

'SWATANTRA' WINS IN U. K.

S. V. RAJU

India's rejection of Mrs. Gandhi in March 1977 appears to have triggered off an international movement away from the *status quo*. Ceylon, Finland and Sweden, for instance, have all witnessed what is loosely described as a "swing to the right". The latest is the election of a C.D.U. President in West Germany who defeated his Socialist opponent. But the Conservative return to power in Britain is perhaps the most significant indication of what appears to be a growing disenchantment with socialism the world over.

Former *Freedom First* editor Minoo Masani's comment on Mrs. Thatcher's victory was "Swatantra has won in the U.K." And so it has. Years ago, in the course of a debate in the Lok Sabha, when Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru described the Swatantra Party as outdated, Mr. Masani shot back pointing towards the Treasury Benches: "We are the party of change. You represent the *status quo*". In the U.K. elections, Conservative Thatcher was the radical, while Socialist Callaghan was the conservative. So much for labels.

Mrs. Margaret Thatcher did not mince words when diagnosing what ails Britain and the remedies she has in mind to pull her country out of the socialist quagmire. Housewife that she is, she indicated that her primary concern was the size of the take home pay. She therefore pledged a reduction in income tax. "The whole strategy", she told a press conference on April 11, "is that we must create extra wealth, produce more goods and services and maximise the size of the cake before we can decide how that extra shall be sliced up". She must have touched a responsive chord when she remarked: "No one who has lived in this country for five years can fail to be aware of how the balance of our society has been increasingly tilted in favour of the State at the expense of individual freedom". Vowing to reverse this trend Mrs. Thatcher remarked: "You get a society which is responsible when you get people who are responsible".

Writing in *Opinion* (April 10) Taya Zinkin has this to say on Margaret Thatcher. "... she has

none of Heath's ambivalences, Wilson's deviousness or Benn's cunning.... The iron maiden stands for time proved virtues: hard work, thrift, self-reliance, just reward... and caring for those who deserve, as distinct from those who demand, help.... For her, she has the silent majority which is at last beginning to realise that 'silence is golden' was coined by the enemies of the masses, the world over."

Mrs. Thatcher has a convincing overall majority of 43 in the Commons. She has the will and like all those who know their mind possesses a sense of purpose and direction. She does not lack political enemies who would rather see her fail than see their dogma disproved. We have many of that tribe in our own country whose comments on Mrs. Thatcher's victory betray the colour of their ideological blinkers. True, the Asian immigrant in Britain is apprehensive since Mrs. Thatcher has made it clear that she will tighten up the immigration laws. Liberals who stand for free movement of people between nations cannot approve of such restrictions. But here again she does not cover her mailed fist with a velvet glove as her socialist predecessors did, e.g., the virginity tests. Also she has an immigration problem which from her country's point of view is a grave one.

The fact is the British people have voted for change — a change away from Statism towards individual freedom; away from the tiresome tyranny of a trade union movement bloated with power; a change as the Swatantra Party put it, to prosperity through freedom.

IN THIS ISSUE

The Editors have gone to town commenting on a variety of topics. The article on Moonlighting in the U. K. should interest our readers. We even have a review of a book on Hockey—rather irrelevant but enjoyable all the same. A bit of nostalgia in the form of a tribute to the late C. Y. Chintamani are part of the menu offered in this issue.

"the time has come," the
walrus said,
"to talk of many things:
of shoes-and ships-
and sealing wax-
of cabbages -
and kings-"

-Lewis Carroll



OF CABBAGES & KINGS

Watch Out For 'IPS'!

The Inter-Press Service (IPS) ostensibly a cooperative venture of journalists is the outcome of the non-aligned newspool agreement to which, unfortunately, India is a signatory. IPS subscribers are 'news agencies' in non-aligned nations *a la* our late lamented *Samachar*. In other words not news agencies' but the propaganda agencies of despotic regimes. To describe them as anything else would in the words of the *Hindustan Times* editor, "be a fraud."

Unlike *Samachar*, PTI is relatively more independent of the government and therefore not interested in a deal with an outfit which lacks credibility. Last October and again in February this year, the PTI turned down government's overtures that PTI conclude an agreement with the IPS. The Board quite rightly wished to have no part in dishing out to the Indian public propaganda stuff churned out by the 'Samachars' of Third World dictatorships which constitute the bulk of the non-aligned community. Even fervent Emergency apologist Mr. Girilal Jain, the editor of *The Times of India* pointed out that India "had nothing in common" with the Third World Countries (poverty excepted). "We are", said Mr. Jain quite rightly "a democracy, an open society."

But in April this year, PTI signed on the dotted line an "experimental" agreement mercifully valid for six months. What happened? It was a repetition of the old story by now familiar to the press in India of the State applying the economic squeeze. Mr. C. R. Irani that indefatigable crusader for press freedom revealed at a recent IENS Seminar that the government's director on the PTI Board (no less a person than Mr. D. R. Mankekar) threatened that if the link with the IPS was not established, the problem of payments to PTI from All India Radio and other government subscribers might not be solved.

For a cooperative venture, the IPS, as Mr. Irani points out, is able to command considerable resources. How else are they able to have access to the expensive satellites communication system? Where does the cash come from? The inference is irresistible — from the governments of dictatorship regimes which would consider the price small in return for the tons of white wash to hide the nature of their regimes.

Freedom First readers would be well advised in the future to check the logo appended to a news report before accepting its veracity. If it carries the IPS imprint then they should know the quantity of salt to take! Meanwhile, more power to Mr. Irani's elbow for his vow to stay on as PTI Director and work for the termination of this "experimental agreement."

SVR

Spanking Rights

Mother chimpanzees recognise the need to sharply hit their offspring and then immediately offer a compensatory cuddle to reassure them that there are no hard feelings. Lionesses merely strike out a paw when angry at their cubs. A new Swedish law prevents Swedish parents from doing either, they feel that spanking is all right for animals, not human beings. Proponents of the law point out that hitting a child creates deep seated feelings of rage and resentment that are inevitably worked out at a later age.

Not all parents agree. "It is a totally absurd, totally ridiculous law, the kind of thing that means nothing and cannot be interpreted or enforced" says one of them. The law also brings up the question of how far a State should go in legislating what is after all the personal relation between a parent and a child. The Swedish lawmakers have been careful to point out that there is no punishment for parents who chastize their children, only an incentive to work things out through social workers and counseling. They refer to the legislation as a "pedagogic law" which will hopefully focus attention on the problem and make parents aware of their obligation and the community conscious of the rights of children. Amongst the questions they hope to raise and answer are those that ask whether a child can be raised without being slapped occasionally and what rights parents have to display their temper when angry.

