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“INDIA HAS LOST ITS WAY”

MINOO MASANI

“INDIA has lost more than a dynamic leader to assassination. It has lost its way,” observed the *New York Times* on November 2. How aptly the developments of the first fortnight in November are summed up in these words.

As is well-known, I have been a fairly consistent critic of Mrs. Gandhi's policies both at home and abroad, but my personal relations with her were always friendly and I have never hesitated throughout the years to express my admiration for her courage and capacity to take risks, her elegance, her charm and her sense of humour. My disgust at the assassination was heightened by some measure of old-fashioned chivalry which I must confess I still harbour.

Mrs. Gandhi's assassination is only the latest in a series of acts of terrorism around the globe. A recent one was the IRA attempt on Mrs. Margaret Thatcher and her cabinet colleagues in Brighton. Earlier, we have had PLO terrorism in Israel and Lebanon, the Tamil “Tigers” in Sri Lanka and the assassination of “white” men and women in South Africa at the hands of communist-led “blacks”. Since I learnt from Gandhiji the tenet that the end never justifies the means, I have been opposed to all terrorism, whenever and wherever it has raised its head. I wish that could be said of some others. The Government of India, for instance, have never said a word against PLO terrorism in Israel and Lebanon or against “blacks” murdering “whites” in South Africa. It was quite disgusting for me to see on television only last month President Zail Singh embracing the terrorist Yasser Arafat. It is because condemnation of terrorism is so selective that it continues to disgrace the world scene.

I must confess that part of my continuing sadness is about the events that followed Mrs. Gandhi's death. I wish one could say that we as a nation have distinguished ourselves by our behaviour. On the con-

trary, watching television and reading the newspapers, the picture that emerges has not been a pretty one. I do not refer to the genuine grief of countless men and women throughout the country who have expressed their grief in a quiet and dignified manner, often in silence. The picture which has emerged of our political Establishment and of the Capital has however been one of a melange of hysteria, hypocrisy, sycophancy and indiscipline.

The worst of these manifestations has of course been the holocaust in which large numbers of Sikhs have been butchered or burnt to death in Delhi and other parts of the North. It is consoling to record that not a single ugly incident occurred in my own city of Bombay. Once again it has been proved that violent retaliation and reprisals solve no problem, but create a chain reaction which is both self-defeating and lasting. The misconduct of the so-called “mourners” started right at the hospital where the Prime Minister lay dying.

“A thin black haze of smoke, like a moving shroud, hung over the capital of India as Hindu mobs took revenge on the Sikh community. . . . By the afternoon pillars of smoke smudged the horizon all round the city as Sikh properties, Sikh homes and Sikh vehicles burned,” reported the front page of the *London Times* on November 2.

“Mourners”?

Here is a report from Delhi in *The Sunday Observer* of November 4: “Riots started at the hospital as police stood by. . . . Mob fury intensified particularly after they paid a visit to the Teen Murti House where Mrs. Gandhi's body lay in state. Thousands and thousands of youths from outlying areas of Delhi trooped to the ancestral house of the Nehrus and raised slogans of hatred and revenge against the Sikhs for

the murder of the Prime Minister. The crowds at Teen Murti got so unruly that the police were finally forced to fire tear gas shells to disperse the mob. Angry at not being allowed to have *darshan* of Mrs. Gandhi, the youths vented their fury on whichever Sikh they could get hold of on the road. Just in front of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, they stopped a taxi driven by a Sikh. The driver left his vehicle and fled into a nearby house which happened to belong to the Lok Dal member of Parliament, Ram Vilas Paswan. The mob first burnt the taxi and then went inside Paswan's house and dragged out the Sikh driver. They tied his hands with his turban and threw him into the blazing taxi. The mob also attacked Paswan's house and set it on fire. Paswan as well as the Bihar Lok Dal Leader, Karpoori Thakur, who was with him at that time, managed to escape by a hair's breadth by the back door of the house."

