

'ARE WE A DEMOCRACY?'

"ARE we or are we not a democracy?" ask Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan and Mr. M. R. Masani in a statement issued to the press commenting on the arrest and subsequent release in Karnal in Haryana of Acharya Kripalani.

"The arrest of Acharya Kripalani, a Gandhian elder statesman belonging to no party, who had gone to Karnal with the legitimate purpose of inaugurating a kisan conference to protest against what its sponsors considered to be a violation of civil liberties, underlines the growing intolerance of dissent, even when it is constitutional," the statement proceeds to say.

Referring to the practice of the Haryana Government of passing prohibitory orders on the eve of a

meeting and turning a normal democratic activity into an offence, Jayaprakash and Masani recall "the good old days under British rule when, in the goodly company of Mahatma Gandhi and many others, we used to violate deliberately what Gandhiji used to call 'lawless laws'. Is the time coming when good citizens would once again have to assert their rights by a resort to satyagraha?"

According to Jayaprakash and Masani, the only way to stop such undemocratic trends from developing is to join and build up strong and effective non-party organisations of citizens for the protection of intellectual freedom and civil rights and liberties.

THE JUDICIARY — U.K. AND U.S. MODELS

A. G. Noorani

A Government of Laws and not a Government of men is the vital difference between constitutional democracy and despotism. The concept of the Rule of Law has been enlarged, rather, enriched in recent years. Central to the concept is the role of the Judiciary. "An independent judiciary is an indispensable requisite of a free society under the Rule of Law" the Delhi Congress of the International Commission of Jurists held in 1959 observed.

The power of the administration is on the increase. It would be most unfortunate if this is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the power of the judiciary to keep the administration within bounds. The modes of judicial control of administrative action vary from State to State, but the itself concept is commonly accepted. The Indian legal system is drawn on the experience of two democracies, the British and the American, without emulating blindly either of them.

A comparison of the two models would be very helpful. In 1969 a small team of American Judges and lawyers, academic and practising, visited England to

observe aspects of the British legal machinery and discuss them with a comparable British team. The latter followed it up by paying a reciprocal visit to the U.S. The inter-change on administrative law has resulted in a most instructive volume *LEGAL CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT* (Oxford University Press; £3) which is edited by two acknowledged authorities, Professors Bernard Schwartz and H. W. R. Wade, who were members of the teams.

Of the two, American administrative law is more developed. It led Prof. Harry Street to remark, once, "American administrative law is so much more developed than the British that there is little for the American lawyer to learn from the British experience—except to be on guard against a weakening of judicial control. Cannot Marshall Plan Aid include administrative law?"

The approach naturally differs according to the constitutional system. The U.S. has a written Constitution with a judicially enforceable Bill of Rights. In Britain Parliament is supreme. Constitutional issues permeate American law and life to an extent that foreign

(Continued on page 14)

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Everyman's

IT is a noble statement of policy with which Jayaprakash Narayan, the Chairman of its Editorial Board, has launched a new weekly journal, *Everyman's*. That it should be "non-partisan" is only to be expected. That it should stand for values that are broadly Gandhian and liberal could also have been predicted. Its credentials are impeccable, and *Freedom First* welcomes this addition to the already large number of weekly journals offered to the reader of English in India.

Therein lies the danger to *Everyman's*. Unless, as we hope it will, it can give something which no other journal provides and say what it wants to in a lively manner, it will find the going rough in a market where the supply already exceeds the demand. The law of the market is unbeatable, socialism and communism notwithstanding, and even a Gandhian like JP is not immune from its operation. All men of goodwill wish *Everyman's* well.

Sakharov on Vietnam

LAST month we felt privileged to carry the text of Academician Sakharov's *Postscript* to Brezhnev. It is not only Moscow that seeks to censor this eminent member of the Soviet scientific establishment. American "Liberals" do their own bit.

The British publication *Soviet Analyst* has noted a curious disparity in the versions of Sakharov's interview with a correspondent of *Newsweek* as published in the *London Observer* and in *Newsweek* itself. Says *Soviet Analyst*: "It is rather surprising that it (*Newsweek*) left out Sakharov's comments on the development of his views on Vietnam. In his book *Progress, Co-existence and Intellectual Freedom*, he had, as he put it, 'berated' the U.S. for the Vietnam war. His present view is: 'I now feel more keenly about the responsibility of the Soviet Union, China and the Vietnamese Communists.'"

Soviet Analyst, not unnaturally, wonders whether *Newsweek* was protecting American leftists from exposure to such a heresy. Obviously, it was also protecting *Newsweek* from exposure to its gullible readers to whom it has for years now sold a pro-communist and anti-American line on Vietnam.

Packing the Court

IN its June issue *Freedom First* predicted that the supersession of the three judges of the Supreme Court would in due course be followed by further

steps in the unfolding of the pattern of Soviet style justice to which the events of April 25 were only the overture. We have not had long to wait for corroboration.

The disclosure made Communist Chief Minister Achuta Menon of Kerala that the concurrence of the Chief Justice of the Kerala High Court and the Kerala Governor had been sought by New Delhi to the nomination of Mr. V. R. Krishna Iyer to the Supreme Court is the next step down the slippery slope. The Chief Minister's disclosure is of course improper as being characteristically contemptuous of the Chief Justice of the Kerala High Court whose options were thus sought to be limited.

But that apart, who is this Krishna Iyer? He is of course a communist. He served as Minister for Home, Law, Irrigation & Power in the first Communist Ministry in Kerala from 1957 to 1959.

But may he not have reformed? Surely that was possible. Unfortunately he did not. The blurb on the jacket of a collection of his articles published by the People's Publishing House, the CPI's publishing outfit, destroys any such alibi. As late as 1967, he was the recipient of the *Soviet Land* Nehru Award and, says the blurb, he "has been deeply (mark the word) involved" in the Peace Council, Democratic Lawyers' Association, Indo-Soviet, Indo-GDR and Indo-Cuban Friendship Associations. To bring his communist credentials to date, Mr. Iyer chose the Communist journal *Mainstream* in which to contribute, on May 27, 1972, an article in support of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution which seeks to destroy the Citizen's Fundamental Rights.

What more suitable candidate can there be for a Congress-Communist and Soviet satellite government to elevate to the bench of the Supreme Court?

Cult of Personality Again

IT is painful to have to give repeated attention to the prevailing cult of personality, but how else is one to diagnose repeated outbursts of the same malodorous disease?

This time the performer in the circus is the Union Minister for Petroleum & Chemicals, Mr. D. K. Barooah, who addressed a meeting of Congress workers in Bombay on Sunday, June 23.

Mr. Barooah advanced the thesis that "there was only one leader and that was (guess who?) Mrs.