The very idea of children having any rights is a twentieth century notion. Formerly in the West a child was regarded as no more than a small adult. In many parts of the East this is probably still the case. To give the most poignant examples, one has only to mention early industrial England to be reminded of the conditions in which children were sent down to slog in the mines or into factories to work the same hours and under the same conditions as adults. In Persia, until only a few years ago, the now priceless Persian carpets were knotted by the labour of mere infants, the smaller they were the finer would be the knots, which prompted one Frenchwoman to exclaim that every time she walked over these carpets she felt that she was trampling over the tiny hands that made them.

In India there is a prevailing sentiment that we have been naturally endowed with such a fund of warm feeling towards children that it is impossible for us to be cruel towards them. While this may be true with regard to our own children it fails entirely to notice the number of children, who are em-

played as cheap sources of labour in hotels and railway stations, not to mention households, who follow gangs of construction workers picking up what work they can, and who generally before they are six are in full charge of a smaller brother or sister, like any other adult, without however being able to claim the privileges of an adult.

Yet comparative studies between the position of children in affluent Western societies and in India have shown that despite whatever deprivations that the Indian child suffers due to economic reasons, he does not face the type of child abuse that is becoming common in the West. These have been known to include sexual outrage of small children by their parents, deliberate attempts at starvation as a means of punishment and physical torture that induce permanent disabilities and in some cases death. Whilst investigating these abuses it was found that children sometimes provoke their parents into hitting them. A slap becomes the only source of contact between a parent and a child and is seen by a child in some cases as being preferable to total parental indifference. In such extreme conditions no amount of legislation is likely to improve matters yet Swedish lawmakers have made the point that in a technocratic society even parent-child relations, which were once assumed to be spontaneous, may in fact have to be learned. If trained parents ultimately mean a happy child nobody can complain.

GD

More Demands from the Privileged Ones

'We demand an increase in our travelling allowance. Rs. 30 a day in these inflation ridden days is wholly inadequate. We are denied a sumptuary allowance, like our supervisors — we too want an allowance. When we travel we would like to take our wives along. Above all, we do not have a feeling of job satisfaction. Our jobs need to be restructured.' No, these are not the demands of executives in a private sector enterprise. These are the grievances of Ministers of State of the Government of India. They invited the Prime Minister to dinner and presented their charter of demands. George's deputy even complained that her Chief would not even let her answer supplementaries in Parliament!

A few days later, in the Rajya Sabha, members from both sides of the House showed rare unanimity as they usually do when demanding something for themselves. All they wanted this time was a housing colony all their own — a haven in the capital where they could retire when they ceased to be MPs. After all, as they pointed out, don't retired government officials enjoy this facility? Among arguments trotted out was this peach of a one — such a colony would enrich the social and political life of the capital! Ha, ha! The sad fact is that membership of parliament or the state legislature is no longer considered an opportunity to serve the people. It is a sinecure, an opportunity to grab as much as one can while the going is good. No wonder the race for "tickets" is so fierce. Nor is it any surprise that more often than not it is not the best man who wins.

SVR

Animals for Parliament

"Put animals into politics" is a slogan which would not arouse much sympathy in India, where concerned members of the public may be forgiven for imagining that they are at present undergoing the consequences of just such an action.

In England, however, the General Election Co-ordinating Committee for Animal Protection or GECCAP was very serious in raising this slogan during the recent elections to focus attention on the plight of animals whose life must inevitably be controlled by human beings. "Who cares about animals? Make sure the new Parliament does, they said in a thought provoking advertisement that underlined six areas of animal abuse. Amongst these the main charges are the cruelty caused to pets by indifferent owners, the torture induced by "factory farming", the use of live animals in scientific experiments and the popularity of blood sports.

While there is no use getting overly emotional on all these issues, there is no doubt that "factory farming" has led to the pathetic, though by now accepted spectacle, of cattle being crammed into sheds to become milk producing machines or chickens beings raised in trays, one on top of the other, to provide eggs or chicken curry. It seems particularly cruel to instal, as some poultry farms do, strong overhead lamps to keep the young chicks in a constant state of alertness for the table. In Europe young calves are sometimes injected with a serum that will induce a form of leukemia which destroys their red corpuscles and ensures that even when they are marketed at a more mature stage, their meat will still be white enough to be sold in the more profitable form of veal.

Indians who may like to feel virtuous that they have prevented the export of monkeys for scientific purposes and saved the cow, only to allow it to face a fate worse than death in the streets, are not usually aware of the primitive and generally horrifying conditions under which most animals are slaughtered here. Rarely are the animals stunned before killing, as recommended by modern methods of slaughter, since this apparently goes against the religious sentiments of some people. The result is that animals are in a state of terror and agony at the moment of death, which is recognised amongst some religious opinion at least, as being bad for the end product since this releases a number of undesirable secretions into the bloodstream before the animal dies. The Jews, for instance maintain that the reason why they must have a Rabbi presiding over the ceremony, is to calm the animal down with the recitation of ritual phrases. This is not to suggest that the chanting of appropriate verses in Sanskrit should be the done thing in abattoirs but a plea for suitable legislation that will make more humane methods of stunning and slaughter the rule for all animals that are kept for this purpose.

GD

Too Corny For Words

Even while the drama in several acts revolving around the Don Quixote of Paunar and his lady Dulcinea otherwise known as the holy cow has been playing to newspaper headlines waiting for the grand finale in Parliament, exporters have been sending "corned beef" in tins and as frozen meat to the Middle East.

"Corned beef, you mean you're exporting the holy cow?" I asked one of the representatives of a multinational company which has set up a corned beef plant in Aurangabad.

"Well" he said, "it's not really cow but buffalo meat but can you see anyone opening a tin of corned buffalo or settling down to a "well done" buffalo steak?"

Immediately we felt that a "friends of the buffalo society" should be formed to look after the interests of the buffalo. After all does it not perform all the services of a cow without asking for anything in return but a pool of muddy water in which to wallow? Yet because of its black skin and sluggish manner there is even a school of thought which maintains that those who drink the milk of buffaloes will become dull and slothful — like the buffalo. While those who drink cow's milk will find themselves alert and intellectually energized because apparently cow's milk has a way of refining the cells of the human brain.

Having just had my brain cells refined with a glass of cow's milk I felt that I could ask my informer one more question on the subject.

"If drinking cow's milk is so good, won't eating it be even better?" I asked.

