

THE FORTY-SECOND MUST GO

Lock, Stock and Barrel

M. R. Masani

ONE of the most passionate passages in the Manifesto of the Janata Party is that which denounces the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution. It reads: "The Constitution was amended to sanctify and institutionalise a total concentration of power in the hands of one individual — the Prime Minister. The authoritarian trends that had unfolded themselves over the past few years were embodied in the 42nd Amendment which was bulldozed through Parliament. To call it an amendment is a misnomer. It is a betrayal of the testament of faith that the founding fathers bequeathed to the people and it subverts the basic structure of the 1950 Constitution. It vitiates the federal principle and upsets the nice balance between the people and Parliament, Parliament and the judiciary, the judiciary and the executive, the States and the Centre, the citizen and the Government. It is the culmination of a conspiracy to devalue democracy that started with the erosion of the cabinet system, the deliberate and consummate scuttling of democratic processes in the ruling party, and the concentration of all power in the hands of a leader who has been sought to be identified with the nation or even to be placed above it". The Manifesto then goes on to pledge that the Party would seek to rescind the 42nd Amendment.

It is no wonder then that, of the several attempts at backsliding in which the Janata Government has already indulged, the one that attracts the most widespread concern and alarm is the expressed intention of the Union Government to make a deal with the Congress Opposition and rescind only certain provisions of the Amendment, leaving others on the Statute book, thus giving legitimacy to that constitutional monstrosity.

Quite apart from the breach of faith with the electorate that is involved, it would appear that

those in authority have already forgotten that the basic objection to the 42nd Amendment is not so much that it contains certain obnoxious provisions but the manner in which it was bulldozed through Parliament at a time when leaders of the Opposition were in prison, the press was censored and no free discussion worth the name was possible.

Obviously, the right thing for the Government to do is to move for rescinding the entire 42nd Amendment lock, stock and barrel and later to re-enact



— Courtesy: Times of India

separately such provisions in the 42nd Amendment as may possess some virtue.

Strange Alibi

At this point a strange alibi is trotted out, and that is that the Congress Party has a majority in the Rajya Sabha and that therefore a Bill for the repeal of the Amendment *in toto* would stand little chance

(Continued on page 13)

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Soviet Misuse Of Psychiatry

So at last the psychiatrists of the world, assembled in Conference in Honolulu, showed the courage, even though by a narrow majority, to denounce the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes by the Soviet dictatorship.

Belated as this acceptance of the facts by the world's psychiatrists may be it is the final condemnation of the utterly abhorrent misuse of the art and science of healing in which the Soviet dictatorship and its medical stooges have been indulging for many years now. This action will also bring courage to brave Russian men and women like Bukovsky who have been subjected to this horror of being treated as insane. Anyone who would like to get more details has only to turn to a book recently published entitled *Russia's Political Hospitals* by Sidney Bloch and Peter Reddaway.

A Good Life And A Good Death

While on the subject of health and medicine, those who believe in euthanasia will congratulate the world famous cardiac surgeon, Dr. Christian Barnard of South Africa, on the death pact signed by him and his brother to the effect that, in case of incapacitation, the sufferer would be removed from the scene by the other.

Dr. Barnard spoke about this pact at the launching of his new book *The Night Season*, which has mercy killing as its theme: "One must give a patient a good life. And when this is no longer possible, one must give a patient a good death".

Equality Or Chivalry?

It would appear that at a factory in the Midlands in Britain where there are 4000 workers, the Management allowed women workers to leave five minutes before the men so that they could avoid being jostled as a result of the mad rush at the factory gates. A Mr. Peake regarded this as a clear case of discrimination against men. In the spirit of women's lib, he went to court and asked that this unfair discrimination should be terminated under the Sex Discrimination Act. The Employment Appeal Tribunal, going by the letter of the law, upheld Mr. Peake. Now it was the turn of the Company to appeal to the High Court where Lord Denning upheld the Company's action. The Master of Rolls said: "It would be very wrong if the statute were thought to obliterate the differences between men and women or to obliterate all the chivalry and courtesy which we expected mankind to give to womenkind". It would surely not be

an offence under the Sex Discrimination Act, his Lordship said, to cry "women and children first" in the case of a factory fire.

