

Founder : M. R. MASANI

Editor : NISSIM EZEKIEL

29th Year of Publication

freedom first

JULY 1980

Price : Re 1

331

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL IDEAS

AFTER THE ELECTIONS

NISSIM EZEKIEL

It is not so much the performance of the ruling party as its mode of functioning that matters today. The performance is unlikely in any case to match expectations. Those who expect prices to be controlled, roads and houses to be built, transport and other services to be improved, etc., are certain to be disappointed. One suspects that they are even prepared for disappointment; they also know what excuses will be offered for failure in these and other areas. The scenario is a familiar one, and the defence as well as the criticism of it is familiar too. Perhaps a different ruling party, a coalition of Opposition groups, would fare no better. But there is a difference.

When my attack on Mrs. Gandhi and Sanjay appeared in the journal last month, the reaction from friendly readers was astonishingly uniform. 'You have stuck your neck out', they said. 'You are risking your safety and that of your family. Are you sure you know the danger? You will suffer for being so outspoken'. And so on. Clearly, the general feeling is of fear, which has a base.

Not only memories of the Emergency but evidence of non-democratic thinking and action by Mrs. Gandhi, Sanjay and their followers makes people afraid of expressing dissent and concerned about those who do. If my attack were on Morarji Desai, Charan Singh or any other leader in power, it would be considered routine verbal opposition, always legitimate in a democracy. The implications of the contrast are obvious. Whether or not Mrs. Gandhi and Sanjay improve life for the millions in India, it is almost universally believed that the normal human rights guaranteed by the Constitution are about to be subverted.

Rumours are afloat about measures to control the media. These are actually publicised by newspapers and periodicals supporting Congress (I). Prospective changes in the Constitution are frequently hinted at, and voices in support are raised in a way that suggests stage-managed monoeuvres. (These voices will be attributed to the general public when the foul deed is done, so that it may appear that the ruling party is only responding to a National demand). As for the

Judiciary, it is already in full retreat from the imperious pressures of government policy. Arun Shourie in *The Indian Express* and A. G. Noorani in *Opinion* are among many who have assembled and interpreted the facts in this context. Janardhan Thakur in *Mid-day* and other papers covers the Mafia-type politics that is widely recognised in India and abroad as among the realities of the situation.

There is a Power behind the powers that be, pulling the strings and manipulating the puppets. It is that Power, not legitimate authority, people are frightened by today. Its deluded supporters will not acknowledge the truth about it till they are personally affected. The editors and others who ask for abrogation of democratic norms in the alleged interests of reform or revolution will think differently when they themselves become victims of tyranny. Why do they imagine that they will never be affected by the drastic steps and repressive measures they champion today so complacently?

To improve the living conditions of millions in India, more power is not needed than is available already to our rulers. What is needed is the will to use it pragmatically, to implement programmes on which there is a broad, national consensus, to show results without evasion and falsification.

We can get along without ideological self-justification and propaganda. We can't without specific improvements in the lives of those who need them most urgently. A Government that "works" is not the one seeking to undermine the democratic process by which it was set up. It can and must keep its promises by strengthening that process which also means strengthening the Indian people as a whole.

A weak people and a strong Government add up to disaster and misery for millions. This has been proved by all the dictatorships of the twentieth century: in Russia and Eastern Europe, in the Middle East, and in South-East Asia, in South America and China and Africa. No comparable sufferings can be traced to the democratic nations, whatever their other faults and weaknesses.

Poverty is India's central problem. To solve it (or pretend to) by enslaving the impoverished, along with all other segments of the population, is to replace one great evil by another. It may be worse. For the overwhelming majority, poverty will not be abolished or even diminished, while slavery for the majority as for the rest becomes a way of life. This is the possibility that calls for Resistance.

SOVIET WORLD IN THE MAKING

by S. RAJARATNAM

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Republic of Singapore

Speech to the Foreign Correspondents Club, Tokyo,
16 April 1980

THE topic I have chosen is decidedly unpleasant and possibly dangerous for a Foreign Minister to discuss publicly.

I have nevertheless decided to take the risk because I think the question is one which will most certainly decide the shape and character of the world of the 21st century—only 20 years away.

And the question is this: Will the 21st century see the end of the non-Communist, largely capitalist, world order and its supersession by a new Communist World Order?

In the non-Communist world a question such as this has for long been considered both unfashionable and reactionary. It is the language of antiquated Cold War mischief makers. The progressive view, authorised largely by the Soviets, was implicit faith in detente and peaceful co-existence between different social systems on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. I believe I have got the catechism right—more or less.

This is the catechism but the reality is something else altogether. Let us consider what detente and peaceful co-existence has achieved for the Communist world under Soviet leadership and for the non-Communist world under the leadership of nobody in particular.

First, the Soviet balance sheet. Before World War II, there was only one, somewhat precarious, Communist state in the world—the Soviet Union. It was not even a power, let alone a super-power. That was the time when Russian plumbing and the chronic inability of Communist mujiks to establish any kind of rapport with even the simplest of machines were occasions for complacent hilarity among capitalist powers then lording it over vast empires.

Socialism in one country, as Stalin said it would be, lulled the Western world into complacency. The Western world predicted that Socialism in one country would sooner or later collapse and Russia would return to the capitalist fold. The post-war boom reinforced the belief that capitalism was indestructible.

Today, some 60 years later, we laugh less about Russian capacity to establish a working relationship

with complex and intricate machinery—especially the machinery of war. Maybe their plumbing is still not up to scratch and may be their watches are like grandfather clocks compared to the sleek smooth products of the capitalist world.

It is possible that the Soviets have lost out on plumbing and watches but they have been steadily winning a more important war through skilful use of detente and peaceful-coexistence. Please go back to your atlas and contemplate it. Here it is the Russians who have every reason for hilarity. It more than compensates for having lost out on plumbing and watches.

As they gaze at the atlas they know that the Soviet century is taking shape beautifully and what is even more encouraging, largely unnoticed by the non-Communist world. Today the Communist world stretches from the Berlin Wall, across Soviet Asia, down East Asia and South East to terminate, for the time being, along Thailand's borders. Except for China and North Korea all the other states acknowledge the undisputed and indisputable leadership of the expanding Communist world the Soviet Union is erecting over our heads.

Add to this massive Communist Euro-Asian bloc, Soviet outposts in Nicaragua, Cuba, Angola, Mozambique, Granada, Ethiopia, South Yemen and even a few islands north of Japan.

And how has the non-Communist world fared under detente and peaceful co-existence. As the Soviet power and influence has grown so has that of the non-Communist powers ceaselessly shrunk. Not only have the vast Western Empires disappeared but a number of their former dependencies have entered or are seriously considering entering the emerging Soviet world order. Under the euphoria of detente and peaceful co-existence the non-Communist powers have of their own volition clipped their claws and extracted their molars to convince the appreciative Soviets that they are peace-loving lions.

The consequence is that the military and strategic superiority that the non-Communist powers had even as late as 1965 has now been largely lost to the Soviets. Today the Soviets have established conventional military superiority in Europe and global strategic parity with the United States. In fact Soviet

military capacity is somewhat greater than the above comparison suggests.