There was no answer. Just as there is no answer to the question of how in a country where so many children suffer from 'kwashiorkor' the protein starvation disease that leads to brain and bodily stunting, so much anxiety should go into preserving the cow long after it has stopped giving milk. The only consolation is that it is only the cow that is being accorded "prima donna" status, its business as usual for bulls, bull calves and buffaloes. And with the Middle East guaranteeing a ready market, its very good business too!

GD

Defection Does Not Always Pay

The defectors who engineered the fall of the Kakodkar government felt cheated when they and their Janata allies who encouraged them were denied the fruits of defection. The Central Government and the Home Minister in particular deserve to be complimented for their refusal to take political advantage of the situation. But why President's Rule? The right step would have been to order fresh elections and to let the people decide. President's Rule was the favourite gimmick of the previous regime used for patently partisan purposes. The government in New Delhi after having done the right thing let slip an opportunity to blaze a new trail in centre-state relations.

SVR

Rights? Yes! But.....

As a student of political theory I was taught that our rights end where the other's man's rights begin. I was not told that the exception was a trade union. In our own country we have all too often witnessed the spectacle of a handful of agitators holding an entire population to ransom. The original demand perhaps a legitimate one is lost sight of when the genuine unionists who launched the agitation in the first place, are pushed aside by extremist elements, often plain anti-social dregs of society. When the Quit India movement turned violent Gandhiji called it off. That action required courage of an order not given to everyone. These reflections are induced by a relatively small incident that occurred in far off West Germany where, last month, the efforts of the strike bound London *Times*, to publish an international edition, (backed incidentally by journalists on the *Times* who rejected an instruction by the National Union of Journalists not to work for a European Weekly edition,) were thwarted by agitators described as "left wing" elements, who pushed aside German and Turkish unionists picketing a Turkish Press where the edition was being printed. A bomb was discovered in the plant and a petrol-soaked rag was shoved down a vent to explode when the compressors were switched on. The National Graphical Association, the British trade union which called the strike in the London *Times* now in its sixth month, denied their involvement and said they would never condone violence. That's what they all say. But what business do they have to start something they cannot control. And what incidentally is the NGA's answer to the question posed by Mr. William Rees-Mogg, editor of *The Times*; "Do we have the right to print or is that right subject to the approval of the print unions?"

SVR

The Dawn of Wisdom?

"We can't afford a rail strike", pleaded Goerge Fernandes our trade union leader turned Industries Minister. Was there any time when we could afford one, Mr. Fernandes? At the Boat Club meeting of railwaymen on May 7, he was heckled for talking sense laced with some home truths about corruption and the poor quality of railway services. Someone was even uncharitable enough to call him a *Sarkari Chamcha* (government stooge). A few days earlier on May 1 in Bombay, George cautioned workers of the BEST (the city's bus transport service) not to go on strike. All a matter of perspective — the view from the other side of the fence is somewhat different. Not quite what it looked like in the not too distant past when George called for Bandhs at the drop of a cap. Alas, it would appear the good sense was only temporary. George, the Minister, has assuaged the feelings of Railway Labour by promising to join their ranks should they decide to go on strike. Should be an interesting confrontation with another socialist, albeit a more responsible one, representing the employers!

SVR

(Continued on page 6)

POLITICS IN THE STATES

S. Sahay

Crisis is an oft-used word to describe the goings on in the Janata Party, either at the Centre or the State level. The dictionary meaning of the word is a turning point, for example, in life or history or the illness of a person. There have been many twists and turns in the fortunes of the Janata Party, but hardly any turning point, in the dictionary meaning of the word. Crisis also means time of danger or difficulty or anxiety about the future. Anxiety is a state of mind and there is no evidence yet that the Janata leadership is anxious about the future, on the contrary, the complacent atmosphere seems to be that whatever the leadership does or does not do, collectively or in groups, the party at the central level is going to stay in power until the next general elections in 1982.

The second assumption seems to be that, notwithstanding the jockeying for strength, none of the constituents in the Janata Party is going to leave it. The third that any means is good enough to do the other faction down.

In U.P. the Chief Minister, Mr. Naresh Yadav was toppled and Mr. Banarsidas installed in his place. Of course, Mr. Charan Singh's involvement in the U.P. affairs was denied but it so happened that the struggle for power was mainly between the BLD and Jansangh. The CFD under Mr. Bahuguna's advise sided with the BLD. And Mr. Banarsidas has resolutely refused to take RSS-oriented men into his cabinet.

The next stage was the Janata Parliamentary Board's decision to ask the Chief Ministers of Bihar, Orissa and Himachal Pradesh to seek votes of confidence from party legislators. It is not quite clear why this was at all considered necessary. For groupism in the States has been going on for long, and there is no warrant for the assumption that, once the strength has been tested, the Janata Party, either at the State or the Centre, will live happily ever after. Take the case of U.P. The factional war continues to the extent that dissidents think nothing of combining with the opposition parties and voting against the Government on the floor of the Assembly.

In Bihar, Mr. Karpuri Thakur has been voted out of the Chief Ministership. The democratic assumption is that, having lost, he would accept the situation in good grace and co-operate with the Government. But that is expecting too much. He offered co-operation to his successor, Mr. Ram Sunder Das, only if the latter kept out RSS-oriented men from his cabinet. This was not all. He rushed to the Governor with a letter suggesting that the Das Government was a minority one. His group is credited with overtures to opposition parties so that the Das Government may be ultimately pushed out, or as the saying goes toppled. Mr. Karpuri does not wish, especially when one considers that he himself never threw them out. Nor was he able to prevent the riot in Jamshedpur. About the efficiency of his Government, the less said the better. Whenever there was an outrage against a Harijan, he produced statistics to show that things were worse during the Emer-

gency, as if that was an achievement by itself. As regards education, the 1975 Law Examinations have been held only this year. With his Job Reservation Policy Mr. Thakur did succeed in further polarising the politics of the State on caste lines, but even this did not prevent his falling from power.

In Himachal Pradesh, Mr. Shanta Kumar was able to retain power but there too no problem has been solved. The dissidents are at it again. They will muster all resources to do him down. The curious spectacle of the ministerial group staying before the voting at Chail Palace and going to the place of voting in a bus, piloted by a car and the spectacle of the dissident group also staying collectively at Haryana Government Guest House tells its own tale.

In Orissa too, Mr. Routray managed to retain power by an overwhelming majority. But there too those opposed to Mr. Routray are by no means reconciled to their defeat. They plan to continue their struggle against the Routray Government. The Biju Patnaik group would have us believe that the attack on Mr. Routray was really an attack on Mr. Patnaik by vested interests. This remains to be proved.

In Haryana, Mr. Devilal has chosen to dismiss RSS-oriented Ministers even without giving them a chance to resign.