Even *The Times of India* had to concede editorially on November 7: "It does not need to be established that the Youth Congress contains lumpens who recognise no moral law and tend to go berserk at the slightest opportunity. Their recent misdeeds on the way to Nagpur, in Nagpur and the way back home from Nagpur speak for themselves. . . . We fear that the charge is likely to stick and that it will hurt Mr. Rajiv Gandhi unless he pre-empt it. Not by a flat denial but by a quick inquiry and drastic action if the inquiry reveals that the Youth Congress activists have been involved in the carnage. . . . He has to send out a message, by deed and not by word alone that he is Prime Minister of all Indians, that he will

not allow gangsters to seek asylum in his party, that he has the courage to take action against them, that he will not allow politicians, including Congressmen, to meddle with enforcement of law and order. And he can shirk it only at considerable risk to himself—which is not all that important—but also to the country, which is important."

Apart from the horrible massacres reminiscent of the dark days of the partition of India in 1947, there were other manifestations of hysteria and indiscipline. Hooliganism was to be seen when the mob rushed the platform at the funeral and forced the chief mourners to leave the platform to the intruders. According to a press report: "Even as Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, his wife Sonia and their children were coming down, several people were reaching up creating disorder. Rajiv and his family members were forced to retreat and come down by a different flight of steps facing the chief mourners enclosure".

All India Radio and Doordarshan of course distinguished themselves on this as on other critical occasions. First of all they suppressed the news of Mrs. Gandhi's death from the Indian people till 6 p.m. on that day. Then they indulged in a paroxysm of hyperbole and exaggeration, which was found counterproductive by thousands of their listeners. It was very clearly a case of "overkill".

Amita Malik's article entitled *TV's Dismal Failure* observes: "It fell flat on its face when it came to basics. . . . The miserable running commentaries,

(Continued on page 6)



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HOW BRITAIN WOULD HAVE COPEd IF THE CABINET HAD BEEN KILLED

SIMON FREEMAN AND BARRIE PENROSE

SIR MICHAEL HAVERS, the Attorney General, has given *The Sunday Times* a remarkable description of the way that the Government would have reacted if the IRA bomb in Brighton had killed the prime minister and her senior cabinet ministers. Havers, who would have advised the surviving ministers on the legal and constitutional implications of such a crisis, outlined his hour-by-hour scenario after informal discussions with his political colleagues and top civil servants.

His description is essentially a personal view, and his aim, he said, was not to score party political points. "I want to show how the British constitution and political system could have coped with this crisis. The IRA are very wrong if they think that we would have panicked. It would essentially have been business as usual within a day or two," he said.

He scribbled down his imagined plan of action with red felt-tip pen. The scenario was based on the assumption that the 11 cabinet ministers known to have been at the Grand had died.

He did not know whether there had been detailed contingency plans on how to deal with the loss of most of the cabinet. But he added: "I have no doubt that the government is now drawing up plans to deal with every sort of emergency, no matter how unlikely and outlandish the possibilities might seem.

"I am trying to be as realistic as possible", he said, "I have assumed that by 3 a.m. on the morning of Friday, October 12 we would have lost all the senior people in the Grand.

"The secretary of the cabinet, Sir Robert Armstrong, would have been called at his home and he would have ordered Downing Street to contact all surviving ministers. He would have alerted, too, all the permanent secretaries."

On Friday morning, said Havers, the remnants of the Thatcher cabinet would have gathered under tight security, possibly in the offices of the Privy Council, in Whitehall. "I think everyone would be reluctant to use No. 10 on that morning. It would not seem right," said Havers.

At that point, perhaps no more than eight hours after the bomb in Brighton, the country would have been in a curious constitutional no-man's land. Although Lord Whitelaw, who was not at the Grand, is described as deputy prime minister, that title does not mean he would automatically become prime

minister, even *pro tem*, in such a crisis, unlike an American vice-president.

