

A HOMESPUN PRIME MINISTER

S. V. Raju

“WHATEVER happens, happens for the good” runs an ancient Indian proverb. This spirit of fatalistic optimism is illustrated by an Indian tale of long ago when a prince in anger imprisoned his Minister who, instead of sympathising with the prince over the loss of one of his fingers in an accident, chose the occasion to console the prince with this proverb. Some time later the prince, out hunting, was captured by a forest tribe and readied for a sacrifice to their deity. Fortunately for the prince the highpriest discovering that the prince had only nine fingers in all had him released as their deity demanded a human being with all his physical attributes intact. The first thing the prince did on returning to his palace was to order his Minister's release and appoint him Prime Minister!

This tale comes to mind when one sees Mr. Morarji Desai today in the office of the Prime Minister of India. The religious man that he is with a strong belief in fate, even he could not have imagined that the route destiny had chosen for him would be such a tortuous one. Nor that he would be placed in that position not by the Congress which he faithfully served for almost forty years but by those in the opposition who less than a decade earlier were howling for his head.

If Morarjibhai had been an astute politician who played his cards well and knew the art of sitting on the fence like some of his contemporaries, one could say that it was not so much fate but his political cunning that took him to the Prime Minister's suite. But not even his worst detractors would claim this. He has all the attributes that a successful politician it is believed should not have. He is blunt to the extent of being offensive at times and has the unfortunate habit of calling a spade a spade; he is stubborn to the point of mulishness; he is a man of undoubted integrity; he has a number of fads; and has a strong sense of morality, of right and wrong. To those who would have us believe that honesty is not the best policy, at least in Indian politics, his achievement is a living example that sometimes it is!

In upbringing, traditions, attitudes and beliefs we have in Morarji Desai a true representative not of the sophisticated urban elites as both Nehru and his daughter were, but of the people of rural India with

all their virtues and their foibles. Truly can it be said that he is a homespun Prime Minister.

To the generation that is now on its way out, Morarjibhai is a man who evokes extreme reactions—from those who would make a hero of him to those who dislike him intensely. As Home Minister and later Chief Minister of Bombay State he had the reputation of being a strong but ruthless administrator who, despite his profession of non-violence, had no hesitation in ordering the police to open fire in order to maintain law and order. His critics describe him as a hypocritical moralist who sought to defend his son charged with taking advantage of his father's position for personal gain. On the other hand his admirers describe him as a true Gandhian with an almost fanatical devotion to Mahatma Gandhi. For a person who occupied various seats of authority for over three decades it is hardly surprising that he evokes such reactions and perhaps in the process has created quite a few enemies. He of course will not agree that he considers anyone his enemy. “... Whatever happiness or unhappiness I enjoy”, he writes in his Autobiography (Morarji Desai—*The Story of My Life*—Two volumes; Macmillans India, pp 650, Rs. 125.00) “is a result of my past actions and I do not consider the person through whose agency I may enjoy it responsible for it. I have, therefore, never considered anybody as my enemy in my life. There might be many who consider me as their enemy, but I have not considered anybody as my enemy...”

As far back as November 26, 1950, in a letter to Mr. M. C. Chagla, then Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, Morarjibhai wrote: “If dictatorship overtakes this country in my lifetime, I shall not be in the seat of Government but am sure to suffer terribly and even lose my head in an attempt to fight the dictatorship...”. Little could he have suspected that the attempt at dictatorship would come, and from his own party. But it speaks for the man that when the chips were down in November 1969 he cast his lot with principles and morality and not with political manipulation and chicanery of the worst kind. What made it even more commendable was the fact that he supported just those persons of the syndicate who had

(continued on page 11)

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



The Planning Commission

ON 24th May the daily newspapers carried a press release from the Prime Minister's Secretariat that a report that the Union Government was considering the winding up of the Planning Commission was 'widely speculative and without foundation' and 'that the vacancies in the Planning Commission are being filled soon'.

What a great pity! In our view one of the preconditions of reviving the Indian economy is the abolition of the Planning Commission, an organ established by Jawaharlal Nehru as a replica of the Soviet Gostplan. Prof. Mahalanobis and many other Marxists who have infested the Commission have been a bane to this country's economy. Fanatical Statism and an obsession with steel and heavy industry to the neglect of agriculture and consumer goods have marked the Commission's objectives.

It may be argued, of course, that all that is necessary is to change the Commission's purpose and put in place of leftists like Mr. P. N. Haksar liberals like Prof. D. T. Lakdavalala and Mr. Raj Krishna. One wishes it were as simple as all that.

Students of history have to face the fact that an institution devised for one purpose is not easily made to serve a very different one. Beating swords into ploughshares has been talked about since time immemorial but the sword still remains a sword and is very vigorously wielded. The National Planning Commission was forged as part of Nehru's State Socialism and command economy. We beg leave to doubt whether it can be converted into an instrument of indicative planning which permits the functioning of market forces and competitive free enterprise.

So we repeat: what a pity!

Politics in Sports

TO the list of Ministers to whom we were able to offer a bouquet in the columns of our June issue we would like to add one more, that is Mr. Sikander Bakht, Union Minister for Works and Housing. Himself a hockey player of long standing, Mr. Sikander Bakht spoke at a reception accorded to him at the National Stadium in New Delhi and took the opportunity to refer to politics in sports. According to him "administrators had introduced politics into sport but the ugly cancer has spread into the ranks of sportsmen too". He appealed to sports officials to keep it clean and to keep politics out of sport. How right he was. We certainly welcome his lead.

Unfortunately, carried away by his enthusiasm, the Minister went on to threaten that if things did not

improve, he would not hesitate to taking strong action. Wouldn't that too be political interference in sport, Mr. Minister?

Exporting Wrong Numbers

BY common consent the condition of Bombay's telephones has never been as deplorable as it is now. There has been a steady decline in the functioning of the telephone system. For this the officers and staff of the telephone department are not to be blamed. It is understood that, in so far as the Fort area is concerned, the adoption of the system called the Crossbar system by the Ministry in Delhi many years ago is the basic cause of the inconvenience caused to subscribers. At the same time it must be conceded that not all the problems arise in the Fort area. Even visits to Delhi show that subscribers there are suffering alongside of Bombay.

One of the main headaches is getting a wrong number on dialling the right one. The Telephone Department have agreed that when one gets a wrong number after dialling the right one should make a complaint and the wrong number will not be charged to one's account. The only snag is getting 198! It takes so many calls and so much time to register one's complaint that it is less painful to pay for the wrong number.

In this respect we have pleasure in reproducing a little cartoon which appeared in the *Sunday Times* in London where also evidently wrong numbers appear to be not altogether unknown.



Cartoonists Wanted

WHILE on the subject of cartoons, *Freedom First* would very much prefer cartoons provided by local artists on topics of the day rather than get them, however attractive they might be, from the foreign press. We are sure Bombay is bursting with budding cartoonists who are unknown to us. Would not some young men or women who would like their cartoons to see the light of day send them to us? We shall be glad to use whichever of them is acceptable and pay a small honorarium in token of our appreciation.

Foot Recalls Hitler

MR. Michael Foot has done it again, and once again we delight in reporting his antics. His latest one was to open up old wounds between the British Government and the Judiciary when on May 15 he called into question the fairness of the Courts. His particular point was that the judges were unfair to trade unionists: "It does so happen to be the case that if the freedom of the people of this country—and especially the rights of trade unionists—had been left to the good sense and the fairmindedness of judges, we would have precious few freedoms in this country".

Before long many lawyers and others produced the record to show that the facts were entirely to the contrary and that the Courts had been good friends of the rights of collective bargaining.

Among those who took Mr. Foot to task was the eminent jurist, Lord Shawcross, former Labour Attorney-General who, in the course of a speech, said: "That ranting, rising, sometimes almost screaming voice that I listened to last Saturday reminded me more than anything else of Hitler. And some of the content too. Mr. Foot, once thought of as such a good parliamentarian, seems to be developing all the instincts of a dictator. Fortunately, he is too old to become one."

Another commentator wrote in the correspondence columns of the *Times*: "The proponent of the closed shop and a staunch apologist for Mrs. Gandhi's authoritarian regime whose assault on the individual's liberties had led to the campaign for a Bills of Rights now has the effrontery to pose as a defender of those rights he has restricted and would erode further. Is there no limit to Mr. Foot's hypocrisy?"