What is one to make of all this? If text-book democratic norms mattered, a great crisis had indeed occurred in which the fate of the Centre too should be in doubt. But in the Indian situation text-book norms just do not apply. By refusing to take RSS-oriented men in the U.P. cabinet and by dismissing such men from the Haryana Government, the BLD wanted to make a point. It has, and that, for the time being is considered enough.

By throwing out the Karpuri Thakur Government the Jansangh camp wanted to make a point. And it has. And this is considered good enough. In the bargain it has also proved which faction really matters in Orissa. By siding with the BLD in U.P. and with the Jansangh in Bihar, the CFD wanted to make a point. It has. And that is considered good enough.

What does all this add up to? First that, the various factions of the Janata Party are not bothered about their collective image or unity, that they would employ any means to achieve their ends by no means noble. Secondly, that in their calculation nothing can dislodge them from power until the next elections. Thirdly, that if the people do not like all this they can lump it. Fourthly, that barring the period of Mrs. Gandhi's authoritarian rule there has been continuity in Indian politics. The Congress was stated to be an umbrella under which people of all political persuasions flourished. That exactly is the case with the Janata Party. Only that the unifying factor of an umbrella is missing.

What then does the future look like? That is a million dollar question.

Courtesy: All India Radio

C. Y. CHINTAMANI - A TRIBUTE

Capt. R.L. Rau (Retd.)

The introduction in 1917 of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms in India, threw up on the political stage a set of warm-hearted individuals and newspaper editors who sought in their time with every opportunity open to them to show up the hollowness of the British proposals for political reform and who fearlessly declared that it was for Indians and not the British to have the right to determine their political future. Annie Besant of *New India* and Kasturi Ranga Iyengar of the *Hindu*, both of Madras; B. G. Horniman of the *Bombay Chronicle* and Sadanand of the *Free Press Journal*, both of Bombay; Kalinath of Lahore's *Tribune*, Moti Lal Ghosh of Calcutta's *Amrit Bazar Patrika* and C. Y. Chintamani, of the *Leader* of Allahabad were among the editors of their respective newspapers. Nearly all of them spoke or wrote whatever they felt was right and correct. They criticised the government bureaucracy fearlessly. The Defence of India Rules which were in existence even in those days, or punishment for so called seditious writing held no terror for them. They were, in fact, the forerunners of the free press in India today.

Today alas! the era of great newspaper editors is over. Today any one can become the editor of a newspaper. Liaisoning agencies like the AINEC, the Foreign Affairs Committee of Newspapers, the Press Association and other bodies concerned have tended to put the newspaper editor more and more in the background and in the process, have made newspapers more and more impersonal. Also the ownership of large circulation newspapers by proprietary interests, has stifled the growth of newspaper editors of the calibre of a Chintamani, a Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, an Annie Besant, a Horniman, a Kalinath Roy or a Sadanand.

Half a century ago, the editor of an Indian-owned English newspaper in India was a much dreaded person. It was he who created public opinion; it was he who fought for lost causes, political, social or in the realm of economics; it was he who had the courage to ridicule knavery in politics and in government administration and who laid down the law so far as his reading clientele or public was concerned. The Indian edited English newspaper had come to stay. No longer could it be ignored.

C. Y. Chintamani, editor of the now defunct *Leader* of Allahabad, belonged to that genre. His physical personality had something of a Samuel Johnson in him. He ruled his little editorial room like a *nawab*. He fought his opponents with demoniac fury. He earned the respect of those with whom he fought; he gave them in return, his large heartedness and support whenever it was called for or needed.

In all his political battles fought with the aid of his powerful pen in the columns of the once famous *Leader*, he was never to be on the winning side. But he cared little. His constitution and mental

make-up scorned spectacular public success. His congenital opposition to the majority opinion of the politicians of his time meant a good deal of personal suffering.

But C. Y. Chintamani was an honest man. He was consistent. He had the courage of his convictions. And because he was wise, honest and brave, he became a menace to the corrupt in the province of his adoption. The politician hated him for the honesty of his views. They could not quell or stem the constant flow of courageous writing that emanated from his editorials day after day.

Yet, no political boss was responsible for his nomination to the high position he was called upon to shoulder as the foremost public man of the old United Provinces, and which post he continued to hold with conspicuous distinction till his death. No political machine carried his candidacy to this exalted post, to victory. No coteries of financiers from the cities of Bombay, Calcutta or Madras provided the money to finance his campaigns.

When the political leadership of the province he loved had passed into the hands of others, he continued to match sanity against lunacy and statesmanship against demogogy. He was the historian against the rough rider and the educator of public opinion against debauchers of public opinion; he was the man with clean hands against the man who drew funds or sought aid from Bombay and Calcutta or from the government of the day. He was the champion of constitutional government against the advocates of personal rule.

Such was the stuff this great newspaper editor was made of. He died, as he lived, a free man.

I learnt the ABC of journalism sitting at his feet in the office of the *Leader*, on Leader Road, Allahabad, the famed city of the Saprus, the Nehrus and the Katjus. I know I shall never see the like of him again; nor will it be my privilege to serve a newspaper editor like him in the years that are left to me.

Continued from page 4

A Salutory Decision

Government's decision to bring public sector undertakings within the purview of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act is welcome news indeed. An invidious distinction is thus to be removed and while they are about it, why not consider divorcing Monopolies from Restrictive Practices. The latter is not necessarily confined to so-called Monopoly houses. Experts believe such a step will simplify everyone's life including the bureaucrat's! Incidentally one hopes the government will not provide for exceptions such as exempting the STC for instance.

SVR

MOONLIGHTING—BRITISH STYLE

Alan Osborn

The company electrician who spent Easter day painting a friend's kitchen for £50 rather than earning twice as much doing official over-time had a compelling explanation. "I keep it all," he said.

A familiar tale — which raises serious questions about the extent to which we are becoming a nation of moonlighters and tax evaders.

Does Britain have a vast "subterranean" or "black" economy in which enormous sums change hands far outside the scrutiny of the tax man?

And, if so, is this in turn an inevitable by-product of our high rates of personal taxation?

Stories of odd-job plumbers, builders, painters and the like offering cut-price deals for cash confirm that the activity exists on a large scale.

But national figures are hard to come by and what indications there are do not support the theory that moonlighting is directly related to high marginal tax rates. The practice is far more widespread in Italy and France, where individual tax rates are lower than in Britain.

The only official clue to the extent of the "black economy" came in recent testimony by Sir William Pile, the Inland Revenue chairman, who said it would amount to 7½ per cent of gross domestic product. Tax officials stress this is a good guess and includes a measure of economic activity under-stated by self employed people to minimise tax.

