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Parliamentary Privileges :

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

THE unfortunate events leading to the Supreme Court's intervention in what has popularly come to be known as the *Eenadu Case* have once again revived the long drawn out debate on parliamentary privileges in India. The case, it may be recalled, arose out of the issue of a warrant of arrest by the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council against Mr. Ramoji Rao, editor of the Telegu daily *Eenadu* after a Committee of the Council had found him guilty of breaching the House's privilege. Fortunately, in a timely and sensible move the Supreme Court restrained the Council from translating into action its stated intention of committing Mr. Rao to prison and thus defused the tension that had been mounting ominously for days.

The *Eenadu Case* is, of course, not the first of its kind; it is in fact only the latest in a series of equally disturbing cases which have brought into sharp focus the fragile state of the citizen's freedom of speech and expression vis-a-vis those powerful bodies of the legislative branch which bid fair, at the slightest opportunity, to display their might by the sheer force of brute majorities.

The tragedy, alas, has been compounded by the nebulous state of the law which, despite sharp criticism by jurists and journalists from time to time, has been left to remain unchanged for over three decades now. The few changes that were attempted turned out, on deeper scrutiny, to be mere cosmetic ones, leaving the main defects untouched.

When the Constitution was enacted in 1950, it was clearly the intention of its framers that sooner rather than later legislators would apply their mind to formulating a comprehensive code enlisting the privileges of Parliament and the State Legislatures. It was on the strength of this hope that they passed into law Art. 105(3) which laid down that "the powers, privileges and immunities of each House and of the members and the Committees of each House of Parlia-

ment shall be such as may from time to time be defined by the legislature by law, and, until so defined, shall be those of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom and of its members and Committees, at the commencement of this Constitution." An identical provision was made, vide Art. 194(3), for the State Legislatures.

Unfortunately, far from moving towards codification, every attempt was made by Parliament and the State Legislatures to let the privileges remain as they were, so that each time a question arose for determination reference had to be made to the position which obtained in England on 26 January 1950. What is worse, the infamous 42nd Amendment went so far as to delete the reference in the abovementioned Articles to the definition of parliamentary privileges by a "law" and ordained instead that these privileges could "be evolved" by the legislative body concerned.

The dangers underlying this unsatisfactory state of the law first became apparent as far back as 1958 when the Supreme Court was faced in the *Searchlight Case* with the task of deciding whether, in the event of a conflict between parliamentary privileges and fundamental rights, the former prevailed or the latter. By a majority of 4 to 1 the Court answered the question in the affirmative, holding that the fundamental right of free speech and expression being a "general" provision, cannot prevail over a "special" provision conferring privileges on Parliament and the State Legislatures. Justice Subba Rao, however, dissented. "I yield to none in my respect for that august body, the Legislature of the State," said the learned Judge, "but we are under a duty enjoined on this score by Art. 32 of the Constitution to protect the rights of the citizens who in theory reserved to themselves certain rights and parted only the others to the Legislature."

The rigours of the *Searchlight* judgment were relieved partially six years later when the Supreme Court in *Keshav Singh's Case* (which arose under extraordinary circumstances) held that the fundamental rights to personal liberty (Art. 21) and of recourse to the Supreme Court (Art. 32) were "absolute" and therefore not subservient to Arts. 105(3) and 194(3) in case a conflict arose between those Articles. However, as regards the right to freedom of speech and expression, the Court reaffirmed the *Searchlight* view, leaving the law as unsatisfactory as ever.

Be that as it may, it is significant to note that in the *Eenadu Case* there is one subsequent development which casts serious doubts on the propriety of the A.P. Legislative Council proceeding further in the matter. It was revealed in early May that the Chairman of the Council had a meeting with the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Mr. Balram Jakhar, when, on his own admission, he "discussed this specific issue confronting the A.P. Legislative Council" and was requested "to await further developments at the all-India level." Since in matters like the present one the Council would be exercising penal jurisdiction and therefore acting in a quasi-judicial capacity, it is absolutely necessary that no external influence should be brought to bear upon its deliberations and/or decisions. Whether or not the Council will abide by this fundamental principle remains to be seen.

