *The China Report*. Yet Mr. Chatterjee expects us to tell him "if the papers were presented at the seminar, or merely added to the book".

I wish Mr. Chatterjee had read carefully only the titles under sub section II of Part I of the book to convince himself that "India's involvement or interest in the area (Vietnam)" were carefully analysed by most participants. May I invite his attention to pages 62 to 84? Mr. Prithvis Chakravarti says that "India tends to overlook that the conflict in Indo-China has grown into a Big Power conflict". He continues: "The other factor which distorts Indian understanding is direct American participation in the conflict (in Vietnam) with combat troops and air force. We do not notice similar direct participation by Soviet troops or Chinese troops on the North Vietnamese side."

According to Mr. Chakravarti, "Our policy has been swinging from one extreme to another, without any consistency, with the result that public opinion in India is very genuinely confused. In India our system does not permit insurgency or armed struggle for power.... Right across the border we deny that policy to the small and tiny states of Indo-China and ask them to adopt one completely contrary to what we practise here."

Prof. L. P. Singh, while concluding his observations, posed a question as to what should India do? "Now we say that we are not dependent on the USA or Russia. We find that Mrs. Indira Gandhi said something in Washington, something else in Moscow and something else in New Delhi. We have now achieved a position whereby we can play a more assertive role rather than speak in generalities. What we should do now is to mobilise support for the cause of peace."

Dr. J. M. Mukhi, who a decade ago prepared a report on the functioning of the International Control Commission on behalf of the Government of India, has clearly spoken of "India's failure in Vietnam". "Is it in the interest of India and non-Communist countries of South East Asia to see that the United States retreats from this area? If there is a vacuum in this area, who is going to fill it?" Dr. Mukhi himself answers his questions. "Surely it is a pipe-dream to think that a Soviet sponsored united Vietnam is going to resist communist China. If Communist China comes down to South East Asia *via* Vietnam or *via* any other country, what is there to stop it?"

According to Mr. Chatterjee, who claims to know about South East Asia, the 1954 Geneva Agreement and the International Control Commission are like flogging dead horses. The Geneva Agreement of 1954 brought temporary peace in Vietnam and partitioned the country into North and South with independent Cambodia and Laos and entrusted a peace keeping role to India along with Poland and Canada. "Simultaneously there was a Declaration of the Powers at Geneva. This was to the effect that after democratic institutions were established there would be consultations and free elections, without fear or favour, and the country would be united." The International Control Commission did nothing about it. Dr. Mukhi says that "India was given a job to do and India did not do it."

Mr. Mankekar has also tried to analyse as to what India should do in Vietnam, Dr. Parimal Das saying that "India committed blunders in Vietnam". Mr. A. G. Noorani reminded the participants of what Nehru said in 1961: "Would you like to see an extension of Communist influence in Indo-China" and he said positively "No".

In spite of this Mr. Chatterjee has no hesitation in saying that "the session on South East Asia revealed little fresh thinking on the Vietnam problem", and

"India's involvement on interest in the area were not made clear" and "India was probed as a peripheral issue".

Mr. Chatterjee has his own notions of recent developments and that he is prejudiced against certain Powers is obvious from the last two paragraphs of his review containing his own surmises. Quotes from President Nixon's statements like "one time exception," "extenuating circumstances" have let the cat out of the bag as to where Mr. Chatterjee's sympathies lie. The attempt of the organisers was to have as detailed a discussion as possible during the limited period of two days on world events as they have developed following President Nixon's visit to China and the Soviet Union for ushering in "a generation of peace".

The bi-polar world has given place to a multi-polar world with its many dimensions, changing the matrix of relations of the earlier decade and forcing old enmities and attitudes to yield place to new reconciliations and accept new realities.

In this changing pattern of the world of the Seventies, what is India's role? How can it hope to influence events around it while seeking its own national interests? To these fundamental questions answers were attempted by the participants. The texts of various terms and treaties have been appended to the book mainly to make the compilation self-contained.

A. P. JAIN

WHO INVITED WHOM?

The question poses itself, Who invited these (Russian) armies in?... The question was never discussed to the end; it has not been resolved. No names have been published. When the matter was discussed in Bratislava, Prague and Moscow with our leaders, all members of the leadership of the federal and the Slovak parties, without exception, gave their word of honor that they were not involved in any such *démarche* and had no knowledge of it. *I know of no leading personality in Czech or Slovak political life of whom it could be said with certainty he had taken this step...* (Emphasis added.)