Even so, some £ 9,000 million of annual economic activity could be evading tax representing a loss to the Government of up to £3,000 million in revenue—enough to meet most of the country's education bill.

Official figures offer no exact guide to the numbers of people involved. According to the Department of Employment's Family Expenditure Survey, some seven per cent. of income-earners held second jobs last year.

But since this includes baby-sitters and housewives operating mail order clubs and since more than half those surveyed claimed to earn less than £2 a week from their second jobs, the figures is virtually useless.

A figure thrown out by the recent General Household Survey which suggested that 3 to 3½ per cent. of wage earners held a second job in a specific week of the year is similarly suspect. Government officials believe that many workers are reluctant to admit to working on the side for fear it could attract attention from the tax authorities.

Inland Revenue officials stress that in paying a man cash to work for you and asking no questions thereafter involves you in no obligation to report the matter for tax purposes.

But a man who is paid for work done is supposed to record this on his income tax return and district tax officers have been instructed to investigate suspicious looking advertisements by plumbers, electricians, decorators and so on.

There is no law against having two jobs so long as the tax authorities know and you are coded accordingly. A good deal of "moonlighting" is done by registered unemployed — which accounts for the often puzzl-

ingly high level of retail sales in areas of economic recession.

Figures for the official unemployed who work virtually full-time in the "black" economy are impossible to obtain, but the practice may have grown since unemployment and supplementary benefits were claimable on a weekly rather than daily basis.

Local social security officials are empowered to ask recipients to turn up at odd moments of any and every day if they suspect a fiddle but the figures for proven frauds do not suggest that many are caught out.

Since unemployment benefits cease once the beneficiary earns more than 75p a day and supplementary benefits are reduced for earnings beyond £2 a week it would be naive to assume there are not substantial violations.

Most Government, as well as business, officials believe that moonlighting is largely confined to small, household operations and that its suspected growth in recent years is above all else the result of the abolition of Schedule A income tax some years ago.

Householders could reduce their Schedule A payments by deducting the costs of home repairs and improvements and there was thus a strong incentive for them to demand plausible receipts. Without that incentive there has been nothing to stop them taking advantage of the "cash and no question asked" man.

Politically, the difficulty is that to bring moonlighters into the tax net, even if this were easily managed, would offend both them and their customers—a sizeable chunk of voters.

The Government claims that its action regarding building trades workers under the "lump" system and covering temporary office agency workers have been moves to spread the tax net and so reduce the burden for others.

"We'd like to eliminate moonlighting to ensure a fairer rate of tax for all," says a tax expert at Transport House. But there is nothing specific in either the manifesto or in speeches by Labour politicians on the topic.

For the Conservatives the problem is directly related to the "absurdly high marginal rates of tax" to quote the Party's manifesto which says it is especially important to pay a man or woman to be in rather than out of work. But there is no great conviction that a cut in personal income tax by the Tories would more than marginally affect moonlighting.

As for the TUC, it is torn between the belief that a man doing two jobs must need them for economic reasons and yet, at the same time, is doing someone else out of one.

In any case some tax experts believe that the line dividing legitimate "do-it-yourself" and cheap but paid work for some one else could be so difficult to define that it could only be tackled through a massive increase in the resources and powers of the inland revenue that might prove financially self-defeating.

WORLD NEWS

Islam In Marxland

Soviet power has controlled Soviet Central Asia and its 30 million Moslems for more than half a century, but outwardly things appear little changed.

Public health and literacy has vastly improved, but most of the population continues to live in mud houses. The people consider themselves Moslems, if not practising believers.

Beggars squat outside mosques, and a stork nests on top of Bukhara's tallest minaret, where once fires were lit at night to guide desert caravans from Tashkent, 270 miles to the north-east.

But the region is booming, and there is a population explosion in Bukhara which is bound to have far reaching effects on the Russian-dominated Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is already the world's most populous Moslem State, with only a third of Soviet Moslems speaking Russian.

The central Asia region has a birth rate more than double that of European Russia.

But while Soviet planners are desperately in need of labour to exploit the raw materials and man the new industries in Siberia, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan the Moslems would rather stay at home and grow cotton.

At the same time, there is a growing consciousness among the population, long isolated from the outside world, of its ethnic and Islamic bonds with its neighbours in Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

"All of us dark-haired people" said an Intourist waiter, using the term to discriminate the locals from the many Soviet Slavs who have poured into Central Asia, "welcome the establishment of an Islamic State in Iran, and think it good.

So far the Soviet Union has kept its Moslems apart from their neighbours, but the Islamic revolution in Iran and the civil war developing in Afghanistan between Marxists and Moslems is inevitably causing concern in Moscow.

Richard Beeston, *The Daily Telegraph*, April 18

Pot Calls Kettle Back

President Brezhnev is a sick man and must be nearing the end of his term as Soviet leader. Correspondents accompanying President Giscard d'Estaing on his visit to Moscow confirm this impression. Nonetheless, while he is still there, Brezhnev remains the authentic voice of Soviet man. His successor is unlikely to speak very differently. Soviet man at his most priggish and hypocritical was heard in the toast to Giscard which Brezhnev read at a banquet at the Kremlin. Referring, without mentioning names, to China's punitive attack on Vietnam, he intoned: "A great Power had recourse to arms and stormed into a neighbouring country, cynically saying it intended to give it a lesson.... When, in one part of the world someone tries to substitute force for right, hostility and a diktat for good neighbourliness, no one can remain indifferent."

This is the true Soviet blarney. Russia, under Brezhnev's leadership, invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968, enforced a change of Government there and still occupies the country with its armed forces. If you pointed this out to a Soviet official, he would

explain that the case was quite different to China's attack on Vietnam. Warsaw Pact forces, he would say, were "invited" into Czechoslovakia to save a fellow-socialist regime in danger from "hostile" elements within the country. This was spelled out later in the famous "Brezhnev doctrine." The doctrine lays down that armed force can be used to uphold threatened Governments within the "socialist camp." It would be trotted out if Russia invaded Yugoslavia after Tito's death. Soviet man does not change.

The Daily Telegraph, April 28.

Dissecting Soviet Society

French intellectuals have never been sparing in their criticism of other societies, including the U.S. but being predominantly Marxist, they have tended to apply a more sympathetic standard to the Soviet Union. That began to change two years ago with the emergence of the so-called New Philosophers, young writer-thinkers who have raised hard questions about the incompatibility of Marxism and liberty. Now there are signs that critical examination of the Soviet experience is becoming a broad pre-occupation in France: for more than five months, the country's non-fiction bestseller lists have been led by, of all things, two books that dwell on the failings of Soviet society.