Most of the 21 countries currently within the Soviet orbit are not areas of peaceful socialist construction but of intensive militarisation. The moment a country becomes a Soviet ally, forging of ploughshares into swords is the major preoccupation. Loyal Cuba exports soldiers to Africa and elsewhere to spread revolutionary wars so much so that Cuban cigars may one day have to be manufactured in Japan.

Less than three years after the end of three decades of anti-imperialist wars, the peoples of Vietnam are once again waging war against a former comrade in arms. It is estimated that there are nearly a million Vietnamese under arms today—more than when the Vietnamese were fighting the Americans. Everyone knows that it is Soviet rather than Vietnamese economy which is fuelling Vietnamese fighting spirit. Were the Soviets to turn off aid for a week the Vietnamese military machine will come to a grinding halt.

Nevertheless the fact remains that the non-Communist world is unable to make any credible response to Soviet military moves in either Kampuchea or Afghanistan. True, the overwhelming majority of U.N. members have censured Communist armed intervention in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. But this has not deterred the Soviets and their friends from persisting in and intensifying their armed intervention.

So the question the non-Communists should seriously ponder over, in the light of the balance-sheet I have

made, is this: How is it that detente and peaceful co-existence have resulted in the Soviet world growing bigger and stronger while the non Communist world has by that much grown smaller and weaker? Unless we take a second look at detente and peaceful co-existence, I have not the slightest doubt that these admirable concepts will continue to work to the advantage of the Soviet Union and if it persists over the eighties then the 21st century must be a Soviet century.

Look at the atlas again and you will realise that this is no Cold War alarmism. As of today industrial Western Europe is geopolitically no more than an appendage of a Soviet Euro-Asia. At the other end is industrial Japan—also an appendage. If over the next decade or so West, South and South-East Asia could be brought within the Soviet orbit, as they well might be, then the Soviets will have no serious problem getting the two tails of Soviet Euro-Asia to wag the right way.

The Africa and the two Americas, deprived of the industrial powerhouses of Western Europe and Japan, would have no choice but to adjust to the reality of a Soviet century.

Am I indulging in political melodrama in saying this? What authority have I for saying that Soviet ambition is the establishment of a Communist World Order under their leadership?

I have as my authority the real experts on Soviet policy—the men who shape and implement Soviet policy. These are the Soviet leaders themselves and

We are behind every stop



Make your safety a certainty with BI Girling spares



For your copy of a Free information booklet in English on Brake Care write to us clearly indicating your name and address in block letters.

Brakes India Limited
Padi, Madras 600 050

SAA/BI/01

their ideologies. Read the recent—and not so recent—speeches of Soviet leaders.

This year *Pravda*, *New Times*, *Isvestia* and other Communist journals have openly declared that world capitalism, as Marx predicted, has reached its final stages of decline and that now is the time to launch the prophesised world socialist revolution headed by the Soviet Union. I documented these and other statements by world Communist leaders in speeches I made recently. For example an article in the *New Times* of January this year expanded Mr. Brezhnev's doctrine asserting that it was the "international duty" of all Communists to provide moral, political and military assistance not only to threatened members of the Soviet socialist bloc, which was the original Brezhnev doctrine, but now also to revolutionary regimes everywhere.

Therefore the question we should ask ourselves is: How was it possible for the Soviet Union on the basis of detente and peaceful co-existence to tip the balance of power in its favour in less than 15 years? If Soviet power continues to grow at this rate there is no doubt who will emerge No. 1 within the next 20 years.

I attribute Soviet success to one and one thing only: a superb foreign policy. It has style and class and if the non-Communist powers have anything to learn this is one area where the Soviets excel. It is the foreign policy of a nation determined to be No. 1.

It has to do with the quality of the leadership which formulates and implements foreign policy. It has to do with building up a great and coherent vision of what it is that a great power wants to achieve and how to achieve it. It means total dedication by the leaders to this great cause to which they subordinate their personal interests and their little vanities and for the achievement of which they mobilise their people to make temporary sacrifices and endure hardships.

If you want to be the No. 1 great power then you must play the power game according to its rules.

And the Soviets, it must be said to their credit and honour, have played according to the rules. It is now being alleged that Mr. Brezhnev has been deceitful and dishonourable about detente and peaceful co-existence. He has been no more so than his adversaries. On the evidence he has been less so than his adversaries.

Let me quote from a public statement made by Mr. Brezhnev (and reiterated by his supporters since then) in June 1972 when the principles of detente were endorsed by all concerned. This is what he said:

"While pressing for the assertion of the principles of co-existence, we realise that the success in this important matter in no way signifies the possibility of weakening the ideological struggle. On the contrary we should be prepared for an intensification of the ideological struggle and for it to assume an increasingly more acute form of struggle between the two social systems."

Where is the deception? He states quite categorically that peaceful co-existence does not mean the abandonment of the publicly reiterated historic mission of the Soviet Union to bury capitalism.

To give substance to his interpretation of detente Mr Brezhnev soon after the signing of the principles of detente and co-existence, launched largely through proxies a succession of revolutionary wars—the Yom Kippur war, the air-lifting of Cuban troops to light up revolutionary wars in Africa, the war in Ethiopia, the overthrow of the non-Communist Government of President Daud in Afghanistan, revolutions in Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, the invasion of Kampuchea and the invasion of North Yemen culminating in direct intervention in Afghanistan.

Despite this clear evidence of what the Soviets meant by peaceful co-existence, the non-Communist world asserted that the spirit of detente was growing from strength to strength. Mr Brezhnev assumed that his interpretation of detente was not being contested.

In my opinion if there was any deception it was largely self-deception. The Soviets must have been astonished by the sincere gullibility of the non-communist powers, but according to the rules of the power game the Soviets were under no obligation to cure their adversaries of their delusions.

In short the Soviets became stronger because their adversaries made themselves weaker, largely through their own efforts.

Have the delusions about detente now been shattered? Frankly, I am not so sure. There are signs that the non-Communist world is establishing some sort of contact with reality after the Afghan shock. But in the case of Kampuchea there appears to be a drifting back to the old delusions. One of these is that the Vietnamese can be weaned away from the Soviets despite the fact that up to this month the Vietnamese leaders have come out openly to say that Kampuchea and Afghanistan are part of the strategic offensive, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, to bring about a world communist order.

The immediate task is not to win over Vietnam but the Soviet Union to the realisation that the non-Communist powers are prepared to play detente and co-existence the Brezhnev way. The immediate task is for the non-Communist nations that they can offer as decisive and credible a leadership as Mr Brezhnev gives to his small but trusting band of followers.

If not, these 140 will slowly drift away to the side which they may not want to win but which looks like the winning side.

If the foreign policy of the non-Communist powers can match that of the Soviet Union in class, style and coherence then even Mr Brezhnev would have peace of mind. There is no more dangerous adversary in this nuclear age than one who plays the power game without regard to its rules and etiquette. Such an adversary could inadvertently press the wrong button. *

VOICES I

MINORITY COLLEGES

June 1979 was a crucial year for educational institutions in Maharashtra.

The Government brought out a circular, ordering institutions to regularise admissions to Junior Colleges solely on the basis of merit. The exceptions (and there was the rub) were to cover 40% of the seats which fell in the "Reserved" category—for scheduled castes, tribes, backward classes, those talented in extra curricular activities, and others chosen by the management. The reservation for scheduled castes/tribes and backward classes stung most, as more than 25 of the 40% reserved seats were for them.

