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EDITORS : S. V. RAJU

GEETA DOCTOR

WERE RAJAJI ALIVE TODAY...

M. R. Masani



The essence of what India needs today is not only education in certain subjects like science or the arts but the development of character. If we ascertain the root of the word 'education', we find that in Latin it means to 'emerge'. Education means the emerging of the personality of the child or the young person and it is only to the extent that educational authorities, encourage the man or woman to emerge that they perform their function. It is

not just providing information, it is the building of character which unfortunately India so badly needs.

That brings us to the state of our national affairs today. In the last ten years, we seem to have been indulging in a swing of the pendulum. You know how a pendulum goes from one extreme to another. We seem to be unable to stabilise in the centre. First we had chaos and near anarchy under the SVD Governments in Northern India from 1967 to 1970. Then we had the "Indira wave" from 1971 culminating in an authoritarian regime in 1975. That ended in 1977. Now we are drifting back again to chaos.

Let us face it. Our democratic system has failed to work since 1977. Once again there are people who are making out a case for dictatorship. This is not surprising. If law and order and discipline are not possible in a democracy, then people inevitably turn to dictatorship. Walter Lippman in his important little book *The Public Philosophy* wrote twenty years ago that, when people are driven to a choice between an autocratic but strong Government on the one side and a democratic but useless or ineffective Government on the other, they always choose the first. That is why our pendulum swings like this.

(Continued on page 5)

IN THIS ISSUE

Rajaji has been very much in the news. Even those who had little use for his views when he was alive are now singing his praise. Mr. M.R. Masani who can truly be described as Rajaji's political heir writes on Rajaji's continuing relevance. Taxing the people beyond a point is counter-productive. We reproduce an excellent piece on this by Ian Ball. World News and two book reviews by S. P. Aiyar and Mehra Masani are among the other varied fare we offer readers 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

Double Standards

"It is their internal affair. I don't want to interfere", said Prime Minister Morarji Desai. "No comment. It is their internal affair" orchestrated Vajpayee, the External Affairs Minister. Not very long ago, Mr. Desai's predecessor had made the profound remark "What we do in our country is our business".

The whole world pleaded for clemency. But not the abovementioned gentlemen who have already forgotten that if they are free men today it is largely due to the pressure of world opinion. Diplomatic niceties can be carried to ridiculous lengths indeed. And then of course there is that little matter of hypocrisy. Our rulers have shown no such delicacy on many an earlier occasion when they have been rather free in their comments about goings on in other nations particularly Africa. Thank God, Jayaprakash Narayan and the President Mr. Sanjiva Reddy saved the country's conscience.

The issue is not whether Mr. Bhutto is guilty or not. Three of the seven judges did not think he was. The arrest, trial and sentence are essentially political and doing away with political opponents in this manner is a reversion to tribalism.

The Janata Government exhibited no such sensitivity when rushing to recognise the bloody Khomeini take over. What is worse Mr. Morarji Desai sends a message to Ayatollah Khomeini felicitating him on "the successful end of the long struggle of the people of Iran for the establishment of their democratic rights." And yet,

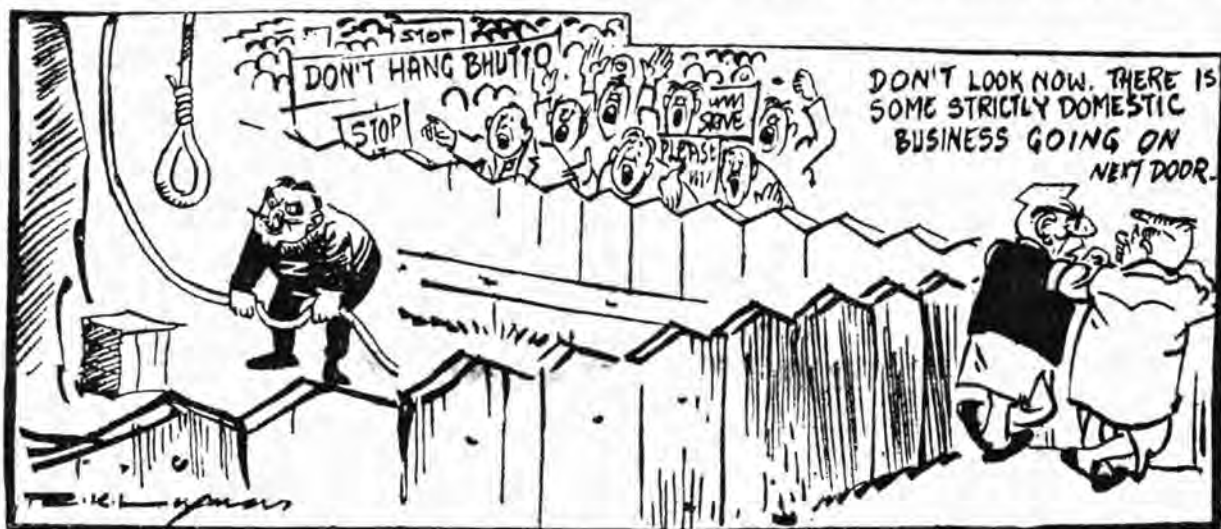
it will be recalled that not many months ago the Shah of Iran was an honoured guest in our country the recipient of fulsome praise from Janata leaders! More recently they sent their good wishes to Bakhtiyar. Kudremukh at the cost of national dignity?

Yet another example of double standards is the alacrity with which Atal Behari Vajpayee condemns China as the aggressor for its invasion Vietnam. But not a word about the Viet Nameese invasion of Cambodia. Who can blame the critic who points out that we continue to tow the Soviet line? SVR

Frisking St. George

When the legend of St. George Fernandes is finally written a chapter will no doubt describe the story of how single handed he challenged the authorities lurking around the airport at Madras. Of how he was completely taken unawares by the frisking procedure which has been standard practice for airline passengers since the time hijacking became an international sport. Of how, unmindful of the delay caused by the incident to other passengers, he insisted on unholding the dignity of man and telephoned headquarters to see that the odious order was cancelled.

Before the final story is written, ordinary mortals may be forgiven for speculating on the implications of the incident. Mr. Fernandes himself has come out with an explanation — the order to frisk Ministers was issued during the emergency and not after



Courtesy : Times of India

the hijack attempt following Mrs. Gandhi's arrest. That should explain everything. As everybody knows Mr. Fernandes was in jail during the time of the aforementioned emergency and was not in the habit of receiving copies of circulars issued to airport officials at that time. "Had it occurred to me earlier, I would have certainly had the provision quashed," said Mr. Fernandes stoutly defending his action a good two years after the emergency was buried in all the better known history books. Bad news certainly takes a long time to get around. Mr. Fernandes emphasized that it was not for his dignity alone that he was having the order removed, but for the sake of the President and the Prime Minister. How would it look, he is supposed to have argued, if these worthy gentlemen were treated like potential hijackers.

