

ARE HUMAN RIGHTS DIVISIBLE ?

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

IT IS all of a piece with Indian official hypocrisy that the recent reports of an impending motion of censure against this country in the House of Commons has provoked sharp howls of self-righteous protest in Parliament and outside. Based on the testimony gathered by Amnesty International, and authored by British MPs of diverse political affiliations, the proposed motion reportedly bracketed India with over a dozen other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which acquiesced in or tolerated the deliberate killing of men, women and children for political reasons.

In a remarkably swift move, the Indian High Commissioner in London is reported to have written to each of the hundred-odd supporters of the motion expressing surprise at their action and averring that the very idea of the Indian Government's complicity in political killings was "unthinkable". Back home, one of the leading lights of the ruling party promptly raised the issue in the Lok Sabha and described the move as an attempt at destabilising democracy in India. Predictably enough, another MP, speaking in the Rajya Sabha, suspected "the hand of some international organisation" behind the move.

However that may be, it is not so much the vehemence of the reaction against the move that is noteworthy here as the utter cynicism which characterises the Indian response on issues of human rights compliance. Surely, it is curious that a government which has no qualms about riding roughshod over the most elementary rights of its people (witness the recent handling of the situation in Assam, for example) nevertheless begins to see red everytime some independent, impartial observers from abroad draw attention to its shocking lapses on the domestic front.

Nor does the hypocrisy end there. It assumes an even more odious form when the selfsame government, in periodic outbursts of increasing frequency, revels in decrying real or imagined human rights infractions in certain politically-convenient target-nations. A singularly sickening demonstration of this tendency was offered at the so-called Non-Aligned Meet in New Delhi last March where the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, faithfully kept up the drum-beat against Israel and South Africa before the motley crowd of tinpot dictators and other petty tyrants who had assembled there with similar intentions.

It is hardly a consolation to point out, as some observers have been prone to doing of late, that its cynicism and hypocrisy notwithstanding, the Indian government still continues to hold a far superior record in the area of human rights observance than most of the other countries cited by Amnesty International in its recent report. (Not surprisingly, this very line of argument was pressed into service by our worthy High Commissioner in London when he sought to urge the sponsors of the Commons motion to reconsider their stand, on the grounds that "India was among a handful of Third World nations with democratic institutions, including an independent judiciary and a free press.").

The argument, apart from inducing a false sense of complacency among the people at large, is fraught with dangerous implications in the long run, if only because it provides the government with as handy an excuse as any for continued indulgence in large-scale violation of human rights. Indeed, the experience of the last few years has clearly exposed the ruinous fallacy underlying the argument and it would be tragic to ignore the lessons of that experience.

AS I SEE IT :

MINOO MASANI

MY FRIEND Mr. Ramkrishna Bajaj has performed a public service by drawing a much needed distinction between Surva Dharma Saman (equal respect for all religions) and Secularism which is anti-religion. While addressing a meeting in Bombay on 12 April he pointed out that Gandhiji and India were wedded to the former concept but that later, after Independence, secularism had come to dominate the scene. This is a distinction which needs to be underlined because it is so often ignored. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (5th edition) defines secularism to mean "sceptical of religious truth or opposed to religious education".

India is *not* a secular country but one that is inhabited by religious people of various faiths and denominations. Nor is our Constitution, in the drafting of which I had a small hand, because there are many Articles in it which enjoin equal respect for all religions and protect the right of minorities to impart religious education in schools.

Unfortunately, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, whose political allegiance was well-known, sold the term "secular" to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the latter, by dint of constant repetition, misled an entire generation into believing that India was a "secular democratic republic". It is nothing of the kind. It is a democratic republic which enjoins, as Gandhiji did, respect equally for all religions.

Secularism is inimical to the rights of religious minorities because it can be made to cover the domination of one community over another on a "one man, one vote" basis.

I, for one, have ever since the fifties pointed out that Marxist jargon was being imposed on our political thinking and I am glad that Mr. Balraj Madhok, then President of the Jan Sangh, made a similar plea during the sixties.