By the time Whitelaw opened that sombre meeting Tory party managers would have discussed the immediate problems with Edward Du Cann, chairman of the 1922 Tory backbench committee. The Queen, on holiday in America would, of course, have been alerted.

"The priority would be to select a new leader of the party so that he could be summoned to Buckingham Palace to kiss hands and be asked to form a government. I have assumed that the Queen would have returned to Britain as soon as possible," said Havers.

Until that election took place, however, it is likely that the Queen would have asked Whitelaw to take control of the Government. Whitelaw would have asked his colleagues for a damage assessment: which posts needed to be filled immediately, were there any pressing legal problems...?

By Friday evening, less than 24 hours after the Brighton tragedy, Britain would, said Havers, have had a prime minister. Of course, the new PM would have been temporary; he would have stood down as soon as the Tory party had held a leadership election but, for the purposes of the government, of reassuring the public, the international markets and our allies, the country would have a fully fledged government by Friday evening at the latest. Havers said, too, that Whitelaw would have obviously done his best not to pre-empt his successor's latest appointments.

"The workload on Friday would have been enormous. The civil service would be working flat out. None of us would have had time for emotion. We would have worked and worked. That night Willie would have gone on television. I imagine he would have told the public that we were managing, that we were coping."

During the day Whitelaw would have called President Reagan and other key leaders, explaining that Britain was not plunging into chaos. Our ambassadors abroad would have seen heads of government to reassure them.

The leaders of the main opposition parties, Neil Kinnock, David Owen and David Steel, would have met Whitelaw, "I am quite sure all of them would have offered full support," said Havers.

If necessary, the governor of the Bank of England

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would have been told to try to stem any disastrous run on the pound sterling. The chiefs of staff and security chiefs would have been briefed. The police would have ensured that there was no retaliation against the Irish community on the mainland and in Northern Ireland. The security forces would have been on full alert.

"There would be no need for a state of emergency," said Havers. "You only need that to handle a continuing threat. In this case the worst would already have happened."

On the Monday, 10 days after the bombing, Havers said he would hope nominations for the Tory leadership would have closed. The result would have been announced, he envisaged on Thursday.

Present party rules, however, have a longer time-scale for electing a new leader. Whitelaw would then have stepped down and his successor asked to form a new administration. "It would be desirable to have this settled as soon as possible and I think this time-scale is acceptable."

"There would have been a huge calming-down exercise. All the time we would have been pumping out the message: don't worry; we've got Whitelaw, very experienced and very sensible," said Havers.

What if Whitelaw, too, had died in the Brighton explosion, along with Heseltine and Walker (who

were not in the Grand)? What if the bombing meant that the Tories lost a wafer-thin House of Commons majority?

Havers still believes the parliamentary system would have survived; albeit with more anguish and delays.

"The essential point is that we would, somehow, have had a new prime minister within hours," he insisted. "If we assume the worst—that the entire cabinet had died—then it might have taken a little longer to choose a temporary prime minister. We might have had to take more sounding among the Tory MPs over who they would find acceptable. But we would have managed." If the Tories had lost their working majority in the Commons, he believes there would have been a brief truce between the parties to allow time to prepare for a general election.

Was it not possible that the transition would have been far more stormy? Did he not foresee for example, a battle between the left and the right within the Tory party over the choice of the *pro tem* prime minister? What if, by some accident, it had been a straight choice between Walker and Heseltine to take the oath on the Friday? "I cannot talk about the likely internal politics of the party," he said. "But I firmly believe that the traditions of democracy are such that we would have managed."

(Courtesy: *The Sunday Times*)

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"KARNATAKA INFORMATION"

(Continued from page 2)

which were not only an assault on the ear but which, at times, deeply offended public feelings as well as religious sentiment. Some described them as provocative in the extreme. . . . One of the largest radio and TV networks in the world's largest democracy, AIR more than 50 and Doordarshan in its 25th year, gave the news of the death of its Prime Minister after every small neighbouring country and all the major radio networks heard widely in India had announced the death, paid their tributes and, in the case of the BBC, even used Mrs. Gandhi's voice in its bulletins obtained ironically enough, from AIR. Thus the limitations of bureaucratic media in a modern democracy again show up at their shocking worst."