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AS I SEE IT

MINOO MASANI

THE invitation extended by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to Mr. P. W. Botha, Prime Minister of South Africa, to visit her in England has provoked noisy protests in certain quarters on the ground that the invitation assumes Mrs. Thatcher's approval of apartheid. Mrs. Thatcher has promptly repudiated the idea and said she proposes to convey to Mr. Botha her disapproval of South Africa's policy just as she would tell the Soviet dictators about her disapproval of their policies.

The Daily Telegraph in its editorial on May 6, argued against the "leftist" hysteria:

"Nor is it even fair to describe Mr. Botha himself crudely as in favour of apartheid, since under his government, Government progress has been made towards dismantling much of this monstrous structure of discrimination. If one attends to the rhetoric of Mr. Botha's Right-wing critics in his own country, he is hell-bent on turning South Africa into a black-dominated multi-racial society. While this is an absurd exaggeration, it points to a central truth; his Government, by bringing the Indians and people of mixed race into the political picture, has shown a flexibility of approach from which the blacks are also likely to gain in the foreseeable future.

"Again, contemporary realities cannot be ignored. South Africa's black neighbours are now eager to establish closer links with Pretoria, and do not hesitate to invite South African Ministers to visit them. It would be unreasonable for Britain to refuse to follow suit."

The Times, in its editorial on May 8 also made some pertinent comments:

"Mr. David Steel, the Liberal Leader (who was happy to go to Moscow and boast afterwards of how much time the authorities there granted him) has described the visit as 'an insult to Britain's black community'. . . . The blanket condemnation of South Africa and the refusal to give its present government any credit for recent changes of attitude are in marked contrast to the compromising attitudes towards other states with unpleasant or tyrannical regimes, whether in

Africa or Europe. There have, for instance, been more people in prison without trial in Tanzania than in South Africa, and the racial pass laws of South Africa are matched by pass laws of a different sort to control dissidence in the Soviet Union. Yet how far a system designed to penalise a man for the colour of his skin is worse than one designed to punish him for his opinions and beliefs could evoke philosophical disputation without end."

Mr. David Steel, in a letter to the Editor on May 9, defended himself by arguing that "What makes South Africa unique is that it has contrived a system of Government which has the colour of a person's skin as a determining factor enshrined in the law and constitution of the state."

Much as I like Mr. David Steel and despite the fact he is a colleague of mine in the Liberal International, I am constrained to say that *The Times* is right and Mr. Steel is in error. I fail to understand how racial tyranny in South Africa, which still has Courts of Law that function independently and a few press, parts of which criticise the Government, is worse and more untouchable than the total tyranny of the Kremlin. I do not think that the colour of a man's skin is more important than the courage, intellectual integrity and love of freedom of Mr. and Mrs. Sakharov, who are among the many current victims of Soviet tyranny.

* * * * *

Hardly had the ink dried on the controversy between the owner and the Editor of *The Observer* when another dispute of a similar nature erupted between the Chairman and the Editor of the *Daily Express* in London. An editorial in that paper lambasted Mr. Scargill, the British Miners' leader, on his utterly undemocratic and illegal behaviour in refusing to have a secret ballot of his members and allowing his "Flying Pickets" to intimidate the many miners who wish to continue working. When the printer of the *Daily Express* made the demand that Mr. Scargill should be allowed to reply to the editorial, the editor objected, but the Chairman of the Board supported the right to reply. Mr. Scargill thereupon handed in his reply which included an attack on the *Daily Express*

for having copied "Dr. Goebels and his colleagues in Nazi Germany". This outrageous but characteristic misuse of the right to reply by Mr. Scargill restored agreement between the Chairman and the Editor in refusing to carry such a disgusting libel from a man who had told the Soviet press only a few days earlier that he was engaged in a class war in his own country and is using the strike to bring down a democratically elected government.