Indira Gandhi." According to reports in *The Times of India* and the *Sunday Standard* the following day, Mr. Barooah went on to spell out that Mr. Naik, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, and the Chief Ministers of Bengal and Assam were not the leaders of those States and that Congress workers should therefore be loyal to Mrs. Gandhi and "not to a lot of sub-leaders" whom she had made.

"They became leaders, if at all," he explained, "due to the 'courtesy' extended to them by Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi."

Having thus run a coach and four through our Federal Constitution, Mr. Barooah, we are told, then went on to ask the workers "to end the politics of personal ambition"—the ambitions of Mr. Barooah being excluded!

Cult of Dictatorship

THE cult of personality is normally a precursor to or accompaniment of dictatorship.

The following Sunday, June 30, Mr. Shashi Bhushan, Congress M.P., was reported to have called in Jaipur for the introduction of 'limited dictatorship'.

Are all these effusions part of what is called preparing the ground?

IN THIS ISSUE

Jayaprakash Narayan's last political act before he was taken ill in Bombay and hospitalised was to issue, along with the Editor, a statement about the trend towards the suppression of civil rights. *Freedom First* feels privileged to carry that statement on its front page.

We carry a comparative study by Mr. A. G. Noorani of the different connotations of the role of the Judiciary in the two democracies of the U.K. and U.S.A.

"Is the cold war really over?" Mr. Brian Crozier says that it depends on how you define the term and delves deeper into the contradictory statements made by Mr. Brezhnev and other Soviet spokesmen.

A delightful account by Manjula Padmanabhan of her street corner exhibition.

Reviews of 'The Position of Women in India' and 'British Defence Policy East of the Suez Canal.'

We publish a letter provoked by Mr. A. G. Noorani's review article on 'Nehru and Sardar' in our June issue and Mr. Noorani's rejoinder.



The Remarkable Airliner

Courtesy: *The Hindu*

SUCH MEN ARE DANGEROUS

"I am not dangerous," remarked Mr. Brezhnev at one of the many ceremonial functions in America during his visit there in the week of June, in his effort to convince the U.S. Government, Congress and people about his bone fides. For good measure, Mr. Brezhnev tried to sell the idea that the "Cold war", which had "put a brake on the development of relations" between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., was over. Since many naive folk in America and in India are likely to be beguiled by this "Artful Dodger", Freedom First publishes below an extract from an article written, before the Brezhnev visit across the Atlantic, by Brian Crozier, Director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London, who reminds us of a few inconvenient facts that do not quite fit in with Mr. Brezhnev's high pressure salesmanship.

THE world was exactly the same after the Nixon-Brezhnev agreements of May 1972 as before; except to the extent that people *thought* it was different as a consequence of the agreements and failed to note that they merely consecrated changes that had already taken place. The danger—a very real one—lies in the surprisingly widespread assumption that with President Nixon's Peking and Moscow visits accomplished and a European security conference on the way, the world has become a safer place; safe enough, for instance, for the Americans to withdraw their troops and weaponry from Europe, safe enough for a detente on Soviet terms. Safe enough, that is to say, for ostriches to co-exist peacefully with bears.

I am, comfortingly, not entirely alone in believing that the present situation is in fact a more dangerous one, especially for Europe, than at any time since the Berlin airlift of 1948 (in ways I shall specify).

The uniqueness of the present dangers lies in the total absence of a crisis, or a sense of crisis. Detente is in the air; the Chinese are returning, or so it seems, to the civilized ways of international diplomacy; the Americans are pulling out of Vietnam; the Egyptians ask the Russians to leave; the British are entering Europe.

The security problems of the 1970s are less likely, under the ground rules spelled out by President Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev, to be the kind of nuclear confrontation Mr. Khrushchev stumbled into in 1962, than something akin to the triple appeal from Tanganyika (Tanzania), Uganda, and Kenya to Britain in January 1964 to contain the mutinous contagion within their tiny armies. The most likely challenges to security are going to be internal ones, whether or not with outside intervention. The Ulster situation is typical; as was the revolutionary euphoria in Paris in May 1968; and the threatened breakdown of law and order in Turkey in 1971. The point is that there is at present no internationally coordinated strategy or machinery to deal with his kind of problem.

Perhaps the most powerful psychological barrier against any such bridging is the fallacy, virtually erected into a Western dogma, that "the cold war is over." The assumption that it is underlies that calm and ele-

gant work, Professor Louis J. Halle's admirable *The Cold War as History*; and the past tense is now habitual in references to the cold war in speeches and editorials. Correspondingly, those who point out that, from Russia's side, and indeed from the side of all Communist countries in a "socialist camp" that is no longer monolithic, the cold war has never ceased, are castigated as "cold warriors"—a term which, with the passing of the years and the deepening of the fallacy, has acquired a distinct connotation of Blimpish right-wingery.

It is necessary to point out that there has been little, if any, reduction in the volume of adverse propaganda against things Western in Soviet and East European media, or for that matter in the quality of the vituperation; that the systematic misrepresentation of all aspects of life in western countries continues in the press of all Communist countries (including China); that subversion, espionage, and misinformation, directed against Western countries by the Soviet KGB, continue on a scale far vaster than any corresponding Western effort against the Soviet Union.

The widespread acceptance by Western liberals of the Soviet definition of the cold war and of the belief that it is over (or ought to be) is indeed one of the greater triumphs of the Soviet propaganda machine in recent years. To some extent, but not entirely, it is a matter of semantics. For until recently, cold war meant one thing in Russia and Eastern Europe, and quite another in Western countries. As Sir William Hayter put it once, in his contribution to the symposium *The Cold War*, by Russia's definition, the cold war means, attacks on or criticism of the Soviet regime, and appeals for an end to it imply that such attacks or criticisms should cease, not that the Soviet Union should change its own ways or policies. On the Western side, however, the cold war means (or rather, used to mean) the sum total of activities on either side if the Iron Curtain falling short of actual shooting (on the analogy that it takes two to make a war). As Sir William Hayter, Professor Hugh Seton-Watson, and other distinguished authorities have pointed out, the Soviets themselves use other terms to describe their activities comprised in the wider Western connotation of cold war. The most favoured of these other terms is peace-

ful coexistence, which is an almost exact synonym for the undiminished flow of hostility from the Soviet Union which the West thought constituted the Soviet's part of the cold war.

I have been using or inserting the past tense because, consciously or otherwise, Western politicians (like Senator Fulbright), intellectuals, and even officials, have increasingly fallen into the habit of using the cold war in the Soviet sense, to refer to any Western criticism of the Soviet Union. Since the cold war (in the old Western sense) is over (or ought to be), any such criticisms constitute "a return to the cold war" and are therefore worthy of opprobrium. There are several possible explanations of this attitude. The kindest is ignorance, either of the fact that Soviet hostility continues undiminished, or of the fact that peaceful coexistence means what it does to the Russians.