On Dogs and Men

I love dogs and am very fond of the adages allegedly mouthed by women: 'Love me, love my dog,' or 'The more I see of men the more I love dogs'.

Despite all this my sympathies are with the Editor of the British Post Office magazine entitled *Courier* which, in its March issue, reported that during the year 1976 dogs had bitten no less than 3,700 British postmen who were engaged in the task of delivering mail from door to door. So the magazine advised the postmen: "If you are attacked by a dog, kick at its head".

The British are proverbially lovers of animals and it is not surprising to learn that the next issue of the *Courier* was full of howls of outrage at the brutal advice it had given. Even a postal officer wrote: "Never lash out at a dog or kick it. If you are faced with a menacing dog, try to reassure it by talking quietly and keep calm. Don't panic. Leave quietly". The Editor of the *Courier* has pointed out that the irate letter-writer had missed the point. The advice given was what to do when attacked, not when confronted by a potentially hostile animal.

Asserting the rights of the human being as a member of the animal kingdom, the Editor aptly summed

up the issue: "When a dog attacks, it is every animal for itself—and that includes the human animal".

Any protests?

Nepotism

NEPOTISM is supposed to be an Oriental trait. Actually it is a human foible. Proof of this comes from Britain, the country perhaps least prone to that phenomenon. The name of the British Prime Minister's son-in-law, Mr. Peter Jay, was announced on May 13 as British Ambassador in Washington. Immediately, there was a storm about what was described by some Labour MP as 'nepotism'. Mr. Callaghan's defence was that in view of the high qualities and calibre of his son-in-law, he could not deny an opportunity to Mr. Jay simply because he was his son-in-law. How reminiscent of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's defence of the facilities given to Maruti because she too felt it would be unfair to deny a young man of such outstanding qualities the necessary opportunity just because he happened to be her son!

I must confess to a modicum of sympathy with Mr. Peter Jay and others in his predicament because I happened once to be a victim, when my father was Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, of his taking the line that it was much better to be unfair to one's own son than to be fair to him in such a situation.

My father vetoed my name, which was suggested by the Law Faculty, as an examiner in the LL.B. examination some time in the thirties when I was a young Barrister. Since I was an impecunious young man to whom the examiner's fee would have mattered, I was somewhat depressed by my father's *obiter dictum* that, while he was Vice-Chancellor, no son of his would get a single rupee from Bombay University. When I remonstrated with my father at his somewhat Spartan ideas on the subject, he promptly wrote out a cheque for Rs. 2000 and asked me to stop discussing the matter. Thoroughly ashamed, I tore up the cheque and

IN THIS ISSUE

It is perhaps appropriate that our review article on Mr. Morarji Desai's Autobiography, which was published before the Emergency, should appear now that he occupies the position he does in our national life.

The courageous Soviet dissident Bukovsky urges in the text of a speech delivered in Berlin that the 'Frontiers of Freedom are within us'.

Brian Crozier, a consistent fighter for freedom, asks derisively the question: 'Am I A McCarthyite?'.

The problems which the new government and the country face in the coming months are considered in a Memo by a distinguished man in our public life under the title 'The Concerns of Government & Democracy'.

There are also two reviews and a letter from a correspondent.

FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM WITHIN US

Vladimir Bukovsky

(Text of address to the Free German Association in Berlin on 9th May 1977.)

IT has become part of our tradition to state that it is there, across the Berlin Wall, that the islands of the Gulag Archipelago begin, where oppression and violence begin, a world where there is no freedom. Whereas here, on this side of the Wall, we enjoy the ideals of freedom and democracy.

But in reality the frontiers of freedom and lack of freedom are much more complicated. They lie inside each one of us.

True, over there we are in a prison. But a man can retain freedom of choice, can he not, even in prison? He can leave prison if he pays the price of betrayal. He can try to escape. He can demean himself to obtain some small favour, or he can fight. There is this freedom in prison.

A man who is not free within himself can find a mass of self-justifying arguments. The temptations of

his captive state are created, he may tell himself, by noble aims and humane aspirations.

There is one of these which can calm even the conscience of a hangman: "If I do not, someone else will do more harm than I am doing." How often I have heard this argument from warders, interrogators and prison psychiatrists. I have heard it here from West German industrialists. "If I do not sell pipes to the Soviet Union my competitors will get the orders. And I have 1,500 men working with me."

There were 1,500 men "with me" in the labour camp. But many of them understood things differently: "If I do not, who will? And if not now, when?" If I do nothing now, while they beat my friend, tomorrow I will accept when they offer me the job of executioner. Everyday in my country a man's entire experience of life repeats to him, "Say nothing." However, in spite

BETWEEN YOU & ME AND THE LAMP POST (continued)

conceded he was right.

Some time in the late sixties Rajaji told this story which he quoted from my father's biography by B. K. Karanjia while advising Mrs. Indira Gandhi but, blood being thicker than water, his advice was not taken—with disastrous consequences.

Back To Stalin

THE general run of Kremlinologists interpreted the removal from the Soviet Politburo of President Nikolai Podgorny as a step in Mr. Brezhnev's ascent to absolute power. What was expected by them was that Podgorny would also be removed from the Presidency and that Brezhnev would then occupy that office and thus combine in his hands supreme authority both in the Government and the Party. This has already happened.

Simultaneously, Brezhnev has introduced a discussion on the draft of a new Constitution presented by him to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This has been accompanied by Brezhnev denouncing Stalinist excesses of the past.

In the light, however, of Podgorny's brutal removal and the increased concentration of power in Brezhnev's hands, Soviet citizens will find it a little hard to take these denunciations very seriously. After all, Stalin's Constitution promulgated in 1936 was also announced as "the most democratic in the world". So how can Brezhnev's be even more democratic? Words, words, words.

Meaningless Labels

THE victory of the Likud Party in the General Elections in Israel has certainly set the cat among the pigeons and there is a great deal of fluttering which is not restricted to Arab doves. Following the lead of the Anglo-American press, the Indian press too has joined in the ballyhoo by describing Likud as 'rightist' and 'reactionary'.

A little study and research on the part of our news agencies and commentators would have revealed that these fatuous labels, "left" and "right", have as little relevance in Israel as they do in India and other countries. Likud is a *bloc* in which diverse elements have combined and, while some of these are undoubtedly nationalist and conservative, others are quite liberal. Thus, the Liberal Party of Israel, which is affiliated to the Liberal International, is an important constituent of Likud. It has increased the number of seats which it has gained in Parliament, coming only second to Herut, Mr. Begin's own party.

The Liberal Party of Israel, as I happen to know, are by no means warmongers or rightists, whatever that absurd phrase lifted from communist propaganda might mean. It is time our commentators shed these tags which have become meaningless and try to delve a little deeper. Mr. Begin has quite rightly protested on May 22 about the double standards adopted by the Anglo-American press. In an angry tone he said: "They call Arafat a guerilla freedom fighter and they call me a Jewish terrorist."

of decades of terror, more and more people are emerging who refuse to say nothing, because it is exactly here that the frontier exists between freedom and captivity.

In your world, I think, it is easier to be free. But I will give you an example. You all know about what happened in Poland, how workers who dared to go on strike were beaten and thrown into prison. You all know how much the Polish economy depends on the German economy. One single threat of a strike in the German factories which fulfil Polish orders, with a demand to release Polish workers from prison, could well force the Gierek Government to carry this out.

The West German trade unions stayed deaf to the call for solidarity. But remember, your freedom ends at that very point where your solidarity with the persecuted ends. Tomorrow you may refuse to defend your own workers, and the day after tomorrow no one will defend you.

A man always has something to lose, a step backwards that he can take. Even in solitary confinement in Vladimir prison, where there is no light, no air, no bed, no books, and soup only once a day, a man can continue to fight and be given another term of solitary.

Of course the West is still a long way from a cell in Vladimir, but it is learning and getting used to the idea of "soup once a day". Your politicians are successfully putting across the inevitability of the alternative "either war or slavery". The policy of giving way and currying favour with the Soviet oppressors has already led to a situation where several countries have become states with limited sovereignty.