—Gustav Husak's statement, reported in *Pravda* (Bratislava), August 29, 1968.

On behalf of our delegation, we want to express from the rostrum of this Congress [the 24th CPSU Congress] our sincere thanks to the CPSU, to the Soviet people for having understood the anxieties of the Czechoslovak Communists regarding socialism and their appeals for help...

—Gustav Husak's address to the 24th CPSU Congress, Radio Moscow, April 1, 1971.

BROKEN NOSE — Continued from page 1

that time that industrial laws were favourable to employers and were thus employer-oriented. Not only that but he advised Management on this occasion that it should not take cognizance of minor assault cases. It was mentioned that in 1969 a worker had assaulted a supervisor and had broken his nasal bone. It is said that Mr. Reddy's reaction on this was that it was a minor affair.

Violation of Settlements by Workers

In connection with Central Labour Minister, Mr. Raghunath Reddy's interference, the following information regarding two more industries in other States is available.

Indian Explosive Ltd. (Fertilizer Division), Kanpur

Leadership with Marxists! There were totally four agreements and assurances were given of discipline and cooperation within the factory. But these assurances were never fulfilled. This year because of the power cut there is a lay-off in most of the factories in U.P. Though production had come down to 50% there was no lay-off in this factory.

But the Union raised dispute about the number of people to be employed in each department and started

agitation. The Company's refusal to consult the Union was answered by adopting go-slow tactics. Those who had adopted go-slow and resorted to assault were suspended and others were laid off immediately. At this moment 400 workers are outside

And the Central Minister interfered here. Management drew his attention to the fact that State Ministry is already seized of the situation. Thereafter, when the issue was before conciliation, Central Labour Minister, Mr. Reddy, tried to bring pressure on Management but Management refused to be pressurized.

Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Ltd., Rishikesh

In this factory, which manufactures antibiotics, production suffered because of growing indiscipline. As a result many were chargesheeted and a few were suspended. Some were discharged resulting in a sit-in strike and agitation. Central Labour Minister, Mr. Reddy, asked that all workers should be reinstated and further took over the responsibility for deciding the legality of the strike.

In spite of this, complaints about indiscipline continue.

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"Tis not too late to seek a newer world."

—Tennyson.

Commitment, alas, is often the badge of the charlatan.

—Romesh Thapur in *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 5.

Before Watergate, politicians used to be the second rung from the bottom of the ladder, just above used-car salesmen. Now we're on the bottom.

—Democrat Dan Cupertin in *Time*, May 28.

Power corrupts but absence of power corrupts absolutely.

—Christopher Hollis in *Parliament and its Sovereignty*.

If the Government had been given a contract 200 years ago to produce electric light, that company today would still be called General Candle.

—Ronald Reagan in *U.S. News and World Report*, May 7.

While the Indian press is too busy publishing other nations' scandals, it has yet to muster courage to investigate scandalous affairs involving Indian politicians.

—P. M. Kamath in *Times of India*, May 11.

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Some years ago, the U.S. dealt with Asia ignoring China. Now it is dealing with China ignoring Asia.

—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in *Times of India*, May 17.

A person's associations with the CPI and advocacy of a wholly pro-Soviet foreign policy have ceased to be disqualifications in the eyes of a very sizeable percentage of Congress M.P.'s

—*Times of India*, May 19.

God is no longer fashionable.

—Pope Paul quoted in *Indian Express*, May 25.

That biggest fraud in Indian politics, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

—George Fernandes in *Indian Express*, May 26.

He (Nehru) is God's dream of an Indian model for an ideal world.

—Edwina Mountbatten quoted in *Blitz*, May 26.

I hope that the President will receive the same credence that is sometimes given to thieves who purloin documents.

—Hugh Scott in *Time*, June 4.

I think it is time in this country to quit making national heroes out of those who steal secrets and publish them in newspapers.

—President Nixon in *Time*, June 4.

The mandate with which Mr. Brezhnev sets off on his new travels is: 'Go west, old man; bring back western technology, credit, grain, unilateral concessions and unilateral relaxation; give them Shelest's head on a platter if you like, but nothing else.' This mandate suits him very well. So it should; he wrote it himself.

—*The Economist*, May 5.

The British have had a lovely week indulging in one of their periodic fits of morality and inverted snobbery.

—*The Economist*, May 26.

No politician can expect to have more than one windfall like the break up of Pakistan.

—*The Economist*, May 19.