The matter is now likely to go to the House of Lords and it is to be hoped that their Lordships will not lag behind in chivalry.

Women libbers should also learn from this that absolute equality in such matters can sometimes amount to absolute nonsense.

The Cost Of Hindi

So Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, unequalled for his splendid oratory in the Hindi language, has got his Hindi oration off his chest at the U.N. One hopes he feels better for it. The fact that nobody would have understood his words but for the fact that his speech had to be painfully translated by another member of the Indian delegation is perhaps beside the point. History has been made! The Soviets of course have been making history in this particular matter ever since the U.N. was established, but then they are a Superpower.

Mr. Vajpayee's decision to speak in Hindi was evidently a step in the campaign to establish the right of Hindi to be considered an international language. But how about giving it a little time to become a national language, which it is still a long way from becoming?

There is evidently a crazy proposal from the World Hindi Conference held at Nagpur in 1975 that Hindi should be declared, as one of the world languages along with the three or four at present in vogue.

One objection to this proposal is that the country that requires such a move to be made has to pay the cost of installation and other facilities which would cost the Indian taxpayers a mere Rs. 12 crores. Mr. Vajpayee told a press conference in New York that he would be delighted if this could be done provided the Finance Minister in India would spare the money for the purpose. We would like to think that Mr. H. M. Patel has a better sense of proportion in this matter and will dismiss the suggestion that the over-Hindi chauvinism with the contemptuous laugh that it deserves.

The Maharaja In Danger

According to a newspaper report, Air India have been asked by the Union Government to stop serving liquor to passengers on all their flights and Air India management, who consider it impossible to implement this directive without the most serious con-

(Continued on page 3)

'A NOSTALGIC EXPERIENCE'

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

(This is the text of a message sent by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan to the publishers of the Editor's memoir after he had gone through an advance copy sent to him by the publishers.)

It has been a nostalgic experience for me to go through Minoo Masani's autobiographical story "Bliss Was It In That Dawn.....". From the days of the Nasik Road Central Prison upto now I have been fortunate in having Masani's friendship and love even though sometimes there have been serious differences between us. But these differences never soured our personal relations, and I still look upon Minoo as one of my dearest and nearest friends. Minoo is a born story teller and beginning with his most popular "My India" to the present book "Bliss Was It In That Dawn.....", he has remained a most readable, perceptive and interesting writer. He also has an extraordinary sense of fairness and has been very considerate to his political adversaries. It is a matter of deep personal satisfaction that though both of us as socialists started with political disagreement and criticism of Mahatma Gandhi, we both have retained until now an undiminished respect and regard for

Gandhiji. In our own ways both of us have become Gandhians, intellectually as well as spiritually.

Parliamentary politics had never attracted me, but Minoo in his short parliamentary career displayed unusual forensic ability and understanding of national problems. I am sure that had he not withdrawn from politics he would have risen to the highest positions.

The period of life and history of which Minoo writes in his present book was one of struggle and upheaval, and Minoo was in the thick of it all. The title of the book truly expresses the feeling of us, young nationalists and socialists, fighting for freedom and a new society. Minoo has taken particular care and has never deviated from the facts. I think his interpretations of the events of those days are also objective and truthful. I recommend this most-readable book to the Indian youth who might draw inspiration from it for national service.

ANOTHER ENTEBBE!

All honour to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for the courage shown and the lives saved by the blow their commandos struck at Mogadishu airport on October 18.

Once again, as at Entebbe and earlier, it has been established that it is the decent and courageous course that proves ultimately to be the most humane one, while doing a deal with murder involves on the other hand releasing terrorists who indulge in yet more carnage.