It is not an accident that on 20 April, 1983, Mr. P. N. Haksar, whose ideological predilections are well-known, tried to revive the cult of secularism in the course of a speech in Bombay. He urged that "India's future well-being and development will be jeopardised if the present slogans of egalitarianism and secularism are not transformed into reality" (*Indian Express*, 21 April, 1983). Now, what has "egalitarianism" got to do with "secularism"? Mr. Haksar has let the Marxist cat out of the bag!

This is one more matter in regard to which India needs to advance from the cult of Karl Marx to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

* * * * *

Talking of Marx and Gandhi, I note that Mr. S. Guha Thakurta has crossed swords with me—not for the first time—in his letter to the Editor of *The Statesman* on 18 April in which he takes issues with me for my column on 3 April, blaming the horrors of the Soviet Union and Communist China on Karl Marx. Actually, I had said that Marx, if exhumed today, would be horrified to find Policeman Andropov at the head of a so-called "Marxist State".

But since Mr. Guha Thakurta has raised the issue, let me counter-attack by saying that Karl Marx was in several respects a man who sowed the seeds of the horrors of Soviet Russia and Communist China. The theorist, whatever his intentions, who gives rise to nothing but a barbaric despotism, must surely bear some share of responsibility for the result. There is

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a connection between Karl Marx's Marxism and the pseudo-Marxism of the totalitarian communist states of today. There was a great deal in Marx's teachings, including his vituperative language, which provided a basis for Lenin and Stalin to wear his mantle. As Mr. Bernard Levin put it so well in an article in *The Times* of 11 March, 1983, "Lenin, Stalin, Brezhnev, Ulbricht, Jeruzelaki, Rakosi, Mao, Castro—such men as these are not aberrations from Marxism, but its most perfect flowers, its juiciest fruits. Marxism gave them the weapons, and they finished the job;" As he rightly concludes, Karl Marx "has no one to blame except himself".

* * * * *

The ballyhoo in certain quarters which has succeeded in intimidating Sir Richard Attenborough into abstaining from attending the premiere of the film *Gandhi* in South Africa reminds me of my old leader Rajaji's comment about a similar campaign in 1970 for the cancellation of a cricket series in England against a South African team. Wrote Rajaji in *Swarajya*, on 6 June, 1970: "I am a heretic. I do not see why the British people should be deprived of seeing good cricket. . . . Apartheid may be bad; but good cricket can be played by those believing in apartheid. Shall we succeed in improving the minds and doctrines of people by outcasting them?"

I am reinforced in my belief that Gandhiji also would have encouraged Sir Richard to go to South Africa for the premiere by the comment of Manilal Gandhi's son and Gandhiji's grandson, Arun Gandhi, who has given the lie to Communists of the Naidoo-Dadoo persuasion, who use Gandhiji's name but mock at everything for which he stood. Writes Arun Gandhi in the *Sunday Observer* of 24 April: "If love, compassion, understanding and non-violence are the cornerstones of Gandhi's philosophy, are we doing the right thing in his name by screaming angry abuses in words dripping with hatred at the white racists of South Africa for screening the film to segregated audiences? Is this how Gandhiji would have responded to a similar situation? Is this what we have learnt from his teachings? Let us suppose our hate-filled campaign has succeeded, not only in stopping Sir Richard from attending the segregated premiere of *Gandhi*, but in stopping the screening of the film in South Africa as demanded by certain non-white leaders. Would this have helped cement the relationship between whites and blacks? Can such a hate-filled campaign ever evoke a sympathetic response from the government or the white in South Africa?"

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Courtesy: *The Statesman*, Calcutta.

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THE RIGHT TO DIE

AZIZ MADNI

"FOR THE very factors—age, sickness, physical and, worst of all, mental disability—which may make suicide a rational and acceptable alternative to continuing life, are also the ones which may make the sufferer incapable of carrying out the deed unaided. This is the moral heart of the matter; not self-determination as such, but the need paradoxically to involve others in this most intense personal choice", comments Gillian Tindall perceptively in a recent article in *The Times*, London.