Induction of P.M.

Panic again was probably largely responsible for the way in which Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was sworn in as Prime Minister on the evening of October 31. All convention and constitutional propriety was thrown to the winds. For this, President Zail Singh was primarily responsible. He failed in his duty, which was to nominate a senior member of the cabinet as caretaker Prime Minister for a day or two and to await the election of its leader by the Congress Party in a couple

of days and then to have him sworn in as Prime Minister. This was the practice which was followed by his predecessors on the death of Jawaharlal Nehru as also of Lal Bahadur Shastri. What happened this time was that, at the instance of a cabal of a couple of members of the ruling party, the President ignored the fact that the Prime Minister in a parliamentary democracy has to be elected by the ruling party which has a majority in the Lok Sabha. What he did followed the Moscow model and not that of Westminster. It showed contempt for Parliament. When the Congress Party was at last allowed to meet on the evening of November 2, it was faced with an accomplished fact and cheated of its rights!

I have been a member of the Congress Parliamentary Party and know that only the Party as a whole can choose its leader and neither the executive committee of the Party nor the Parliamentary Board have any right to usurp the functions of the Party. It is now established that even the Parliamentary Board had not met as has been wrongly claimed in certain circles. *The Indian Express* of 2nd November 1984 carried a despatch from the *Express News Service* in Delhi which said: "The decision to nominate Mr. Rajiv Gandhi for the Prime Ministership was taken without any formal discussion either at the Congress-I's Central Parliamentary Committee or the Parliamentary Board. Before the swearing in ceremony, the

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Congress-I spokesman had claimed that the CPB had met at Rashtrapati Bhavan and decided on Mr. Gandhi's nomination. However only two of the surviving members of the Board had participated in the meeting even if it had been held as claimed." The President's behaviour has rightly evoked a protest from Opposition party leaders and was condemned by experts on Constitutional Law.

What happened was a great pity, particularly for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. I have no doubt that he would have been elected leader of the Party by a majority if not unanimously. He could thus have entered the Prime Ministership by the front door. What happened was that he was pushed in by the back door by his "advisers", who thus did him no service.

This breach of constitutional proprieties should not be used against Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who should be judged by his own actions. He has, during the days following the assassination, already shown his decent instincts by two acts. The first was when he ordered the Chief Ministers and Congress leaders from various States to leave Delhi, to which they had rushed quite unnecessarily, and go back to their States to attend to their business in maintaining law and order. The other was when he threatened the Delhi police with action if they continued to connive at the massacre of Sikh citizens.