Subsequently, a petition was filed in the High Court challenging the Government Order on the ground that the petitioning institutions were "minority colleges." The Court stayed the Government Order.

What followed was most painful. Virtually every college that had a non-Maharashtra and/or a non-Hindu management declared itself a "minority college" overnight, claiming the right to admit whomsoever they liked. The irony of the situation is that in Bombay it is the Maharashtra community that may legitimately be called a minority. Tragically, the ultimate sanction of this absurdity of legalising "recommendation admissions" was granted by the Constitution of India (Section 31) which guaranteed linguistic or religious minority educational institutions the right to manage themselves the way they liked. No better immunity could be so desirable and devastating at the same time.

All this brings to mind a few basic questions.

Is it fair to have pockets of privileges on the basis of birth and genealogy rather than on merit? The question is relevant to both the backward classes of one kind or other and to the linguistic or religious minorities.

What is the meaning of the word "minority"? Does a native outside his native land become a "minority-member"? And what about a place like Bombay where the "majority community" has itself become a minority? Not more than 30% of Bombay's population is Maharashtrian, with the remaining comprising "minority communities."

The conclusion is that by repeatedly defining each word of the previous definition we have reached a stage where the end meaning has distorted the original intent. That is what our law has become. The danger is that unless there is judicious caution on the part of those in power, the alternative remedy will ultimately be fear: fear on the part of majority communities that

they may be deprived of what is legitimately their's.

Assam has proved that this fear is not a mere speck on the horizon any more. If we cannot celebrate and cherish equality *as equals* then we shall soon be left with fragmented equalities, with minorities more equal than majorities. The response to that will be manifested in sons-of-the-soil theories, with prospects of mass resistance movements and violence.

A MAHARASHTRIAN

VOICES II

LESSONS FROM SOUTH KOREA

The recent events in South Korea, where almost 200 people were killed in four days of riots, have a moral for us. In 1960, following similar disturbances, South Korean strongman Syngman Rhee was toppled and soon afterwards, General Park Chung Hee took over as the new leader. Under Park's leadership, South Korea progressed economically at a phenomenal rate, comparable to Japan and Taiwan. Today, the nation's GNP per capita is an astounding Rs 15,000, lifting it, within less than two decades, from a backward, largely rural country, to one of the developed nations of the world.

Most observers agree that, unlike similar authoritarian leaders in Asia, Park was personally honest, though it now appears that many of his associates were not. Yet this man, who selflessly strove so hard and so successfully to better the lot of his countrymen, was assassinated eight months ago. The event was followed, first by political liberalisation, and then, when the army got scared at the student upsurge, by a brutal crackdown.

What went wrong and what are the lessons that we in India can learn from these events?

Firstly, that however attractive strong-man, authoritarian rule may appear in pushing a country forward, it usually exerts a terrible, often unacceptable price. The common argument, voiced even by well-meaning liberals, is that democracy is too "slow" and inefficient for a backward country like India and that a dose of the "danda" is often required—and to hell with traditional democratic freedoms.

The trouble, however, is that dictators have a habit of very quickly thinking of themselves as indispensable saviours of their respective nations, and of treating those who dare think otherwise with greater and greater severity. Promises of "restoring democracy" at some unspecified future date are, of course, invariably made and just as invariably broken. Whether it is Pakistan's General Zia, Burma's General Chun—it's the same old story.

But when the lid is kept too long and too firmly on a bottle, in which unfulfilled hopes are fermenting, it explodes as it did in South Korea and, in a somewhat different sense, in Bangladesh when Sheikh Mujib was assassinated after his assumption of near-dictatorial powers. Apart from the legacy of violence that such an explosion leaves behind—which is terribly difficult to shake off—it often destroys whatever progress the country may have made under dictatorial rule.

So, at the end of it all, no freedom, no economic gains; just a blighted generation. Witness what is happening to Iran, and though it is too soon to predict a similar fate for South Korea, its 20% inflation, widespread unemployment and economic recession, are ominous signs. India, despite its comparatively slow progress, has been spared such trauma.

Secondly, strong, upright leaders may start their authoritarian careers honestly and with the best of intentions, but as their rule wears on they tend to either become corrupt themselves or allow those near the "gaddi" to make dishonest fortunes. A continuation of dictatorial rule (or maternal emergency rule) hence becomes imperative, simply because liberalisation would immediately expose the regime's corruption and nepotism.

Here, again, look at what happened to Ayub Khan of Pakistan and the current goings-on in the Philippines and Indonesia, where, so great is corruption even at the highest levels, that President Suharto's wife, Madame Tien, is commonly known as Madam Ten—for the 10% commission she allegedly takes on all deals! Even in South Korea, though Park remained an honest man throughout, recent evidence indicates that his fellow-generals and associates used the umbrella of his rule to amass illegal money. Little wonder, then, that they are petrified that they may be exposed if the regime is liberalised.

Where does India come into all this? Many of us, who want our country to move faster, are tempted by the example of nations like South Korea. Which is perhaps why our leaders, with considerable support from the intelligentsia, flirted with authoritarianism during the Emergency. Fortunately, they pulled back from the brink. Otherwise, we would be travelled down a much-used road on which the prospects look bright, but what is not visible is the avalanche awaiting to destroy everything.

There's no doubt that, given our nation's talents and resources, we can do much better, which is probably why the temptation arises in the first place. However, we have over the last 33 years begun to evolve a system—slow and cumbersome maybe—that meets to a large extent the aspirations of the people. Notice, for instance, how the South Korean authorities clubbed, kicked and bayoneted their dissident students in the streets and how we have ours in Assam. Let's reform what we have, rather than throw it out for a perilous future.

RAHUL SINGH

NACHIKETA PUBLICATIONS LIMITED

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

A STATESMAN ENTERPRISE

Books for all bookshelves and budgets :

	Rs.
Aesthetics and Literary Criticisms by R. B. Patankar	10/-
Bihar Shows The Way by S. K. Datta-Ray	75/-
D. M. K. In Power by P. Spratt	10/-
Education In The Fourth Plan by J. P. Naik	6/-
Freedom Of The Press In India by A. G. Noorani	6/-
From The Jhelum To The Volga by S. Nihal Singh	15/-
Gandhi And The American Scene by C. Seshachari	8/-
Glimpses of Old Calcutta by R. R. Chowdhury	55/-
German Scholars On India — Vol. II	75/-
Hindu-Muslim Relations in Bengal 1905-1947 by H. Rahman	15/-
Indira's India A Political Notebook by S. Nihal Singh	35/-
Indian Polity: A Plea For Reform by R. A. Gopalswami	10/-
India In Transition by M. N. Roy	12/-
India's Carribean Adventure by K. Bhimani	8/-
Kerala: Yenan of India by Victor M. Fic	25/-
The Career Of The Secondary School Teacher in Poona by P. Kale	9/-
The Phases Of Indian Nationalism And Other Essays by Dietmar Rothermund	12/-
Traditional Recipes Of India by Mrs. B. J. Maneckshaw	22/-
Under The Indian Sky by A. Chanda	10/-
Writings And Speeches Of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan by S. Mohammad	16/-
What Price A Free Press Edited by V. V. John & A. B. Shah	9/-

Also Available From:

THE STATESMAN LIMITED

Statesman House
Connaught Circus.
New Delhi 110 001

Statesman House,
Chowwringhee Square
Calcutta 700 001

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

ASTROLOGY AND RATIONALISM

On behalf of the Bombay Rationalist Association, an affiliate of the Indian Rationalist Association, Suvichardharak Mandal, and others engaged in the fight against superstition, we are addressing this to you.