That is exactly what euthanasia is about. For, simply put, it is a way of ending painlessly the life of a terminally ill or injured person at his or her request. In other words, it is a means available to such a patient of dying with dignity.

With a view to promoting consciousness of euthanasia among the intelligentsia so that this enlightened section of society may in turn influence the public at large, a seminar under the auspices of "The Society For The Right To Die With Dignity" was held on 30 April at the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay. The subject was: "Implications and Limits of Voluntary Euthanasia". The seminar was divided into two sessions, with Dr. B. N. Colabawalla in the chair for

the first on "Care of Terminally Ill or Injured Patients" which was followed by the consideration of a Draft Bill for the Protection of Physicians and Surgeons treating such patients. The second session, chaired by Mr. M. R. Masani, had as its subject "The Right To Die Of Others" and was followed by a discussion on another Draft Bill proposing certain amendments to the criminal law.

Among the distinguished participants, to mention only a few, were: Mrs. Justice Sujata Manohar, Dr. R. H. Dastur, Dr. N. H. Antia, Mr. T. Godiwalla, and Mr. B. K. Karanjia. With such participants from diverse professional backgrounds, the level of discussion was, appropriately enough, high and its direction constructive. For instance, at the very outset, Dr. Colabawalla drew a clear distinction between mercy killing and voluntary euthanasia, about which there has always been much confused thinking in the public mind. Mercy killing, explained Dr. Colabawalla, terminates a patient's life without his express wish while in voluntary euthanasia, the patient's wish is of seminal importance. It is the latter that the seminar was concerned with.

Also, as Dr. Colabawalla pointed out, the moral

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dilemma between allowing a terminally ill patient to continue to live and putting an end to his life through a "gentle and easy death" is of comparatively recent origin; it did not exist even 50 or 70 years ago. The basic ethical consideration today is the quality of life. Would it be worthwhile for a terminally ill patient to continue the agony of living? Would it not be better for him to seek release from it by as painless a means as withholding treatment? The question then is not how to save his life but when to let it go, so that he does not die a painful, messy death. The decision, in the last analysis, must rest with the patient, his doctor and members of his family in the context of the ethical judgement of the society they live in.

On balance it was felt that it is for the doctor to take the lead in persuading society to accept voluntary euthanasia as a way out for a terminally ill or injured patient; and for the lawyer to follow it up by pressing for legislation to make voluntary euthanasia legal so that the physician or surgeon who may administer it is protected against civil or criminal liability.

The second session of the seminar, presided over by Mr. Masani, focussed attention on the intellectual aspect of voluntary euthanasia: the right of a person, terminally ill or not, to choose to die. Mr. Masani's emphasis was on the freedom to choose between life and death. He drove home the point by citing the example of Vinoba Bhave whose respect for human life, as the greatest disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, was

second to none. And yet once he had felt he had outlived his usefulness to the society for which he had worked so selflessly, he put an end to his life by simply stopping the intake of all life-sustaining nourishment.

Of a different category was the case of the internationally famous author and thinker, Arthur Koestler. Chronic illness had made life so miserable for Koestler that he *had* to end it. His suicide thus was not an act of cowardice but of the courage of his conviction that every human being had a right to decide when to die and how.

Mr. Masani asserted that in a democracy the right to die with dignity should be on par with the right to freedom of expression as summed up in the famous dictum of Voltaire: "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to death your right to say it." Elevating the discussion to an even higher level, Mr. Masani tried to convey the spirit in which a critically ill man decides to die with dignity by quoting from Lord Tennyson's *Crossing the Bar* "May there be no moaning of the bar/When I put out to sea!" (At the close of the seminar Mr. Masani announced that in aid of The Society For The Right To Die With Dignity, a premiere of Metro Goldwyn Meyer's *Whose Life Is It Anyway?* will be held in Bombay on 1 September, 1983, and that those who would like to do some voluntary work for it may give their names at the Society's office at Maneckji Wadia Building (4th Floor), 127 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort Bombay 23).