In style, the books differ sharply. *Street of the Red Proletariat* is named after the address of a secluded Moscow restaurant in which two young, idealistic French Communists, Jean and Nina Kehayan, spent long hours in conversation with their Russian friends. In 1972 the couple began a two-year stint in the Soviet capital, where Jean got a job as a French editor for the government news agency Novosti. In their breezy, 222 — page account of their experiences, the Kehayans do not reveal many details that would startle readers of Hedrick Smith's *The Russians*. They note that the Soviet economy is inefficient, that officials lead privileged lives, that alcoholism is rampant and that Moscow's bureaucracy is stifling. But for two people who, as Nina puts it, "considered the words Soviet Union to be almost magic, evoking sunshine," the experience was a shocking eye opener. The authors' dismay is deep: "Too many revolting facts have accumulated in the U.S.S.R. in recent years for a French Communist not to anguish over what this country has become.

Though longer (280 pages) and more scholarly, *The Burst Empire*, by Helene Carrere d'Encausse, a political scientist who has written extensively on the U.S.S.R., is no less compelling. Her thesis: the Russians have failed in their efforts to create Homo Sovieticus, the new Soviet man whose allegiance to Soviet-style communism would transcend historical and cultural links with the country's 100-odd ethnic "nations." Moreover, the author argues, the rapid growth rate of the non-Slavic population of Central Asia represents a time bomb for Moscow's leaders. "We imagine the Soviet Union as an overarmed country of 260 million inhabitants, perturbed by only a few hundred dissidents," she says. "In truth, it is a country that counts 120 million potential dissidents."

A Review in *Time*, April 30.

Grievances in a Workers' Paradise

The "Free Union of Rumanian Workers," which claims a membership of about 2,000, has sent an Open Letter to President Ceausescu, protesting at "abusive measures" against its members perpetrated by Departments linked to the Interior Ministry.

"Members of the Union have been picked up in the street, brutally interrogated and their telephones disconnected. Some have been arrested and condemned without reason," says the letter, published in Paris by the "French Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Rumania."

The open letter calls on President Ceausescu to end this repression and to deny reports put out by Rumanian Embassies that the "Free Union" is a "terrorist organisation of a Fascist type."

"These affirmations are false and slanderous," the letters says. "We are a non-political organisation of trades union type which has applied for affiliation to World Union Organisations. We renew our request for legal recognition (in Rumania), for the right to premises and to open discussions with the (Official) General Union of Rumanian Trades Unions."

The Paris-based "French Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Rumania," which maintains regular telephone communication with members of the Free Union in Bucharest, reports that last April 16, three members, Alexander Consa, Nicolae Oblici and Marian Zamfirescu were condemned under a law against "parasitism" to 2 months jail after a parody of a trial. All three had previously been dismissed from their jobs without justification.

Four other members, Alexandru Ser An Vasily, Eugen Ionesco, Sorin Marcu and Lucian Neacu had been submitted since April 16, to daily interrogation. They have had to report after work in the afternoon to the State Security Office (Securitate) for harsh questioning sessions, return home late and rise early next day for work.

The Rumanian Authorities are evidently embarrassed by continuing ventilation of human rights violations in Rumania.

Reports in Western newspapers of the persecution of dissident intellectuals like Father Calciu, the Orthodox priest and former Professor of Technology, now in jail, and the attempted suppression of the "Free Trades Union" are being portrayed in official statements from the Justice Ministry and through Rumanian Embassies and "Friendship Associations" as unjustified slurs on a country anxious for friendly relations with the west.

The Right-Wing Socialist French Union Force Ouvriere recently received a letter purporting to come from two workers in the town of Dobreta-Turnu Severin, protesting at the inclusion of their names on a list of Free Union adherents. They said they had gone to Bucharest to see Dr Cana founder of the "Free Union" to ask whose permission he had "to use our names in this filthy business."

Rumanian circles in Paris regard this letter to Force Ouvriere as a typical police move, pointing out that two provincial workers in Rumania are unlikely to have the Paris address of Force Ouvriere or even to have heard of it.

The Daily Telegraph, April 30.

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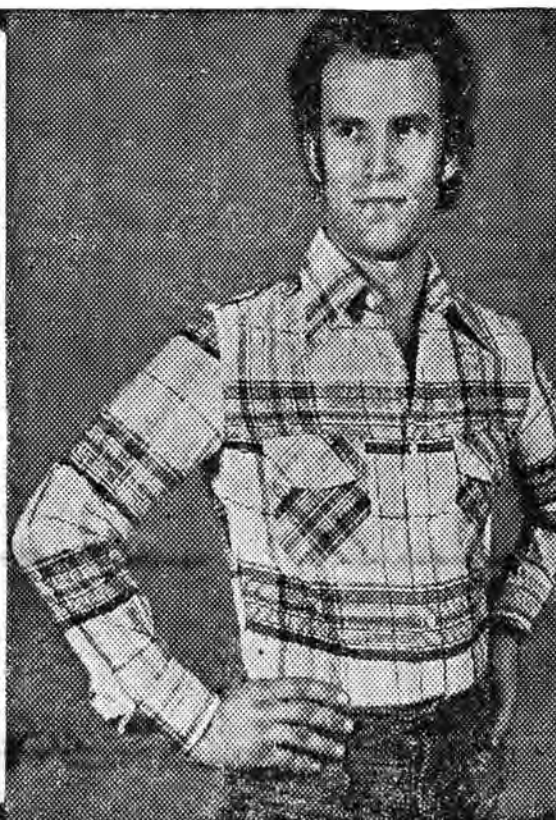
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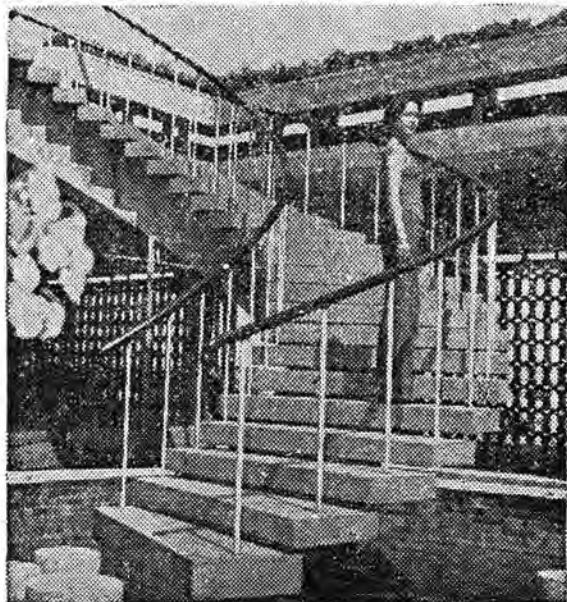
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Book Review

LIVING AND LEARNING

by Muriel Wasi; Datta Book Centre,
Delhi 110 007; 1978; pp 107; Price Rs. 20/-

If you had the incurable habit of reading books with a pencil and ruler you would probably end up marking most of the paragraphs in this thoughtful little book on education. Written with elegance and grace — all too rare in this country — these essays contain the reflections of one who has spent many years in teaching as well as in educational administration.