For instance, your government is now planning to close the Russian section of the German overseas radio, because of its worry that even the tone of voice of the announcer might seem subversive to the Soviet leadership.

This is being done to a country where millions of people every night press their ears against their radio loudspeakers to pick up your German broadcasts through the jamming, to find out what is happening in the world. I congratulate you! They have forbidden you to knock on the wall and communicate with the man in the next cell.

And all this time communists are killing people on the Berlin Wall, drowning them in the North Sea and blowing them up on the frontier. They do not feel embarrassed about it, it is quite normal, it does not even disturb these useful contacts between the two Germanies.

Contacts between the two Germanies, contacts between East and West—how do those who signed the Helsinki agreement understand them? With whom in the East do they intend to cooperate, with the peoples or the rulers?

Nearly two years have passed since the final act was signed. It may be that the text was formulated less precisely than previous international agreements on human

rights. So this lack of clarity gives the West a loophole, a chance to make new concessions. But Helsinki does include a new phenomenon, a provision for checking that the agreement is being observed.

At first we hoped that the Western world would demand the fulfilment of the agreement in full. It was precisely this that gave birth to a widespread "Helsinki movement" in the Soviet Union and the East European countries. In Moscow, the Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania and Armenia organizations were created to monitor the agreement.

They managed to collect documents compiled on the basis of numerous complaints, by researching concrete instances and sifting information. For they knew that the Soviet Union would do everything to feed the West false information. But they did not imagine that the West would develop a readiness to be fed this false information.

Today in Soviet prisons there are the following members of Helsinki groups: Yuri Orlov, Alexander Ginzburg, Mikola Rudenko, Eviad Gamsakhurdia, Oleksa Tikhi, Merab Kostava and Anatoli Shcharansky. Defenders of human rights are in prison in Prague, Berlin and Bucharest. They were arrested for giving information to the 35 states which signed the agreement. They chose freedom.

The governments and politicians of Western countries are already prepared to give up any demands which they might make in Belgrade. At the recent conference of the Socialist International a majority decision was taken not to "demand too much" in Belgrade, because insisting on demands might harm detente and ruin relation between East and West. I do not understand what "to demand too much" means. The West should demand no more and no less than is written in the final act. Why was it signed after all?

The Amsterdam delegates had no prison guards with machine guns standing behind their backs, no police dogs barking at their heels, and there was no one to open fire at them "for attempting to escape". They simply chose captivity of their own free will.

EXPORT AWARD WINNERS. year after year!



This time, Bombay Dyeing has bagged both the Central & State Government awards for export performance: The Government of India Award for Outstanding Achievement in Export Promotion for 1972-73; and the Government of Maharashtra Directorate of Industries Prize for the Best Export Performance for 1973-74.

Bombay Dyeing has received, on an average, an award a year since 1962. We're the only textile mill with a consistent record of growth in export promotion. Sales abroad for 1974-75 touched Rs.16 crores. The exceptionally high standard of fabric quality and design have brought world recognition to our textiles even in the sophisticated markets of the USA, UK, Canada, Germany, France, USSR, Poland and Australia. That's reward enough for us.



BOMBAY DYEING

AM I A McCARTHYITE ?

Brian Crozier

on the very good reasons for being anti-Communist

FOR years now, anybody who draws attention to the fact that Communists are Marxist-Leninists—that is, totalitarians dedicated to the destruction of pluralist and representative systems, to the liquidation of enemies in concentration camps or lunatic asylums or with mere bullets—is sure to be denounced as a McCarthyite—that is, as an unprincipled demagogue with dirty habits, such as smearing good socialists and democrats.

Before you could read the last sentence, admittedly a long one, somebody is sure to have said: "Reds, under the bed," with "Right wing" or "Fascist" not long behind. (Curiously, the McCarthyite smear technique is being wielded today by smearers of the extreme Left, as I can testify, having lately been at the receiving end with some of my associates).

After the wartime years of doubt, I became an anti-Communist in 1964 precisely, on reading Kravchenko's "I Chose Freedom", and for exactly the same reason as I had been anti-Nazi in the 1930s and 1940s: because I am against systems that impose a brutal uniformity upon whole populations, degrade humanity and find it necessary to kill on a vast scale.

Among the triumphs of the great red propaganda machine is the curious but widespread acceptance of the proposition that anybody who admits to being anti-Communist must, *ipso facto*, be "Right-wing". In fact, the two attitudes are distinct and philosophically unrelated. Of course true Right-wingers are usually anti-Communist, but not necessarily for the right reasons or even in awareness of what it is they are against.

But there is a long, and some would say glorious, tradition of Left-wing anti-Communism, of which the author of "Animal Farm", and "1984" was only one celebrated example.

What about Ernie Bevin? What about all the disillusioned believers, for whom Communism became "the God that failed"? For that matter, what about Harold Wilson in 1966 after the seamen's strike, with his statement in the House about that "tightly-knit group of politically motivated men"? (That of course was in 1966: Mr. Wilson wasn't using that kind of language in 1974 when the miners' strike sent Mr. Heath to the country; I wonder why. Now, in retirement, he has started talking about unspecified "extremists" in his own party).

I am anti-Communist, finally, because I have taken the trouble to learn about Leninism, and anybody who does take this trouble knows that, having once understood what Leninism implies, you can be for it, and you can be against it, but it is quite impossible to be neutral about it. And those who are, or say

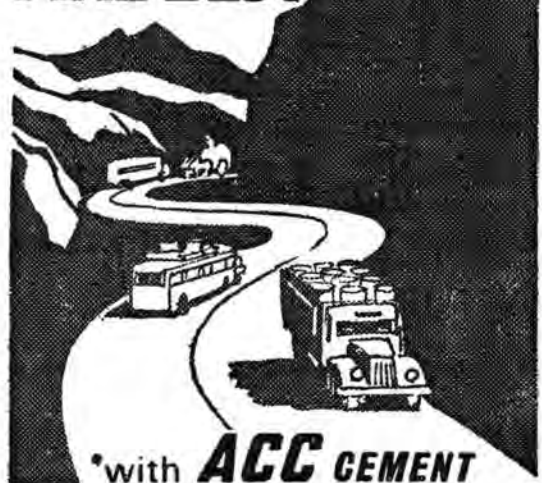
they are, or think they are, either are fooling themselves or don't know what Leninism is, or want to save the option of jumping on whatever bandwagon looks like streaking to the finish. (I must not be ungenerous: some are timid, more are afraid).

Of late, history has been unhelpful. It took an immensely destructive war to destroy the power bases of Fascist and Nazi totalitarianism. But destroyed they were. Yet the same war saw the emergence of the Soviet Union as a budding super-Power (now-fully fledged), giving the Left totalitarians their power-base. Unfortunately, for all the schisms of the Communist world, no single country afflicted with Communist rule since 1917 has ever rid itself of its local tyranny.

I hope to live to see at least the first, and remain, though never a McCarthyite, an unrepentant anti-Communist.

Good Roads do most to
develop the country and

**CONCRETE
ROADS*
ARE BEST**



*with **ACC CEMENT**

CONCERNS OF GOVERNMENT & DEMOCRACY

‘Mitradev’

[We are happy to publish an abridged version of a memorandum which was prepared soon after the Parliamentary Elections of March 1977 by a man of great maturity and experience who has been a Member of Parliament and held a position of great public importance]

THE General Elections of 1977 witnessed an upsurge of the democratic impulse in India and returned an alliance of democratic parties to power. The fervour of excitement, created by the challenge thrown down by an autocratic regime, will gradually die away and be replaced by expectations. What will be the first cares of the new regime and the tasks before it such that not only reaffirm democracy but make it invulnerable and such that serve to satisfy the people?

If the people at large have been indifferent, it is because they have been fed on untruths and the truth has been kept from them through the suppression of the press. For example, that J. P. Narayan was inciting the armed forces and the police to open rebellion and it was only the timely imposition of Emergency and the incarceration of antinational, anti-social, anti-democratic leaders, such as J. P., Morarji Desai, and a host of others, that saved the Republic from chaos! It has to be shown that the real truth as it filtered through did arouse the people. What was this truth? **IT MUST NOW BE THOROUGHLY VENTILATED** to counter the charge. The people themselves must be wholly informed. They had begun to have a fair notion of things and it only needed the stark evidence of authoritarianism in their midst to spark off their upsurge and electoral indignation.