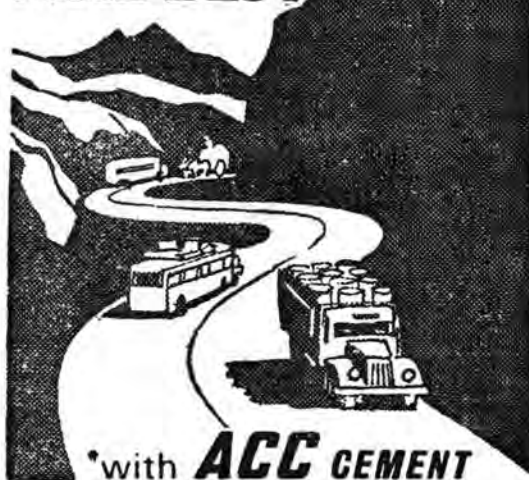
When will the pusillanimous rulers of other countries make a commitment in the company of Israel and West Germany to stand firm in the face of blackmail?

BETWEEN YOU & ME & THE LAMP POST (Continued from page 2)

sequences on their operations and indeed their survival, are reportedly shocked at the directive. As it happens, Air India has no monopoly such as is enjoyed by the Indian Airlines Co-operation and passengers have a right to choose any of the competing airlines by which to fly. It would be a great pity if the fad of imposing a ban on liquor were to destroy one of the finest airlines in the world and the wonderful job it has been doing in promoting tourism for India.

The Maharaja has been one of our best ambassadors abroad. The tourists of the world would be sad to see him go. May we plead with Delhi to keep its fads within the country and to respect the old adage: "Do in Rome as the Romans do"?

'Good Roads do most to
develop the country and
**CONCRETE
ROADS***
ARE BEST



*with **ACC CEMENT**

PAUL JOHNSON DISCARDS SOCIALISM

(A little before Mr. Reg Prentice, former Labour Cabinet Minister, crossed the floor and joined the Conservative Party in the House of Commons in the beginning of October, another important British defector from Socialism was Paul Johnson, famous Editor of The News Statesman, who quit the Labour Party in September. Mr. Johnson is the author of Enemies of Society, published a little earlier by Weindenfeld and Nicolsen. This is a condensation of an article by Michael Davis published in the Sunday Observer Review.)

PAUL JOHNSON, who resigned from the Labour Party with a flood of invective about collectivism and the closed shop, is not a man without enemies. 'Cold', 'arrogant', 'patronising,' pay no attention to him,' were some of the things that were said about him in my media circle, to which Mr. Johnson also, more or less, belongs.

It is not so easy, however, to ignore Mr Johnson. His 4,000-word 'Farewell to the Labour Party', published in the current *New Statesman*, may have its faults. But few readers could remain indifferent to its invective, particularly when, in a typical Johnsonian flight, he implies that the Labour Party is on the road that leads to Auschwitz.

He is the best polemical writer in the country. There is another reason why he cannot be ignored. He is, after all, a former editor of the *New Statesman*, and a member of its board. His disenchantment with Labour continues an undeniable trend: Lord Shawcross, George Brown, Woodrow Wyatt, Dick Taverne, Professor Hugh Thomas. Then there are Roy Jenkins, David Marquand and Brian Walden all leaving our political scene.

The list is liable to make committed Labour supporters foam at the mouth, but whatever one may think of this group individually, it would be a very bold Labour Party strategist who dismissed their malaise as totally unrepresentative. Nor can they be simply dismissed as middle-class people whose life-styles never suited socialism in the first place. The life-styles of Michael Foot and Wedgwood Benn, to say nothing of the Prime Minister and Peter Jay, are not exactly proletarian either.

Many of the old Johnson articles I had been reading seemed to be strongly informed by historical references.