Thanks to the great progress made in the field of astronomy, there is today a great deal of knowledge and understanding about the solar system, the planets and the stars. From this it is quite clear that the movements of the planets can have no influence on the day-to-day lives of human beings and their activities. A statement on astrology signed by several scientists, including Nobel Prize winners, follows.

It is obvious that the very foundation of astrology, namely the connection between the movements of the planets and the destinies of human beings, is so shaky as to be non-existent. There is never any consistency between the forecasts of any two astrologers. Not a single astrologer has dared publish statistics on the correctness or otherwise of his predictions. This proves the total unreliability of astrology.

No guidance is possible from astrology for the conduct of day-to-day affairs. People having blind faith in astrology look to life with unjustified expectations and tend to lose faith in their own abilities. As a result they become incapable of viewing both past and future events properly. They also become incapable of taking decisions on important matters on the basis of realistic and rational thinking.

Moreover, due to the persuasive style of some fortune-tellers and astrologers, blind faith is strengthened to the detriment of one's reasoning capacity. This, in our opinion, is the greatest disservice rendered by astrology to the development of critical intelligence, scientific temper and self-reliance so necessary for a democratic society.

The correctness of astrological forecasts is balanced on the thin line of a fifty-fifty chance. A man oppressed by cares accepts what comes true: and blaming the rest on his bad luck becomes a fatalist. It is impossible to find a single person who has the experience of consistently correct forecasts.

In India, thirty-eight babies are born every minute. It is common knowledge that these thirty-eight persons lead different lives in different directions and fields. But according to astrologers, there is the same future in store for all these persons. Or take the case of the readers of a paper who are living in a thousand different places. The future of these thousand persons is given by forecasters in a single sentence or a few lines which must necessarily be vague. If a forecast on one item in respect of one person turns out to be true, it must indeed be sheer coincidence.

It is highly doubtful if anyone purchases a paper only for the purpose of reading about his or her future. On the other hand, publication of such useless, unscientific and deceptive forecasts consumes a lot of valuable space which can be utilized for better purposes. If you delete the item of astrological fore-

casts it is not likely to affect the circulation or readership of any paper.

Only those nations which promote a scientific attitude among the people become strong and prosperous. When men turn to the stars and planets for guidance, they are bound to lose confidence in themselves and become fatalistic.

Newspapers are powerful weapons and must be used for building a new and rational social order in our country. This cannot be done by people steeped in blind faith and superstition. We, therefore, request all papers to stop publishing astrological forecasts and help promote a scientific attitude among the people as is enshrined in the constitution of India.

A. Solomon, President, Bombay Rationalist Association, Unit No. 26, Municipal Industrial Estate, Keshavrao Khadye Marg, Jacob Circle, Bombay—400 011.

M. K. Samant, President, Suvichardharak Mandal.

Objections to Astrology A Statement by 192 Leading Scientists

Scientists in a variety of fields have become concerned about the increased acceptance of astrology in many parts of the world. We, the undersigned—astronomers, astrophysicists, and scientists in other fields—wish to caution the public against the unquestioning acceptance of the predictions and advice given privately and publicly by astrologers. Those who wish to believe in astrology should realize that there is no scientific foundation for its tenets.

In ancient times people believed in the predictions and advice of astrologers because astrology was part and parcel of their magical world view. They looked upon celestial objects as abodes or omens of the gods and thus intimately connected with events here on earth; they had no concept of the vast distances from the earth to the planets and stars. Now that these distances can and have been calculated, we can see how infinitesimally small are the gravitational and other effects produced by the distant planets and the far more distant stars. It is simply a mistake to imagine that forces exerted by stars and planets at the moment of birth can in any way shape our futures. Neither is it true that the position of distant heavenly bodies makes certain days or periods more favourable to particular kinds of action, or that the sign under which one was born determines one's compatibility or incompatibility with other people.

Why do people believe in astrology? In these uncertain times, many long for the comfort of having guidance in making decisions. They would like to believe in a destiny predetermined by astral forces beyond their control. However, we must all face the world, and we must realize that our futures lie in ourselves and not in the stars.

One would imagine, in this day of widespread enlightenment and education, that it would be unnecessary to debunk beliefs based on magic and superstition. Yet, acceptance of astrology pervades modern society. We are especially disturbed by the continued uncritical dissemination of astrological charts, forecasts, and horoscopes by the media and by otherwise reputable newspapers, magazines and book publishers. This can only contribute to the growth of irrationalism and obscurantism. We believe that the time has come to challenge directly and forcefully the pretentious claims of astrological charlatans.

It should be apparent that those individuals who continue to have faith in astrology do so in spite of the fact that there is no verified scientific basis for their beliefs, and indeed that there is strong evidence to the contrary.

Bart J. Bok, Emeritus
Professor of Astronomy
University of Arizona
Paul Kurtz
Professor of Philosophy
SUNY at Buffalo

Lawrence E. Jerome
Science Writer
Santa Clara, California

Signers

NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS

Hans A. Bethe, Professor Emeritus of Physics, Cornell.
Sir Francis Crick, Medical Research Council, Cambridge, England.

Sir John Eccles, Distinguished Professor of Physiology and Biophysics, SUNY at Buffalo.

Gerhard Herzberg, Distinguished Research Scientist, National Research Council of Canada.

Wassily Leontief, Professor of Economics, Harvard University.

Konrad Lorenz, Professor, Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Andre M. Lwoff, Honorary Professor, Institute Pasteur, Paris.

Sir Peter Medawar, Medical Research Council, Middlesex, England.

Jacques Monod, Institute Pasteur, Paris.

Robert S. Mulliken, Distinguished Professor of Chemistry, University of Chicago.

Linus C. Pauling, Professor of Chemistry, Stanford University.

Edward M. Purcell, Gerhard Gade Professor, Harvard University.

Paul A. Samuelson, Professor of Economics, MIT.

Julin Schwinger, Professor of Physics, University of California, Los Angeles.

Glenn T. Seaborg, University Professor, University of California, Berkeley.

J. Tinbergen, Professor Emeritus, Rotterdam, The Netherlands University.

George Wald, Professor of Biology, Harvard University, and more than 150 other scientists.

Modern Health Systems Bypass 80 per cent of poor in Developing Countries

While progress made by developing countries in enhancing life-expectancy has faltered during the past decade, a large proportion of the approximately \$75,000 million spent on health by developing countries each year goes to modern systems beyond the reach of 80 per cent of the poor.

This is reported in a World Bank policy paper on health, published on 21 March. It announces the Bank's decision to provide, for the first time, direct finance for health projects.