The book is in two parts. The first entitled *Exploration* consists of three talks in the *Yuva Vani* programme of All India Radio and was meant for young listeners. Mrs. Wasi compares the intellectual tradition of the Greeks with that of India as it was expressed in the guru-chela relationship in which knowledge was transmitted from teacher to pupil. The Greek view best exemplified in the life and work of Socrates stressed the adventures of the questioning mind. The Socratic view also placed virtue at the heart of learning, thus imparting meaning to life itself. Mrs. Wasi rightly adds that if the questioning spirit of the pupil is to lead to originality, it must spring from knowledge. "You have to *know* something to be able to think about it originally." That all learning should transform us, that *light* must become *Life*, to use the expressive language of Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, is not a new idea in the philosophy of education. But Mrs. Wasi is quite eloquent on this theme.

The relationship between teaching and learning is dealt with briefly within the framework of educational thinking. Mrs. Wasi is inclined to shift the emphasis from *teaching* to *learning* and rightly cautions us against the dangers of an excessive preoccupation with the methods of teaching. The teacher himself should *know* before he begins to *teach* and his task is over as soon as the student is able to think for himself. "The test of good teaching is the confidence that the teacher gives his student that they can do their own learning." All this is basically sound but in the hundreds of colleges in India the main problem is to devise some way of training teachers in the techniques of classroom instruction, in the methods of presenting the various subjects keeping in mind the heterogeneous composition of the class and, most important of all, imparting to them the rudiments of that baffling thing called *communication*. One more thought before we take leave of this part of the book. Possibly, the *Yuva Vani* programme of AIR was not the best medium for Mrs. Wasi's tightly packed script.

The second part of *Living and Learning* contains five important themes: public schools, co-education *vs* Women's colleges, the teaching and learning of humanities in Indian colleges, the problems of spreading education among the masses and the use of the library, specially for conducting a *library seminar*. The essay on public schools is inspired by the desire to see them become more egalitarian in their aims and functioning. Mrs. Wasi would like to see the teachers in these schools inculcate a sense of

social responsibility in children to a point where they can see the advantages they have, compared to the millions of children who live in poverty. She wants them to "understand the temper of the times." All this is good sentiment and I deeply respect it. But she is everly optimistic of achieving these aims. Even in our middle class schools it is doubtful if we would be more successful. The social conscience is roused only in a few, in any country in the world. Mrs. Wasi also wants the public schools to admit some twenty-five percent of their children from the unprivileged classes. Who exactly? And if so many children come from the ranks of the poor what happens to the problem of teaching them along with those who are better off? What about the relationship between the children themselves? Would it not be better to admit such children to middle class schools where the social and economic disparity may not be very wide? Mrs. Wasi thinks that public schools would be able to counter the charge of elitism by admitting children from the poorer classes. But the accusing finger may still be pointed towards them on the ground that the reservation of seats is very low! There is also the fact one has to reckon with, viz., that all good schools must ultimately remain elitist. Mrs. Wasi concludes her essay citing the example of a young man who acquitted himself admirably before an IAS/IFS interview committee. When finally asked about patriotism he said, "Today, it is clearly not the flamboyant or heroic thing it once was. It is quieter, an awareness of what is necessary, a commitment. Perhaps, I would define it as *Service without Vanity*." It is interesting and significant to know that this candidate was the product of a public school and had studied in the best colleges in India and at Christ Church, Oxford—all elitist institutions.

Every one of these essays contains the wisdom of a long career and even where one is inclined to differ from the author her point of view commands both respect and attention. Of how many books on Indian education can this be said? It would perhaps be unfair to judge a book by what it omits. But as one who has been a teacher for many years and has had wide experience both in the Union Ministry of Education and in the NCERT, Mrs. Wasi could have told us a little about the way in which the Indian bureaucracy has succeeded in making the classroom in school and college a great conspiracy against the intellect.

S. P. AIYAR

LAND TENURE AND PEASANT IN SOUTH ASIA

by Robert Eric Frykenberg : Orient Longman,
New Delhi; 1977; pp X+312; Price Rs. 70/-

In the words of R. E. Frykenberg, "Land Tenure in South Asia is mind-boggling". These land tenure systems answer neither the need for social justice nor the need for economic development. The land tenure problems, in the context of mass poverty, assume a serious character. The legislations relating to land tenure try to realign the long established relationship between Land, Landlord and Labour. The rural privileges are closely related to land privileges.

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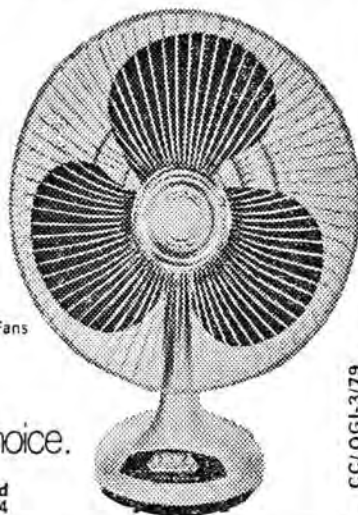
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Countries which try to revolutionise their land tenure system, especially those who propose to achieve this through legislation, have to first understand the complexity of this system. As Frykenberg puts it, "civilization in Asia is inter-woven with land." The ancient civilizations have developed relations with land which are political, social, economic, religious and personal.

Various aspect of land tenure have been dealt with in the volume containing twelve papers contributed by eminent social scientists. These papers are presented in three parts. The first part gives a historical perspective to privileged land tenure. The papers in this section are authored by John R. McLane, R. E. Frykenberg, Eric Stokes and Burton Stein. The second part — 'Dimensions of Landed Relations' — examines geographical, credit and cultural dimensions to land relations. The contributors to this section are Brian J. Murton, Michael Adas and Ronald J. Herring. The third part — 'Dimensions of Development and/or Reform' — identifies factors which lead to failure of land reform measures and creation of agrarian tensions, as also factors which lead to development, and studies the political conditions for land reforms. These various aspects are dealt with in the papers contributed by Paul G. Hiebert, Carl H. Gotsch, Joseph W. Elder, F. Tomasson Jannuzi and Henry C. Hart/Ronald J. Herring.