His first love, he told me last week had always been history. The one lesson of history was that 'you cannot have political freedom without economic freedom. You cannot have collectivism without a threat to liberty. People who think otherwise are deluding themselves'.

What Nye Said

Two things, he went on (needing little encouragement from me), were necessary before you changed your political loyalties: intellectual conviction and a moment of emotional shock. 'The emotional shock for me came over the closed shop, when British Rail threw people on to the street who had worked for them for 20 years, simply because they would not bow their knee to trade union power'.

In support of his anti-trade union stance, Johnson quoted Nye Bevan. As an impressionable young

man, he sat next to Bevan at a Tribune lunch in 1952 or '53, and he could clearly remember Nye saying — he could quote him almost verbatim — 'Never confuse socialism with trade unionism.' Trade unionism was a defensive reaction to capitalism. Nye, said Johnson, hated the idea of secret caucuses taking decisions and then setting out to crush their opponents. Nye was the only Labour politician who had managed to combine socialist concern for the public good with intense individualism.

Later, I began to see how Johnson's mind might operate. That choleric appearance is not deceptive. He likes a fight (he can be a risky dinner-table guest). He is not merely a man of opinion, but a man of firm opinion. Although he can be, as he was to me, extremely courteous, and his friends find him most agreeable, somewhere inside he is very aggressive. Hence the violence with which he often writes.

He likes order (he types the notes for his books, and uses a system of coloured inks and loose leaf files to discipline his material). He likes clear definitions.

Unlike most of the rest of us, who live in a vague grey muddle of imponderables, Johnson likes black and white: Benn V. Thatcher, Paris students V. General de Gaulle or (back in 1964) the young Beatles fans, with their 'vacant faces', versus the next generation of national leaders.

A lot of the points that Johnson raises, in exaggerated style, will be worrying others who used to vote for the Labour Party as the party of compassion and individual liberty, and are now having their doubts.

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 1969. 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



NOT BY POLITICS ALONE

"If Gandhiji had been with us today, he would have combatted the twin concepts of socialism and secularism, because both of them demand for Caesar or the State what belongs to God or the individual conscience", observed Mr. M. R. Masani, while addressing the Ellisbridge Jaycees in Ahmedabad on Gandhiji's Birth Anniversary. "Just as man does not live by bread alone", he added, "so no nation can live by politics alone".

The people today were thoroughly disillusioned with dictatorship, but there was a real danger of their being also disillusioned with democracy if things proceed as they have been doing for the last six months. There was widespread concern about the country's future. It had therefore become necessary to respond to Gandhiji's call to "turn the searchlight inwards".

It was as big a mistake to lay all the blame for the horrors of the Emergency on the wickedness of one person as it was to indulge in the cult of personality. Mr. Masani recalled that, at the All India Civil Liberties Conference in Ahmedabad on October 15, 1975, he had expressed the view that what had happened on 26th June, 1975, was the "culmination of what had gone before during the past twentyfive years since India's Independence". It was because the politicians of India had, by and large, played the fool and failed the people that in June 1975, the people of India had sullenly bowed to the establishment of an authoritarian regime, thus allowing the baby of democracy to be thrown out with the dirty bathwater of party politics.

The basic cause that made the functioning of our democracy so difficult was that the social and non-political roots of our society were so weak, as symbolised by mass illiteracy and the poor quality of education, social backwardness reflected in superstition, caste, untouchability, the subordination of women and, above all, the failure to develop individual character. It was the human material that failed the noble objectives and manifestos of all political parties and had led to the current disillusionment and scepticism.

On this backward society there had been an effort during the past quarter century to impose the superstructure of an all — embracing Socialist State which had sought to dominate the economy, education, sport and every aspect of life in defiance of Gandhiji's dictum that "that Government is best which governs the least".

So too, religion had been scoffed at and materialism embodied in successive Five-Year Plans had been elevated into a new religion.