This will be in addition to the support the Bank will continue to give to health activities as part of projects for other purposes, like rural and urban development, sewerage and water supply.

The World Bank reports that in the very poorest areas of low income countries, half of all children die during their first year, while in much of Africa, half of all deaths occur among children under five; some 1,800 million people in the world suffered from some form of intestinal parasitic disease in the early 1970s; and successful malaria control suffered a setback in the middle of the decade with increases in the incidence of the diseases in large areas in Asia.

Illness disrupts normal activities for roughly one tenth of people's time in most developing countries, says the World Bank publication. "Recurrent illnesses disrupt economic activity, often at critical times, such as the planting and harvesting seasons. . . Chronic and debilitating diseases impair people's ability to concentrate, students' ability to learn and adults' productivity."

The report comments: "Despite the large expenditure on health, and the technical feasibility of dealing with many of the most common health problems, efforts to improve health have had modest impact on the health of the vast majority of the population in most developing countries. Health activities have typically over-emphasized sophisticated, hospital-based care, while neglecting preventive public health programmes and simple primary care provided at conveniently located facilities.

"Even where health facilities have been geographically and economically accessible to the poor, deficiencies in logistics, inadequate training of staff, poor supervision, inappropriate services, and lack of social acceptability have often compromised the quality of the care they offer and limited their usefulness."

The report adds that one of the reasons for the neglect of preventive medicine is "the fact that public policy is formed by urban elites who often have already achieved adequate nutrition and sanitation."

New Delhi: *U. N. Weekly Newsletter*, April 11, 1980

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

DADDYJI by Ved Mehta. Published by Oxford University Press. Pp. 192. Rs 20

Ved Mehta's book represents a "search for identity" in a far more direct manner than those of most Indian writers. He made his reputation at twenty-three with a moving autobiography, and ever since his separate self has been his favourite theme. His numerous books on India are extensions of it.

This is not to imply a narcissistic self-concern. Without Naipaul's overweening ego or his abrasive pen, Ved sets out to explore his personal history, as he tells us, in a series of books, of which this biography of his father is the first. Published abroad in 1972, it is now distributed in India for the first time as a moderately-priced paperback by OUP.

Daddyji is not a biography in the conventional mode, heavy with scholarship, in which a detailed chronology of an individual life is set against the "background" of his times. It is fragmentary, based on the personal recollections of a number of witnesses, with inevitable gaps between one episode and the next. The older Mehta's life is presented in a series of vignettes—"Village", "City", "College", etc.—which represent a kind of Punjabi's Progress from simplicity to sophistication, from poverty to affluence, from a remote Indian village to British and American Universities.

Yet Ved's father is no stereotype. He emerges as a remarkable man who combines the sturdy common sense of the Punjabi peasant with a high sense of principle, and a dynamism which rejects superstition and defeatism. In the trauma of Ved's blindness, he never gives way to bitterness or despair but recollects his favourite line of poetry, "I am the master of my fate".

The man's sense of fairness is such as to stretch the bounds of credibility. Marrying without demanding dowry he asks only that his bride be fluent in English, and musical! In the event she turns out to be neither. Innocent of even elementary schooling, her first attempt at music making is a farce: she is discovered to be tone-deaf!

Recriminations at the very least would seem to be in order, but not for Daddyji. A little sentimentality and he could have become that artistic abomination—a monster of virtue. It is Ved's impeccable taste, his sheer sophistication that is the saving grace.

Ved tells the story straight, with more emphasis on narrative than on psychology. There are no neurotic

conflicts here, no inner probings. Portraiture is external, the protagonist's qualities being revealed in relation to events or to other people. One feels sometimes the total absence of any attempt at analysis, but condones it on the ground that there is not enough distance between father and son for the development of the required perspective.

In another sense too the omission is felicitous. For the biography of recollection is very much a *genre* of mood in which nostalgia inheres, and analysis is its antithesis. Here, it is not the mindless nostalgia which sees the past in a romantic haze. The Punjab of Ved's forefather is both fertile and brutal, and the chief landmark of the ancestral village is an ancient banyan tree where girls possessed by demons were strung up by their feet and swung from side to side to the accompaniment of drum-beats until the evil spirits were exorcised. "Sometimes", the author concludes, "the possessed girls died during the ordeal."

The past is recaptured not merely in episodes like this but in the rhythms of the author's prose. It is relaxed, quiet writing. Nothing is dramatised, and no praise or blame is apportioned. In this sense, the writing is close to reportage, but it is reportage at its best. What constantly astonishes us in view of the author's blindness is the visual clarity of the images. Here is Daddyji's boyhood.

"When he was not studying or playing hockey he ran about the village with the other little boys, dashing between the legs of horses, cows and buffaloes. . . He sat for hours—sometimes until twilight—watching the village carpenter, cobbler, or oil presser at work, and playing in wood shavings or with leather scraps. He stood by the forge of the village blacksmith, wondering how something as hard and black as iron could be made so malleable and glowing.

So his life ran, from season to Punjabi season—from winter to spring to summer to the monsoon to autumn to winter again."

There is no straining after effect. Simplicity combines with subtlety to produce a book of great charm, exactly right for a quiet monsoon evening.

Just a word of carping criticism. One wishes the book were longer!

ZERIN ANKLESARIA

HOUSE OF SHIVAJI by Jadunath Sarkar. Orient Longman. 1978. Rs. 40

Books about Shivaji have an unending popularity in Maharashtra, very much like the hero. *House of Shivaji*, first published in 1940, is now in the fourth edition, though it is not largely about Shivaji himself. It is more about his father, and his sons, and some other contemporaries including his Poet Laureate. But anything connected with Shivaji has still a strong appeal in Maharashtra. Some months ago the State celebrated with unique enthusiasm the three-hundredth anniversary of his coronation.

Until a few decades ago there were many misconceptions about Shivaji, mainly that he was a mere plunderer. Few, except in Maharashtra, were prepared to see in him the qualities of an enlightened ruler, the abilities of the founder of a dynasty, and statesmanship that raised him far above the most famous men of his age. Even Sir Jadunath suffered from some of them in his early years.

An objective historian that he was, the deeper Sir Jadunath studied Shivaji the clearer became his appreciation of his great qualities as a warrior, ruler and statesman. He has put down his conclusion as follows: "Therefore, the historian of Shivaji, at the end of careful study of all the records about him in eight different languages, is bound to admit that Shivaji was not only the maker of the Maratha nation, but the greatest constructive genius of mediaeval India."

Modern India has paid many tributes to Shivaji but it is a pity that an authoritative biography still remains to be written.

V. B. KARNIK

Subscription Order Form

To

FREEDOM FIRST

C/o. Democratic Research Service
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
BOMBAY 400 023.

Please send Freedom First to me for one year (twelve issues) at the following address.