In my column on 6th May, I had, while commenting on the crisis in *The Observer* and supporting the editorial against Mr. Tony Rowland gone on to say categorically that "he who pays the piper calls the tune" and that an editor cannot assert any absolute freedom as against the proprietors.

I am therefore glad to find that my old friend, Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, for many years a Labour Member of Parliament has, in his article in *The Times* of 28th April, come out strongly in with a similar view:

"Why should the editor's views be more sacred than those of the proprietor? . . . It is the freedom of the readers to choose that decides whether the newspaper will survive. . . . If the proprietor peddled lines obnoxious to *The Observer's* traditional readers, they would vanish and there would be no *Observer*. That is the sanction which prevents people with big money at stake from going too far. . . . The attempt to regulate the relations between editor and proprietor through government agency must fail. It is a relationship which should be governed by commonsense and not by a set of written rules. A proprietor dissatisfied with his editor will do his best to get round the rules. An editor dissatisfied with his proprietor will use the rules to protect his right of free expression over that of the proprietor. Not a happy marriage and the child will suffer. . . . Proprietors should be allowed to employ editors they can get on with, and editors should remain free to choose proprietors whose general approach they share—without expecting to dictate to them but relying on their own intelligence to steer them away from actions which would damage the paper, the proprietor and the editor."

I feel it is worth while reverting to this topic because it involves freedom of the press in all parts of the world including ours and Mr. Wyatt has spelt out the issue in such a masterly manner.

* * * * *

I was one of a group of eight citizens which included the former Justice Nathwani of the Bombay High Court, Mr. Madhu Mehta of the Hindustani Andolan and Mr. M. V. Kamath, who called on Air Chief Marshal Latif, Governor of Maharashtra, on May 25, and handed over to him a memorandum. The most important of the suggestions it contained was:

"Civilian authorities should hand over full powers to the military authorities to take any action they deem fit, including the shooting at sight of miscreants, to restore order and to protect life and property in the city. The present position, where the Army has been invited to aid the civilian power, is not satisfactory, because it leaves the politicians, in whom people have lost all confidence, free to intervene. The people have also lost faith in the police force not because of any fault on its part, but because its strength is inadequate and its morale has been weakened by political interference over the past few years. It is also suspected in some quarters — we cannot say with what justification — of communal bias. For these reasons, we are convinced that the Armed Forces should be given a free hand."

We could honestly claim that this was the view of a large majority of Bombay Citizens of all denominations.

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THE GRENADIAN VOICE:

THE NEW BEGINNING OF A CARIBBEAN NEWSPAPER

JUAN FERCEY

ST. GEORGE'S, GRENADA:—"We suspect that we have created newspaper history. Ours was, probably, the first newspaper ever to go out of existence after publishing only one issue.... We are undoubtedly establishing a record for the length of time between two issues—nearly two and a half years."

Thus begins the editorial of *The Grenadian Voice* of 20 November 1983 "celebrating the restoration of freedom of expression in a country which has writhed in agony under severe oppression and repression for far too long."

After a Guyana trained commando overthrew Sir Eric Gairy's elected, but corrupt, regime in Grenada on 13 March 1979, Maurice Bishop, leader of the New Jewel Movement took over the government. This was the first coup in the English-speaking Caribbean Commonwealth. Sir Eric who for years insisted upon demanding that the United Nations investigate the UFO phenomenon (although nobody ever saw a flying saucer in Grenada), was at the time of the coup, out of the country and has ever since lived in exile.

The Bishop regime neither tolerated the slightest opposition nor respected freedom of the press. *Torchlight* the only newspaper of the "Spice Island" was closed down and a brave journalist, Alister Hughes, the lonely editor of the *Grenadian Newsletter*, and a correspondent of AP, the *Sunday Times* of London, *Time* magazine and CANA (the Caribbean News Agency) was in and out of jail for years.

Under these circumstances, two and a half years ago, 26 Grenadians decided to publish an independent newspaper. Each of them contributed \$100 and the first issue appeared on 13 June 1981. In the first editorial, reproduced now, two and a half years later *The Grenadian Voice* said:

"In its first editorial, every newspaper should do at least two things—give a reason for its establishment and set out clearly its policy and principle. We accept this responsibility.