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PARAPLEGIA AND SOCIETY

HOMAI JAL MOOS

PRO, Society for the Rehabilitation of Paraplegics

THOSE OF us who care for human dignity would doubtless be interested in knowing something about the plight of paraplegics and the efforts being undertaken to ameliorate their lot. The paraplegic is a victim of a spinal injury that has permanently paralysed him from waist downwards. Most of the victims represent the lower economic strata of society and rehabilitating them is a complex task. It entails physical rehabilitation, followed by social rehabilitation.

Since paraplegia is an irreversible and permanent affliction, the essential aim of any social worker in this area must be to rehabilitate and retrain the patient to live as normally as possible with his family, regain useful economic independence as wage earner, and be a productive and happy member of society. Simultaneously, efforts should also be made to provide proper medical treatment to prevent bed-sores, infections, etc., to which the paraplegic is particularly prone, and to ensure that there is no recurrence of the affliction itself.

No less important, the zest for life must be rekindled in the patient by actively encouraging his participation in games, sports and every kind of social activity. The patient, on his part, will have to put in a good deal of effort to retrain himself in a new way of life, living and moving in a wheelchair or on crutches, and often learning a new craft or vocation to keep himself usefully occupied in life.

What has been done

The Society for the Rehabilitation of Paraplegics was founded in 1968 with the aim of carrying out this rehabilitation project. It was for the first time that a systematic approach to this problem was being attempted for civilians in this part of the world. In the Orthopaedic Department of the J. J. Group of Hospitals, Bombay, a Paraplegic Unit was set up in 1969 which has worked in collaboration with the Government of Maharashtra.

In 1979, a plot of land admeasuring 8,000 sq. mts. was purchased at Vashi for establishing a fully-equipped centre for rehabilitation of paraplegics. The foundation stone for the centre, named "Sharan", was laid by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on 11 October, 1980. The total cost of constructing and equipping the centre has been estimated at Rs. 40 lacs.

Sports for Paraplegics

There is no greater incentive to regaining mental and physical well-being than the introduction of sports in the overall rehabilitation programme of these patients. They compete in swimming and wheelchair races, javelin and discus throws, shot-put, archery, fencing, billiards, table-tennis, basket-ball, etc., to name only the more common sports. Every year, except in the year of the Para-Olympics, an International Meet for Paraplegics is held at Stoke-Mandiville, UK.

In 1972, a properly organised body called the All-India Federation for Sports and Rehabilitation of Paraplegics was formed with the aim of promoting sports for the paralysed in an organised manner. The Federation sent teams to the Stoke-Mandiville Games in 1974 and 1975 and to the FEFPIC Games in 1982. It organised the National Paraplegic Games in Poona where over 200 competitors from 8 to 10 different centres in India participated. The first National Paraplegic Games were held in 1978 and the second in 1980. Appreciation of the valuable work done by the Paraplegic Home at Kirkee, Poona, in training and promoting paraplegic sports must be recorded here, as also the untiring efforts of Sir Ludwig Guttmann in helping and supporting the Games for the Paraplegics.

Society's Responsibility

Society owes a major responsibility to the paraplegics who, in many instances, have suffered injuries while doing their work. Without such workers risking their lives we would not be able to enjoy many of the comforts and facilities which we now take for granted. It is therefore the responsibility of every individual to contribute liberally to this worthy cause, so that a modern, well-equipped centre comes up at Vashi and the unfortunate victims of paraplegia are provided the opportunity of leading a happy life of considerable economic independence.

(Donations for the centre may be sent in the name of **Society for the Rehabilitation of Paraplegics**, c/o Orthopaedic Department, J. J. Group of Hospitals, Bombay 400 008. All donations enjoy exemption under Section 80G of the Income Tax Act.)

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BOOK REVIEWS

ADMINISTRATIVE LAW by H. W. R. Wade; 5th ed.; Oxford University Press; 1982; Pp. 892; Rs. 175.