NAME : _____

ADDRESS : _____

PIN _____

This is a New/Renewal* subscription

I enclose payment of Rs. 10 in favour of Freedom First by

* Cheque * Bank Draft * Postal Order

* I have remitted by money order; receipt enclosed

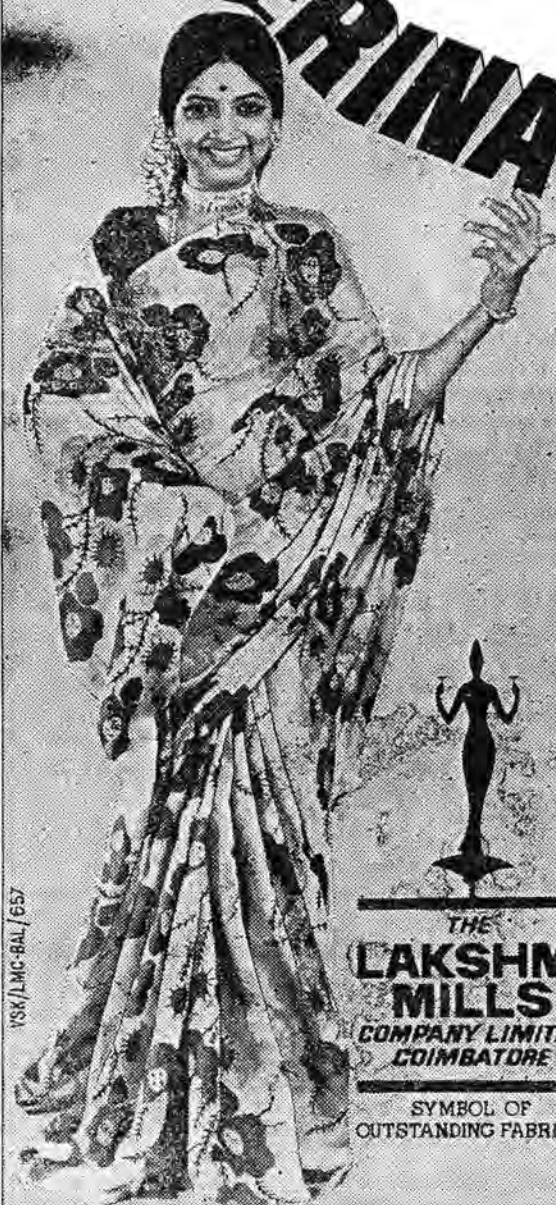
For outstation cheques kindly add Rs. 2 for bank charges.

*Renewal intimation cards are posted to subscribers separately.

Date _____ Signature _____

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

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



THE
LAKSHMI
MILLS
COMPANY LIMITED
COIMBATORE

SYMBOL OF
OUTSTANDING FABRICS

YSK/LMC-BAL/657

LET US REMEMBER RURAL POVERTY

ATTAR CHAND

India lives in villages. But villages continue to be economically poor, socially backward and largely illiterate.

Thirty-two years after independence, India is about 100 years behind the developed countries in terms of per capita income—a disparity which is fast increasing with the increase in population in the developing countries without corresponding increase in net per capita income.

A World Bank survey report says that India, along with Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Thailand, Nigeria, Uganda, Indonesia and Kenya, has slipped to the position of a "fourth world". These fast impoverishing countries have an adverse annual income ranging between Rs. 100 and Rs. 160, which works to less than Rs. 16 per month per capita.

As against this, Britain and Australia give doles to their jobless, which average between Rs. 2,160 and Rs. 43,201 per month. The United States gives food coupons to its poor citizens.

Even after three decades of freedom, nearly 290 million people, constituting 46.33 per cent of the Indian population, were living below the poverty line in 1977-78. A majority of the poor live in the villages. According to the statistics compiled in 1973-74, about 72 per cent of the rural population was found to be below the poverty line. The percentage of poor people in villages has been increasing. There is an increasing trend towards landless agriculturists in villages.

Nearly 2.8 million people in the countryside are still bonded labourers. Hardly 1 per cent of the huge work force of 200 million people in villages are members of labour unions. Hence there is widespread lack of minimum wage legislation.

Unemployment has been steadily increasing. Nearly 20-25 million people are unemployed or underemployed. Most of these are in villages. Rural poverty is increasing along with disparities. About two-thirds of the rural population spent less than Rs. 22 per month in 1960-61. The position has hardly improved since. The poorest ten per cent hardly own even one per cent of total assets, while the richest ten per cent account for 50 per cent of the assets.

The incidence of rural indebtedness has gone up to around 40 per cent from about 32 per cent three years ago. The poorest farmers have to mortgage no

less than four-fifths of their assets. Over 90 per cent of the assets of agricultural labourers are mortgaged.

This is a sorry state of affairs. The need for socio-economic measures to improve the lot of the poor rural people in order to end economic disparities and reduce social tensions cannot be overemphasized. As early as 1964 the Mahalanobis Committee on Income Distribution and Levels of Living had pointed out that the fruits of development were being unequally distributed; the rich were becoming richer and the poor poorer.

The post-1964 period reveals that the position has only changed for the worse. The number of people living below the poverty line has gone up from 40 to 46 per cent. The number of registered unemployed has increased from 5 million in 1961 to 12.1 million in 1978. However, the total number of the unemployed and under-employed is no less than 25 million.

The plight of Dalit Panthers, landless labourers, small farmers and the jobless in villages contains the potentials of an explosive class-war. Unless the Government wakes up to its responsibilities towards the rural poor, the rich-poor disparity could well endanger social harmony and economic stability of the country.

In 1978, the integrated rural development programme was restructured and broad-based to achieve the objectives of growth coupled with social justice. It was to bring maximum benefits to the "disadvantaged sections" of the rural community and to ensure full employment within a specified time-frame.

New programmes like desert development, rural link roads and "Food for Work" were launched. It was also envisaged to bring about progressive institutionalisation of agricultural credit under a multi-agency approach, so as to increase the quantum of institutional credit, and to improve the quality of service by providing integrated credit structure at the village level.

Not much progress has been made under these schemes.

It is apparent that the removal of unemployment and reduction of rural poverty have merely remained pious objectives of the Government under the normal plan Schemes. Some time back, the Union Agriculture Ministry had also drawn up a comprehensive programme of Integrated Rural Development (IRD), to

effect a major dent in these twin problems in 3,500 blocks by 1982-83.

It was also decided that while special programmes of SFDA, DPAP and CAD which cover about 3,000 blocks out of 5004 blocks in the country should be continued, the development efforts initiated hitherto under these programmes should be intensified by an additional allocation of Rs. 5 lakhs per block under the Integrated Rural Development Plan in 2000 out of 3000 blocks.

Further, starting from 1978-79, 300 blocks not covered by any of the three special programmes will be selected every year for the IRD programmes. By 1982-83, a total number of 3,500 blocks will be covered by Integrated Rural Development Programmes.

An important feature of the new IRD programme is that various production-oriented schemes in minor irrigation, agriculture and animal husbandry, etc., will be taken up. Further, the individual schemes to be taken up will be combined into the overall area plan, so that the schemes undertaken not only assist the individual but add to the growth potential of the area concerned, thereby generating a self-sustaining process of growth.

The crucial role of rural industries and rural artisans' programmes in solving the problem of unemployment is obvious. The District Industries Centres, which are expected to progressively cover the whole country, will have to take specific steps for promoting rural industries and artisans' programmes by improving their quality of production, increasing productivity, reducing costs and building an adequate marketing network.

The District Industries Centres could open new avenues of employment in subsidiary occupations, small industries, trade and service activities, etc., by identifying and assisting entrepreneurs to set up small industries and market their products.