"*The Grenadian Voice* has been born at the express wish of countless citizens, in every stratum of life in our community, for an independent newspaper as a symbol of freedom of expression, as a vehicle dealing with the issues of our time in a frank, free and unbiased way.

"The policy of this paper is to practise the highest standard of journalism, to encourage and promote freedom of expression in a free Grenada... to assist in creating an informed public opinion; to support those policies and programmes of the Government which, in

our opinion, are beneficial to the nation and the people as a whole—but to be ready to counsel caution or offer constructive criticism when we differ from the Government.

"As declared by the leaders of the Government when it is to mean anything then it is important that the Government shows that freedom is for all the people and not only for certain sections....

"We wish to state categorically that we have neither the wish nor the intent to sponsor, motivate or support counter-revolution in any form. We reject the perpetuation of the idea of the use of force as a means of changing Government and look to the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) to keep its promise of 'early, free and fair elections.'

"... We hold firmly to the opinion that a country which does not boast a free press is fundamentally unstable.

"More than this, we believe that the PRG, in the absence of a parliamentary opposition, should welcome the advent of *The Grenadian Voice* as a vehicle through which the Administration will have the benefit of a flow of independent ideas.

"It is in this context that we have proudly adopted and nailed to our masthead the memorable and inspiring motto which was created so many years ago by that great Grenadian, Theophilus Albert Marrvshow, the acknowledged prince of West Indian journalism. 'The right alone is right, the wrong is always wrong'."

While the second issue, proposed for 30 June 1981, was still not printed, the PRG of Maurice Bishop seized the material, closed the newspaper, arrested Leslie Pierre, the editor-in-chief and two shareholders, Lloyd Noel and Tillman Tomasa, a trio who gained freedom only two years and three months later, following the intervention of the American and East-Caribbean forces.

"We are an independent newspaper which will ask no quarter and give none in doing what we believe to be our duty," now wrote the editor-in-chief of *The Grenadian Voice*. "We will not sell or surrender our independence and we will defend to the fullest extent our right to exist so that never again in this land will freedom of the press be abrogated.... We recognise that among the most important commodities which are now needed in our country are unity, cooperation and understanding, and we, for our part, pledge to provide this."

Under the title of "The New Beginning", the paper informed that "Grenada is once more set on a course



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to return to democratic rule through free and fair elections. In the meantime, the full power of Government lies in the hands of Governor-General Sir Paul Scoon, the Queen's representative who will be assisted by a nine-member Advisory Council." The newspaper quoted the Governor General as saying that "plans are being made to build an efficient and effective police service free of politics. Meanwhile, we shall have to continue to depend on the Commonwealth Caribbean Peace-keeping Force in our midst for the maintenance of law and order."

On the centre pages, *The Grenadian Voice* published nine pictures under the title: "An October we'll all Remember." The epigraph of the first picture: "Jackie and Maurice—they went to their death together." (Maurice Bishop and his girlfriend, Jackeline Creff, the Education Minister were killed in the Fort of St. George's). On another photo, "armoured vehicles move in on Fort Rupert people with hands in the air race for their lives."

In several articles analyzing the tragic situation between 11 and 25 October 1983, it was reported, that "Bishop is put under house arrest (on 14 October), ostensibly for spreading rumours to the effect that Bernard Coard and his wife Phyllis Coard were plotting his death." According to a Free West Indian reporter, a former PRA officer (Peoples' Revolutionary Army) said that "Bishop was under house arrest because he had deviated from the principles of the Party and was attempting to establish and perpetuate 'one-manism.'" After the killing of Maurice Bishop, "a group of military extremists, calling themselves the Revolutionary Military Council, seized power and had the entire nation under house arrest for four days."

The paper also published a message from the Church: "We, the Conference of Churches, Grenada, humbly offer our thanks to God, that, despite our tragic experiences, our young country can look forward once more to a life of freedom and peace and to the hope of rebuilding our nation's institutions."