WHENEVER A standard work of reference on any branch of the law appears from abroad, the feelings that it evokes among discerning readers in India are mixed. On the one hand, there is unqualified admiration for the overall excellence that informs such works in terms of content as well as presentation. On the other, there is regret, born of the painful realisation that no writer in this country has been equal to the task of attempting anything similar.

So it is in the case of Wade's *Administrative Law*. This classic, which first made its appearance only two decades ago, has been an indispensable source of information to students and practitioners alike on the rapid, if sometimes haphazard course that developments in this important area of the law have followed. The latest edition, released in India earlier this year, more than lives up to the expectations raised by its four predecessors.

Understandably, the first thing that strikes any student of administrative law is the chequered history of the subject and the vagarious nature of its evolution to its present form. Although the modern concept in its broad outline crystallised as recently as in the latter half of the seventeenth century, many of its basic rules (e.g. the principles of natural justice) are steeped in antiquity. Prof. Wade has succeeded in capturing the compelling sense of history while assessing the impact each succeeding development had on the evolution of the law over the decades. "It is remarkable," he says, "how little alteration has proved necessary in the law laid down two centuries ago in a different age. The spread of the tree still increases and it throws out new branches, but its roots remain where they have been for centuries."

The author is rightly critical of the unfortunate period following the Second World War which witnessed a cataclysmic change for the worse in the growth of administrative law. "The courts and the legal profession seemed to have forgotten the achievements of their predecessors and they showed little stomach for continuing their centuries-old work of imposing law upon government. It was understandable that executive power was paramount in wartime, but it was hard to understand why, in the flood of new powers and jurisdictions that came with the welfare state, administrative law should not have been vigorously revived, just when the need for it was greatest."

Fortunately, however, the tide turned in the six-

ties when a greater realisation of the perils of unfettered executive discretion characterised the attitude of judges in England. Beginning with the reinstatement of judicial review for error on the face of the record, the courts soon "began to send out a stream of decisions which reinvigorated administrative law and re-established continuity with the past. The principles of natural justice were given their proper application, providing a broad foundation for a kind of code of administrative due process. The notion of unfettered administrative discretion was totally rejected."

The turning point came, as Prof. Wade points out, in the landmark decision handed down by the House of Lords in the case of *Ridge v. Baldwin* (1963) where the dismissal, without notice or hearing, of the Chief Constable of Brighton was held null and void on the grounds that it constituted a serious breach of the principles of natural justice. *Ridge v. Baldwin* set the tone for an unending stream of similar decisions which have now firmly and unequivocally established the important rule that the principles of natural justice apply as much to administrative as to judicial proceedings.

The position in India is no different. In a sense, each of the major developments in the administrative law of England has had its reflection in the Indian situation, where the presence of a written constitution with a well-drafted chapter on fundamental rights has been of additional help in advancing many of the innovative concepts further. Despite some initial vacillations, the Supreme Court of India has in recent years displayed a remarkable awareness in this area as is borne out by its decisions, among others, in *Maneka Gandhi's Case*, *Kasturilal's Case*, *The International Airports Authority Case*, and so on. It is somewhat disheartening to note that none of these decisions finds even a passing reference in the book under review.

Be that as it may, given the ineluctable fact that "the primary purpose of administrative law is to keep the powers of government within their legal bounds, so as to protect the citizen against their abuse," there is one aspect of Prof. Wade's work which merits special attention. In the ongoing debate in England over the desirability of a Bill of Rights, the author (who has elsewhere expressed himself in favour of such a move) strikes a timely warning about the palpable dangers of Parliamentary supremacy, which is particularly relevant in the Indian context. "The party system," he says, "gives the government such

dominance that the traditional parliamentary control over the executive has been progressively weakened."

The only antidote to the malaise lies in strengthening the position of the judiciary, so that "the powerful engines of authority (are) prevented from running amok." A more formidable task is difficult to imagine in India today.

K. S. Venkateswaran

**PRODUCTIVITY IN THE INDIAN ECONOMY:
RISING INPUTS FOR FALLING OUTPUTS** by
P. R. BRAHMANANDA. Himalaya Publishing
House, Bombay. Pages 280. Hard Bound. Price
not mentioned.