Well, then, what does it mean to them? Fortunately, Mr. V. N. Egorov provided up-to-date answers for us only last year, in *Peaceful Coexistence and the Revolutionary Process*. Mr. Egorov is an official Soviet ideologist, and the most striking thing about his explanations is that they might have been written eleven years earlier in that they merely elaborate the words of the World Communist Declaration of 1960 (the last major international Communist document to which both Peking and Moscow subscribed): "...while political and ideological disputes between states should not lead to war, the concept of peaceful coexistence means intensification of the struggle of the working classes, of all the Communist parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas." The way Mr. Egorov puts it is that the policy of peaceful coexistence as practiced by socialist countries, "promotes the development and intensification of the world revolutionary processes, and the development of both peaceful and nonpeaceful forms of the struggle."

Preparing for Coexistence

It is tedious to have to quote from Soviet sources, but how else is one to get people who listen to Senator Fulbright with approval to understand that in Soviet eyes, detente and peaceful coexistence are co-terminous with what we used to call Soviet cold-war activities? The problem is real at a time when plans of a European Security Conference are far advanced and when the prevailing wisdom is that something called a detente will emerge from it. Whose detente? The West's, with freedom of movement for men, goods, and ideas? Or the East's, meaning peaceful coexistence, meaning the intensification of the world revolutionary processes?

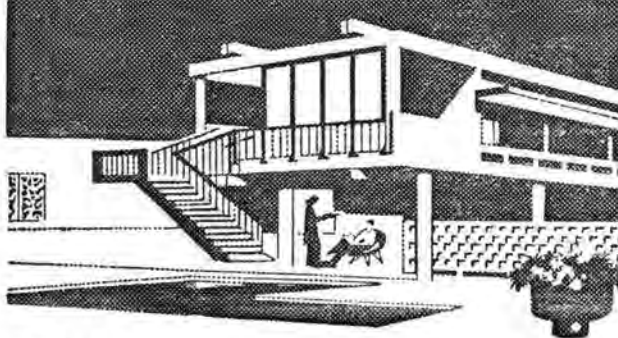
If the conference does not end in failure (on the whole, the best available option), it is likely to produce a document that will mean different things in different capitals. At best, it will mean

that the Soviet Union has no intention of invading Western Europe, so long as the Europeans recognize, if not de jure then tacitly, the Brezhnev Doctrine; that is, Russia's right to invade any East European country if it shows signs of wanting to go its own way. In return, the Russians will always be ready to sign undertakings not to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries and make similarly soothing pledges (as they did with the Joint Declaration of Principles that concluded the Nixon-Brezhnev talks). However, since ideological coexistence is ruled out, and revolutionaries will be revolutionaries, the Russians will find themselves helping the "people" to get rid of their capitalist and imperialist oppressors because that is their socialist duty. And helping means arms, training, money, clandestine infiltration of non-Communist revolutionary organizations, agitation and propaganda; political strikes, internationally synchronized to weaken the transnational companies; disinformation and spying, on industry as well as on defense establishments; and, if the interrupted revelations of Oleg Lyalin, meant what they seemed to mean, contingency plans for sabotage in the EEC countries. In brief peaceful coexistence.

BRIAN CROZIER

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ON BEING A GOLDFISH IN A GLASS BOWL

Manjula Padmanabhan

THERE was a time when I would visit art exhibitions and go the rounds of the paintings feeling acutely conscious of the artist seated discreetly in a corner. I used to wonder just how dreadful it must be to have one's soul bared to the public in the form of one's paintings: how embarrassing to be pointed out and referred to in hushed tones as "The Artist". I felt the exposure would be almost too much to bear, so much so that I used to dislike going to exhibitions at all. The day came, however, when all this was changed; I had an exhibition myself.

I didn't mean it to sound as if trumpets blared and the new artist was born, since it wasn't like that at all. The point I meant to make was that it was an event which altered my outlook in quite a few ways. Perhaps I should clear up a few points first. To begin with, rather than be so pedestrian as to have had my exhibition in a gallery, I had had mine on the side-walk outside the Jehangir Art Gallery. Secondly, the sort of paintings I paint are not paintings so much as decorative posters, an art form which is best appreciated when printed rather than as expensive "originals". Thirdly, at the time, I was new to Bombay as well as a college fresher, both of which combined to make me rather more guileless than strictly necessary.

Friendly Tip

My having had an exhibition on the sidewalk was the outcome of various unconnected events, the most important of these being a tip given me by a friend that a certain bearded artist (whom I shall leave unnamed), to be perpetually found in the Samovar annually put up an exhibition on the afore-mentioned pavement. If I was really eager to present my wares to the world, it might be a good idea to contact him because after all, what could be more public than sidewalk? I would surely attract a milling throng all clamouring for my posters. I would no doubt be stifled in the chilled atmosphere of a formal gallery and of course, surely the great out-doors were far more appropriate for one of my age. Any initial resistance broke down under such compelling fire.

I shan't go into the complexities involved in detail, suffice it to say that there were complexities. Such as locating the person who owned a gallery which was non-existent for most of the year and, having located him, attempting to keep his attention long enough to get my message through the devious channels of his

mind. I remember one particular instance clearly when I had brought a couple of posters to show him and he had insisted that we remove to some more secluded spot than the Samovar to look at them. We settled down in some tucked away little corner of the same building, perched cosily atop a flight of stairs and while he lectured fervently on some obscure point in his personal philosophy, I fingered my posters nervously and wondered whether I had indeed rushed in where angels fear to tread. Finally after two hours of missed classes (my college was just across the road), he pronounced judgement and found me worthy of his gallery.

This was a good six months before the exhibition itself. The intervening time was spent in painting the actual exhibits and in stirring up the money to finance the same. There were numerous complications; I had embroiled myself in too many extra-curricular activities and they all threatened to over-flow and impinge on the time reserved for curricular activities, such as they were. Furthermore, within two weeks of the gallery having been set up, and a week before my debut, the police came and summarily concluded its existence. There was considerable consternation on the part of the owner and one morning (at eight) I trailed after him to see Someone Who Mattered in the fond hope that I might be able to prevail upon him to clear away the red tape and put the gallery back on its feet. My fatal charm must have done the trick, because just as I began to lose all ambitions of fame, word came through that all was well and I found myself on the sidewalk in three days.

There was a temporary delay as the gallery owner did not turn up at the appointed hour (eight, as ever) on the great day, and neither did his gallery. By afternoon, though, all parties concerned met and conspired to make the operation possible and by evening it was up.

Crowds

I suppose, again, it was a series of combinations which attracted the amount of attention I received. The first day for instance, it was a Saturday evening, which automatically released a more than ordinary amount of Bombay's potential idlers on the roadsides. Add to this the fact that I had planned on wearing a white silk saree, complete with silver jingles at my ankles and waist and then include ten posters arrayed at eye level all in more or less violent colours arrest-

ingly juxtaposed. For the rest of that week I complied with my sister's suggestion and wore something more likely to merge in with the background but on that first day I was resolved to be the ideal of young Indian womanhood and hence the rabble flocked, if only to snigger at the incongruity.