"Our gratitude also goes out to all who made this possible by answering the appeal of the Governor-General, and particularly to the American and Caribbean forces who responded to the call for help".

The Grenadian Voice, in the building of the West India Printers, near the port of St. George's, now occupies the small rooms which were the offices of *Prensa Latina*, the Cuban News Agency's Eastern Caribbean Bureau. Grenada severed diplomatic relations with Cuba and the Cubans working for *Prensa Latina* have been expelled.

On 26 November 1983, the next issue of *The Grenadian Voice* appeared, and on 3 December 1983, the third one. A simple newspaper, 16 pages, big tabloid form. But what an effort to give this small weekly newspaper to the Grenadian public: The editor has to send the material to Trinidad, another Caribbean island, where it is printed and, in 35 bags, each containing 200 copies, are sent back by plane to St. George's.

This is a rare example of journalist solidarity: colleagues from Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica try to help *The Grenadian Voice*, assisting Leslie Pierre with professional advice, material and newsprint. Perhaps some of the large newspapers of the industrialised countries and, also of the Third World, would send some aid to it.

(Courtesy. *Antar-Sanchar*)

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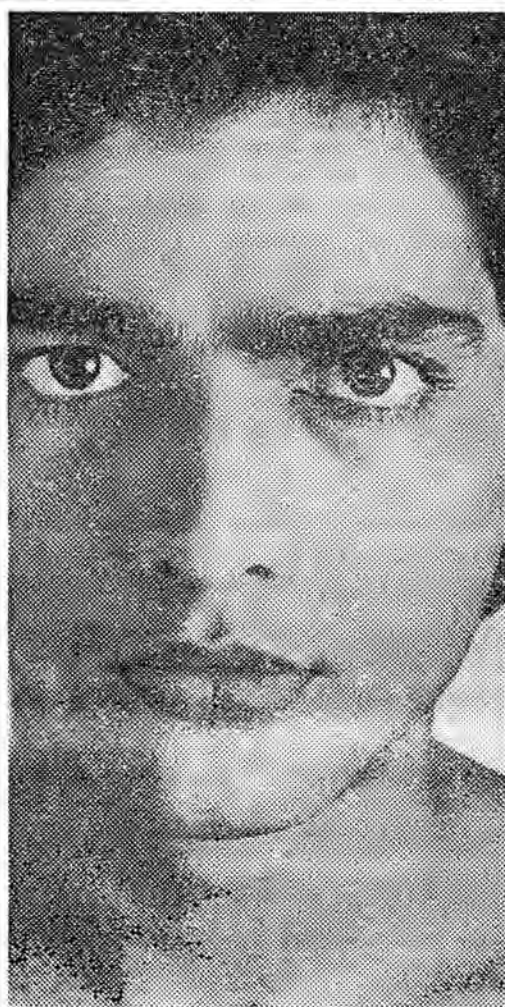
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BOOK REVIEWS

M. N. ROY—THE MAN by J. B. H. Wadia, Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd. Rs. 50.

M. N. ROY is part of the rich heritage of India. A legendary many-faceted personality in the first half of the twentieth century, he made a strong impact on the international political scene. As an original thinker and zealous freedom-fighter, he made a lasting impression on everybody he met during his extensive travels, more often than not incognito, all over the world.