Governments may succeed or fail. They may fail through dissensions or due to insufficient or unsatisfying achievement. It is on the failure of an elected government that an opening is afforded for the entrance of totalitarian forces.

The anxious question in all thoughtful minds is whether totalitarianism, though banished from its supremacy, has been excised from our body politic or whether it is biding its time in the wings to snap back and resume possession. The achievements of the authoritarian regime have been highlighted and widely publicised through all media for nearly two years. What is its image in the public mind? Unless it is thoroughly discredited, if it lingers on as attractive and alluring, hopes will still be nursed and fostered for its re-emergence.

The only way to inoculate and immunise the body politic against it is to expose its excesses and injustices to the public view. This can only be convincingly done after a fair and open inquiry. The people must never again be seduced or duped by the siren call of authoritarianism, however euphemistic or beguiling the

language in which it is garbed.

Clearing of Services

The burning of public records by public agencies on the imminent change of government is an extraordinary proceeding. It suggests that though the agencies, the intelligence services, were public and were maintained for and paid for by the public, the records were partisan. That these services, though ostensibly the agencies of government, were in effect the limbs of the party-in-power and owed allegiance to it, rather than to the State. Such allegiance, when it persists even after the democratic displacement of those in power by the electorate of the Republic, is extra-constitutional and treasonable.

The intelligence and security services of Government will have to be cleared as a first step. It may need to be a thorough-going exercise, if leakage is to be prevented and security maintained. In the carrying out of inquiries and investigations into excesses, the burden of guilt should not unjustly fall on the executors of orders, who have been the cat's paws, since the links between them and those in command have evidently been severed. This should be made clear to them that they may give evidence fearlessly.

Finally, the ideology of 'committed' judges and 'committed' services and personnel must be rooted out and denounced in the most positive terms. The commitment of judges can only be to law and justice and to nothing else. The doctrine of 'social justice' or of justice qualified in any other way, countermands the sovereignty of justice, pure and simple, which is itself the highest notion and ideal of mankind.

Satisfying of Expectations

Elections chronically raise false hopes and expectations. The visionary promises of one candidate or party are exceeded by those of the next. To promise the unattainable is to undermine faith and to sow disillusionment, discontent, and contempt in the people. It is evidence of an immature democracy. (In a mature democracy candidates and parties would not presume or dare to assure the electorate of anything which is not immediately practical and attainable.)

It is imperative therefore that an impartial and universally admired leader, such as Mr. J. P. Narayan, should make a sober statement on the 'limits of possibility'. (For instance, *garibi hatao* is as facile as it is puerile to promise.) The incoming regime has two

WORLD NEWS

PEKING LIFTS BAN ON SHAKESPEARE

CHINA today lifted a 10-year-old ban on Shakespeare and announced it was publishing a new Chinese language edition of his works.

The *People's Daily* said the publication of Shakespeare and some German and Russian writers was to mark the thirty-fifth anniversary of a speech by Mao asserting that culture should serve workers and peasants.

Shakespeare was not on sale in Peking shops today.

—*The Times*, May 26.

CUBAN MILITARY IN ETHIOPIA

CUBAN military advisers have begun arriving in Ethiopia to help the Marxist Government in Addis Ababa in its wars against Eritrean and Somali rebellions, *The Washington Post* reported today.

In a dispatch from the Somali capital of Mogadishu, the newspaper quoted Western diplomatic sources as saying that some 50 Cuban military advisers had already arrived and that up to 500 more were expected in a few weeks.

The State Department promptly confirmed that it

CONCERNS OF GOVERNMENT & DEMOCRACY (continued).

basic tasks : to rescue the Constitution from the shambles to which it has been reduced and to spell out two sets of targets for accomplishment : (1) the short-term targets, all modest, which it must achieve, and (ii) the long-term targets which it and its successor governments must steadily pursue. The suggested statement should hint at the first set only; it must neither spell them out nor press them, which it is the province of the new Government to do and later to earn kudos on the performance : the statement's aim must be to minimise public expectations and to bring the tasks of the new regime within reach of achievement.

Social Engineering

The amateurish or intemperate attacks that over-zealous reformers are apt to launch on social problems, and the correction of social abuses, need to be balanced by studies carried out in depth. Cures, especially the surgical, can be worse than the disease. All too often the organ is attacked as the mistaken cause of the disease in ignorance of the functions it is performing. Here the insights of deep thinkers, such as Edmund Burke should serve as warning lights against haste and error.

"I have no great opinion of that sublime abstract metaphysic humanity which in cold blood can subject the present time and those we daily see and converse with, to immediate calamities in favour of the future and uncertain benefits of persons who only exist in idea.

"Each generation is but one link in a lengthening chain. It is not for us, the creatures of a day, to decide what part of the heritage of the ages we will preserve, what part we will remodel or destroy. We are not the owners, but only the custodians of humanity's baggage. It would be presumption on our part to discard old customs and institutions because their purpose is not clear to us; no one generation should set itself up as a judge of society's future needs; the ties which knit together a state or a people have a mystical sanctity, and the ration-

alist who strikes right and left in a fanatical desire for progress may end by destroying the vital but intangible forces which preserve a civilization."

The country has suffered enough from doctrinaire ideas, approaches, and planning since Independence. The whole emphasis must shift to production and more production, to efficiency and more efficiency, and to attitudes and incentives which not only allow of but publicly approve and applaud the enjoyment of the fruits of labour. (This does not mean extravagance.) Even the Soviets have at long last realised, especially in their agricultural sphere, that self-interest is the most powerful of human motivations for initiative and exertion and that it far excels coercion by the State. There is a plenitude of examples in the modern states of the methods adopted or encouraged by them which brought them out of economic stagnation. We need to borrow whole ideologies. But we can draw on sound commonsense and human wisdom, such as Abraham Lincoln's which should not be lost sight of.

"You cannot
bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift;
You cannot
strengthen the weak by weakening the strong;
You cannot
help the wage earner by crippling the wage-
payer;
You cannot
help the poor by destroying the rich;
You cannot
establish sound security on borrowed money;
You cannot
escape trouble by spending more than you
earn;
You cannot
build character and courage by taking away
independence;
You cannot
help men permanently by doing for them what
they could and should do for themselves."

had its own reports that 50 military technicians had arrived, and gave warning that it found this "a very disturbing development".

—*The Times*, May 26.

TAJ THREATENED BY POLLUTION

TWO members of Delhi's Society for the Defence of the Environment staged a 24-hour protest fast yesterday outside the home of Mr P. L. Kaushik, the Minister of Tourism, to draw attention to industrial pollution which they allege is threatening the Taj Mahal.

The white marble surface of the seventeenth-century building is seriously threatened by an oil refinery at Mathura, near Agra, which is due to come into full operation in the early 1980s.

The authorities, evidently aware of the risks from an industrial complex sited too near the historic monument, earlier this year approached an Italian firm with experience of fighting the industrial pollution affecting Venice for an experts' report. This is not likely to be ready until next year, however.

The protesters said the marble of the tomb, built by the Emperor Shahjahan for his much loved wife, Mumtaz, risked changing colour "or at least losing much of its pristine whiteness". The steadily increasing industrial pollution round Agra made speedy action necessary both for the Taj Mahal and for the many other historic monuments of the region, they said.

In an open letter they addressed to the minister, the environmentalists also said it was time to give up the "problem-plagued growth models of the West".

—*The Times*, May 24.

CHILEAN OFFER TO RUSSIA

THE Chilean Government is prepared to exchange 13 of its political prisoners, all of them members of the Chilean Communist Party, for an equal number of prisoners currently held in Soviet camps, the International Sakharov Committee announced here today.

The committee is named after Dr Andrei Sakharov, the Soviet Nobel peace prize winner and human rights campaigner.

The committee started their negotiations which led to the exchange last December of Senor Luis Corvalan, the Chilean Communist Party leader for Mr Valdimir Bukovsky, a Soviet dissident.

In a letter to the committee, the Chilean Government has now stated that it is willing to exchange 13 Chilean political detainees for a similar number of Soviet prisoners and urges the committee to forward the proposal through its own channels.