India had suffered from too much politics and too little citizenship. Our national life needed to be depoliticised. Mr. Masani saw little hope of economic prosperity or political stability unless the structure of Statism and excessive controls which Rajaji had described as "permit-license-quota-raj" was dismantled and the freedom of choice of the consumer, the producer and the investor was restored.

The masses of India were God-fearing people and believed in the values which Rajaji had described as 'Farm, Family and Freedom'. For a quarter of a century now a handful of educated urban politicians had, however, imposed on them a materialist and Stalinist philosophy, while neglecting the building of individual character without which any system of government is bound to fail.

IN THIS ISSUE

This is an issue containing varied fare covering a lot of ground.

We are privileged to carry Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan's comment on the Editor's political memoir *"Bliss Was It In That Dawn"*.

The need to repeal the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution *in toto*, which is a matter of current controversy, is stressed by the Editor.

The reasons for the blow struck at socialism in Britain by the defection of Paul Johnson, formerly Editor of the *New Statesman*, are analysed.

There are several items of news, such as a report of a seminar organised by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom on Samachar, the establishment of the Rajaji Foundation, a memorandum prepared by a group of lawyers belonging to the Committee of a Hundred for the repeal of the 42nd Amendment and a summary of the Editor's speech to Jaycees in Ahmedabad.

This issue carries three letters to the Editor, one of them from the well-known writer, Col. Manohar Malgonkar.

There are book reviews by Mr. M. R. Pai and Mrs. Geeta Doctor.

NO SAMACHAR MONOPOLY

Majority Report Criticised

(The following is a report of a Seminar on the subject of News Agencies organised by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom and the Indian Liberal Group in Bombay.)

THE replacement of Samachar by three News Agencies — Sandesh, Varta and News India as recommended by the Report of the Committee on News Agencies is worse than the malady for it merely replaces one Government monopoly by three. This was the view of journalists, academicians and other professional men at a Seminar recently organised at Bombay by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom and the Indian Liberal Group.

Mr. Anant Kanekar the well known writer was in the Chair. Participants in the Seminar included Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. Ratansinh Rajda M.P., Mr. Moinuddin Harris, Mr. C. R. Irani (Managing Director of Statesman), Mr. Jehan Daruwala (Editor Bombay Samachar), Mr. Jayanti Shukla (Editor Janmabhoomi), Mr. Rajan Narayan (Editor The Mirror), Mr. M. N. Gurjar (Former Chief Reporter P.T.I.), Ms. Neerja Chowdhury (Himmat), Dr. S. P. Aiyar, Prof. B. S. Bhanage, Mr. Ramu Pandit, Mr. V. B. Karnik, Mr. J. B. H. Wadia and Mr. S. V. Raju.

The Seminar stressed that the setting up of these agencies was contrary to the terms of reference of the Committee which were in fact based on the promises made in the Janata Party's election manifesto. Varta and Sandesh can in no sense be regarded as competing because they are in fact two different kinds of agencies; Varta providing news in six Indian languages and English and Sandesh in English. Their roles are at best complementary and not competitive.

Participants at the Seminar criticised the various recommendations of the Committee on several counts.

The Report had totally misconceived the functions of a news agency by including within its ambit such extraneous considerations as the "moulding of public opinion" and covering "the rich milieu of Indian Life". There are also exhortations to retain a "sense of proportion", be "socially responsible" and "function as an instrument of social change."

The Seminar noted that these expressions were reminiscent of the justification for the formation of Samachar by the previous government. These had nothing to do with the genuine functions of a news agency which was to collect and disseminate news.

It was pointed out that although subscribers were in a majority on the board of the proposed news agencies it was unlikely that they would be able to exercise effective control in ensuring high professional standards and efficient management because of the bureaucratic character of the proposed set up. The basic data necessary for the setting up of a proper management structure were evidently not available to the committee. Even worse the recommendation had chosen to disregard the overwhelming weight of evidence from subscribers referred to in the minute of dissent in favour of two competing agencies primarily in English.