Born in 1887 as Narendranath Bhattacharya, Roy became a revolutionary in the cause of India's freedom when he was hardly fourteen years old. His daredevil tactics and his tour of the South-east Asian countries and China to procure help from Germany keep the reader spell-bound. He landed in San Francisco as Father Martin and soon christened himself M. N. Roy, a name which stuck to him for life. Hotly pursued by U.S. and British Secret Police, he escaped to Mexico and built the Mexican Socialist Party. At one of the meetings, Roy renamed the Socialist Party as Communist Party, thus earning the distinction of founding the first Communist Party outside Russia. Michael Borodin, one of the leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, prepared the ground for Roy's 'pilgrimage' to Moscow to attend the Second Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1920. Roy had the rare honour of being invited by Lenin to submit his thesis on "the Colonial Question" along with that of the latter for discussion and having it accepted. He was deputed by Stalin to establish a lasting bond between the Revolution leaders in China and the Soviet regime. His alleged failure in China coupled with his independent line of thinking turned Stalin and his cohorts against Roy. Luckily, Roy could escape to Berlin with the help of friends and land in Karachi in 1931. After a brief span of eight months of freedom in India, he was jailed by the British for five years. On release in 1936 he joined the Indian National Congress to the chagrin of the Communists and the suspicion and amazement of the Congress Socialists. Roy soon founded the League of Radical Congressmen, the forerunner to the Radical Democratic Party of India. In 1948 the Radical Democratic Party was dissolved and converted into the Radical Humanist Movement of India. The publication *Independent India* was changed to *Radical Humanist* by Roy; the latter continues to this day as a monthly under the editorship of V. M. Tarkunde.

J. B. H. Wadia's book, *M. N. Roy — The Man*, brings out the richness of Roy's personality in its

various hues. Wadia's association with Roy from 1937 until his death lends an aura of authenticity which could have hardly come from any other pen. Roy was a man of many parts. He was an intellectual *par excellence*, a rationalist, a scholar, writer, linguist, a lover of music, art and literature and gardening, all rolled into one. A connoisseur of wine and good food, he enjoyed all the good things of life and did not hesitate to appear so in public. However, he and his wife Ellen lived frugally especially in the days immediately after his release from jail. At no time in his life in India had he access to any significant financial sources for maintaining his modest home in Dehra Dun. The book bings out in vivid detail the hospitality, kindness and effusive spirit of the Roys.

Roy was a man of liberal values and a radical humanist dedicated to democratic freedom. He defined freedom as "the progressive removal of all restrictions from the unfolding of human potentialities". It is in pursuit of the freedom which he cherished that he fought as a revolutionary, learned the principles and practice of socialism at the New York Public Library, in his early years, participated in the deliberations of the Communist International, accepted the mission to China and worked hard in India during the last years of his life. He became disillusioned with the working of Marxist Socialism under Stalin. His conviction that active party politics had degenerated into power politics in India prompted him to dissolve voluntarily the Radical Democratic Party of India and launch the Radical Humanist Movement. True to his belief in the freedom of the individual in society, he left it open to the members of the party to decide on their future course as thought best by them.

He advocated bringing about a social order in which the entire community shared plenty—happiness and good life, according to the author.

The contributions made by Ellen Roy to the life and work of her husband have been given the place they deserve in the book under review. Rightly so. But for the active support of Ellen, the author and other Royites, the impact of Roy on the national scene would have been of a much lesser order. For all the incompleteness of the book (modestly labelled by the author as "an incomplete Royana") it fills a void which needed to be filled for an understanding and appreciation of the legacy of M. N. Roy to India and to humanity at large.

— Mary Thomas

***OFFICIAL SECRECY AND THE PRESS;** Prepared by S. N. Jain for the Indian Law Institute; 1982; N. M. Tripathi Pvt. Ltd.; Pp. 48; Rs. 15.

****CONTEMPT OF COURT AND THE PRESS;** Prepared by Rajeev Dhawan for the Indian Law Institute; 1982; Tripathi; Pp. 280; Rs. 45.

THE CONTROVERSY surrounding the publication of the Morarji Desai-Sanjiva Reddy correspondence has once again brought into focus the utterly unsatisfactory state of the existing law on official secrecy. For many years now, there has been a near-unanimity among journalists and lawyers alike that, unless the antiquated Official Secrets Act, 1923, was radically overhauled, the Indian public's right to know would continue to flounder under the vagaries of officialdom.