Most of the Soviet prisoners are understood to be ill. The Sakharov Committee knows that Mrs Irina Stasiva-Kalynets, who is 37, suffers from a kidney disease, high blood pressure and internal haemorrhages. She is due to be released in 1981.

Mr Sergei Kovalyov, arrested in 1974, is a member of the Soviet branch of Amnesty International. He is due to be released in 1984.

—*The Times*, April 23.

ARABS LIVE LONGER IN ISRAEL

THE Ministry of Health in Jerusalem has published a report showing that Arabs under Israeli law are living longer and healthier.

Palestinian doctors interviewed in hospitals and clinics here acknowledged that health standards had improved, but objected to comparisons with conditions under the Egyptians...

"Education standards are higher," explained a doctor. "People work in Israel and earn well. They buy soap. They have money for a doctor. They do not spend much more on food, but they improve their homes, installing indoor plumbing and running water."

The Israelis in their report, issued to the World Health Organization, said it had been possible to introduce sophistication in the West Bank because the Jordanians had already started basic services and there was something to upgrade and to refine.

The report said that a chain of maternity and child health centres helped to reduce infant mortality to 50 per 1,000, notwithstanding a fertility rate that was among the highest in the world.

Immunization, improved sanitation and various treatments had eradicated malaria, trachoma, cholera and smallpox in the occupied areas, and reduced polio and measles. Gastrointestinal and respiratory infectious diseases were also declining.

—*The Times*, May 3.

NYERERE: SOCIALISM A LONG WAY OFF

IN a remarkably frank assessment of 10 years of trying to build socialism in Tanzania, President Julius Nyerere has concluded that his country is "certainly neither socialist nor self-reliant" and that the goal of making it so "is not even in sight"...

The 51-page document, called "The Arusha Declaration Ten Years After," is probably the most honest self-criticism of a government's performance by an African leader still in power. It was written in January and has just recently gone on sale to the public and been distributed to government and party offices for study and discussion.

"Ten years after the Arusha Declaration," writes Mr. Nyerere, who is known as "Mwalimu," or teacher, "Tanzania is certainly neither socialist nor self-reliant. The nature of exploitation has changed but it has not been altogether eliminated. There are still great inequalities between citizens. Our democracy is imperfect. A life of poverty is still the experience of the majority of our citizens."

Furthermore, he says, "our nation is still economically dependent upon the vagaries of the weather and upon economic and political decisions taken by other peoples without our participation or consent."

The President also discussed in detail what he regards as the country's current economic, social and political shortcomings. Chief among these, he said, was the government's heavy dependence on foreign aid and deficit financing and its failure to take seriously its own doctrine of self-reliance.

"The fact is that we are still thinking in terms of

"international standards" instead of what we can afford and what we can do ourselves," he said. "The present widespread addiction to cement and tin roofs is a kind of mental paralysis... people refuse to build a house of burnt bricks and tiles: they insist on waiting for a tin roof and 'European soil' (cement)."

Another major failing he mentioned was "only a negligible real improvement" in the "per capita standard of living."

The annual increase in the country's national income, he said, was slower after the declaration of socialism than before. Industrial plants are generally running well below capacity, often 50 per cent or less, he wrote.

Mr. Nyere ended his report with a warning to his people of "very difficult" economic problems for three to four years and a call for a major effort to increase production. "There is a time for planting and a time for harvesting," he said. "I am afraid for us it is still a time for planting."

—*International Herald Tribune*, April 2.

JAP FRINGE BENEFIT

ONE of the nicer fringe benefits of working for certain prestige companies in Japan is that they take their employees with proper spouses.

The Fuyo group of companies, for instance, has gone into the time-honoured matchmaking business after enviously observing the marriage bliss accumulated by rival conglomerate Mitsubishi's internal introduction bureau. Forty-one of the Fuyo group's 60 member firms—including giants like Hitachi, Nissan and Fuji Bank—have subscribed to the scheme.

The most recent survey showed that 38 per cent of Japanese marriages are arranged either by parents or relatives, or—increasingly these days—by professional matchmaking services, of which several thousand exist in Japan.

It is understandable that the responsible company should want to extend its paternalistic web to include the selection of an employee's mate. This is the kind of thing that department chiefs are always doing on their own initiative anyway, in every company. The Fuyo family club was set up, explains its director, Mr Ichiro Tomita, "because our middle managers were overwhelmed with arranging marriages, and we thought we'd better rationalise it."

Some 400,000 employees of Fuji Bank and 40 associated companies are eligible for the matchmaking services of Mr Tomita and his six counsellors, who work out of a discreet hotel suite in Tokyo. Outsiders can also pay the 10,000 yen fee and register but only where recommended by a section chief in one of the associate firms.

Mr Tomita says the response has been so great that a computer like that Mitsubishi is using may have to be brought in for matching applicants, who often learn about the new opportunity from company news sheets.

"Some of the girls who come here have taken a day off work," says Mr Tomita, "the men never take so much trouble. That shows the difference in attitudes."

Japanese firms tend to believe that a happy marriage leads to a more stable employee and greater harmony within the office group—hence the involvement of more and more major business groups in matchmaking. Agricultural cooperatives and town halls also help their workers in this way.

If the Fuyo family club actually produces a family—and some 20 partnerships are on the verge of maturity after the first business quarter—a "finder's fee" of 100,000 yen is paid by the grateful couple—to offset expenses, Mr Tomita says.

The scheme was not set up to make a profit but simply to make employees happy, insists Mr Tomita. Unlike certain other enterprises, he says meaningfully, the Fuyo group's marriage services stop short of fixing the wedding hall, honeymoon and other lucrative spinoffs. "We didn't want to arrange the wedding because we'd have to take a commission then, and that's not the kind of image we're after."

—*The Guardian*, May 21.

RUSSIAN SECRETS FILES TO WEST

A former Czechoslovak Communist Party official, now living in Munich, claims to have a huge collection of documents relating to secret activities within the Soviet block since 1948, according to *Time* magazine.

In this collection is said to be information about a plan made by Stalin in 1952 for a possible future invasion of West Europe; references to Julius Rosenberg, the American executed as a Soviet spy in 1953, as "our agent", details of the "suicide" of Jan Masaryk, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, in 1948; and information about Soviet pressure on Mr Alexander Dubcek, the reformist party leader, before the Soviet led invasion in 1968.

The official, Mr Karel Kaplan, told *Time* that he had left Czechoslovakia last year. He had since succeeded in getting 14,000 pages of personal notes, photocopies and microfilms out of Czechoslovakia and "there is more coming; the channel still operates".

Mr Kaplan told *Time* that he had been a supporter of Mr Dubcek during the "Prague spring". In 1968 he had been given an appointment as research director of the committee set up to rehabilitate the victims of political trials, and this was how he had had access to a wide range of documents.

After the Russian invasion he was arrested but released after three months. He was expelled from the party and worked as a labourer until last year, when he was able to leave Czechoslovakia.

—*The Times*, May 3.

MUZOREWA FEARS CIVIL WAR

WARNINGS of a bloody civil war in Rhodesia after the emergence of black rule were given here yesterday by the nationalist leader, Bishop Muzorewa.

The bishop, who heads the United African National Council, told a press conference that if the division among black nationalist leaders persisted it would result in "the rule of the jungle," and that hundreds of

A HOMESPUN PRIME MINISTER (contd. from page 1.)

denied him the Prime Ministership on two earlier occasions.

It is not widely known that Morarji was not always in politics. Also the fact that he came from a rather impoverished family. Son of a village school headmaster Morarji Desai was born in the village of Bhadeli in Bulsar District on February 29, 1896. When only fifteen, his father committed suicide, leaving young Morarji, the eldest son, to look after the family consisting of his mother, grandmother, three brothers and two sisters. He inherited a small house and four bighas of land yielding an annual income of Rs. 10/-. Though he was helped by his maternal grandfather, Morarji, who was then staying in a Bhavnagar college on a scholarship of Rs. 10 per month, remitted money home by giving tuitions.

Wilson College in Bombay was Morarji Desai's *alma mater*. He is a science graduate. His stay and studies in Bombay were made possible by the Goculdas Tejpal Free Boarding House which provided him with free board, lodging, clothes, college fees and books.