The land privileges, created in British times, were created for administrative and revenue purposes and not with the objective of development. The Zamindars were considered as rural elites but John R. McLane finds that the rural intermediaries were the real elite. In South India, the Britishers perpetuated the inam holdings for political convenience. The privileged tenure holders, the rural elites, are responsible for making land legislation ineffective. The rural elites in recent years have outwardly supported radical land reform measures but have made them ineffective in practice.

A new dimension to the landed relations is the geographical approach. Land use categories, social and agricultural system are related to the geographical features of an area. These form an agro-eco system. Understanding of these factors is essential for formulating workable policies pertaining to landed relations. Borrowing the phrase of R. E. Frykenberg, this attempt is 'a cutting edge to new research'. An additional dimension to land relation is population and in the paper by Michael Adas, a very valid observation is made, viz., that where the population-to-land ratio is low, emphasis is to be placed on manpower control rather than on the control of land.

While undertaking ambitious land reform measures it should be realised that the subsistence economies of Asia stress basic economic securities to larger gains and the attendant risks. Land reform measures should not be considered as a single factor which exists apart from the rest of the culture. The objectives and methods of programmes must be geared to the needs and aspirations of the people. According to the anthropological approach of Paul G. Hiebert, land reforms fail because social and cultural interactions that reforms are likely to generate are not taken into consideration. It is likely that in certain cases the beneficiaries of land reforms may not be perceiving any net gain from reform mea-

asures. Therefore, a fundamental change in our concept and implementation of development programmes is needed.

Caste hierarchy has been held responsible for the various ills of rural society, and Joseph Elder finds that land being at the core of rural, social, religious and cultural life, the lower castes attain the status of the twice-born through acquisition of land. Not caste but control of land is the basis of exploitation. The conclusion that can be drawn is, that many of the caste disabilities can be dissolved through effective, progressive land reforms.

The Asian peasant is no longer a silent sufferer. The penetration of mass media into rural areas has politicised the peasants. The failure of land reform measures gives rise to agrarian tension. The peasants are articulate. F. Tomasson Jannuzi's statement 'whoever controls the peasantry will control the future of India' seems to be valid though the word peasant has reference to well-to-do farmers in these days.

The papers in this volume are selected to act as 'wide angle lens' turned on the problems of land tenure. These papers study various aspects of land tenure reforms and are based on a wide range of disciplines. The attention of experts from various fields is attracted to land reform measures, not because of their success, but precisely because of their failure. Except for one paper on Burma, all the papers are the result of studies of various regions of India. This makes the present volume of special significance to students in India. Land relations have been studied and analysed with historical, anthropological, geographical and other perspectives.

Though the papers give additional dimensions to landed relations, they are based on a very limited geographical coverage — mainly South India. Wider geographical coverage would have increased the significance of this book. And yet this is a volume which makes valuable reading for students of agrarian economy.

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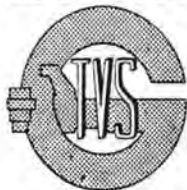
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INDIAN HOCKEY

by Sunil Gujral; Vikas; 1978; Price Rs. 7.50

In the preface to his book Sunil Gujral states that the purpose of his work is to discover the truth of why Indian Hockey is dying, and "sell that statement". This will not be an easy "sell" as the medium of communication will not be easily understood by the average reader. The "truth" is a very simple and well understood one — that hockey in India is being destroyed because the game and the players are completely controlled by a Mafia of self-centred charlatans whose only interest is self-promotion! Many of them are completely ignorant of the science of the game. The few knowledgeable and genuinely interested individuals who try to work sincerely for the betterment of this greatest of our national sports, find themselves (to use a rude but effective Army phrase) "pissing against the wind"!

It took decades to build our hockey to world-beating standards. It has taken just a few years and a number of scoundrels backed by complete ignorance and lack of interest on the part of the Government to reduce us to a third-rate hockey nation. Which is also the reason why India, second populous nation in the world, is a complete 'NONENTITY' in team games. Let's not consider cricket, which is purely a Commonwealth aberration and not a world sport!

The pity of Gujral's excellently reasoned and written treatise is its in-built ineffectualness as a communication medium. It will be intelligible only to those who can do nothing about the matter; the morons whom he classifies as "the bosses" don't read books about hockey because they already know all there is to know about it; and those who may be able to do something about the tragic mess, will find Gujral's psychological profundities beyond comprehension.

It is basic to all "causes" that they are propounded in a medium that is intelligible to all those for whom they are intended. Otherwise, the author is you-know-whatting against the wind!

C. L. PROUDFOOT

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

—Tennyson

I don't like strident females. I like people with ability. You get somewhere because of ability and not sex.

Mrs. Thatcher, *The Daily Telegraph*, April 27

I am what I am and I happen to be a woman. I haven't experienced the alternative.

Mrs. Thatcher, *The Daily Telegraph*, April 27

... criminals should not be tried. They should be killed. I am sorry that there is still western sickness among us.

Ayatollah Khomeini, *The Economist*, April 14

Hanging prime ministers, however brutal they once were, is no way for any country to breed a more courageous brand of politicians.

The Economist, April 7

Inflation is the rust which corrodes everything in society.

The Observer, April 29

God help a country when one lot of men start killing another lot for crimes against God.

Mr. Bazargan, *The Economist*, April 14

The Soviet Union has become a country where often the name of a writer appears not on the cover of his book but on the door of his prison cell.

Joseph Brodsky, *Reader's Digest*, April 1979

The world is moving so fast these days that a man who says, 'It can't be done,' is usually interrupted by someone doing it.

Michael Edwardes, *The Daily Telegraph*, April 10

Everyone I know is either married or dotty.

Ms Germaine Greer, *The Observer*, April 15

The plain fact is that modern socialism is about envy, and about nothing else.

Nigel Lawson, *The Observer*, April 15

As we said in February 1974, 'newspapers don't cast votes: people do.'

The Observer, April 29

Every shah has his ayatollah,

Joseph Kraft, *Herald Tribune*, April 11

Massive State spending is not the friend of full employment.

Sir Keith Joseph, *The Daily Telegraph*, April 11

The Shah, with all his faults, was infinitely preferable to this. Unhappy Iran! And unhappy West which daily shows, by its inability to protect its friends, its inability to protect itself.

The Daily Telegraph, April 9

A Decree has been issued in Saudi Arabia which prohibits tailors from taking women's measurements, because it is incompatible with Islamic Law.

Nidgett, *The Daily Telegraph*, April 10

Revenge is sweet but a job is sweeter.

David Shears, *The Daily Telegraph*, April 10

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