The present study* undertaken by the Indian Law Institute (ILI) on behalf of the Press Council of India, fulfils the long-standing need for a thorough review of the subject. It attempts to examine, against the background of the Indian experience after Independence and keeping in view our constitutional commitments to freedom of speech and expression, the major defects that have become apparent in the Act. The main focus of attention, understandably, is Section 5 which deals with disclosure of official infor-

mation and which has been the subject of much adverse criticism over the years.

Modelled on the lines of its English counterpart, viz., Sec. 2 of the Official Secrets Act, 1911, Sec. 5 of our Act is a remarkably sweeping provision, taking within its ambit the communication by any person of any document or information of his possession or entrusted to him in confidence by a government official, to any other person except one whom he is authorised to communicate it. For good measure, the section also makes the recipient of such document or information equally liable for punishment.

"Sec. 5 is a catch-all provision and hinders the publication of information which is not prejudicial to legitimate national or private interests but whose publication may be in the interest of the community as against the interests of the political party in power," notes the study under review. It rightly underlines the immediate need for circumscribing the operation of Sec. 5 to certain specific categories of information which need protection from disclosure. More importantly, it recommends that, as a rule, "public interest ought to be the over-riding consideration in determining whether a person has violated the Official Secrets Act or not, irrespective of the

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nature of the document or the category of secrecy to which it belongs. . . . To ensure this objective, it may be necessary to provide in the statute that it would be a defence in prosecution that publication was in the public interest." Whether or not the Government of India will summon up the requisite courage to do so remains a moot point.

The other ILI study**, equally useful if slightly bulkier, concerns the law regarding contempt of court. In this area, too, there is considerable scope for reform, e.g., on the question of confidentiality of sources. The Press Council itself in its latest Annual Report, released in August, made a plea for lessening the rigours of the compulsory disclosure provisions, except in cases where the court considers such disclosure "necessary in the interests of justice or national security or for the prevention of disorder or crime."

By and large, however, the power of contempt has been exercised with a healthy circumspection by our courts, following the English approach in the matter. There have been exceptions, of course, like the occa-

sion when the former Chief Justice of India, M. H. Beg, initiated proceedings for contempt against two prominent newspapers soon after the Emergency, on grounds that his own colleagues on the Bench found difficult to sustain. (In the event, the proceedings were dropped even before the hearings began).

While advocating reforms in the law of contempt in India, on the grounds *inter alia* that the 1971 Act was passed "after many compromises and in the shadow of the Law Minister's restraining observations that any reform in the law of contempt would be unconstitutional," the study under review is careful enough to emphasise the need for balance. Decided cases, it notes, "clearly demonstrate a need to retain the jurisdiction relating to scandalising the judges in India. Judges are too often made a part of the unverified and often irresponsible politics of the market place." The situation, to be sure, has only grown worse since those words were written, and the signs are none too hopeful.

—K. S. Venkateswaran

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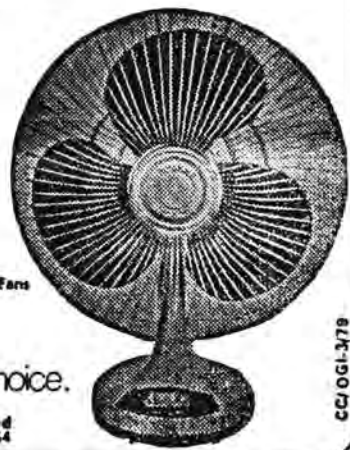
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CULTURAL ROUNDABOUT

S. I. CLERK

THE MOST outstanding amongst the current plays in Bombay has been P. L. Deshpande's *Teen Paishacha Tamasha* adapted from "Three Penny Opera" by Bertolt Brecht. It was presented at the Tata Theatre by Theatre Academy, Pune, under the aegis of the NCPA. It was a brilliant satire on our corrupt politicians, beggars, chaos in the nationalised banks, religiosity, blind superstition, etc. Indeed, here is a "tamasha" in more than one sense of the word! It is directed by Jabbar Patel and the cast includes stalwarts like Nandu Bhende (one of our leading rock musicians) in the lead role, Chandrakant Kale, Vandana Paranjape, Hema Lele, Madhuri Purandhare and Shyamala Vanarase.