Dr. Brahmananda is well-known to students of Economics, all over the country. A Professor at the Bombay University, this is his twelfth book. Beginning with the chief determinants of growth and productivity, it is an erudite treatise on the transition of the Indian economy in relation to the old theories, irrelevant in the present Indian context. Tracing the ills of our economy and the probable causes of the Productivity Fade-Out, the Professor goes on to suggest a new theory of growth, with explanations which make profitable reading for the uninitiated as well.

Dispelling the idea that the prospect of eradicating poverty is a mirage, the book merits discussion at the highest forums, viz. the National Productivity Councils, Chambers of Commerce and FICCI, apart from the Legislatures and the Parliament. Each chapter begins with pithy sayings and proverbs, viz. the one in the chapter on "Productivity in the Tertiary Sector": "Bad bankers never die, they just lose interest." Comparative studies of the economies of the UK, Japan, USA, Germany, Soviet Union, China and Latin America provide an adequate context.

Advocating Trusteeship in the Gandhian spirit, the author talks in terms of schemes to avoid Diminishing Returns. He believes that Research and Development in every sphere should be boosted. The relevance of population control should not be overlooked for the economic well-being of any country.

Interspersed with sayings from the Koran and the Upanishads, the well-written Appendices conclude with an appraisal of the Indian Eco-Socio-Political system, with smuggling and political corruption *et al*, which come in for heavy criticism. It is an in-depth study of the Indian polity as it exists today.

K. Balasubramanian

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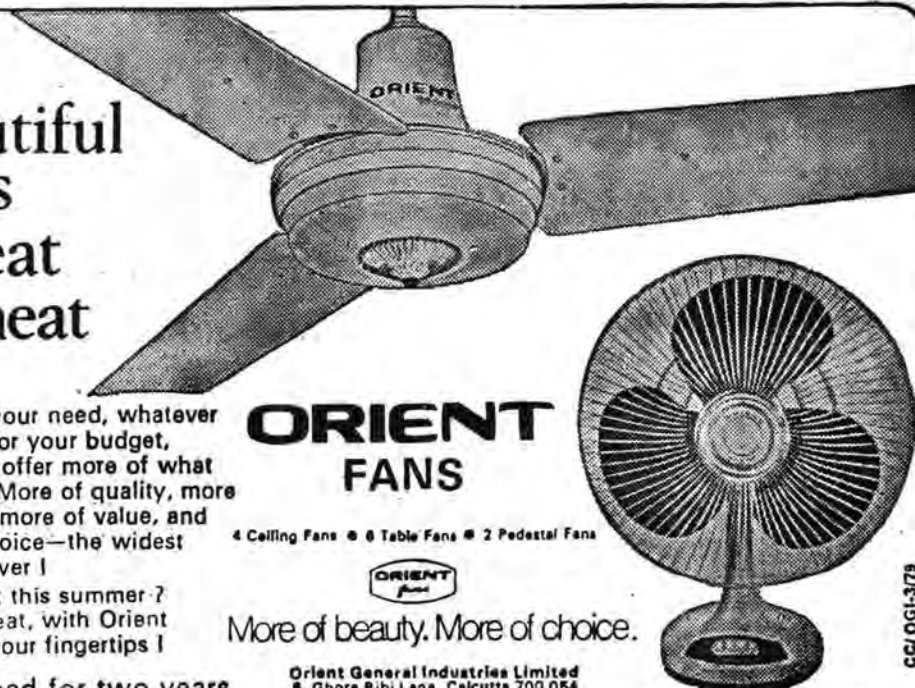
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TWENTY YEARS IN A COMMUNIST JAIL

Agony of Dr. Matheovits—Convicted for Christian Beliefs

LASZLO VARGA

During the Stalinist era many Communist, Marxist and Christian believers were arrested, tortured and sentenced to prison in Hungary. Many of them died during the torture or, later, in prison, or were executed.