But this still does not solve the problem of what to do with people who insist on such childish "pranks" as the holding up of aeroplanes with cricket balls disguised as grenades. Maybe as a footnote to the order exempting ministers from being frisked there will be a small warning which says, "Ministers carrying cricket balls will be severely punished." Perhaps it was in anticipation of this that the Prime Minister in his usual "quizzical" fashion when asked at the Madras Airport about the Pondicherry issue, replied with the cryptic comment "No ball."

Meanwhile our heartfelt sympathies go out to the security officers who have to perform the thankless, and surely not very pleasant task, of probing passengers, so that all those who travel by air, ministers included, may be saved a hijack experience. Not long ago while waiting to be checked I found myself standing behind a large lady passenger carrying an even larger handbag stuffed with purchases made in Dubai. Having gone through several bundles of food and feeding bottles, the officer-in-charge came across a 14-inch kitchen knife which she promptly confiscated. The irate lady passenger who did not follow much English immediately picked up her knife and started brandishing it in the air shouting in Tamil that she only wanted to cut her vegetables with it. The other passengers however, who had flattened themselves involuntarily against the wall were almost convinced that she was planning to hijack the entire Airport and it was with great relief that they watched the authorities persuade the lady to lay down her weapon.

Faced with such a situation St. George would undoubtedly have been more chivalrous. He would have waved the authorities aside and declared that carrying of kitchen swords on aeroplanes is a fundamental right.

GD

Beware the Peking Duck*

Organizers of quiz programmes in search of new capitals of obscure countries with which to entrap the wits of competitors, may kindly take note that since the beginning of this year, China in the process of her great leap westwards has opted for a new name for her capital. Henceforth Peking will be known as Beijing.

*This was written before the current hostilities between China and Vietnam.

The Free China Weekly which reported this change mentioned however that "Before going any further with what the Chinese Communists face, we must make it clear that the name Peiping — not Peking or Beijing — will be continually used by the Government and people of the Republic of China. "Apparently Peking had been renamed Peiping in 1928 in order to persuade people that a new era was about to dawn, Peiping carrying the meaning of "Northern Peace" Not much peace followed however, and when the Communists took over they reverted to Peking which means northern capital just as Nanking means southern capital.

Why they have changed it to Beijing now remains a mystery since this has not changed the old meaning. Perhaps it has been done as the kind of gracious gesture for which the Chinese are so constantly being praised in the American press, to Mr. Carter's southern accent, or perhaps it is just another wily move to throw the Russians off their track. It ranks with all the other puzzling questions about China which one hopes Mr. Vajpayee will be able to answer on his return. One is always curious to know for instance why Mr. Teng Hsiao-p'ing is invariably referred to as Mr. Deng Hsiao-ping by Western news networks, or why the Chinese had to ever build that wall of theirs. Students of history will of course immediately answer, to keep the Mongol hordes out, to bring the American tourists in, then go on to other such profound insights as the one expressed by Mr. Nixon, sometime President of the USA, who on seeing it said, "It's a great wall."

One hopes that Mr. Vajpayee while making his historic voyage has been briefed on all these points. It would not do if in the process of keeping in mind what the Tibetans said about Tibet, or the Nagas about Nagaland and that Karokoram is the name of a highway, and not as it sounds, a brand of green tea, and that for the time being Kampuchea will be spelt with a "C" as in Cambodia or in Communist, he were to forget that the Chinese only change their names never their intentions. Whether the duck he is served at the Presidential banquet is named Peking Duck or Beijing Duck he should keep in mind the old saying "A Peking Duck by any name tastes the same."

GD

Not Medicine But 'Aushadh'

Eighty percent of our people live in the villages and do not know English. When they fall sick they need medical attention. They seek medical advice, naturally. Unfortunately the advice is in English. The poor villagers do not understand this 'alien' language. The solution—simple really; medical education in the regional languages. Q.E.D. The purveyor of this irrefutable syllogism? None other than our illustrious Prime Minister speaking, of all places, in Madras on January 19. The Health Ministers of Andhra and Tamil Nadu reacted with vehemence to this piece of Prime Ministerial logic. Both were unpatriotic enough to hold that English was necessary for the growth and dissemination of scientific knowledge. One of them, in fact feared the collapse of the medical education system as a direct consequence.

No matter. The important thing is to do away with that last but stubborn vestige of British Imperialism the English language.

Earlier on January 2 at Trivandrum, our Prime Minister conceded that there was "no question at all of our discarding English". But he said, it is after all only an "associate" language whereas Hindi is the "link" language. However this "link" language should come not through "the compulsion of the State but the compulsion of the people. This, Mr. Desai, is equally objectionable. "People" means "majority" and the tyranny of the majority can be as obnoxious as the tyranny of the State.

Meanwhile this "link" language is being promoted at great cost to the Indian taxpayer at the United Nations. According to a Bombay weekly "every Hindi infliction of our Foreign Minister costs India Rs. 4 crores besides a non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 6 crores".

And the Janata stalwarts wonder why the South does not support them!

To resume a refrain, would it be too much to expect our rulers to control their Hindi obsession for a while and get on with the business of attending to more immediate tasks that are crying for attention?

SVR

Sniping at Public Schools

And now of all the organisations the Citizens For Democracy have taken time off from their useful campaign against authoritarianism to snipe at

Public Schools. Educational reform is desperately needed. The linkage between degrees and jobs must be cut. The system needs a thorough overhaul. But why catch the wrong end of the stick? The much maligned Public Schools are oases in a barren landscape of falling standards. May be some public schools have consciously or otherwise developed in their students the characteristics of snobbishness and even aloofness. Possibly to some extent even alienation. But by and large the Public School has managed to hang on however tenuously to secondary education as we have known it in the days before our Delhi wizards began monkeying with it.

Let's talk of abolishing Public Schools when we have a suitable functioning substitute. But until then, for God's sake, let's lay off. SVR

Operation Checkmate

Ram Naresh Yadav ousted from the U.P. Chief Ministership was only a pawn in the Janata chess board! The resumption of ministerial responsibility by Charan Singh signalled new alignments within Janata. This was the Jan Sangh's way of serving notice on Charan Singh that he cannot do without their support e.g. U.P. And now, at the time of writing, another Charan Singh supporter Kapoori Thakur the Bihar Chief Minister is in difficulties. One can expect some counter moves by the Choudhury Saheb in Himachal Pradesh and perhaps Rajasthan. And so the moves will continue as each constituent seeks to checkmate the other.

LEST WE FORGET

Human memory being what it is, the experience of having lived under an authoritarian regime with the loss of personal liberty it entailed is already being forgotten, aided no doubt by the admitted deterioration in the law and order situation prevailing in the country. Even worse, there appears to be developing a feeling, almost bordering on the nostalgic, for a return to the emergency days of 'peace and discipline'. To counter this trend the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom organised a two-day exhibition of underground and other literature that circulated during the emergency, which was inaugurated by Mr. M. R. Masani at the Ghia Hall in South Bombay on February 8. The exhibition was entitled "Lest We Forget".