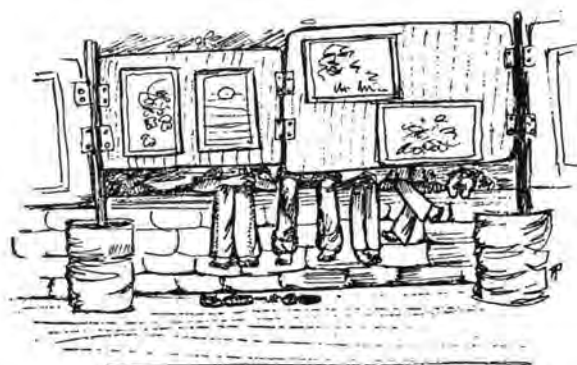
Actually there were fewer sniggers than I had originally expected. The first few moments, I admit, my skin crawled at the exposure I referred to in earlier paragraphs, but this was more attributable to a defect in my skin than to the behaviour of the public. In fact I was quite overwhelmed. All sorts of people came up to look, one could see them making the detour all the way from the old Indian Airlines booking office. This is where the difference between being on the inside looking out and on the outside still looking out was most pronounced. The people who came were the least likely to have had any educated taste in art, least of all my kind of art, which strains the imagination of the critic at the best of times. Yet more often than not they felt compelled to say something nice even after it became obvious that the comprehension of unknown dialects is not my strong point. Some came, drawn by the fact that I am a South Indian (my name was writ plain to see through the kind offices of one of the gallery owner's friends) in the expectation of being able to express themselves in their native tongue. Then they would stay to have a chat and find out if there were any relations in common and whether my credentials were intact with perhaps a word or two of praise thrown in about the posters. Others would stare in wordless wonder and finally venture to enquire why on earth I had the exhibition outside when a gallery lay within inches of me.

The Elite

Certainly, there were representatives from the Educated Elite. These fell easily into the three well-known groups of exhibition goers, namely, the cynical disbeliever (huh! rubbish), the well meaning critic (I don't understand it, but it's nice) and the unabashed admirer (It's wonderful! such depth! such expression!). The most amusing example of the first variety was a British couple passing by, who did not appear to enjoy a blissful marital life. He took one look and conveyed his inexpressible disgust in it; upon which his wife immediately stood her ground and tried to be as friendly and un-British as possible until her husband practically dragged her away. The second sort, is, I believe, a creature who prowls around with the single-minded intention never to comprehend anything. I used to have a lovely time with members of this group and would gush forth with an explanation of whichever poster had caused confusion, telling a new story of inspiration with each customer. The last category tends to be somewhat further from my affections than would be expected: I kept feeling that anyone who

went on that much about my posters must be kidding.

There were many gratifying moments. Like the time the gypsies who sell musk (or at any rate, something which stinks) came to see what was up and to grin and exchange a few pleasantries which I didn't quite catch. Then there was the day the Hijras roam the area and a band of five came up for their fifty paise (hastily given: I had been alone) after which they smiled and clapped their hands in a friendly manner. There were the droves of hippies who felt they had found a soul mate: the French girl who never drank but who gratefully accepted a reefer offered by one of my resourceful friends; the tall Dutch boy whose clean shaven jaw was testimony to his desire to join



the navy and go home; the well-worn traveller with a rucksack and a bag of crayons, a Britisher he said, who wanted directions to the best place for drawing holy pictures on the pavement; the Italians who were way to Kathmandu and many others.

Bodyguards

Since I was to be out on the side-walk for seven days, I felt I needed a few bodyguards. I found to my relief that my friends were more than willing to spend the entire day doing nothing with all the appearance of being vitally occupied. The dense foliage which obscures the curving wall of the Jehangir now was still at the seedling stage when the exhibition took place and there was a comfortable tract of land between the boundary wall and the building, on which to prop oneself up, fall asleep on or get stoned.

Not that seven days under public scrutiny left me raring for "the next one"; I eternally worried as to the safety of my posters at night or any other time when I could not personally protect them and the whole affair did not prove to be the world's financial success. But this does not prevent it from ranking high among my list of memorable happenings and I strongly recommend it to anyone who wants to do something unusual but doesn't know what. It's the kind of thing which never really loses its lustre and which can always be taken out on a rainy day to be looked at and fondled and to inspire one to greater deeds.

Reviews

AGAINST BECOMING A SELF SATISFIED PIG

"The Position of Women in India", edited by Kamla Bhasin. (Leslie Sawhny Programme of Training for Democracy, Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung.)

IN a country where the highest office is at present occupied by a woman it is not surprising to find a certain complacency in our attitude towards the position of women. The Women's Lib movement is regarded as a strange aberration of some poor misguided females in the West, to be treated with derision or at the most sympathetic condescension. "We in India don't need any of this Women's Lib nonsense," is the confident assertion of most men who seem to imagine that thanks to their excellent management Indian women are so secure and content in their present condition that they do not dream of changing it.

That this is far from being the case was proved at a Seminar organised by the Leslie Sawhny Programme of Training for Democracy and the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung whose proceedings have now been condensed into a lively thought-provoking book entitled *The Position of Women in India* edited by Kamla Bhasin. Instead of adopting the shock tactics which have been inclined to discredit the Women Lib movement in America, the Seminar which was originally suggested by some members of the Government of India Committee on the Status of Women in India, undertook a sober appraisal of the position of Indian women and discussed ways and means of improving their condition. Unlike their Western sisters again, the Seminar, even while examining the extreme indignities that most women have to face, did not develop a persecution complex against the dominating sex but came to the conclusion that, if Liberation is to be a success in India, it needs to be "a movement supported by all groups of people, men and women, who are in search of a revolutionary change in the social order".

The Seminar centers around four main papers presented by Dr. Promilla Kapur, Mehra Masani, Dr. C. A. Hate and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya with smaller contributions from others. Naturally the Seminar does not pretend to be an in-depth study of such a complex subject and this contributes both to the advantages and limitations of the book. As it readily admits, though the discussions are "brief and incomplete in many respects, the effort has been to provide a panoramic perspective rather than make a detailed presentation. The intention is that this perspective may stimulate discussions leading to the emergence of new ideas and concepts which might open up new vistas of educational opportunity for women and girls".