After the death of Stalin, the Marxists were immediately released. Among them were Janos Kadar, the present First Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, and Gyorgy Marosan, former member of the Kadar cabinet. They were welcomed as heroes by the new leaders of the party, who apologized for "Stalinist mistakes", and then were rehabilitated. The imprisoned Marxists received a substantial amount of money for their sufferings: they immediately were also given good jobs in the party or in the administration, and when they reached retirement age, received a pension. They could travel anywhere in the world. In sum: they received some compensation for their sufferings. Is there any difference between a Marxist and a Christian believer in Hungary?

According to the Hungarian Communist Constitution (enacted as law in 1949): No; but actual practice shows the opposite.

If you were a Christian believer, your case was very different and you were treated very badly, as the case of Dr. Ferenc Matheovits shows.

Dr. Ferenc Matheovits was a Judge in Pecs, Hungary, a picturesque city in the Western part of the country. After World War II, he actively participated in the political life of Hungary and, in 1947 was elected a member of Parliament on the Democratic People's Party ticket. It is interesting to note that this Christian-spirited party, in 1947, basically defeated the Communist Party, which "won" a majority only with the so-called "Blue Cards". These were used by the Communist Party members in order to vote five or six times to increase the Communist vote.

Dr. Matheovits was an outspoken member of Parliament, who believed in the Peace Treaty of Hungary, 1947. This guaranteed basic human rights for the Hungarians. Therefore, he spoke bravely in Parliament, for the oppressed, and also discussed with his colleagues the independence of Hungary as the normal consequence of the Peace Treaty.

The Stalinist-Rakoski regime arrested him in 1949 for this attitude, and after being brutally tortured—surprisingly, he survived—he was sentenced to prison where he spent 7 years.

This sentence, just before the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, was nullified by the Communist Court, but he was not rehabilitated. After the Revolution, he met with his friends to discuss again the Independence of Hungary. For this he again spent 6 years in prison.

Dr. Matheovits was released in 1963 and was arrested again in 1964 for absolutely nothing, and he spent six and a half years in prison again. Altogether, under the Communist regime, he was in prison for nineteen and a half years. One generation!

When he was finally released, nobody welcomed him as a hero, he didn't receive any money, no award and no job. Since he had not worked for the previous 20 years, in accordance with "socialist legality" he will not receive any pension.

Dr. Matheovits is now 68 years old. Although he speaks and writes French, German, Italian, English fluently, and Spanish satisfactorily, the regime does not offer him any job except to go to the mines, in which of course, his health and age do not permit him to work. During his nineteen and a half years in prison, he was approached many times by the Communist authorities, who tried to convince him that his attitude was "stupid and fruitless" and it would be better for him if he openly apologized for his mistakes, renounced his Christian beliefs and accepted the Marxist ideology.

According to his prison mates who came to the West, Dr. Matheovits always rejected the "Communist bargain", saying that he would never give up his Christian faith and principles which gave him much strength during all his years in prison. "What is the value of freedom if I must betray myself and my faith?" he said.

The Hungarian Communist regime by the Peace Treaty has guaranteed basic Human Rights. The Communist parliament also enacted the Declaration of

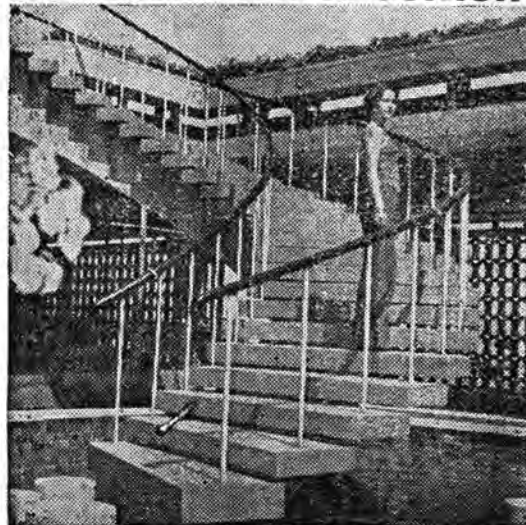
Human Rights (accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1948) as a Hungarian law. Besides that, the Hungarian Communist Constitution also guarantees for every citizen the practice of Human Rights. What is the use of so many guarantees if Dr. Matheovits cannot exercise the simplest one; to decently work and to visit the West.