Over 500 people visited the exhibition which also displayed a number of posters depicting the work of the Amnesty International throughout the world.

Comments in the Visitors Book at the exhibition were a mixture of bouquets and brickbats. Some of the more interesting ones are reproduced below.

"There are some people who have been Mrs. Gandhi's stalwarts during the Emergency and now they are Janata stalwarts... I would be glad if you would conduct a research about their power hungry tactics..."

*

"We would request the organisers to divide the emergency in two or three groups and have three separate exhibitions of these periods. It is tiresome to read so vast a material at a stretch."

*

"Many thanks and congratulations for such a living demonstration of inspiration during those dark and fateful days of emergency."

*

"Ridiculous"

*

"An incomplete venture as it does not show the literature which was circulated during the emergency to explain the causes, more so the economic causes".

*

"For those who were not in India at the time—very informative. Can't imagine such a disgraceful thing happening in India."

*

"Should be exhibited in as many centres as possible throughout the length and breadth of our sub-continent."

*

"We must not forget that the 'freedom' we enjoy today is only illusory... while the Janata may be functioning under a facade of democracy prisoners are still being held unfairly in jail even today. What about an exhibition on this!"

WERE RAJAJI ALIVE TODAY ••• (Continued from Page 1)

What we need in India is democracy with discipline. Today we have democracy without discipline; two years ago we had discipline without democracy. Presumably we have yet to learn to combine the two. There is no reason why democracy cannot go along with discipline, but that requires character—character in the people and character in the politicians. Our politicians are a pretty useless lot, but can we blame them and forget our own responsibilities? Who put them there? We did. So we cannot just shuffle out of our responsibility and say *they* are like that. *They* and we are the same. *They* only reflect our own weaknesses in a magnified proportion. *We* do not like what we see, but that is ourselves in a looking glass. As Gandhiji advised, "Let us turn the searchlight inwards".

The Relevance of Rajaji

In such a context do Rajaji and his ideas have any relevance today? I think they do.

Let us first take the moral issue because that is the most important. It will be agreed that in all our years since Independence never has public morality sunk so low. In my forty years in public life from 1930 I have never known such shamelessness and cynicism as prevails in our political life today. There is little to choose between any of the parties.

Rajaji anticipated this. Rajaji was already aware, like Gandhiji before him, that you cannot have a decent democratic polity without morality. He called it *Dharma*. Rajaji urged the necessity of *Dharma* in politics. Human beings being what they are, certain spiritual values are necessary. You may not believe in any particular kind of God, you may not believe in God at all. But that does not mean that we need scoff at spiritual values. Non-material values are the basis of civilization and progress and, once we discard these and talk in terms of pure materialism, we are in for trouble. Ethics without spiritual values are very difficult to establish in personal or national life. Most people need religion. When Rajaji talked of *Dharma* he did not talk of Hindu *Dharma*, Buddhist *Dharma*, Muslim *Dharma* or any other *Dharma*, but of *Dharma* in the abstract. In this he was with Gandhiji. While both these great men were *for* religion, they were neutral between religions. They were not secularists or against religion.

Rajaji would have been shattered if he had lived today to see that in the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution which Mrs. Gandhi pushed through Parliament, India is described as a "Socialist Secular Republic". According to the Oxford dictionary, a secularist is one who is opposed to religious instruction in schools. India is not "secular". India is a highly religious country, perhaps a little too religious. Yet we wish to tell the world that we are a "secular" Republic, when we are neither socialist nor secular. It is a pity the Janata Government has not even endeavoured to rescind this particular amendment. Rajaji would have had no hesitation in doing away with both these words.

Thus Rajaji's plea for *Dharma* in politics has in no way been accepted and we have only to read our newspapers to realise how far we are from *Dharma*. He used to say "Morality without religion is like calories without vitamins". That is why he insisted that religion should be honoured, that religious institutions should be respected, that schools and institutions run on religious lines were perfectly justifiable.

The Constitution Eroded

Now let us turn to the political plane. Rajaji used to insist that we should get back to the Constitution of 1950, in the drafting of which I had a little hand. We drafted a beautiful Constitution in 1950 but within two or three years Pandit Nehru started getting amendments passed. The right to property was part of the Constitution and this Mr. Nehru did not like. Every time the Supreme Court tried to defend the right to property of the citizen, the Nehru Government introduced amendments to the Constitution. Rajaji did not like this at all. He wanted the old Constitution to remain intact because, without the right to property, all other rights become vulnerable.

What is property? It is the control of the physical environment in which we live, the clothes we wear, the pen with which we write, our glasses, this is our property. Take it away and we become absolutely helpless. Take away my glasses and I can't read. Take away my ball pen, I can't write. So property is part of man's control over nature.

By the time Rajaji died, twenty amendments had been passed, most of them in the wrong direction. He wanted those amendments to be rescinded. Instead we are on the 46th Amendment today. In other words after he died, another twenty odd amendments were passed or sought to be passed. The 24th, 25th and 26th Amendments undermined and destroyed the Fundamental Rights of the citizen and the independence of the judiciary during Rajaji's life time. And then came the 42nd Amendment which destroyed what was left of the Constitution.

Half a Mouse

The Janata Party in its Manifesto very pointedly and in very strong language denounced the 42nd Amendment: "The Constitution was amended to sanctify and institutionalise the total concentration of power in the hands of one individual, the Prime Minister. The authoritarian trends that had unfolded themselves over the past few years were embodied in the 42nd Amendment which was bulldozed through Parliament. To call it an amendment is a misnomer." Then the Manifesto went on to pledge that the Janata Party would rescind the whole 42nd Amendment.

But what happened after the Janata Party took office? There was no attempt to rescind the 42nd Amendment. In place of the mountain, a little mouse was brought forward called the 45th Amendment, which tried to anticipate what Mrs. Gandhi would allow the Rajya Sabha to pass. But the Rajya Sabha objected even to the mouse. So the mouse was cut in half! The Janata Government then agreed to enact half the mouse!

Most of the mischief of the 42nd Amendment has thus been sanctified and the 46th Amendment does not undo the mischief of the 42nd. The supremacy of the Supreme Court has been cut down. Parliament becomes more or less supreme, which it was not under our Constitution. The Directive Principles have been put on top of the Fundamental Rights of the Citizen. India is declared a "Secular Socialist Republic". The President of the Republic is made a puppet because the 42nd Amendment provided that the President shall be bound by the advice of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. If we turn to our dictionary, we find the essence of advice is that it is not binding. Advice is not advice if it is binding, it then becomes a command, an order, a directive. So again the English language is being perverted as in the use of the word "secular".