His first job was that of a demonstrator in Wilson College. Mr. Morarji Desai joined the University Training Corps (something like our NCC). A small incident while in the UTC obviously left a scar in his memory. He was superseded for the post of commissioned officer but secured his rightful place three weeks

later. He recalls: "Actually I had been entitled to that post from the very beginning. I was however not dissatisfied or uneasy about it. The ways of fate are mysterious. This was my first experience in its working." Years later he was to be 'superseded' twice for the post of Prime Minister. Perhaps he developed his stoicism and survived a fairly long period in the political wilderness steered by that first experience. From the UTC it would have been easy to get nominated to the ICS or to secure a King's Commission. Morarji did neither. "Considering the condition of my family, I did not like the idea of going to England for two years for training, leaving the family in a helpless situation," and therefore he opted for the Provincial Civil Service.

The next twelve years, 1918 to 1930, Morarjibhai spent in the Provincial Civil Service of the old Bombay State holding such positions as Deputy Collector, Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Prant Officer and Personal Assistant to the British Collectors. Combining executive and judicial functions, the intimate experience he acquired on matters relating to land tenure, land revenue, rural litigation and the problems of farmers in general must have stood Morarji Desai in good stead in his later years on the Treasury Benches. The account in his autobiography of his years in the Provincial Service make good reading.

It is interesting that he did not respond immediately

WORLD NEWS (continued)

thousands of people would be killed in the power struggle.

"Some people would like that, but those of us with the people at heart think that it would be disastrous if, after Mr Smith has fallen, there should be hundreds of thousands killed in this country because the external forces want to find their own king for Zimbabwe." Bishop Muzorewa said.

He accused Zambia of assisting the rival nationalist leader, Mr Nkomo, in forming an army, and went on to allege that Mr Nkomo's partner in the Patriotic Front, Mr Mugabe, was being "used as a pawn to strengthen Mr Nkomo."

Another black State (which the bishop did not name) was attempting to ensure that the guerilla leader, Mr Jcsiah Tongogara, was also made a nationalist leader.

"And so you have three godfathers, or rather three kingmakers, who don't agree on one king for Zimbabwe," the bishop said.

Under present conditions reconciliation among the various nationalist groups was impossible, he said. "But if we should now come to agree on the Constitution of Zimbabwe, and we give power to the people, it is the people of this country who will then say 'this is the king of Zimbabwe,' whoever that man is," he said.

"And if that does not come, then brothers, we are in dirty hot soup," the bishop added.

—*The Guardian*, May 25.

Letter

THE RELEVENCE OF RAJAJI

Mr. K. Veda Murthy through his article carried by *Freedom First*, May 1977, under the above caption has reminded the readers about a few of Rajaji's many warnings and advises which are going to remain relevant for all times. Every one of his warnings against the Congress misrule came to be astonishingly true during the emergency. The pain and sufferings inflicted on people during the emergency taught Indians what Rajaji could not teach when freedoms were still intact. Our struggle for independence would not have witnessed the bloodshed that came to pass during the partition day if other leaders had listened to Rajaji in time.

Again, if people had listened to him in 1971 itself, freedom would not have gone under an eclipse as it did during the emergency and all the sufferings, imprisonments and many deaths that occurred would not have taken place. People learnt the lessons the hard way. No one had expected that history would prove Rajaji so entirely correct for the second time and so soon.

P. S. SRIDHARA MURTHY

May 8, 1977

A HOMESPUN PRIME MINISTER (continued)

to Gandhiji's call to Indians in government service to quit and join the freedom struggle. He adopted the very practical approach of first making arrangements about the welfare of his family as he had no intention of taking up any salaried occupation. But when he did resign, the reasons he gave are typical of him! "I was ... clear ... that by serving the foreign government for twelve years I had done harm to my country. I therefore decided that I should not spend the rest of my life just earning money and that I should devote myself to the service of the people to atone for my sin." If working for the British Government to earn a living was 'sin', India had thousands of 'sinners' who not only did not 'atone' but after freedom were found extremely useful in ensuring administrative continuity. But then he would not have been Morarji had he given a common-place reason.

And so began in May 1930, Morarjibhai's political career which was to lead him, forty-seven years later, to the high office of Prime Minister of India.

His rise in the Gujarat Congress hierarchy was pretty rapid. As he himself admits, among the top leadership he was one of the few full time politicians at that time. From then on till Independence it was a story of being in and out of British jails and Congress Ministries. He was inducted in the first B. G. Kher Ministry as Revenue Minister which proved to be a relatively short-lived affair as the Congress Ministries resigned during World War II. Back in official harness in 1946 in the Second Kher Ministry, Morarji Desai was Home Minister of Bombay State when India won freedom. After the first General Elections in 1952 he became State Chief Minister.

Efficient Administrator

As Home Minister and later Chief Minister Morarji Desai acquired the public image of an effective but authoritarian administrator. He was certainly not popular. And Morarjibhai, who is aware of the reputation he acquired, reveals that he had an understanding with his Chief Minister B. G. Kher: "Whenever it was necessary to do something which was unpopular I should take the responsibility and should keep him (Kher) free from such contingencies. I believed then and even now that the colleagues of the Head of the Government should save him from unpopularity as far as possible." Nehru and his daughter derived the maximum mileage from this belief as Morarjibhai himself was to learn to his cost in later years. More to the point will his colleagues in the Janata Cabinet give him the same consideration?

Caught in the vortex of the linguistic agitation for a separate State of Maharashtra, Morarji Desai, who was stoutly opposed to the break up of the Bombay State, resorted to stern measures to put down rioting and lawlessness. But he found himself outmanoeuvred politically by Maharashtra's politicians. He had built up Y. B. Chavan, who despite being the juniormost Minister in the Bombay Cabinet, was proposed by him for leadership of the Bombay Congress Legislature

Party when Morarji Desai quit the Chief Ministership in November 1956. The States Reorganisation Commission had turned down a separate State for Maharashtra. Chavan was to head a bilingual State. Perhaps Morarjibhai felt that by leaving a loyal protege at the helm of affairs, he would ensure that Bombay would remain bilingual.

Nehru had also taken the position that it was in the country's interest if Bombay State remained bilingual. But when the agitation hotted up, Nehru, as was his wont, decided to give in. This meant removing Morarji from the State. When Union Finance Minister Deshmukh resigned, Nehru took the opportunity to call Morarji to Delhi. Safe in the thought that Chavan would stay firm, Morarji agreed to go to the Centre. But very soon Chavan back tracked. Nehru told Morarji that Chavan did not have confidence in his ability to govern a large Bombay State. Narrating all this Morarjibhai ruefully remarks that the discussion to bifurcate the State had already been taken behind his back and he was called to Delhi to facilitate this. Morarji felt he had been made a scapegoat in the eyes of the Maharashtrians as being solely responsible for obstructing the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra.

Nehru offered Morarji the Finance portfolio. Morarji was reluctant on the ground that he had never studied economics, never prepared his own budget and had no attraction for money! The portfolio went to T. T. Krishnamachari who persuaded Nehru to offer Morarji the Defence Ministership. "If I am at the head of the Defence Forces, I must keep them out of politics and it would therefore be necessary for me not to take a very active part in party politics," Morarjibhai warned. Nehru took note of the warning and Morarji Desai became Union Minister for Commerce and Industry in November 1956. As it happened he was the Treasurer of the Congress. The 1957 General Elections were round the corner. Nehru asked Morarji to get busy with collecting election funds for the Party. Morarjibhai records in his autobiography that he collected One Crore and Twenty Lakhs of Rupees in two years.

In less than two years, the man who was reluctant to take up Finance because he had never studied economics became the Finance Minister when T. T. Krishnamachari resigned as a result of the Mundhra episode. This writer recalls the series of unpopular measures that Morarji Desai took as Finance Minister even when rumours at that time had it that he had really been compelled to do so by his Prime Minister. A case in point is the Gold Control Order. In his autobiography however Morarjibhai takes full responsibility.

Number Two

Pandit Nehru by the early sixties was a sick man. After Nehru who? was the question on every one's lips. Morarji was now number two. The idea of a Deputy Leader of the Congress Legislature Party was mooted, and by rights Morarji should have been that Deputy Leader. But Nehru had other plans, and these

A HOMESPUN PRIME MINISTER (continued)

did not include Morarji Desai as Deputy Leader. To get over the problem, Nehru suggested two Deputy Leaders. One from each House and both should not be Ministers. The hint was evident. "I was convinced that all these plans were made only to prevent me from becoming Deputy Leader", recalls Morarjibhai in his autobiography. According to Morarjibhai, Nehru wanted a pliant Deputy.