The discussions broadly follow two main patterns, one which makes an immediate emotional appeal and

the other which makes its point by the unprejudiced evidence of statistics. The first is more inclined to be a review of the position of women from the enviable ideal of the Vedic period, to the gradual deterioration in later times leading to the degenerate subjugation of women in the last century and to the present ambivalent, and therefore totally unsatisfactory, situation that prevails against them today. Both Promilla Kapur and Kamla Bhasin are vehement in their denunciation of the double standards in our society which grant a woman equality of status in principle but withhold it in practice and which consider it quite natural that even when "both the husband and wife



have similar working hours and reach back home at the same time, the husband expects his wife to look after him, serve him with tea and eats while he relaxes on his chair or bed." Both deplore the patient resignation with which women cope with this situation and feel that unless a woman "is dissatisfied with her inferior position she will not be stimulated to achieve a position in which she is equally respected and honoured" and is not likely to make any more contribution to society than a "satisfied pig". Promilla Kapur is well known for her extensive and original explorations of the attitudes of contemporary Indian women and she makes her paper more meaningful by incorporating a few practical suggestions at the end of it.

Mehra Masani, who delves into what statistics as are available, corroborates the view that women themselves are not doing enough to ameliorate their condition. There are more unemployed among degree holders than employed and "according to the 1971 figures out of 1,70,000 unemployed women among degree holders 90,000 (53 per cent) were not even

trying for jobs. The corresponding figure for men is only 9 per cent".

Though the evidence at times projects "a very dismal picture", this is counteracted by two papers dealing with "Women at Work" and "Women in Politics in Germany", which reveal that even in a highly industrialized and socially advanced country like Germany, women face similar problems. But there is no doubting the fact that the process once begun cannot be stopped and that in the very attempt of overcoming the difficulties facing them, women will achieve a new confidence and faith in themselves. The report on conclusions gives a summary of the positive steps that can be taken towards realizing this.

A motto which was suggested during the discussions was: "Women Help Women". This slim volume, by highlighting some of the challenges ahead, takes a brisk step in that direction.

GEETA DOCTOR

BRITISH DEFENCE POLICY

British Defence Policy East of Suez 1947-1968 by Phillip Darby (Oxford University Press, £6.50)

BRTAIN'S defence policy east of Suez centred on India. It took her two decades after the transfer of power in the sub-continent to evolve a new policy based on the altered state of things. During this period decolonization proceeded apace with other and no less important changes in the region. Mr. Darby's book, published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is based on a thorough research of the published material and on his discussions with politicians and service chiefs.

During the passage of the Independence of India Bill in the House of Commons, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, spoke of the possibility of defence agreements with the new Dominions. This did not materialise although later such agreements were concluded with Ceylon and Burma. They were, both, scrapped before long.

However, Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck, the last British C-in-C in India, expressed a general feeling prevailing in British circles then that "Britain is still morally bound to aid India and Pakistan against an aggressor" (*Daily Mail*, July 20, 1948). Britain had defence commitments then in South-East Asia, in the Persian Gulf, in Arabia, and in East Africa. The insurrection in Malaya and the war in Korea imposed new burdens.

The book describes in great detail how Britain re-examined its role in the region during these two decades. To an Indian reader its interest lies in its treatment of Britain's relations with India in the sphere of defence. One wishes it was more detailed. Britain

had air staging facilities in India (Dum Dum) and Pakistan (Karachi). We are told that "the Dum Dum Agreement had to be renegotiated annually and there were restrictions on the number of troops which could be staged there each year—restrictions which would make it impossible to fly large-scale reinforcements to the Far East via India".

Doubtless, the arrangement was no secret but the author might have given the details as to when and in what circumstances it was concluded. During the Suez crisis India imposed restrictions on the staging facilities it had granted to Britain.

British response to India's request for help in 1962 was quick. Prime Minister Macmillan said: "What they (the Indians) ask us to do to help them, we will do." The first consignment of small arms and ammunition reached Delhi on October 29. Thereafter, Indian and British officials held discussions on India's long-term defence needs. The upshot was the Kennedy-Macmillan agreement at Nassau to extend a £.42 million military aid programme to India. In a speech on November 21, Mr. Peter Thorneycroft confirmed that the British Government would consider sympathetically any Indian request for British troops as reinforcements against any further aggression by China.

A 13-man Joint Commonwealth-U.S. Air Defence Mission arrived in India on January 30, 1963. Its task was to assess the feasibility of providing air cover for Indian cities and other targets.

"Early in July a Western plan for the air defence of India received the tacit approval of Nehru's Government, and on the 22 July, it announced acceptance of the scheme, *stoutly maintaining it was nothing of the sort*. In November 12, RAF Javelins, supported by some 250 ground crew, took part in air defence exercises over Delhi and Calcutta." (*Italics mine*)

The following year in London in December 1964, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri suggested to Prime Minister Harold Wilson a nuclear guarantee for India. In 1965 Indo-Pak war, Indo-British relations deteriorated sharply. There was no talk thereafter of any collaboration in the sphere of defence. Instead, collaboration with Russia assumed increasing importance of which the Treaty of 1971 was a formal recognition.

In January 1968 Britain announced its decision to withdraw its defence forces from the Far East and the Persian Gulf. "Ultimately lack of resources rather than intellectual rejection" ensured the abandonment of a British military role east of Suez.

It is an excellent survey. But, barring one study—and that by a foreign scholar Prof. Lorne J. Kauic which covers the period 1947-1965—we have no comparable work on the evolution of India's defence policy during the quarter century after its independence.

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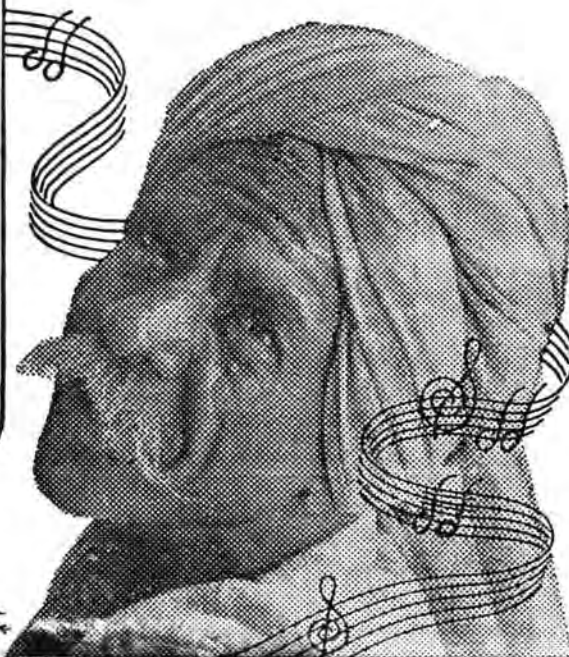
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INJUSTICE TO SARDAR

I have read with interest Mr. A. G. Noorani's review of *Sardar Patel's Correspondence* (Vol. IV) in which Mr. Noorani has sought to show that the Sardar had communal inclinations with a bias against Muslims.

As it happens, I too have read the volume and am unable to agree with Mr. Noorani's assessment which, in my view, does injustice to the indomitable Sardar.