Considering the dependence of the Indian economy on small agricultural holdings, to achieve a satisfactory rate of growth and to reduce the incidence of poverty, the main thrust of the Government measures will have to be directed towards amelioration of the lot of marginal farmers and the landless, constituting 56 per cent of rural households in India.

This is a gigantic task and the success of the new Government in this crucial field will depend on the degree of priority, sincerity and resource transfer it achieves. ★

You have
over 5,000
reasons to trust

SUNDARAM FINANCE

India's largest hire-purchase company, Sundaram Finance has over 5,000 satisfied customers. Many of them have been customers of this company for more than 10 years.

Sundaram Finance inspires trust because it does more than provide finance. It continues its service throughout the period of contract.

It has simplified administrative procedures for quicker availability of finance. It offers extended repayment periods and reasonable finance charges for the benefit of customers.

These are some of the ways through which the company contributes to the growth of the road transport industry.

The people to trust in hire-purchase

Sundaram Finance Limited

180 MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS-600 006

BOOKS OF LASTING INTEREST

At Reduced Rates

TITLE	ORIGINAL PRICE Rs.	OFFER Rs.	POSTAGE Rs.	TOTAL Rs.
TEN YEARS OF QUEST edited by Abu Sayeed Ayyub & Amlan Datta 1966, Pp. 407 (hard cover)	20/-	10/-	4.75	14.75
WITH FEAR OR FAVOUR by Frank Moraes, Edited by R. C. Cooper with a Foreword by N. A. Palkhivala, 1966, Pp. 155 (hard cover)	24/-	12/-	2.05	14.05
GOKHALE AND MODERN INDIA edited by A. B. Shah and S. P. Aiyar, 1966, Pp. 95 (paper cover).	6.50	3.25	1.45	4.70
CHINA— THREE FACETS OF A GIANT by Henry G. Schwarz, 1966, Pp. 108 (hard cover)	8.50	4.25	1.75	5.70

Write to : The Adult Education Institute, 133, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Sassoon Building, 1st Floor, Bombay - 400 023. Please add Rs. 1.50 P. for outstation cheques.

raymond's suitings

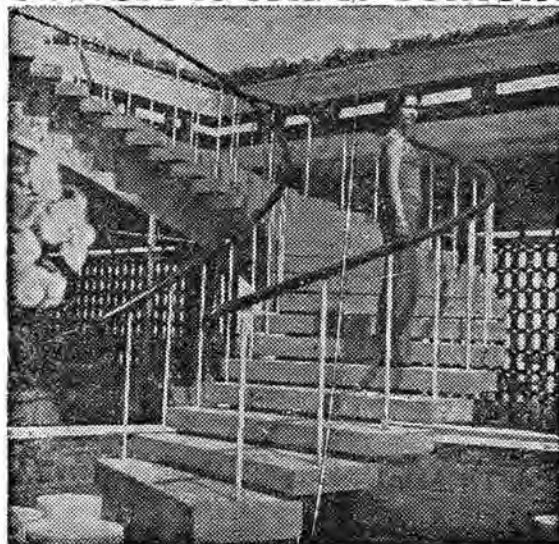
A GUIDE TO THE WELL-DRESSED MALE



The Raymond Woollen Mills Ltd.

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

Silvicrete white cement



not just exclusive... marvel-lous!

a product of The Associated Cement Companies Ltd

ACC

INVESTIGATIONS

THE MUNICIPALITIES-2

ALOO DALAL

The Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay provides fairly wide-ranging civic services for a population of 75,91,000 according to the mid-year estimate of 1977-78. The Corporation has an annual budget which is much larger in size than that of many state governments. It spends 34% of its budgetary allocations on medical relief and public health, for which a special health budget has been drawn since 1974. In contrast, the central government has actually been cutting down its expenditure on education and health. The Corporation manages three large teaching hospitals and a host of smaller hospitals, dispensaries and nursing homes, where patients are not charged any fees whatsoever. Government hospitals do charge according to the patients' ability to pay. Among municipal governments the Bombay Corporation has been a pioneer in adopting new techniques of financing and budgeting, like performance budgeting, which tries to correlate the physical and financial aspects of every programme, project and activity.

Primary education has been the Corporation's special responsibility since 1907, and in 1977-78, 61 lakh students were covered by the municipal primary schools. Secondary education has been undertaken since 1966 and covers a student population of 67,500. Altogether, the Corporation runs 1102 municipal schools and 54 primary classes in Greater Bombay.

Although it has been criticised for paying too little attention to preventive health care, the Corporation annually spends Rs. 1,24,36,068 on maternity and child health and Rs. 3,44,58,844 on immunisation programmes for the control of infectious diseases. The Corporation's School Health clinics, dating back to the nineteen thirties, examine a total of 1,73,339 primary and 26,964 secondary school children every year. The scheme has been helpful in detecting physical defects at an early stage. The Corporation also conducts nutrition and feeding programmes for municipal school children.

The fire-brigade, markets, gardens, parks, the zoo, all lie within the Corporation's range of activities. In the much-maligned B.E.S.T., the Bombay Corporation provides one of the largest bus services in the world, transporting twice the number of passengers as the London Transport Authority with only half the fleet of buses.

Despite the provision of all these varied services by the Corporation, there are several factors which alienate the citizens from the city government. Many residents of Bombay, for instance, lack a basic sense

of loyalty to the city, simply because they have not lived here long enough. They are migrants and look upon the city as nothing more than a source of livelihood. Besides, the general poverty of the people, the slums, the lack of even the most basic amenities of life for a large section of the population, are not calculated to enhance civic consciousness. Administrative fragmentation, indifference, inefficiency and corruption play their own part in the frustration and disillusionment of the citizen. Citizens' needs are not always complicated or expensive. Often citizens can be won over by a new bus-route or a good road or better distribution of water-supply. For this, however, the local administration has got to be service-oriented and not lose its bearings in the jungle of bureaucratic rigidity and red-tapism.

The remedy for overcoming the estrangement between the city administration and the citizen lies in maintaining better public relations, systematic training in local self-government and creation of organizations which keep track of civic affairs as well as act as links between the people and the government. True, the Bombay Corporation has a Public Relations department and publishes a monthly civic journal. But these activities have become routinised and have little value in creating or stimulating civic consciousness. Even press-criticism of municipal schools or hospitals remains unanswered or is answered so late that it ceases to be relevant.

Such sporadic efforts cannot achieve much. What is needed is a sustained and continuous attempt to educate and interest the public in the problems and possibilities of local self-government. Time and again, experience has shown that where there is too wide a gulf between the civic government and the citizen, and the public is not helped to understand the problems and affairs of government, it will mistrust and misunderstand the government, even a government of top-ranking experts. The experts, in turn, become isolated from public opinion and acquire a kind of contempt and indifference towards it. Citizens come to be treated more as inert objects than living, participating individuals. For instance, we are always told the amounts we have to pay as taxes and bills, but never explained how these have been arrived at. Developmental plans for the city hardly involve public participation. No public debates are held and the plan is rarely based on what the people want. Our investment in planning and development is often a conspicuous failure because of lack of communication with the people.