Probably his last desire or only dream now is to see our cultural and religious roots in the West, especially to go to the eternal city—Rome—but he is unable to make this dream come true because he cannot get an exit visa from the Hungarian authorities to travel to the West, since he is a "convict". His former prison mates, the Marxists, are living in de luxe houses and villas, travelling as often as they want to, but Dr Matheovits, because he is a Christian believer, has not been rehabilitated. Rather, he has been branded with a rubber-stamp as "convict" for the rest of his life.

Is this the so-called "liberal" Hungarian Communist regime that Western journalists and tourists praise so much?

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A LETTER

The Fifth Bi-Annual All-India Conference of the Citizens For Democracy held at Ahmedabad on 27-28 March 1983, passed Resolutions, among others, congratulating the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly on its move to abolish the Upper House in Andhra Pradesh and welcoming the decision of the Andhra Pradesh Government to withdraw pensions to former Legislators amounting to nearly Rs. 35 lacs annually at present. The CFD was of the considered view that continuation of Upper Houses in only a few States in India was an anachronism and that the Upper Houses were misused by political parties by providing berths to defeated candidates or discredited politicians. The CFD therefore called upon Parliament and the elected representatives in the States where Legislative Councils existed to move for their abolition and appealed to the citizens to agitate for the immediate abolition of such Councils.

The CFD, while recognising that elected representatives of the people should be provided with adequate facilities during their tenure, nevertheless condemned the practice of such representatives voting unto themselves pensions and other largesse such as allotment of housing plots as a kind of political corruption, which would create an ever-increasing army of parasites on the public treasuries. The CFD therefore called upon Parliament, Legislative Assemblies in all States and institutions of local self government to move forthwith for the withdrawal of provisions for pensions, housing plots and similar largesse to elected representatives, appealed to all citizens to agitate for such immediate withdrawal and urged all political parties to accept this proposal in the interest of healthy parliamentary and legislative functioning.

On behalf of the CFD I appeal to all citizens and voluntary organisations to mobilise public opinion on the above issues. Such a move is necessary for preserving the limited resources of a poor people and maintaining public morality.

M. A. Rane

General Secretary, CFD Bombay

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WITH MANY VOICES

Today it amazes me that none of the mud will stick to her (Indira Gandhi). She seems to have some mud repellant agent. She seems to come out shining white all the time ... but the enormous mistake the West makes about her is that she is indispensable. I don't believe she is running the country; the country works despite her control not because of it.

—Salman Rushdie quoted in *India Today*, 15 April.

If your Mrs. Gandhi and our President Zia played cricket, relations would improve faster.

—Imran Khan quoted in the *Sunday Observer*, 27 March.

The main thing the West learned from its experience with Hitler was that if aggression is appeased and made profitable instead of being nipped in the bud, its appetite will grow with feeding. Appeasement has never bought peace.

—*Neue Zurcher Zeitung* (Zurich), January 1983.

There is a well-known joke which runs: God grant me a one-handed economist; then he can't say "on the one hand ... on the other hand ...".

—*Unilever Magazine*, Second Quarter 1982.

Prolonged indiscriminate reviewing of books involves constantly inventing reactions towards books about which one has no spontaneous feelings whatever.

—George Orwell quoted in *The Times*, 27 March.

Under the guise of diplomacy and detente and so forth in the past, we have made efforts to, kind of, sweep the differences under the rug and pretend they don't exist.

—Ronald Reagan in *The Sunday Times*, 20 March.

Jesus Christ was NOT a Conservative.

—Eric Heffer quoted in *The Times*, February 18.

I would swap with you any time.

—Princess of Wales to an Australian army wife quoted in *The Observer*, 27 March.

They (the Sikhs) are more than a religious sect. They are almost a race and almost a nation.

—Lord Templeman quoted in *The Observer*, 27 March.