The arrangement proposed for international news coverage is pernicious as it amounts to a monopoly. News India is in a position to shut off any inconvenient news source from coming into the country. Secondly, the External Affairs Ministry would have a decisive say in organising this service and, finally, the attempt to sell Indian news abroad is likely to be a non-starter as the agency will lack credibility.

The financial implications of the recommendations are staggering. The Committee concedes that Sandesh will operate on a deficit of Rs. 35 lakhs and News India on a deficit of Rs. 60 lakhs. While not giving figures for Varta the Committee is content to say "Varta will operate at a higher loss than Sandesh for several years to come".

A careful study of the financial implications as given in the report suggest that the deficit will initially be Rs. 1.7 crores. The logic of the committee's reasoning would suggest that the deficit will increase greatly in the years to come. The public exchequer will no doubt be expected to meet cheerfully and without question the spiralling deficit.

Experience throughout the free world has consistently reinforced the truth that newspapers are best served by news agencies owned and operated by themselves. News agencies patterned on other lines have a tendency to regulate the flow of information and are inimical to the freedom of the press and to the spirit of a free society.

The Seminar asserted the right of newspapers to have free access to sources of news from any part of the world. Newspapers should also be free to set up news agencies within the country with access to the international news agencies without which the services of a news agency are not complete. The Report was severely criticised for paying lip service to the right of newspapers to start news agencies while at the same time denying such agencies access to international news coverage.

The Seminar while deploring the snide references to PTI and UNI in the Report felt that the best solution would be to restore PTI and UNI. They should have full freedom to develop international news coverage and start regional language services in accordance with demand. The argument that this arrangement would not work because of financial constraints does not bear scrutiny. The single agency Samachar today charges 10% more than the combined services of the two agencies. The only safety to the subscriber lies in competition in costs as well as in professional excellence.

Happily the Prime Minister and the Information Minister have invited public discussion and comment on the Report. However copies are somewhat difficult to get with the result that there has been little debate other than a few echoes of the majority view on AIR and Doordarshan.

WAWA—UNSEEN RULER OF W. AFRICA

David Lamb

LOME, Togo. — To white people living in West Africa, the most dreaded word is "wawa," the anguished cry of one who has lost another battle in life's daily encounters.

From Senegal to Gabon, the expatriates wail: "I was wawaed." Then they will shrug, resigned and defeated, knowing that once more the system has had the last laugh.

Wawa is an acronym for "West Africa Wins Again." All its victims recover eventually, but some have to leave the continent to do so.

Wawa is scheduled airplanes that do not show up on the appointed day, much less the appointed hour. It is toilets and air conditioners and refrigerators that stay broken forever because the new shipment of parts will not arrive until sometime next year. It is lost baggage, shoddy craftsmanship and an unflappable West Africa attitude that such inconveniences are nothing to get excited about in the first place.

"When I first got here, wawa drove me crazy," said an American housewife in Liberia. "People don't show up when they say they will, you can't get the simplest thing done, the inefficiency is deadly."

Unaffected

Such frustrations, of course, do not affect the Africans one bit. Punctuality and efficiency are Western concepts, and Africa has survived for a good many years without relying on clocks or repairmen who can fix a leaky faucet. Most Africans also have incredible patience, never uttering a complaint, for example, if they have to wait in line for a full day to pay their water bill. Why, then, should a man fidget and grouse just because he has to spend eight or nine hours in an airport transit lounge?

Nevertheless, it is difficult not to be overwhelmed by the indifference, incompetence and incomprehension in West Africa, where life moves at a turtle's pace under the warm tropical skies. (Wawa is seldom heard in the cities of Dakar, Senegal, and Abidjan, Ivory Coast, because both are still run basically by the French.)