Mr. Noorani refers to the Sardar's views on the "adjustment of over-representation of Muslims in the Police Force in Delhi with a view to restoring proportion more in accord with population". Anyone who knows a little about the administrative changes brought about by the Sardar in the services would know that the Sardar was firm on placing merit as the criterion for both recruitment and promotion in the services. I fail to understand why Mr. Noorani should believe that holding this view amounts to 'treating the minorities with less than justice'. Opposition to *special* treatment to any group as against emphasis on merit can hardly be described as unjust.

Mr. Noorani refers to the correspondence between Nehru and Patel on the conduct of Mr. M. S. Randhawa, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, when the riots took place before and after the partition of 1947.

First, Mr. Noorani rather cleverly transposes two paragraphs of Nehru's letter dated September 30, 1947. While complaining about Randhawa, Nehru also mentioned that 'I have known Randhawa for a number of years when he was in U.P. Ranjit Pandit knew him well and liked him. My own impression has been that he is a good officer'. Nehru ended his complaint about Randhawa by saying 'but I cannot be sure of this (of Randhawa's sympathies being in a certain direction) and would not like to come to a conclusion without further evidence'. A little later, Mr. Noorani refers to Nehru's letter of October 11, where once again a reference is made to a speech by Randhawa which according to Nehru was not in conformity with the policy of the Government. Patel sent a reply to both the letters on October 12 which clearly indicates that he was not defending Randhawa but gave Nehru a complete picture of the situation in Delhi. Patel expressed surprise that Nehru should have doubts about Randhawa having sympathies in a certain direction. He gave an example of the action which Randhawa took when under his own supervision he shot down about half a dozen non-Muslims who were attacking Muslims on the railway platform. Patel mentions that any imputation of any particular sympathy to Randhawa would be unfair to him. Still, he offered to remove Randhawa if Nehru felt so strongly about it. Patel also mentions in the same letter that Suhrawardy told Birla that very day (October 12) that 'Muslims hold a very good

opinion of Randhawa. Nehru who seemed to be satisfied by Patel's letter did not pursue the matter any further (see his reply, letter dated October 12).

Mr. Noorani refers to the Sardar's letter of September 2, 1947 wherein he refers to the people's feelings ('you know the mass psychology... similar other demands'). The reader may get the impression that Sardar Patel seems to be in agreement with the views expressed. However, Mr. Noorani forgets to add the sentence that immediately follows: "I am writing all this not in any extenuation of the folly of this attitude of mind, but only to make you acquainted with the temper of the people here", his omission seeks to indicate the approach of a lawyer which Mr. Noorani is, rather than that of a dispassionate scholar.

Mr. Noorani seems to object to Sardar's view that his flare-up in West Punjab and in New Delhi was all due to disturbances in Pakistan and describes it as "wholly unworthy of a statesman of Sardar's stature and certainly for anyone concerned for human life regardless of race and colour". This, if I may say so, is a rather specious plea. It is one thing to suggest that riots were taking place as a reaction to what was happening in Pakistan and—few people can now deny the evidence to prove this—another to show any lack of concern for human life. The latter does not logically follow from the former. May I refer Mr. Noorani to Taya Zinkin's book *Reporting India* which gives a vivid glimpse of the Sardar's concern for law and order and his firmness in dealing with the situation in Calcutta to protect the Muslims there?

Mr. Noorani at the end of his review refers to Nehru's asking Patel to allow the Muslims to settle in a predominantly Muslim locality and Sardar's strong opposition to it—which, according to Noorani, shows that Nehru was secular and Patel communal. Mr. Noorani does not indicate the source of this rather sweeping allegation concerning the Sardar. He apparently refers to Nehru's letter of November 21 and Sardar's reply to it of November 22. May I please request Mr. Noorani to re-read these two letters? I am sure he will thereby be able to revise his conclusions. May I add here in reference to the same letters what Patel wrote to Neogy: "The dangers and evils of predominantly Muslim or predominantly Hindu areas in the city or outside have been clearly and unmistakably emphasised during the last disturbances".

Lastly, may I say that it is hardly fair to condemn Patel by comparing him with Nehru or Gandhi. Can Mr. Noorani show any leader from the Muslim League who even remotely approached Gandhi and Nehru in the quality of the vision of one and the saintliness of another? The only 'charge' which one can make against

the Sardar is that he was a realist and could see through the game played by the Muslim League leaders and was blunt in expressing his reactions. One has merely to compare the speeches and actions of Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan with those of Patel to appreciate the wisdom of the latter's stand.

I would appeal to Mr. Noorani not to put such a label on a man who not only did not deserve it but who, had he lived longer, may have changed the history of post-independent India.

U. H. EASWARASARMA

A REJOINDER

The spirit and approach of Mr. Easwarasarma's letter is reflected very clearly in the last paragraph of his letter. He asks me whether I can "show any leader from the Muslim League who even remotely approached Gandhi and Nehru in the quality of the vision of one and the saintliness of another." The fact of the matter is that my article was not addressed to the question whether the Congress leaders were superior to the Muslim League or, for that matter, Indian leaders over the Pakistani. It was a comparison of the qualities and ailments of two builders of modern India.

I faulted Nehru for his blindness towards the Com-

munist danger and Sardar Patel for his partiality towards the Hindus and his bias against the Muslims. As I wrote, "Both were truly great men cast in the heroic mould and modern India is what it is very largely because of the impressions they left on its policies."

Mr. Easwarasarma missed the whole point of the article precisely because of his own approach which the last paragraph of his letter reflects.

Surely, if Sardar Patel was "firm on placing merit as criterion for both recruitment and promotion in the services", the fact that the Muslims were over-represented in the Police force in Delhi by itself ought to have made no difference to him. He wanted to restore that proportion "more in accord with the population" purely on the communal ground. Yet, he would not follow the logic in accepting the communal reservations in services on the population basis or even redressing the imbalance when Muslims were under-represented. "Special treatment" and of a most unjust kind was, indeed, meted out to the Muslims in the services, as everyone knows, and the Sardar never protested against it. Some evidence there is, in fact, that he approved of it.

As regards Mr. Randhawa, I wanted to stress at the outset in my article that Mr. Nehru once held a high opinion of him and his later behaviour was a "mystery" to him. I also pointed out that early in the office Mr.

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Randhawa had won the confidence of all and cited Maulana Azad's memoirs to that effect as also to point out that Randhawa, like many other mortals, was overwhelmed by the events and was swayed by the passions of the time.

Mr. Nehru's letter to Sardar Patel dated October 12 does not show that he "seemed to be satisfied" by Sardar's apologia of Randhawa. On the contrary, it demonstrates very clearly that he seemed rather to be wholly unconvinced by it. He left matters as they were out of his regard for the Sardar and the fact that the responsibility was his as Home Minister. My general impression has been that the administration in Delhi has not functioned as effectively as it should have done and that it has been watered down very greatly by the addition of numbers of people who are more of a hindrance than a help. This is what Mr. Nehru wrote. It does not reflect satisfaction; it reflects an uneasy acquiescence.