What does it mean? It means the dictatorship of the Prime Minister. Mr. Morarji Desai is a democrat. He would not try to subvert the Constitution. Supposing some future Prime Minister is defeated in the Lok Sabha and the President asks for his resignation, as the Queen would ask for Mr. Callaghan's resignation, if he did not have the confidence of the House of Commons. But our Prime Minister can say "Oh no, you can't dismiss me, the Cabinet advises you not to dismiss me". What happens? Parliament loses control. The Prime Minister becomes a dictator.

Rajaji was therefore a hundred percent right in saying 'let us rescind all these Amendments and get back to the Constitution of 1950.' All this shows how far we are from Rajaji's mission being fulfilled.

Towards a Free Economy

Then let us turn to the economic plane. Rajaji wanted permits, licences and quotas to be abolished and all controls to be removed so that we could have a decontrolled economy where the men and the country could be freed so the country can get strong and rich as in West Germany under Dr. Ludwig Erhard. Rajaji wanted the National Planning Commission to be abolished. He wanted a drastic reduction in taxation—in the rates of all taxes. President Kennedy did this in America and he got more money than before because, as students of economics know, the law of diminishing returns sets in when taxation goes too high. A small slice of a big cake can be bigger than a big slice of a small cake. Rajaji wanted a reversal in the priorities of the Plans, by putting agriculture first and heavy industries last.

How much of all this has been done? Only the last item has been accepted. It is now the Government's policy that agriculture comes first, consumer goods next and heavy industries last. Let us be grateful for that. The rest are not accepted. But the permit licence quota raj is intact, the National Planning Commission is intact, and the level of taxation is rising. On all these major economic issues therefore Rajaji's work still remains to be done and those who want to follow his principles have a big task lying ahead of them.

Mr. Palkhivala, who is now our Ambassador in Washington, used to argue that India needed a "U turn". A "U turn" means, if you are going in

one direction, you must turn in the opposite direction. He was right, because India has been stagnating for thirty years while other countries like Taiwan, South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and Hongkong have been going places. Ceylon has now made a "U turn" under its President Mr. Jaywardene. Ceylon has discarded all the junk of controls and socialism and has gone back to robust free enterprise. They have dropped their Planning Commission. Rajaji would have liked this "U turn" to be carried out in our country.

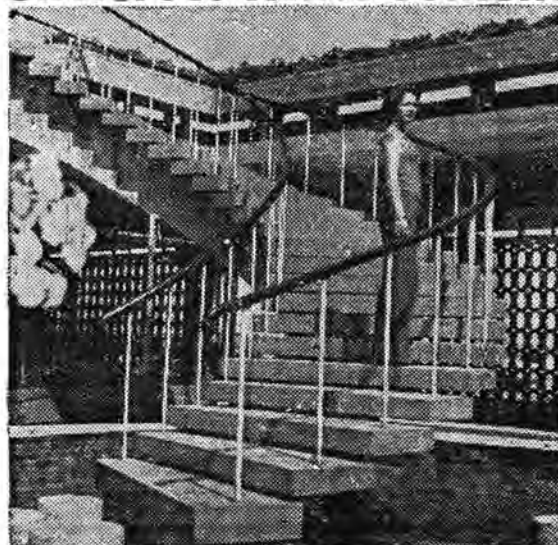
The Great Dissenter

Rajaji was a great dissenter all his life. He was the first to dissent when something went wrong. There is a story that once during a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet, Nehru and Rajaji were arguing about something and Nehru had the majority in the Committee. Turning to Rajaji he said "You see Rajaji I have the majority with me". Rajaji grinned and said "Yes, Jawaharlal, the majority is with you, but logic is with me"! Now here was the man who never thought that merely counting heads decided anything. He wanted to know what was right and what was wrong. Were he alive today he would have played the role of a candid critic.

So, whether or not we are members of a Party, it is important that we should speak up in the spirit in which Rajaji used to speak up out of turn.

There is an old verse which says: "They are slaves who dare not be in the right with two or three." In other words, even if we are alone or we have two or three people in our camp and we have a great many against us, let us tell the truth because in the end that is how we help the majority to see the light. That was the spirit of Rajaji the great dissenter.

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TAXATION vs CIVILISATION

Ian Ball

The first Great American Tax Revolt, as every British school child knows, took place in Boston two centuries ago and involved chests of tea aboard a British vessel. The second Great Tax Revolt got under way about a year ago, (in California, where these things tend to start) and is still going strong.

It has already transformed politics in America at the national, state and local levels. Once Californians voted themselves a 60 per cent cut in their soaring property taxes through the 'Proposition 13' referendum of last summer, people across the country—not unexpectedly—began to wonder how they could get on the band wagon. The result is that no American politician without attractive proposals on tax limitation, tax reform or across-the-board cuts stands much chance of being elected these days. We can only hope that our own politicians have been studying it all with professional interest, mingled with a certain amount of concern.

California—the laboratory for social change, the bellwether state, pathfinder for the world? Well, not exactly—some scholarly minds realised it had all been anticipated by a 14th century Arabic philosopher and historian.

In pre-OPEC days—1377 to be exact—Ibn Khaldun sat in his study in Tunis and penned *The Muqaddimah*, his introduction to a comprehensive history of the world. Born 45 years earlier into a distinguished family of Spanish origin, he had spent a restless life travelling throughout North Africa, Southern Europe and the Middle East. He had held high positions in government, the court and the academic world. He had seen every bureaucratic horror of his time and one of his special interests was the self-defeating aspects of greedy taxation policies.

For those few who had read Ibn Khaldun, the furore which began with California's "Proposition 13" revolt by ratepayers had about it a strong element of *dejavu*. The long dead Tunisian wiseman had foreseen it all—every theory, every nuance, every public wince and outcry.

Here is Ibn Khaldun on the effects of rising tax rates: "It should be known that at the beginning of the dynasty, taxation yields a large revenue from small assessments. At the end of the dynasty, taxation yields a small revenue from large assessments."

And here is the guru of the new American tax-limitation movement, 37-year old Arthur Laffer, Professor of Economics at the University of Southern California and creator of the "Laffer Curve": "If you cut tax rates the incentives to work and to produce are greater, and eventually

there will be a larger tax base. Once tax rates climb above a certain point incentive is destroyed, output is stifled and a society then begins to decline."

Ibn Khaldun offered his views on the relationship between the Inland Revenue of his day and the citizenry: "The desert attitude requires kindness, reverence, humility, respect for the property of other people, and the disinclination to appropriate it except in rare instances.

"Therefore, the individual imposts and assessments, which together constitute the tax revenue, are low. When tax assessments and imposts upon the subjects are low, the latter have the energy and desire to do things. Cultural enterprises grow and increase, because the low taxes bring satisfaction.