Not long ago, an Air Nigeria flight took off from Lagos, circled for 30 minutes, then returned to the airport for "technical" reasons. The technicality was that someone had forgotten to load the baggage. And shortly after takeoff, the pilot of an Air Mail flight informed his passengers that he had solved the jet's overweight problem by leaving the luggage behind. It would catch up with them, he said, sometime in the future.

A U. S. diplomat hurrying to a conference in Kinshasa caught an Air Zaire flight which, according to his ticket, was headed to his destination. He arrived instead in Dakar, startled to learn the flight he had taken actually was another flight that was

two days late and the airplane was trying to recoup its schedule.

Some critics suggest that the reason nothing ever seems to get accomplished in much of French-cultured West Africa is because the Africans, in the best tradition of their former French rulers, spend all their time shaking hands and saying "Ca va?"

A more likely explanation is that the sun is too comfortably warm in West Africa (in the former French and British parts) and productive enough so that traditionally the African never had to work very hard to insure at least a subsistence living for him and his family. There is an acceptance of and tolerance for the realization that West Africa probably will always go on winning. It is a philosophy that a few old expatriates begrudgingly come to accept, too.

The regional manager of a Western pharmaceutical firm had waited for five hours in the Accra, Ghana, airport recently for his flight to Kinshasa. Finally, the airport made its first announcement about the delayed flight: It was overflying Accra because the airport had no fuel. The next flight was in three days.

The man shrugged and uttered only a single word — "Wawa."

Courtesy: *Los Angeles Times*

MINOO MASANI'S

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WORLD NEWS

RUSSIA'S LUXURY CAR

By Kevin Klose

IN a burst of promises as good as anything Detroit ever dreamed, the Soviet Union has unveiled the latest model of its luxury-car "Seagull" — this one complete with airconditioning, radio and tape deck, automatic transmission and power steering and boasting a top speed of 110 m.p.h.

Tass says production will begin this year on the model 14 "Seagull" ("Chaika" in Russian). "The New Chaika model answers all modern requirements," Tass reported. "The new car is well-designed, dynamic and reaches 100 kilometers per hour in 15 seconds.

"It is very comfortable inside. The noise of the powerful engine does not annoy the passengers. There is an air-conditioning installation, and built-in stereo car radio with a tape recorder. There is no clutch pedal — the auto has automatic gear box and power steering."

A photo of the new car in the journal "Trud" shows a low-slung body with the slightly boxy lines of the latest model Cadillacs, subdued chromework and a tasteful grill. It is quite different in looks from the present Chaika, which according to a British car enthusiast now resident in Moscow "looks like nothing so much as a 1956 Mercury."

The car will have a 220-HP engine and will seat seven persons. It will be equipped with a bench-type rear seat, probably two bucket seats in front, and two fold-down jump seats, an arrangement somewhat similar to the present Checker cab.

Chaikas come in one known colour — black. This is because they are reserved exclusively for Soviet officials. Ordinary citizens must stand in line for the much smaller cars that are the backbone of the Soviet Union's burgeoning auto industry — the Zhigulis, Moskvitches and Zaporozhets that crowd Moscow's increasingly congested streets.

Tass underscored the exclusivity of the Chaika in its announcement. It did not quote a sticker price because there isn't any.

Besides, the total output would hardly keep a dealer awake. According to a senior editor at the Soviet auto magazine "Behind the Wheel," (monthly circulation, 2.5 million, 80 kopecks a copy, subscription only) the Chaika plant presently is churning out its luxury vehicles at the rate of three every two days.

— "The Washington Post", August 12.

HOW NOT TO CREATE JOBS

Polis and profits may be stumped about how to bring down unemployment, but Conservative Murray Weidenbaum has a whole shelf of nifty nostrums. Tongue resolutely in cheek, Weidenbaum, at the meeting of TIME's Board of Economists, offered this "briefing for liberals" on a five-point Permanent Strategy to Fight Unemployment:

Raise the minimum wage again. If you are pressed to admit the adverse employment effects, say that they will be offset by a larger public-jobs bill. Do not talk about inflation; that will only muddy the waters. Appeal to the voters' hearts.