The paragraph from Sardar's letter to Mr. Nehru dated September 2, 1947 which I quoted described in graphic detail the "mass psychology" which was building up against the Muslim without even a faintest suggestion that this should be combatted. It did reflect the writer's sympathy. The sentence which followed thereafter was a disingenuous show of objectivity. Mr. Nehru was as acquainted with the temper of the country" as was the Sardar and even Mr. Easwarasarma cannot deny that his reaction was altogether different from the Sardar's. One must be naive, indeed, or political to the Sardar to be taken in by his reservation when the record clearly suggests his extenuation of the flare up in India and his concern about the happenings in Pakistan. What was worse, the Sardar's double standards were applied to Indian citizens, no less. He would not accept that a non-Muslim Government servant is less friendly disposed to a Muslim evacuee; but the presence of Muslims in the services or in the Delhi Police force was abhorrent to him as they were to "mass psychology".

As for the Nehru-Patel exchange on the settling of Muslims in predominantly Muslim localities, one has only to remember the massacres that were going on in Delhi under the very nose of the Sardar and a Chief Commissioner whom even the Prime Minister suspected of communal bias. The question was of immediate redress. Here again, the Sardar reacted one way and Nehru in a different way.

I welcome Mr. Easwarasarma's advice to read. One good turn deserves another. Mr. Easwarasarma might, I suggest, read the late Mr. M. S. Golwalkar's correspondence with Mr. Nehru and Sardar Patel and compare the warmth of the Sardar's letter to "brother" Golwalkar and the icy politeness of Mr. Nehru's letters to the leader of an organisation whose complicity in the riots no objective person would contest.

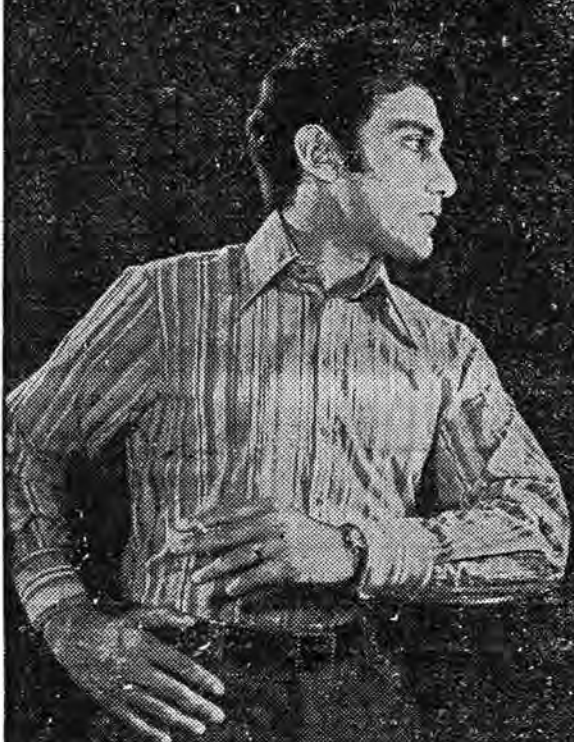
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observers find incredible. Americans have become a people of constitutionalists, who substitute litigation for legislation and see constitutional questions lurking in every case.

During the team's discussions Dean Griswold said of the American system "There is no question that cannot be turned into a constitutional question". Lord Diplock, who led the British team, remarked "There is no question that cannot be turned into a jurisdictional question" in Britain.

Similar Spirit

The differences, however, must not obscure the fact that "the judges of both countries are basically engaged on the same task, and for the most part are working in a similar spirit. It is a situation of challenge and response in a society increasingly dominated by government power, and therefore heavily loaded with administrative machinery. The one sphere within which it is agreed that all this power should be confined is that of law. In both countries therefore the courts see themselves as the citizen's appointed protectors against abuse of power."

Nor should one overlook the differences, either. American judges are policy-makers to a degree no British judge would dream of becoming. "Particularly in recent years, American judges have obtruded much more widely upon questions which English courts would regard as matters of policy upon which the initiative would lie with Parliament and the executive. In the past few years, indeed, the American courts have felt called upon to perform a virtually legislative function as other governmental organs have proved unable to meet the growing need for legal and institutional adaptation to cope with the demands of present-day society. In area after area, the American courts, led by the Supreme Court, have had to step in to serve as spearheads of social change, where the political branches had proved unable or unwilling to act. This type of judicial activism, wholly foreign to the British system, has contributed a new and dramatic character to American public law." However, men like the late Mr. S. Mohan Kumaramangalam dilate on the obvious, namely, that political considerations weigh in appointments to the U.S. Supreme Court Bench. They ignore the political check—confirmation by the Senate. The U.S. President cannot claim "absolute" power to make judicial appointments as Mr. H. R. Gokhale and the late M. Kumaramangalam did.

The British system is different and more akin to ours. "The British attitude, on the contrary, is that legislation by the courts of an overtly political character is usurpation, justifiable only in case of constitutional emergency. Most British lawyers feel that any such activity must in the long run be damaging to

the whole status of the judges and to the trust reposed in them. Is not the Supreme Court already reaping where it has sown? Having embroiled itself deeply in politics, and invaded the province of Congress, it has provoked a determined counter-attack by Congress which in 1969 and 1970 defeated two presidential nominations to the Court. No judiciary could long survive a series of such attacks, and it already seems that the Court may have to return to a policy of restraint. But the dilemma will remain: does the malfunctioning of the legislature justify legislation of the judiciary?"

As with the judicial system, so with the instruments of control. The British have set up the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration—their version of the Scandinavian Ombudsman. Americans have little use for him—it might reduce the Congressman's influence. Here, again, we are more inclined to follow the British precedent. Maharashtra has already acquired a Lok Ayukta and the Centre promises to give us the Lok Pal.

The Indian Official Secrets Act, is modelled on the British Official Secrets Act, 1911 which is being reformed. Curiously, little is known in the country about the U.S. Freedom of Information Act, 1966 which confers on the citizen a legally enforceable right of access to government files and records generally subject to named exceptions.

Our procedures and forms of administrative control are based on the English procedures and forms except that our courts have refused to be hide-bound by the technicalities. Nonetheless, we would do well to reflect on Lord Denning's famous remark "Just as the pick and shovel is no longer suitable for the winning of coal, so also the procedure of mandamus, certiorari, and actions on the case are not suitable for the winning of freedom in the new age. They must be replaced by new and up-to-date machinery, by declarations, injunctions and actions for negligence..."