For a while Morarji might have been Nehru's favourite. But he had a practice "not to have anybody as his Adviser for more than three years", thus taking all precautions to see that nobody created problems for him. "I observed this only after I joined the Central Cabinet in Delhi", saidly observes Morarjibhai.

And in 1963 Kamraj came up with his Plan. Conceived by Kamraj to get two or three Chief Ministers to resign and attend to organisational work, Nehru saw in the Plan a wonderful way to solve his succession problem. Nehru did not directly ask Morarji to resign. He asked Shastri to undertake the chore. Shastri told Morarji that he (Shastri) had pressed for his own resignation being accepted and therefore it was not necessary for Desai to give up office. Morarji smelt a rat. "When he came to me in this manner, I suspected that some game was being played behind the scene." The following day Nehru met him to discuss the Plan and finally got round to suggesting that Morarji should quit. Morarji's remarks at the exit interview are revealing. "As I am giving up office and getting out of the Cabinet I should like to give you the impressions I have formed of you. There is something missing in the relation which you keep with your colleagues. Nobody is able to know what your view is about any of your colleagues and some of them, therefore, find it difficult to work freely and are afraid of you also. I am personally not afraid of you. I am personally not afraid or worried in this matter and I can, therefore, tell you many things frankly. Today I am talking to you very specifically and frankly about it. I have not got any specific impression about what you think of me. I am not worried about it, but in such a situation I cannot work with you with the confidence I should have."

Pitch Queered

Nehru died in May 1964. The pitch had been queered for Morarjibhai. The Syndicate chose Lal Bahadur Shastri who had returned to the Cabinet after Nehru suffered his stroke a few months earlier in Bhubaneswar. Shastri offered the Deputy Prime Ministership to Morarji Desai in return for the latter's support. He felt insulted. He told Shastri: "I do not approve of making any such bargains. I do not want to give up my self-respect for any post and it is not proper that such an offer should be made to me."

Shastri died in January 1966. The syndicate again foiled Morarji's hopes of becoming the Prime Minister. This time they opted for Indira Gandhi. But Morarji contested the leadership election. Jagjivan Ram, who had earlier promised his support to Morarji, switched

sides when promised a Ministership by Mrs. Gandhi. Had the syndicate not supported her, Morarji is confident that "she would have got not more than 25 votes." But this time Morarji accepted the offer of Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, though he would have preferred the Home Ministry. This went to his lieutenant in the Bombay Ministry, Y. B. Chavan.

The events that followed, leading to the Congress split arising out of the Presidential election following the death of Dr. Zakir Husain, are more recent history which do not need recounting here.

The two-volume autobiography stops with the Congress split. However it is reported that a third volume has been completed and is now under print.

Protex

The style is simple and direct but one cannot help observing that the narration is needlessly long. More careful editing could have helped in reducing the length. Repetitions and the inclusion of material not quite relevant to the story of his life could have been avoided. The narration also suffers occasionally from an absence of continuity clearly indicating that for fairly long spells the writer does not return to his subject. The first volume dealing with the earlier part of his life is engrossing as it opens up little known background about the man. Morarjibhai's account of his personal relations with his colleagues in the Central Cabinet in the second volume should interest the reader.

Despite these shortcomings, the volumes have their value as they represent the first-hand report of a man who was there. Not only does it help you understand him better, but Morarjibhai appears less forbidding in the pages of his book than he may do face to face.

The autobiography leaves one with the impression of a man who is straightforward, uncompromising where principles are concerned, a stickler for truth and honesty in public life and as a Gandhian deeply concerned with means as much as with ends. There is also the impression of a stubborn man with quite some bees in his bonnet and a tendency towards intolerance.

Soon after his release from Mrs. Gandhi's prison, the manner of his stewardship of the Janata Party and now as Prime Minister has evoked admiration. People have been heard to comment that he is a "changed" man. He is now very much more tolerant and less of a maverick. He has himself publicly assured that his fads are his own and he does not propose imposing them on others. That is to be welcomed. And yet one hopes that the "change" does not go so far as to lead him to adopt the line of least resistance merely to ensure solidarity. He heads a team of Ministers many of whom have been his bitter opponents. That he has been able to project an image of homogeneity is a happy sign. As Chief Minister of Bombay State he provided excellent leadership despite charges of ruthlessness. It is to be hoped that Morarji Desai, now a mellowed man, will lace his mellowness with a touch of firmness whenever the occasion demands.

Reviews

THE FINAL DAYS

by BOB WOODWARD and CARL BERNSTEIN
(Coronet Books, Hodder and Stoughton—476 pp.)

THE Final Days' by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein is a followup of "All the Presidents Men" where the shocking revelations of the Watergate conspiracy battered the political image of Nixon and and literally made a physical and mental wreck out of him. The later agony is brought out with its stirring episodes, as when Nixon told Garment his lawyer: "Last night I went to sleep and hoped I'd never wake-up". Once Nixon nonchalantly said "I don't have a pistol". Worried, Haig ordered all pills to be denied to the President.

Such episodes make a touching story of a man whose misbehaviour in public life cost him his name and status. It remains to be seen how Nixon will deal with this ignominious chapter in his biography.

The first chapter deals with the background of the Watergate story which is a prelude to 'The Final Days'.

The book reveals Nixon as a complex and obstinate personality who, like an ostrich, buried his head and refused to see the oncoming storm, the storm that nearly rocked American democracy. He tried to hide too many things from too many persons and incredible as it may sound even his lawyers, Buzhardt and Garment developed a marked distrust for their presidential client. Nixon's contradictory statements left his confidantes confounded, the ever alert mass media increasingly suspicious and at times hostile, and the judiciary even more determined to preserve its peak perch in American democracy.

Nixon tried to obstruct justice in the most brazen way. The two authors write: The President had hidden evidence first from his lawyers and then from the Courts. He might even have destroyed material that was under *subpoena*. He had proposed to obstruct justice and had tried to entangle his lawyers in the attempt". In fact, when aides told that he would be forced to hand over the tapes, his chilly reply was: "Why can't we make a new Dictabelt". It was an indication of his desperate position.

The revelations of the tapes was devastating evidence of Nixon's involvement in the Watergate scandal, so much so that "Many of the secretaries were shocked at what the tapes revealed, and even more were shocked at the way the transcripts were being handled. Linda Zier was particularly upset. 'Why so many deletions?' she asked Pamela Dallas as they left the office, exhausted, late one night. Tears were streaming down Zier's face. What would happen if the originals were revealed?"

In his bid to retain his Presidency Nixon crossed all the limits of decency and wanted to fire Archibald Cox, the Special Prosecutor, and it was only because

of the determined efforts of his aides "that the President agreed to keep Cox. It had been blood, bloody" Haig said: "I pushed so hard that my usefulness to the President may be over".

The book gives astonishing revelations of how watergate affected Nixon's credibility and sapped his ability to manage the Middle East crisis and even domestic problems. Watergate had demoralized Nixon and later he was even estranged from his family so much that "On Camp David weekends, the President and him wife hardly saw each other. When they did, silence usually prevailed. His military aide, Marine Lt. Col. Jack Brennan joked, that his duties included briefing Nixon on how to kiss".

The final pages give a vivid and dramatic picture of the last ditch battle and attempts to salvage Nixon's prestige. A flurry of activity, sometimes marked with animosity and restraint, but with obvious estrangement, followed, between the White House and the Republican leaders. General Haig tried to shield Nixon who was driven to the wall. And as rumours of Nixon's resignation buzzed, curious reporters were virtually considered as pests, and the icy silence of White House on resignation gave more grist to grind to the rumour mills.

The description of the state of affairs of Nixon's family is still more pathetic. When Nixon resigned they were "stunned, relieved and consumed with sadness and a sense of unfairness". His announcement to the family was brief. "We are going back to California".

During his 'last days' in the White House, Nixon was truly a heartbroken man and full of remorse. He retreated into his shell, a brooding man, a derelict politician whose boat was adrift and a President whose confidence with his people was plummeting every minute. The image of a towering statesman lay in shambles and he was a small man almost like a scolded school going child.