President Zail Singh has claimed in defence of his

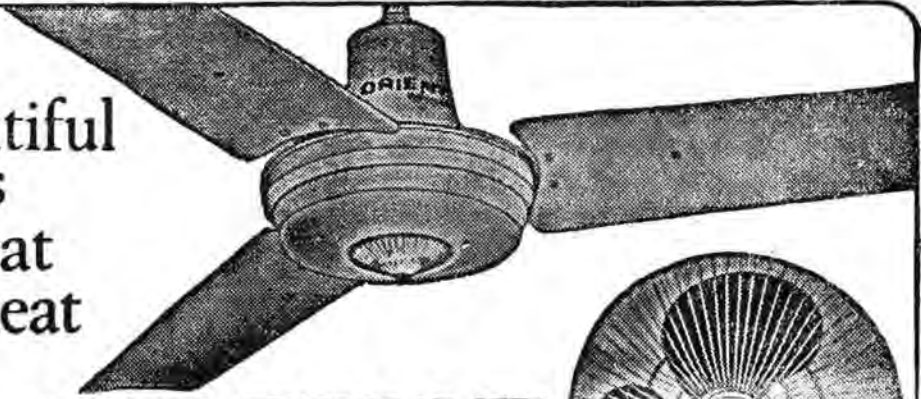
action that he only did what the British Queen would have done. Not so. Let us for the moment consider what would have happened in Britain if the IRA had succeeded in destroying not only Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher but also all the senior members of her Cabinet. Sir Michael Havers, the Attorney General, has given in *The Sunday Times* of London a remarkable description of the way in which Britain would have reacted (See page 3). According to him, the Secretary of the Cabinet, Sir Robert Armstrong, would have called together the surviving members of the Cabinet within a few hours. The Queen would have asked Mr. William Whitelaw, the senior minister, to carry on until the Conservative Party could meet and elect a new leader. Nominations would have been invited for the election of a leader and a proper election under party rules would have been held. Thus, Britain would have had a constitutionally elected Prime Minister. "There would have been no need" writes Sir Michael Havers, "for a state of emergency". Sir Michael triumphantly comes to the conclusion that the British Constitution and British democracy would have met the challenge and it would have been proved that the IRA were very wrong if they thought that Britain would have panicked. It would essentially have been business in a day or two as usual. How one wishes one could say this about India.

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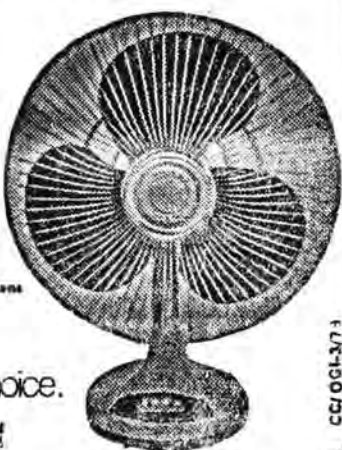
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AN OPEN LETTER TO Mrs. THATCHER

(The recent bombing of the Grand Hotel in Brighton where Mrs. Thatcher and her colleagues were staying elicited some very strong reactions condemning terrorism. We reproduce below an editorial from the South African daily Beeld which makes some very interesting points.)

Dear Mrs. Thatcher: We believe the whole world shares your shock at the bomb attack in the Brighton hotel in which you and members of your party were staying.

Its very bloodthirstiness, disregard of human life, the way it was calculated not to frighten, but to kill—you and your entire cabinet, if needs be—all this causes one to shudder at the lust for murder of those who planted the bomb, particularly when one realises how utterly helpless civilised people are against people of their type.

On TV we saw the shock on your face when you said one heard of these things but never thought they would happen to you. And later you said Britain would never bow to efforts to destroy democracy.

These were brave words, as your behaviour at the congress later was brave. But, we regret to say, they were—as far as terrorism is concerned—empty words, empty gestures.

By now you should have realised there is only one way to fight terrorism and that is that the world should unite to destroy it purposefully wherever it occurs and against whomever it is directed.

Perhaps you will now understand why we were recently so concerned when South Africa and your country became involved in an argument over Britain's hospitality to the African National Congress, when your country was well aware that virtually all acts of terror in South Africa were planned by this organisation.

Some of your officials argued flippantly that there were only "a few" ANC members working in the London office. As if that made any difference! You can imagine what you would have had to say about South Africa today had we allowed "a few" of those responsible for Friday's attack—the Irish Republican Army—to have a Pretoria office!

Are there really essential differences between what the IRA wants to do to Britain and the ANC to South

Africa? Is there really all that much difference between the two organisations?

Take a look at some of the points they have in common:

Both the IRA and the ANC plan to overthrow legal governments and replace them with Marxist systems;

Both commit acts of terror—as you have now experienced—to achieve their aims;

The two organisations maintain contact through an extensive network in which all the world's major terrorist movements join forces;

The British know that there is contact between the IRA and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, while the Israeli attack on Lebanon last year revealed that the ANC and the PLO co-operated in several areas.

So you see, dear Prime Minister, that Britain, in harbouring the ANC, is harbouring the kind of people who planted the Brighton bomb.