In many Western cities conscious efforts are being made to establish living contact between the civic government and the people. There are organizations which train people for public service, while others take up systematic studies of the city, offering constructive suggestions. Then there are organizations which try to bring experts and city officials together to discuss municipal problems and exchange ideas. Not the least important are those organizations which supply information about municipal activities—'community centres'—as they are known. These, in fact,

play the catalyst in moulding the civic mentality. Through their varied activities, like night schools, clinics, arts, dramatics, or social work, they bring citizens together on a common platform. Such an organization can become a powerful lobby for the citizen's good, influencing civic policy and exercising vigilance over the councillors and the Commissioner. The greatest danger for such an organization would be to fall prey to vested interests like political parties.

In the era of mass communications, it is surprising how little the Corporation has done to feature television or radio programmes depicting the various municipal activities—schools, hospitals, school health clinics, family planning programmes, the B.E.S.T. services, etc. If imaginatively handled, the mass communication media can yield spectacular results by way of civic consciousness, reaching down even to those who are illiterate.

It is high time the citizens and the Corporation made common cause. The storm signals on the horizon are only too clearly visible. On March 21st, for the first time in its history, the Delhi Metropolitan Council was dissolved by a Presidential order based on the reports of the Lt. Governor of Delhi, Mr. Jagmohan of 'Emergency excesses' fame. It was a conspicuously political move. Then, on April 11th, the Delhi Municipal Corporation was superseded for one year, again by an order of the Central government. It was alleged by the government that both civic bodies were guilty of serious inefficiency and corruption. However, as the *Indian Express* editorial of 24th March pointed out, whatever shortcomings the Delhi Administration had, other administrations have also been guilty of, including the Central Government. The truth of the matter is that both the Delhi Metropolitan Council and the

Delhi Municipal Corporation had an overwhelming Janata majority, and they fell victim to that most undemocratic urge of the Central government for conformity at all levels—central, state, and local. This autocratic attitude has already played havoc with state governments and has gravely undermined the federal structure of our constitution.

If journalistic sources are to be believed, it appears that the Bombay Municipal Corporation is next on the Central government's list of municipal bodies to be superseded. The citizens of Bombay need to be vigilant and raise their voices against this threatened supersession. True, the civic administration has many shortcomings which need to be overcome. Change too is essential in the interests of a decongested, pollution-free, well-planned city. At the same time, the city has many plus points and many institutions which are worth preserving. Amongst these, the pride of place would go to our tolerant, open, cosmopolitan cultural milieu, and our hundred-year-old civic government based on the representative principle.

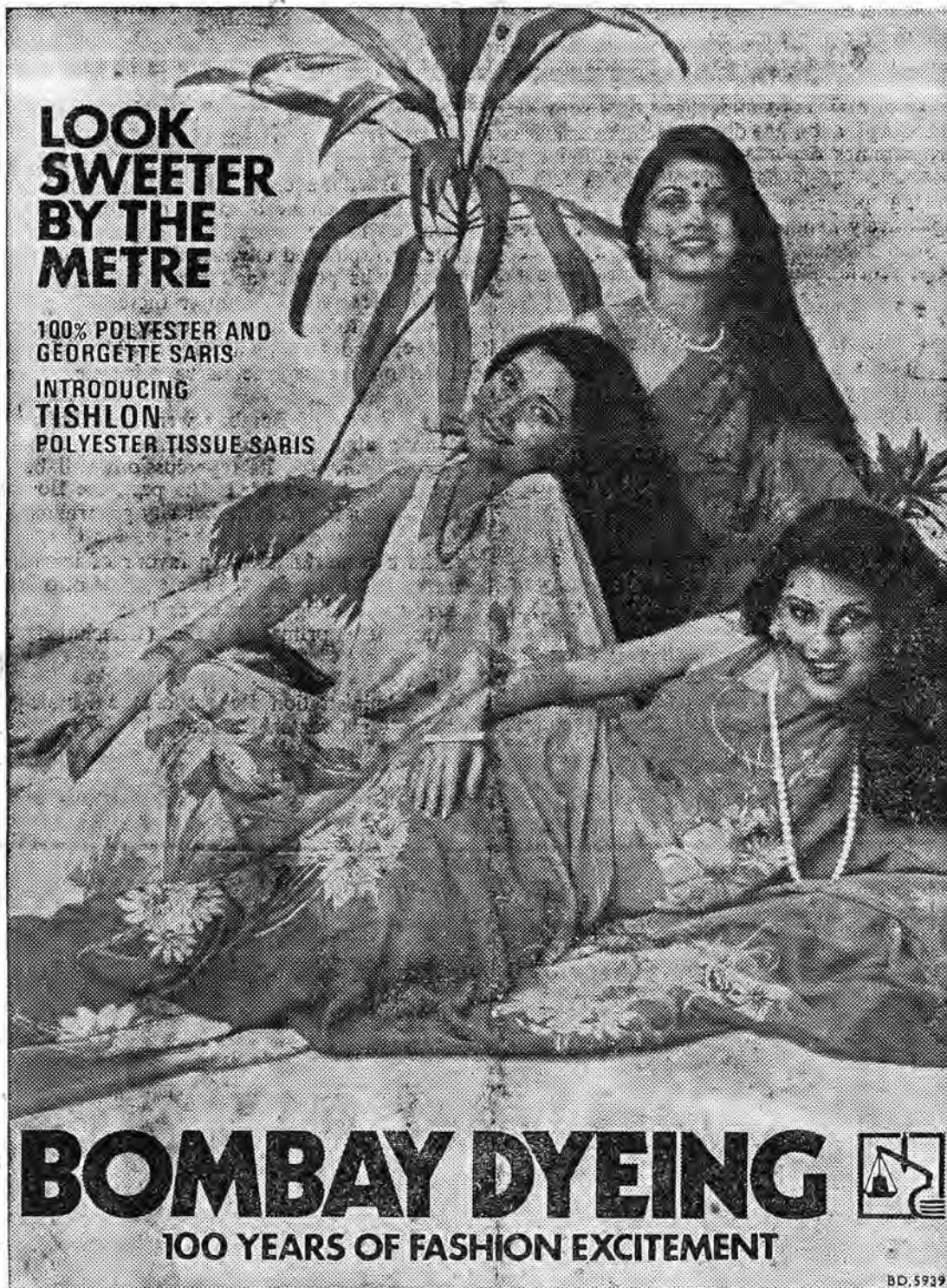
If the city of Bombay were to make a determined stand against this unprecedented supersession of the City Corporation, its repercussions will be heard and felt, far and wide. If, in the past, the Bombay Act of 1888 was a model for other city governments to follow, citizen action now, on behalf of the Corporation, may strike a powerful blow in favour of local self-government, thus stemming the current tide of over-centralisation, and adding yet another first to the proud record of this 'urbs prima' of India. (Concluded)

Notes

4. Administration Report of the Municipal Commissioner for Greater Bombay, 1977-78

Introduce
FREEDOM FIRST
to your friends

Committee for Editorial Rights



**LOOK
SWEETER
BY THE
METRE**

100% POLYESTER AND
GEORGETTE SARIS
INTRODUCING
TISHLON
POLYESTER TISSUE SARIS

BOMBAY DYEING 

100 YEARS OF FASHION EXCITEMENT

BD.5929