* * * * *

AND THEN there was the IPTA presentation of *Ek Aur Dronacharya* which correlates the Dronacharya of the Mahabharata to the modern Dronacharya in the shape of Professor Arvind who, like his mythological counterpart, allows himself to be swayed away from values of life to become the Principal of a college and have a higher 'standard' (at the instigation of his wife) all the time fully conscious of his moral down-

fall. It is a thought-provoking play in which Anjan Srivastava as Prof. Arvind, Aprajita Krishna as Leela and Pradeep Sharma as the President of the college are noteworthy. Subhash B. Dangayach is the director and Dr. Shankar Shesh the playwright.

* * * * *

AT THE same time, 'Ekjut' presented the Hindi play *Sandhya Chhaya* which was adapted by Kusum Kumar from the Marathi original by Jayant Dalvi. The play is a tear-jerker about an aged couple who feel abandoned by their son who is settled in the United States and married to an American girl. Nadira is the director of the play.

* * * * *

AS FOR the English theatre, there was Tennessee Williams' *The Glass Menagerie* presented by 'Creators'—a group of young theatre enthusiasts—at the Tata Theatre under the auspices of the NCPA. The play (written in 1948) revolves round a South American woman, Amanda, who is anxious to get her crippled daughter respectably married. The theme is highly dramatic. Unfortunately, quite a large portion of the dialogue was rather inaudible at the performance under review. Rather a pity.

* * * * *


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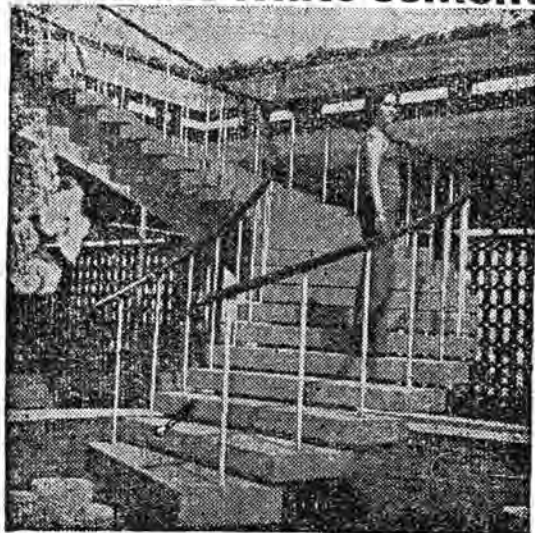
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The saddest thing in my life was when I discovered that people can get their freedom from colonial masters and find themselves unfree.

—Joshua Nkomo quoted in *The Times of India*, April 22.

The chains of marriage are so heavy that it often takes more than two to bear them.

—La Rochefoucauld quoted in *The Observer*, May 6.

Trust the people. These three words are the most powerful force for human progress in the world today.

—President Ronald Reagan, censored by Chinese Communist authorities, quoted in *The Indian Express*, May 7.

The problem for anyone writing a book about Mrs. Thatcher is that she is both utterly unique and also very boring.

—Ian Aitken in *The Guardian*, May 10.

To me a violin lives. It's a person.

—Yehudi Menuhin quoted in *The Observer*, May 6.

Power is the greatest aphrodisiac there is.

—Henry Kissinger quoted in *The Times of India*, April 22.

Imperialism is bad only if it is white. If it is black, it is a glory.

—Conor Cruise O'Brien in *The Observer*, May 6.

They call me a *gadda* (donkey) which I am not. But I am only a *diwana* (madcap) who speaks the truth.

—Farooq Abdullah quoted in *The Indian Express*, May 25.

One is more capable of loving—and therefore being loved—the older one gets.

—Edna O'Brien quoted in *The Observer*, May 6.

In the Far East, learned men would slit open a chicken, examine its entrails and predict the future. Today, Marxists slit open *Das Kapital*, examine its entrails and predict a sad future for all systems save communism.

—Swaminathan Aiyar in *The Indian Express*, March 11.