There is no difference between terrorist organisations, whether the ANC, the IRA, the PLO. And it doesn't matter whether the bomb explodes in Brighton or in Pretoria.

Won't Britain open its eyes to this simple fact yet?

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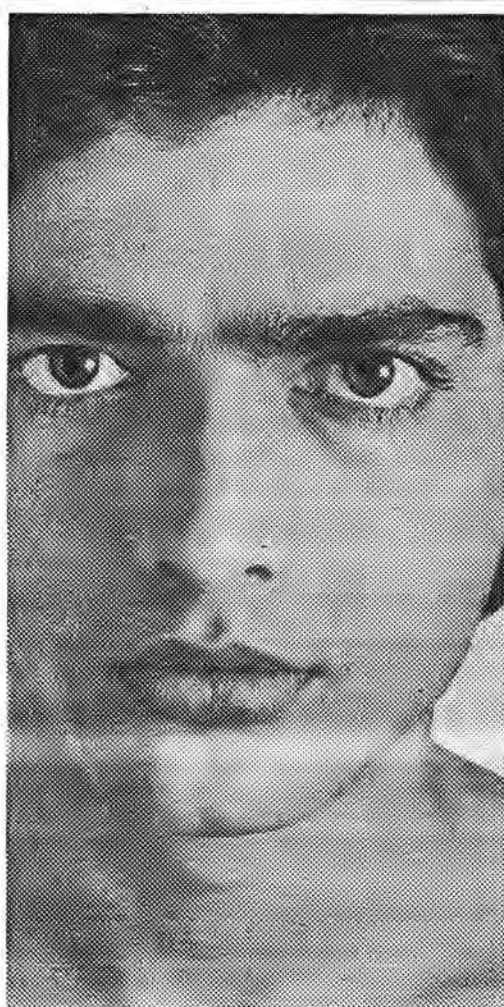
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BOOK REVIEWS

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: A biography by Dr. Sarvepalli Gopal; Vol. III; Oxford University Press; Pp. 336; Rs. 120.

THIS book is at best a catalogue of events during the period 1956 to 1964. The author comes out not as a historian, but as sycophant with utter disregard for objectivity, accuracy and perception. According to the author, Nehru could do no wrong. He blames Krishna Menon, K. D. Malaviya, Dharma Teja, Pratap Singh Kairon and M. O. Mathai, who surrounded Nehru all the time, for the latter's failures. He does not blame Nehru for having selected them willingly and voluntarily as his advisers. "Nehru failed practically in every thing he attempted and died broken-hearted while his advisers flourished", the author bemoans.

The author makes the ridiculous charge that Rajaji supported the movement for the secession of the southern states which made Nehru complain 'that "Rajaji appears to have lost his head completely and it makes rational argument with him impossible". This comment of Nehru was not on Rajaji's alleged support to the movement for secession but on his support for free enterprise. Rajaji was in fact firmly opposed to the DMK's movement for secession. He

had total contempt for the DMK and all its activities from idol-breaking to the promotion of secession. His comment "I don't wish to give recognition to the silly agitation for secession by opposing it" was typical of Rajaji.

The author's most sinister accusation is that Rajaji's general opposition to the government and the Congress party was due to his own lack of office! One of the greatest statesmen of this century, Rajaji was known for his character, integrity and courage of conviction. He was certainly not a politician belonging to the tribe of Bhajan Lals, Bansi Lals, Antulays and Gundu Raos out for a job with a begging bowl and worshipping at the shrine of power in Delhi. Unlike our present-day politicians, Rajaji did not 'groom' his sons nor did he leave behind any wealth for his family members.

For the ordinary reader Dr. Gopal the 'historian' has nothing new to reveal, although he had access to all of Nehru's private papers and official files. The 'only revelations, if they can be so called, are the following:

1. That the Cabinet Secretary publicly exonerated Mathai in order to protect Nehru's reputation, but informed him that Mathai could not account for his great wealth and without any doubt had received

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Page 194

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money from the CIA as well as from businessmen in India and that from 1946 to 1959, the CIA had access to every paper passing through Nehru's secretariat.