"When cultural enterprises grow, the number of individual imposts and assessments mounts. In consequence, the tax revenue which is the sum total of the individual assessments increases."

But as dynasties consolidated their power, Ibn Khaldun observed, "their rulers...become sophisticated. The Bedouin attitude and simplicity lose their significance, and the Bedouin qualities of moderation and restraint disappear...The people of the dynasty then acquire qualities of character related to cleverness. Their customs and needs become more varied because of the prosperity and luxury in which they have become immersed.

"As a result, the individual imposts and assessments upon the subjects, agricultural labourers, farmers, and all the other taxpayers, increase." Every individual impost and assessment is greatly increased in order to obtain a higher tax revenue. Customs duties are placed upon articles of commerce and levied at the city gates.

"Then gradual increases in the amount of assessments succeed each other regularly, in correspondence with the gradual increase in the luxury customs and many needs of the dynasty, and the spending required in connection with them. Eventually the taxes will weigh heavily upon the subjects and overburden them. Heavy taxes become an obligation and tradition, because the increases took place gradually, and no one knows specifically who increased them or levied them. They lie upon the subjects like an obligation and tradition.

"The assessments increase beyond the limits of equity. The result is that the interest of the subjects in cultural enterprises disappears, since, when they compare expenditures and taxes with their income and gain and see the little profit they make, they lose all hope. Therefore, many of them refrain from all cultural activity. The result is that the total tax revenue goes down, as the number of the individual assessments goes down.

(Continued on Page 11)

WORLD NEWS

Salvador De Madariaga

Salvador de Madariaga, the prominent Spanish writer, died yesterday (December 14) in Locarno, aged 92. Madariaga returned to Spain in April, 1976, after a 40 year exile in England where he taught Spanish literature and history at Oxford University.

A liberal to the marrow, he answered the call to serve the new Spanish Republic (1931) as ambassador, first in Washington, then in Paris, and as permanent delegate at Geneva. In 1933, with the change of government, he accepted office for a brief and unhappy period as Minister of Justice, then as Minister of Education; but his main and most valuable service to his country was in the realm of foreign policy.

The Civil War was a bitter blow to this essentially moderate Spaniard, and the unhappy knowledge that he was a prophet without honour in his own country coloured all his later writings. *Anarchy or Hierarchy* (1917), his political profession of faith, was decried by his friends of the Left, and the new edition of *Spain* (1942), in which he allowed himself caustic reflection on the breakdown of the Second Spanish Republic lost him many sympathies.

He was President of the Liberal International from its foundation in 1947 and was up in the crusade for a United Europe.

—*The Guardian*, December 15.

Former Secretary-General of the Liberal International Mr. Richard Moore adds:

"He was one of the finest flowers of Liberal humanism who defended liberty, with thought and deed from his work in the early 3 years of the League of Nations Secretariat to the lectures he gave in Spain when he returned from 40 years of exile, after the death of Franco...."

Liberal International News No. 10

The Charge of the Cadbury Women

THREE hundred women from the Cadbury-Schweppes chocolate factory at Bournville, Birmingham, yesterday (January 17) broke up a picket formed by fifteen striking lorry drivers.

The women, in their white working coats and wielding hand-bags and umbrellas, poured from the factory gates during their lunch break and scattered the pickets in a formidable display of female fury.

Then the women formed lines to enable three lorries to pass through the gates into the factory.

The few words which passed between the two sides before the handbags and umbrellas were raised in anger came from the women who form half of the eight thousand Cadbury-Schweppes employees.

They told the pickets they were a threat to people's jobs and the food on everybody's table.

Mr. Terence Bowden, a 32-year-old shop steward and a spokesman for the vanquished pickets, said:

"We could not believe what was happening. 'The women came from every direction. Wherever we looked there were screaming women in white coats. 'They came at us with handbags and umbrellas and even cardboard boxes.'"

Mr. Bowden, married with two children and employed by a haulage company which delivers to Cadbury-Schweppes, added: "We didn't stand a chance. We tried to stop a lorry coming through, but the women just charged us and the lads were swept aside. 'Their language was worse than ours. Some of them shouted that they wanted to feed their kids. Until the women burst on the scene it was peaceful picketing.'"

Another picket who said he had been hit over the head described the scene as "terrible." The women, he said had "even hit below the belt."

Mrs. Cynthia Cutler, of Bordesley Green, Birmingham, a member of the Transport union, said the pickets at first laughed at the women, but then they realised there was going to be trouble. "One of the women I was with punched one of the pickets fairly and squarely in the face."

The women told the pickets that they would repeat their action if any other attempts were made to stop vehicles, entering the Cadbury factory.

—James O'Brien, *The Daily Telegraph*, January 18.

Surgeon Turns Away Union Patients

Consultant orthopaedic surgeon Mr. Patrick Chesterman gave the unions a taste of their own medicine when he opened his out-patients' clinic at Battle Hospital, Reading.

He went on his own one-day selective strike and turned away any patient who was a member of a trade union.

"I decided it was time some one in this country hit back at the unions instead of taking everything lying down," he said.

"I was finally fed up with all these people making life bloody for everyone else and wanted to make life bloody for them."

The last straw for Mr. Chesterman was Monday's strike by the public service workers; he had to cancel all his operations for the day.

When his patients began to assemble at his out-patients clinic on Tuesday they found Mr. Chesterman in a militant mood.

Most of them passed the consultant's test when he asked them "Are you a member of a trade union?" Among the lucky ones were police officers, children, old ladies and "some very nice tradesmen."

But there were also half a dozen unionists, including two from the Transport and General Workers' Union. Mr. Chesterman told them: "I am terribly sorry, but I'm not serving trade unionists today."

Mr. Chesterman pointed out that the clinic was for routine examinations and there were no urgent cases.

"Most of them looked a little startled and then just trooped off like sheep. That's the trouble with this country. Everyone is so apathetic and takes everything lying down.

"But I had had enough of all this dreadful industrial trouble. It was purely an individual action and I was not trying to start a campaign, but I think a few of my colleagues might follow the same line with their own clinics.

"What I would like to see is a lot of people in shops and pubs saying they are not going to serve trade unionists. That would really take the sting out of them."

—Brian Silk, *The Daily Telegraph*, January 25

Callaghan Gets Protest Bra

Mr. Callaghan, was given an angry welcome by NUPE members when he arrived for talks with their local officials and Labour party MPs at a hotel in Thornaby-on-Tees, Cleveland, yesterday.

With thousands of pay slips handed to the Prime Minister was a bra with the message "I get more support from that than from the Government." It belonged to Miss Pauline McCann, 25, who works in the sterilisation department of a mental hospital.

—*The Daily Telegraph*, February 3.

A Chinese Bride for the Panchen Lama

The Panchen Lama, second to the exiled Dalai Lama in the Tibetan theocracy, has reluctantly agreed to an arranged marriage with a Chinese according to well-informed sources in Peking.