Of course, judges do err and there are times when even British judges strain at the limits of their jurisdiction. The *Anisminic* case was concerned with an absolute ouster clause. The Foreign Compensation Commission was established by Act of Parliament for the adjudication of claims by British nationals against moneys paid by foreign governments to the British government in compensation for British property seized or destroyed abroad. After the Suez hostilities of 1956 the United Arab Republic paid over some £ 27 m. as compensation, out of which *Anisminic Ltd.* claimed some £ 4m. for the loss of a manganese mine in the Sinai peninsula. The Commission rejected their claim on the ground that, having sold their undertaking to the Egyptians, their successors in title were not British nationals at the date prescribed by the statutory regulations. The Act provided that a deter-

mination of the Commission "shall not be questioned in any court of law". The authors remark "There is no doubt whatever that this was specifically intended to exclude the courts entirely, the government's reason being that the fund must be divided in proportion to the established claims, and that payment of all claims would have to be held up if any of them could be litigated at length through the courts. Nevertheless the House of Lords set the Commission's award aside and declared it void." There was, however, no attempt by the British Government to humiliate the Law Lords.

For all the talk about the U.S. Supreme Court in India there is surprisingly little information about its actual working. The late Prof. Robert G. McCloskey was regarded in his life time as one of the ablest writers on the Court. His book *THE MODERN SUPREME COURT* (Harvard University Press; \$12.95) is an excellent study of the Court's record in the last thirty years under three Chief Justices—Stone (1940-1946), Vinson (1946-1953) and Warren till 1968. Interest naturally centres most on the last phase. Prof. McCloskey shows how the record varied from term to term. "The 1957 to 1960 Terms present some intriguing problems for synoptic analysis. They were marked by a series of decisions in which the Court seemed to back down at least in spirit from its 1956 Term stand against governmental harassment of supposed Communists. Legislative investigators were, it turned out, freer to pursue their chosen purposes than the dicta of *Watkins* and *Sweezy* had seemed to imply; a Smith Act conviction was sustained, as was an order that the Communist party register under the McCarran Act. These and a few other holdings of similar tenor produced a chorus of lamentations that the Court had reversed its libertarian course. Mr. Justice Black was provoked to remonstrate that the protections of the Bill of Rights had been 'all but obliterated' and that 'if the present trend continues . . . government by consent will disappear to be replaced by government by intimidation'."

Developments

The years that followed saw the Warren Court at its best. "It is during this time that the remarkable extent of the Warren Court's will-to-govern becomes fully manifest. This tendency is reflected not only in a handful of great, landmark decisions but in the cumulative effect of many others in which the justices chipped away at the doctrinal roadblocks to a judicially-defined good society. So many developments have occurred so recently that there is no need to describe them in detail. Perhaps it is enough to remind the reader of the Court's venture into the apportionment thicket and the uncompromising "one-man-one-vote" standard imposed on both state legislatures and Congress; of the dramatic extensions of the right to counsel in state criminal proceedings signalled by such

holdings as *Douglas v. California*, *Gideon v. Wainwright*, and *Escobedo v. Illinois*; of the school prayer decisions; of the announcement of new constitutional standards in the fields of libel law and movie censorship, and with respect to state birth control and anti-miscegenation statutes. These years have been a fitting climax to the twelve-year trend of the Warren Court toward a position of extraordinary influence on the shape of the American polity."

Judicial activism carried to excess may rebound. Judicial discretion is the better part of valour. President Nixon vowed to appoint Judges who shared his outlook on law and order. A study of the Burger Court is yet to appear. Prof. Henry J. Abraham's book *FREEDOM AND THE COURT* (Oxford University Press) analyses the Supreme Court's record strictly from the standpoint of reconciliation of individual freedom with the rights of the community. In a few years it has run into a second edition which covers the Burger Court's contribution till December 1971. In the author's opinion "With the advent of the 'Burger Court' in 1969, Warren Earl Burger having replaced Earl Warren, and Harry A. Blackmun, Abe Fortas, a change of direction could not be ruled out. However, as of late 1971 there were no signs that the 'new' Court would revert to the Vinson approach. At most, a *status quo* approach to freedom of expression, rather than the mild retrenchment visible on the part of the Burger Court toward criminal justice, for example, was in evidence."

Till 1971 at least there had been no "clearly demonstrable attempt to chip away at the legacy of the Warren Court", except, perhaps, in the realm of criminal justice. Prof. Abraham also points out how the Burger Court has maintained the trend towards racial de-segregation. "On the busing issue, the Chief Justice, in a nod to that large element among the populace favouring the neighbourhood school concept, admitted that all things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal," he continued, "in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation".

Reading the volume one cannot help being struck by Chief Justice Burger's gift for the felicitous phrase. "A man's right to communicate must stop at the mailbox of an unreceptive address." Sample this "Under our system the choice has been made that government is to be entirely excluded from the area of religious instruction and churches excluded from the affairs of government."

Finally, one must not forget that, both in the U.S. and in Britain, the democratic tradition is more deeply rooted and public opinion far more vigilant than in India. It is, therefore, a far heavier burden our judiciary has to carry.

WITH MANY VOICES

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

It is very easy to give up smoking. I have done it a thousand times.

—Mark Twain quoted in *Illustrated Weekly*, July 1.

Professional politicians are nothing if they are not professional optimists.

—*The Economist*, June 2.

When people shake my hand these days, I get the impression they are really taking my pulse.

—President Georges Pompidou quoted in *Time*, June 18.

I do not often attack the Labour Party. They do it so well themselves.

—Prime Minister Edward Heath quoted in *Times of India*, June 7.

I would like to be informed of a method by which I can oppose policies made by Mrs. Gandhi without mentioning her.

—Piloo Mody in *Times of India*, June 6.

The way this country is being run is beginning to look like one big exercise in escapism.

—S. M. in *Indian Express*, May 28.

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'I am not a communist', Mrs. Gandhi has said. It does not very much matter what she calls herself when every policy step she has taken since the Congress split has been taken under communist instigation.

—Nayantra Sahgal in *Sunday Standard*, May 27.

When did Mr. Chavan or Mr. D. P. Dhar last stand in a queue?

—Chanchal Sarkar in *Indian Express*, June 20.

If Kashmir falls sick, it is not possible for India to remain healthy.

—Sheikh Abdullah in *Times of India*, June 20.

We must be clever enough, by relying on the peculiarities of the capitalist world and exploiting the greed of the capitalists for raw materials, to extract from it such advantages as will strengthen our economic position—however strange this may appear—among the capitalists.

—Lenin quoted in *Himmat*, June 22.

There has never been a more depressing period in the twenty-five years of Independence than the one we are now going through.

—S. M. in *Indian Express*, June 25.

The Indian radical is a very special breed and it is the mark of the true follower of the faith to have as little contact as possible with the facts of life.

—S. M. in *Indian Express*, June 25.

The French communists cannot explain why Soviet tanks entered Prague and why they cannot enter Paris.

—Regis Debray quoted in *Times of India*, June 27.

The magnificent mansion that Indira built was on sand.

—N. G. Goray in *Times of India*, June 14.

In many ways, the Indian economy is rather like the Maruti: it, too, is on an extremely tight schedule and there is still a good deal of doubt about when it will really take the road.

—Graham Turner in *Sunday Telegraph*, May 6.