2. That Nehru granted facilities for U-2 planes to land in India on their way to the Tibetan air space and that he permitted the USA in early 1964 to install a remote sensing device operated by a nuclear power source near the peak of Nandadevi in the Himalayas to secure information about the development of missiles in China.

3. That Menon had plans to manufacture mechanical toys at the time of the Chinese aggression!

Unlike Rajaji, Nehru did not consider honesty and integrity as absolute values. His letter to Mr. Sampurnanand reveals his way of thinking and proves that he was a poor judge of men and matters. In this letter, Nehru says, "One can put up perhaps with a person who is able but otherwise undesirable, or with a person of integrity who has no great ability. But, what is one to do with persons who have neither integrity nor ability?" But, the fact is that Nehru did put up even with such persons who were his close colleagues, totally loyal to him and with pretensions to 'progressive' and 'leftist' views!

The author says that Nehru was gratified by Menon's efforts to effect economy by budgetary reallocations and to increase defence production. He, however, does not blame Nehru when Menon took it to such absurd lengths as ordering the production of items like hair-clippers and pressure cookers, or when Menon was planning the manufacture of mechanical toys at the time of the Chinese aggression!

The author blames Menon for having planted in Nehru's mind the possible danger of a military coup.

This is probably an explanation, he says, for his rejection, over a year later on Menon's advice, of Mountbatten's sane suggestion that a post of the Chairman of Chiefs of Staff be created and General Thimayya appointed to it, for he was "one of the most outstanding general that I have come across in any country".

Dr. Gopal says that to say that Nehru's socialism was bad was tantamount to saying that logic and reason were bad. In fact, it is the other way round. If logic, reason, our own experience and the experience of other countries were to be the only criteria for determining and formulating economic policies, the whole concept of socialism has to be consigned to the waste-paper basket. Not for nothing have all developed and progressive nations of Western Europe, the United States, Japan etc., rejected socialism in favour of competitive free enterprise. Communist China is showing signs of change. Countries which have adopted competitive free enterprise have thrived and prospered, while those which have embraced communism or socialism have either stagnated or slid downhill.

—S. S. Bankeshwar

IN BRIEF...

YES, MINISTER: Vols. 1, 2 & 3 ed. by Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay; 1981, 1982 & 1983; BBC; Pp. 167, 187 & 176; £ 2.50, 2.95 & 2.95.

WHEN Doordarshan began screening *Yes, Minister* some months back, it came as a great surprise to many. For an agency which is notorious as much for its

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servility to the government of the day as for its singular lack of taste, the choice of this hard-hitting political satire was odd, to say the least. Yet, Door-darshan's "lapse" was perhaps the biggest bonanza its long-suffering viewers have had in years.

Almost concurrently with the telecasts appeared the three-volume *Diaries* on which the serial was based. In bringing these out BBC has rendered a signal service to its audience who can now relish the incredible wit and uncanny insight of *Yes, Minister* at their leisure.

Divided into seven episodes each, the *Diaries* present a "hilarious picture of collision and collusion in the corridors of power", as the blurb puts it. The extraordinary lengths to which the civil service (represented by the wily Sir Humphrey Appleby) will go in asserting itself on matters grave as well as trivial, the inept and clumsy manner in which Ministers (e.g., the Rt. Hon. James Hacker) are prone to handling important affairs of state, the maddening complexities of bureaucratic procedures, are all portrayed with an accuracy that is hard to come by even in the memoirs of real-life political characters. No wonder the series has won nearly half a dozen prestigious awards and has been recommended as required reading for politicians and civil servants.

RIGHT TO PROPERTY AND THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION by M. Hidayatullah; 1983; Arnold-Heinemann; Pp. 211; Rs. 75.