They say he is unhappy about violating the traditional celibacy of his former spiritual office,

particularly because the woman is of Han Chinese origin and not a native Tibetan.

She is said to be a grand-daughter of the late Tung Pi-wu, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist party.

A marriage between the former second ranking religious leader of Tibet and a Han Chinese—if it takes place—could presumably be used to demonstrate "the great unity of nationalities" which is always stressed in Chinese propaganda about Tibet. The Han people have been the biggest ethnic group in China for centuries.

The Panchen Lama, who is about 42, reappeared in Peking last February after 12 years of political "re-education." Since then he has acted as a mouth-piece for the Chinese Government particularly in urging the Dalai Lama to return from exile in India.

A claim by the sources that the Panchen Lama is not free to act according to his own conscience raises questions about the worth of his recent appeals to the Dalai Lama.

Sources say the Panchen Lama leads a forlorn life in Peking drinking rather too much because of his troubles. His mother recently went to Shanghai to buy clothes for the wedding, sources say, but they do not state when the marriage might take place.

When he reappeared in Peking last year he said: "I have corrected my errors." Promising to follow "Chairman Hua's teachings" and the Communist party, he said he had reformed under the guidance of Maoism and Chairman Hua and was ready to take his place in the Chinese "motherland."

—Nigel Wade, *The Daily Telegraph*, January 17.

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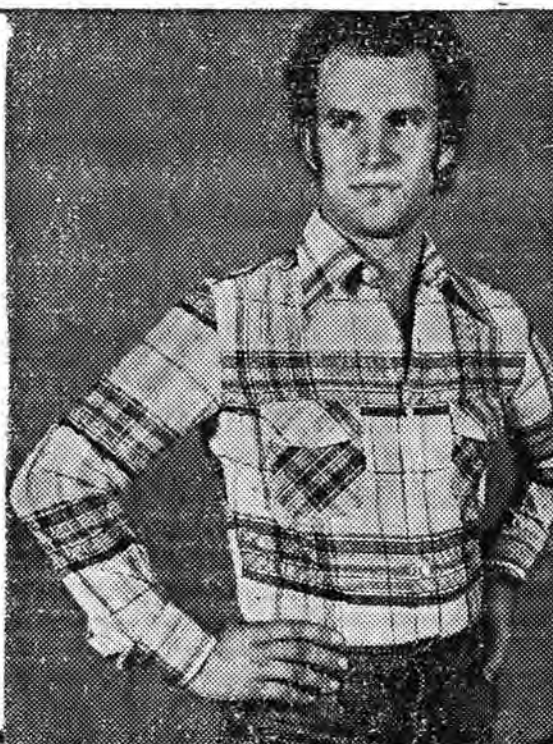
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AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Call for Permanent Measure to Protect Human Rights in India

Amnesty International has published an 84-page report recommending that India remove provisions for preventive detention from her constitution.

Under India's preventive detention laws, individuals can be held without trial on the recommendation of the government if there is insufficient evidence on which to bring charges against them in court. AI said that this procedure, first introduced by the British colonial administration, is in force today in five Indian states, including the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The AI report is based on the findings of a mission to India from 31st December 1977 to 18th January 1978, which was led by Professor James Fawcett, President of the European Commission of Human Rights. At the time of the mission, the AI delegates estimated that there were at least 500 and perhaps as many as 1,000 political prisoners being held in the country. All were alleged to be sympathizers with or members of extreme left wing groups, commonly known as 'Naxalites'. Some had been detained for more than six years without trial.

AI pointed out that many of these prisoners had been convicted or accused of involvement in violent activities. It said its concern, as with all such prisoners, was that they should have fair and prompt trials. It therefore urged the government to speed up trial proceedings for all political prisoners and to issue directives to state governments recommending that all untried political prisoners now in detention be released or granted bail pending trial.

During their stay in India, the AI delegates interviewed seven people who alleged that they had been tortured in the period between 1970 and March 1977. AI said the interviews confirmed allegations that political prisoners in India had been subjected to torture, particularly during the 1975-1977 emergency when the right of *habeas corpus* was suspended. One of the victims interviewed is now paralysed as a result of torture.

The AI mission also investigated allegations that political prisoners had been killed or tortured to death in the states of West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh prior to March 1977. Police and government officials in the two states have said the deaths occurred during armed encounters or while prisoners were attempting to escape from prison. On the basis of the mission's findings, AI is recommending that the government establish official, impartial inquiry commissions to investigate such allegations whenever they occur and that full investigations should be instituted into the conduct of individual police officers who are alleged to have been involved in the killings.

The report makes 18 recommendations to the Indian government. It urges the government to:

- establish a totally independent body to investigate complaints of ill-treatment and torture;
- direct state governments to repeal existing laws for preventive detention;

—abolish the death penalty;

—bring prison conditions into line with the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and set up effective, non-official visitors boards to visit regularly all Indian prisons, including those in which political prisoners are held.

—to ratify the two international human rights covenants and the optional protocol to the covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

The 84-page report welcomes the steps taken by the current government to restore the rule of law in India since assuming office in March 1977. "We hope the publication of this report will contribute to discussions now taking place in India about the need for long-term, structural measures which are essential if human rights are to be protected and enforced effectively," said Amnesty International in a press release.

(Continued from Page 7)

"Often, when the decrease is noticed, the amounts of individual imposts are increased. This is considered a means of compensating for the decrease. Finally, individual imposts and assessments reach their limit. It would be of no avail to increase them further. The costs of all cultural enterprises are now too high; the taxes are too heavy, and the profits anticipated fail to materialise. Thus the total revenue continues to decrease, while the amounts of individual imposts and assessments continue to increase, because it is believed that such an increase will compensate for the drop in revenue in the end. Finally, civilisation is destroyed, because the incentive for cultural activity is gone."

Howard Jarvis, the 76 year old father of Proposition 13, who this winter has become a national folk hero in the U.S., has been stumping the land uttering the same warning, but in language so earthy that television stations often have to bleep his words. Dr. Milton Friedman, the Nobel-Prize-winning economist puts it more tidily in television commercials he has been making free of charge for the tax reformers: "If we continue the growth of government and its involvement in our lives, it will destroy us."

What Messrs Jarvis, Laffer, Friedman and the late Ibn Khaldun are saying, in effect, is that people living under any dynasty you choose to name can be taxed only to a certain degree. Eventually, like the viewers in the film *Network*, they will throw open the windows and yell in thunderous unison: "I'm mad as hell—and I'm not going to take it any more!"

Telegraph Sunday Magazine

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Book Review

GOKHALE

by B. R. Nanda; Oxford University Press; 1977; Price Rs. 80/-.

In many ways this recent study of Gopal Krishna Gokhale surpasses the earlier biographies. It is a scholarly work based on original documents consulted in India, Britain and the United States. Several facts have been recorded for the first time and they enable us to see the life and work of this remarkable statesman in depth and with greater clarity than in earlier writings which were often adulatory in nature.