His infinite repentance was movingly illustrated when he asked Kissinger: "Will history treat me more kindly than my contemporaries?" His voice was choked with emotion and his eyes were flooded with tears. Nixon then asked Kissinger to pray with him "for help, peace and love." The President then wept hysterically banging his fist on the carpet crying: "What have I done? What has happened?"

'The Final Days' is a superb piece of investigative journalism and with its meticulous details and inimitable style, it sustains interest throughout the story in spite of the microscopic type of this paperbound edition.

The book gives a blow by blow account of what transpired during the 'last days' of Mr. Nixon's Presidency. The authors have left no stone unturned and spared no efforts to give all the absorbing details. It is a glowing tribute to their journalistic skill.

Though the Watergate story will for ever remain a

slur on American democracy and will go down in history as a shoddy episode it cannot be denied that in the murky depths of Watergate lies the glory of American democracy. Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, two cub reporters of the 'Washington Post' who were given this assignment by their Editor, thinking it was a minor burglary of no consequence, have made an memorable chapter by itself in American history that will always remain a lesson for politicians in any democracy.

—NITIN RAUT

SITTING COMFORTABLY

IF you thought the woes of Western society could all be laid at the door of Denis Healey, or Hua Kuo-feng, or Robert Abplanalp (who invented the aerosol) you've got it wrong. It turns out to have been Thomas Crapper who landed us in the mire.

Mr Crapper left us with the modern water closet and, as long ago as 1933, F. A. Hornibrook observed that "Man's natural attitude during defecation is a squatting one. Fashion, in the guise of the ordinary water closet, forbids the emptying of the lower bowel in the way nature intended. It is no overstatement to say that the adoption of the squatting attitude would in itself help in no small measure to remedy the greatest physical vice of the white race — constipation."

Professor Alexander Kira of Cornell University has taken this observation to heart, embarking on a decade of continuous study of the topic at the university's Center for Housing and Environmental Studies. The result, just published by Penguin, is a tome which should keep the average looter engrossed for at least a further decade.

Reading is an important adjunct to the whole procedure. "There is little doubt" the professor writes "that the widespread practice of reading on the water closet came into being either because of the waiting for a bowel movement or because of the need to distract the mind from the activity." On that principle, on the other hand, leaving 255 close-printed pages casually lying on the lavatory shelf which are not so much focused as positively riveted to the evacuatory function could precipitate the final crisis of Western civilisation.

Mr Kira has interpreted his brief widely, throwing in an astonishing assortment of tangential nuggets which should stop your next dinner party dead in its tracks. Lord Portland, for instance was deemed highly honoured as Ambassador to Louis XIV to be granted an audience while the Sun King was engaged in something less than state business, there to learn of the king's forthcoming marriage to Madame de Maintenon. (President Johnson, we now know, took his social obligations equally to heart.)

But all this is merely the hors d'oeuvre to the solid meat of the treatise—a stunning examination of the detailed mechanics of human evacuation.

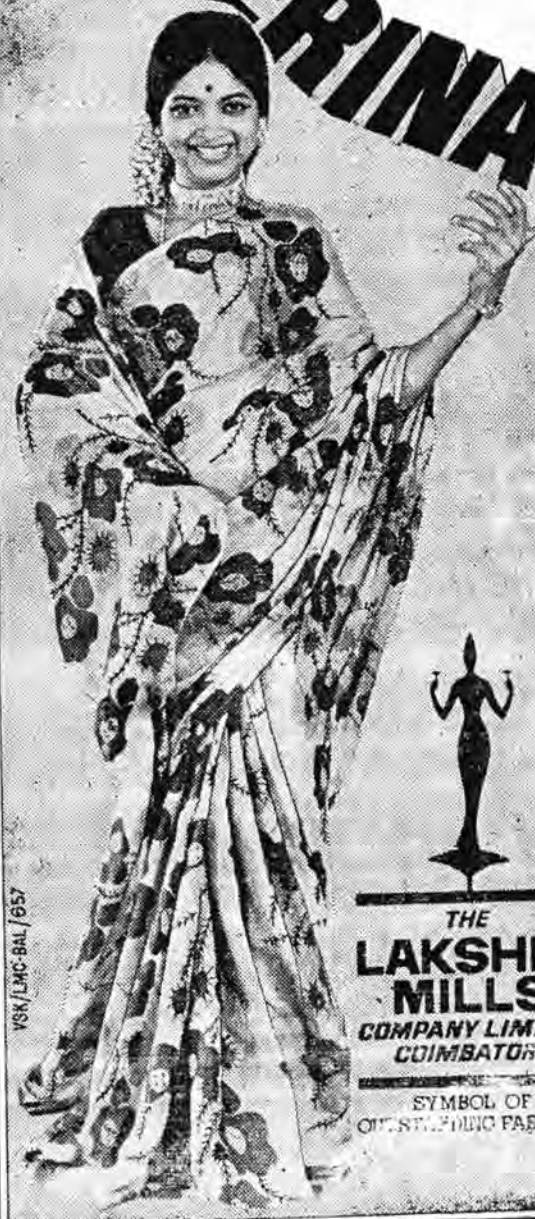
Mr Kira will carry on with his painstaking researches, trying to find some way both of getting Western civilisation on the move and of holding Western man to the straight and narrow. As he himself comments: "It may be shit to you, but it's my bread and butter."

—HAROLD JACKSON

(Courtesy: *The Guardian*)

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

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



WITH MANY VOICES

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

—Tennyson

When I appear in public people expect me to neigh, grind my teeth, paw the ground and swish my tail—and none of which is easy.

—Princess Anne in the *Statesman*, May 29.

I am about to enter a profession (diplomacy) in which public utterances, as someone said, are somewhere between a cliché and a falsehood.

—Mr. Kingham Brewster in the *Observer*, May 22.

I appreciate music. I do not understand it. It arouses in me the same emotion as it does in a dog: I want to bark.

—Lord Wigg in the *Observer*, May 22.

Many of those who fawned on Mrs. Gandhi and used to wait for her words are today leaving her fold even as bees desert the empty honeycomb please beware of them.

—Archarya Kripalani in *Himmat*, May 13.

What do the electorate do when they find even the Janata Party fielding some of the black-marketers, bootleggers, communalists, sycophants and time-servers?

—Kuldip Nayar in *The Indian Express* May 26.

Unpunctuality not only wastes manhours. It shows lack of consideration for the others who turn up on time.

—Rajmohan Gandhi in *Himmat*, May 27.

FREEDOM FIRST,

C/o Democratic Research Service

Maneckji Wadia Bldg., 4th floor

Bombay 400 023 (Phone : 27 39 14)

Please enrol me as a subscriber to *Freedom First*.

I remit the annual subscription of Rs. 5.00

Name :

Address :

Signature

The spectacle of the Party office being sacked by rival factions in Jaipur could be repeated again and again.

—Romesh Thapar in *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 16.

The way ahead is no longer green for Janata, but it is not red yet.

—Mr. Ajit Bhattacharjee quoted in *Himmat*, May 20.

Will hope crumble into cynicism? Or will India continue to encourage humanity's faith in itself?

—Rajmohan Gandhi in *Himmat*, May 20.

This is the 'Year of the Turncoat'.

—Romesh Thapar in *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 14.

Soviet humour is similar to good English cooking : It does in fact exist but it is carefully concealed from outsiders.

—Alex Beam in *The International Herald Tribune*, May 9.

The Berlin Wall is a very dramatic indication of the hunger for freedom among the people who live in East Germany.

—President Jimmy Carter quoted in *The Indian Express*, May 10.

In India the choice could never be between chaos and stability, but between manageable and unmanageable, humane and inhuman anarchy, and between tolerable and intolerable disorder.

—Ashis Nundy in *The Times of India*, May 13.

The farmer is condemned to working a 7-day week because the 5-day cow has not yet been invented.

—Sicco L. Mansholt in *The Democratic World*, May 22.

I never want to read another word on the tiresome woman (Virginia Woolf).

—Bernard Levin in *The Times*, April 4.

Freedom is a good horse, but a horse to ride somewhere.

—Mathew Arnold quoted in *The International Herald Tribune*, April 4.