HIDAYATULLAH is known to be one of those few judges in India who have expressed their disapproval of

the repeated governmental attempts to whittle down the Right to Property. His pronouncements in the *Golak Nath Case* (as also in other cases) upholding the primacy of fundamental rights were as heart-warming as they were sound. Unfortunately, Hidayatullah has, in recent years, been articulating the view that it was a mistake to have bracketed the Right to Property with other fundamental rights in the Constitution. "Of all the fundamental rights, it is the weakest," he says, much to the bafflement and dismay of his admirers. While observing that the Right to Property should be protected "in a different way", he gives little indication in this book as to the exact form such 'protection' ought to take. However that may be, the book is otherwise illuminating and deserves to be read by every serious student of constitutional law and politics.

CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY IN BRITAIN by Ralph Miliband; 1984; Oxford; Rs. 45.

LIKE other Marxist commentators, Miliband echoes the highly debatable leftist lament that "the (British) political system has served . . . to prevent rather than facilitate the exercise of popular power either in the determination of policy or in the conduct of affairs." To prove this dubious point, he adopts a number of arguments based on the indispensable Marxian concepts of class and class conflict. Some of these arguments reflect a remarkable degree of naivete while others are downright ludicrous. This tract is yet another addition to the growing body of anti-capitalist literature in contemporary Britain.

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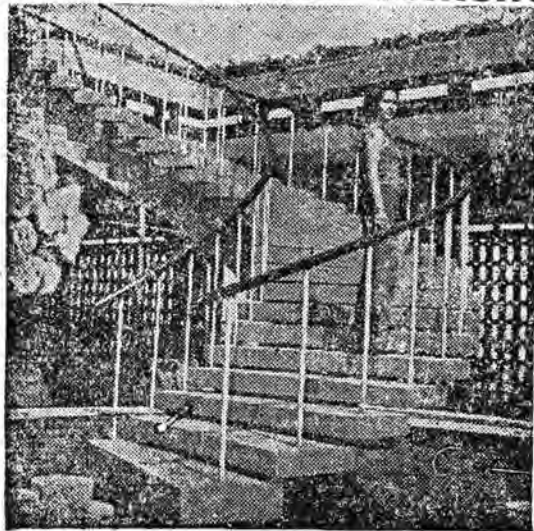
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WITH MANY VOICES

Young men like President Reagan (73), President Chernenko (73), Mr. Deng Xiaoping (80) and even Ayatollah Khomeini (84) should get into training: Italy's President Sandro Pertini, 88 years young last Tuesday, is still briskly giving a new shine to that formerly rather tarnished office.

—Editorial in *The Economist*, September 29.

I hate elections.

—Mr. M. Hidayatullah quoted in *The Indian Express*, October 28.

I would not make age an issue (in the elections). I am not going to exploit for political purposes my opponent's youth and inexperience.

—President Reagan on television, October 2.

America used to welcome boatloads of them, the tired, the poor, the huddled masses, from countries east and west. Now it takes foreign money instead. This year it will import a net \$100 billion of capital from the rest of the world, and the dollar's strength confirms that foreigners would be happy to send more.

—Editorial in *The Economist*, September 22.

"What is a trio?" the Russian joke goes. "That's easy, comrade. It is a symphony orchestra returning from a tour abroad."

—Editorial in *The Daily Telegraph*, September 19.

If Unesco is to be saved from itself, a gun must be held to its head.

—Editorial in *The Economist*, September 13.

People should cool it a bit when they pass 90.

—Lord Shinwell on reaching 100 years on
October 17.

For the time being, Russia may have to accept that the bear can neither hibernate nor dominate.

—Editorial in *The Economist*, September 29.

I grew up musically in Israel. I am a friend of Israel.

—Zubin Mehta quoted in the *Jerusalem Post*,
September 9.

When so many people want to buy into a country, something good must be happening there. America is enjoying a non-inflationary boom.

—Editorial in *The Economist*, September 22.