Nanda's book is not cast in the conventional biographical mould. It is essentially a *political biography* seeking to present the work of the moderates, and of Gokhale in particular, in the context of the circumstances which prevailed in India during the three decades and a half which preceded the outbreak of World War I. Since the focus is on the 'total' situation, the book is as much a history of those times as it is a record of the achievements of Gokhale. This explains in some measure, the length of this biography which runs into some five hundred pages. But on this broad screen the figure of Gokhale rises before us. We see the full stature of his personality. Even more, we see it grow. It is not a static picture of Gokhale that we have here. His formative years were marked by his consuming ambition battling against penury and an extreme sensitiveness that tormented his spirit. But he survived—he had to—and Poona in those days was no place for people with sensitive skins! The storm which burst over Poona during the apology incident all but shattered Gokhale's spirit and he wanted to retire from all political activity. But strong was his sense of preservation and his ambition was made of sterner stuff. This was Gokhale's moment of truth. Says Nanda, "He was no longer thinking of retiring from the field of battle; he was bracing himself to face the obduracy and malice of his opponents and the fickleness of public opinion. Though he never acquired the cool assurance of a political gladiator who emerges completely unruffled from the heat and dust of political controversy, he was able to shed some of his ultra sensitivity. He also realized that knowledge and courage were not enough; they needed to be tinged with caution if the struggle for Indian reform was to be waged on a long-term basis."

Thus emerged the *moderate* style of his political functioning, the power of understatement fortified with facts and figures which made those whom he criticised squirm under the attack. In his short political career Gokhale became an artist in this subtle technique and he used it with devastating effect. The world of officialdom in India had known fulsome flattery as well as unbridled attack but Gokhale's technique was disturbingly new—and it frightened them. Nanda's biography highlights with skill the 'confusion' in the mind of officials who at once admired and feared Gokhale. What could one do with this *Chitpavan* brahmin who sends the Finance Member of the Government of India the notes of his speech so that it should cause him no

embarrassment! Fleetwood Wilson frankly admitted that the one man he feared was Gokhale. No wonder the problem which faced officials was how to keep Gokhale from mischief. In 1911 the appointment of the Royal Commission on the Public Services was announced and it was Fleetwood Wilson who suggested that Gokhale should be nominated as a member. We do not have to speculate on his motivation. In a letter to Lord Hardinge on 2nd March 1912 he wrote: "It appears to me that it would be an excellent thing if you could ask Lord Crew to put him on the Commission. In the first place he will make an excellent Indian member, and I suppose there would be one or two Indians on it. In the second place, he will have to bless the report instead of doing the opposite; and in the third place, it will keep him occupied, and on this I lay great stress."

"He is at all times a formidable adversary in debate, and I am afraid that your Executive Council are not too strong in debating capacity. I myself am old and worn out, and in any case I am only available for financial matters. It is quite true that Graddock promises to be first-rate, and Butler is undoubtedly also very good. But when it comes to Carlyle, Ali Imam and Clark, there can be no doubt that Gokhale can eat anyone of them up in five minutes."

The Royal Commission will probably last two years, and I cannot but think that if Gokhale drowns himself in it, which he is sure to do, it will make your position as Governor-General in Council so much pleasanter."

But such was the consternation that Gokhale's abilities had produced that when he was appointed he had to be counterbalanced in the Commission by Valentine Chirol. Wrote Lord Hardinge to Carmichael: "I feel very strongly on the subject of Gokhale's appointment, as I regard Gokhale the most dangerous enemy of British rule in India." The fact that Gokhale and the Servants of India Society had roused the suspicion of the Government was known but Gokhale himself had no idea of the depth of the official distrust and of their scheming activities that were being hatched. In 1914 the Government even worked on the brilliant idea of destroying Gokhale through the conferment of a knighthood but he declined it on the ground that it would not be in keeping with the simplicity enjoined on the members of the Servants of India Society. Moreover, it would also compromise his position as member of the Royal Commission.

In the politics of his time, Gokhale performed the role of an interpreter *par excellence*. He interpreted the political and constitutional implications of British rule for India; he also articulated the hopes and the frustration of the Indian people with the rulers. But Gokhale was not a naive admirer of British rule in India. He saw all its evil consequences in their stark reality. Perhaps the most harmful effect of foreign rule on the Indian people, as he saw it, was the dwarfing of the race, the slow but deadly destruction of the self-confidence of the Indian people. He told the Welby Commission: "We must live all the days of our life in an atmos-

phere of inferiority, and the tallest of us must bend. The upward impulse... which every schoolboy at Eton or Harrow may feel, that he may one day be a Gladstone, a Nelson, or a Wellington, and which may draw forth the best efforts of which he is capable, that is denied to us." Mahatma Gandhi saw this point and thrust it further in making the conquest of fear and the recovery of self-confidence the crux of India's fight against the Raj. Was this the most valuable lesson that Gandhi had learnt from his political guru?

Although the spirit of Gokhale's life and work comes out vividly in this biography, it does not always bring out the childlike simplicity of his nature which Sastri and others have stressed nor his great qualities as a teacher. The passion for excellence which marked all his political activities was to be seen earlier in his work as a teacher. In a sense, Gokhale widened and deepened the functions of the teacher to encompass the task of nation-building. Gokhale saw politics as essentially ethical in nature. The politician was on a pilgrimage and in this mission life was real, life was earnest. A sense of humour was almost totally absent in his make-up and the religious strain, somewhat faint in the earlier years deepened with the passage of time.

Because Nanda's aim is to write a *political biography*, it does not end with the death of Gokhale in 1915 but concludes with the end of the moderate era. In this thoughtful chapter he argues that by the beginning of World War I not only had moderate politics become inadequate but even the extremists had run out of ideas. The stage was thus set for the Gandhian era which transformed an elitist politics into a mass movement. Nanda dismisses the later liberals, as "arm chair critics of the political scene." In taking this position, Nanda seems to share Nehru's prejudices against the liberals. But the liberal critics of Gandhi had a point, specially in their warning of the dangers of populism inherent in the politics of revolt. Moderate politics was a phase in the development of liberalism in India and it was the approach of the liberals which finally shaped the framing of India's Constitution. To argue, as Nanda does, that moderate politics came to an end with Gokhale seems as untenable as the view that the ideas of Gandhi died with him.

S. P. Aiyar

INDIAN WOMEN TODAY

by Dr. Girija Khanna and Mariamma A. Verghese
Vikas Publishing House; Price Rs. 50.

Yet another study of Indian Women. The authors state that the purpose of their investigation was to study the status of women today and their role in the family and society in general. Several earlier publications have done just that and I doubt whether this one adds to our knowledge and understanding of the subject.

A thousand women, selected according to a pooled sample, belonging to the upper, middle and lower socio-economic strata; and to different religious communities, were interviewed in sixteen cities,

including the four metropolitan ones; 25% of the sample was from the poorer sections, 25% from the upper class, and 50% from the middle class. In each city an effort was made to cover women of different linguistic groups. The majority belonged to the 25-34 age group and more than 75% were married. About half the number had a college education, including some with post-graduate training, while the other half had not even been to high school. 20% of the women were working and about 65% lived in nuclear families.

The views of these thousand women were sought on marriage, sex life, family planning, relations with husbands and in-laws, and their attitudes to women in employment, to religion, parent-daughter relationships, girls' education, social practices such as intercaste marriages, dowry, divorce, widow remarriage, and so forth. The data collected was fed into a computer to obtain the tables given in the book.

So much for the procedure which, to a layman, appears to be appropriate and reasonable. The question is whether all the effort has brought to light new information of any significance. We already know, from previous studies, that the majority of house-wives favour arranged marriages while working women, being better educated and more independent, favour love marriages. The same applies to the attitudes to inter-caste marriages, and for the same reasons. We have also been told before that working women resent the drudgery of working all day outside the home and attending to domestic work during the time which should be for leisure and recreation. The study finds that only 50% of working wives considered that their marriage was successful. This and other problems arise from the attitudes of men who are not prepared to recognise their obligation to working wives. A majority of the women interviewed admitted that they were seldom consulted on matters concerning the family such as the family budget, the education of the children, and so on. They went on to say that their happiness in the home depended to a considerable extent on their willingness to take the advice of "elders"—presumably the in-laws—even when the married couple lived on their own.

But even if the facts revealed by the study are not new some of the facts and figures are cheering:

—Over 60% of the women felt that every adolescent girl should be informed about child-birth, family planning, and related matters, and deplored the fact that the majority of women of all classes have no knowledge of these matters before marriage.

—The majority of upper and middle class women had no problems about mixing with men.

—The great majority of upper and middle class women approve of family planning but, unfortunately 80% of the women in the lower income groups disapprove of it for a variety of reasons.

—Over 50% of the women in the upper class, except those in the North and Central India, want to give their daughters post-graduate education; Over 50% middle class women want their daughters to graduate and 60% of the poor women want their daughters to study up to the high school.

—66% of the women approved of co-education—the percentage going up with the educational level.

—Over 60% want to live in nuclear families but, amusingly, the same women want, in their old age, to live with their sons even if their wives are antagonistic to the idea!

—Except in Northern and Central India, the majority of women were against the payment of dowry.

—Over 70% approve of widow re-marriage.

—Over 60% approve of the employment of women—75% in the upper, 60% in the lower, but alas, middle class women, particularly in the North and Central India, are not in favour of it. In the sample as a whole, 30% were against women working, mainly because they consider it against Indian tradition.

On the other hand there are also some depressing findings:

The most frequently admired persons are politicians but in the North saints score over politicians. How strange that women should have no regard for the great social reformers, men and women, who helped Indian women to emancipation. Gandhiji is the only exception but he was admired as a politician or a saint and not as a reformer. Film stars, I might add, come after politicians and saints!

The majority of our women have no planned recreation—the most popular being a visit to the cinema.

Over 30% of the whole sample do not read at all, while among those with only a primary education, the percentage goes up to 80%. Even housewives, who are graduates never read the newspaper—75% of them read only novels.

Over 50% disapprove of inter-caste marriage.

Only 30% approve of divorce if conditions demand it; even among girl students of Calcutta university 75% said they were against a divorce. And among the highly educated only 30% favour marrying a divorced person.

The authors are prone to state the obvious. Discussing the need for recreation, they say: "Most outdoor sports are good for health and provide good entertainment." There are also too many clichés. Towards the end of the book there is a chapter which recapitulates facts and figures about the status of women, about discrimination, the low salaries earned by women, the restricted choice of occupations, and all the other ills which afflict Indian women except those in the very highest educational and economic strata. The book stresses the miserable plight of the poor woman, the importance of carrying the message of family planning to the poor woman in the village, the need to generate part-time employment opportunities for middle class women, and the importance of changing social attitudes to social evils instead of merely legislating for their removal. But all this has been better said before.

Mehra Masani

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"The deep

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—Tennyson

One of the huge causes of Britain's underproduction is the way in which the public services are already frozen with too many of yesterday's types of worker in the wrong places.

—*The Economist*, February 3.

The ... remedy is a smaller public sector. In other industrial countries strikes do not usually become national crises because trade unionists are a minority of the workforce. Even in Britain only 40% of private-sector workers are trade unionists, but 80% of public-sector workers are—which helps to explain a lot.

—*The Economist*, February 3.

My advice to those who believe in patriotism is never to take Air India flights. It is only when this airline goes bankrupt that its management will learn the first lessons of efficiency. Fortunately, one has some options.

—Rashmi Mayur, *Indian Express*, February 6.

"We've given diplomatic recognition to perhaps the world's greatest concentration camp.

—U. S. Senator S. I. Hayakawa, *Herald Tribune*, December 18.

"If the last Parliament was the parliament of emergency, the present one is being turned into a parliament of expulsion and imprisonment."

—Mr. Y. B. Chavan, *The Times of India*, December 19.

Mrs. Gandhi was the unwitting instrument for the creation of Janata, and she may prove to be the unwitting instrument for keeping it in one piece.

—Rajmohan Gandhi, *Himmat*, November 10.

Since 1970 Playboy has been available in braille. That must be the ultimate publishing achievement. I wonder how they do the centrefold. Pop-up?

—Berry Ritchie, *Sunday Times*, November 19.

Kenya's are black Yankees. Nowhere else where I have been have the United States been evoked so repeatedly by the way things look and the way people behave.

In Kenya as in America, everything is "bigger and better."

—Taya Zinkin, *Opinion*, December 12.

Perhaps it has become a law of history that every American President will have to lose one country, at least, before recognizing the kind of struggle he is in. There they go, unnecessarily, into the darkness.

—*National Review*, October 27.

Wanted, A State of Sanity.

—*Daily Mirror* quoted in, *The Daily Telegraph*, January 1.

The only fearful thing is that he (Prince Charles) may not marry a Catholic. There is no legal prohibition of a Hindu, Sikh or Pagan wife.

—Peter Deeley, *The Observer*, December 10.

I don't mind dying. I just don't want to be there when it happens.

—Woody Allen quoted by Groucho Marx, *The Observer*, January 21.

I am a great friend of Israel. Any country that can stand Milton Friedman as an adviser has nothing to fear from a few million Arabs.

—Dr. John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Observer*, February 4.

The first characteristic of the Soviet Union is that it always adopts the attitude of bullying the soft and fearing the strong.

—Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping of China, *The Observer*, February 4.

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I, J. R. Patel, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

J. R. Patel
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