Increase the employers' share of Social Security taxes. After all, they can afford it. The best tax is a hidden tax. Under no circumstances admit to any knowledge of economics; scrupulously avoid discussion of the effect this would have on the demand of labor.

Close all those tax "loopholes." Aim especially at those fostering saving and investment. Trickle-down prosperity is unfair; better to settle for trickle-up unemployment.

Tighten Government regulation of business. As a result of such regulation, only a few thousand pension plans have folded, only a few hundred foundries have been forced to close. And there are no reports of personnel officers blowing their brains out trying to develop affirmative-action programs for alcoholics and drug addicts.

If all else fails, flail away at the multinational corporations. Tell about their runaway plants hiding behind the European Community tariff walls. Mix your metaphors well and frequently.

— Time, October 3.

CARTER WANTS TO SCRAP WELFARE

from Ralph Harris in Plains, Georgia

President Jimmy Carter yesterday urged Congress to scrap the nation's welfare system.

In its place he wants a new scheme that would compel many Americans to take jobs in order to qualify for any supplementary welfare relief.

The President told a Press conference: "The welfare system is anti-work and antifamily, unfair to the poor and wasteful of taxpayers' dollars."

— Sunday Observer, August 7.

JAY INTERVENES FOR MRS. THATCHER

Mrs. Thatcher meeting with President Carter this week nearly failed to take place, I hear, and ironically came about only after the Ambassadorial intervention of Mr. Callaghan's son-in-law Peter Jay.....

Both Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State and Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security advisor felt that Mrs. Thatcher should be treated in the same way as her French and German counterparts.

Only after discreet protests by the British Ambassador to the United States, Peter Jay, joined by the American Ambassador in London, Kingman Brewster did the White House begin to relent. It began to be emphasised that the President had already told Mrs. Thatcher how much he looked forward to seeing her.

White House officials are, however, now emphasising that this is the last exception, they will make. Mrs. Thatcher will not meet the President again until she reaches No. 10.

— Daily Telegraph, September 15.

DRINK CREATES HAVOC IN SOVIET SHOPS

Moscow, July 28.

SOVIET authorities are being urged to introduce the breath test for shop staff after disclosures of wide-spread drunkenness behind the nation's counters.

The demand for tougher measures came from the weekly *Literary Gazette*, which reported on a survey conducted by a team of doctors using British breath-test equipment.

In several shops they found that as many as half the sales personnel and other staff were drunk it said.

The *Literary Gazette* cited the case of a woman shopper who suffered a stroke after being insulted by a drunken butcher and said there was no doubt that shop assistants who drank could be dangerous.

"Let us have trade inspectors who not only prevent the giving of short change and short weight, but also drive out the smell of drunkenness from the shops" it said.

The survey was carried out at the suggestion of *Literary Gazette* in a large but unnamed Soviet town. Although limited in scope, the findings suggested that ancillary staff, like warehousemen and porters, were the worst offenders closely followed by butchers and those who sold vegetables, the report said.

Cashiers had the best record — all those tested were sober — and there was less drinking in self-service shops than elsewhere. In one food shop the researchers were told by the manageress that her staff were "angles", but the breath test indicated otherwise — five were drunk, five sober.

One man blew the blood alcohol indicator off the dial, and later admitted to having drunk red wine, followed by vodka and beer.

In another shop the breath-test equipment was accused of lying by a man who swore he never drank anything but mineral water. When doctors asked him to close his eyes and touch the tip of his nose, he poked himself in the eye.

The most sober establishment in town was a butcher's shop where all but one of the staff passed the test. The odd man out was the deputy manager, who came lurching along the wall to greet the research team with a cheerful: "It's by birthday."

— *Times of India*, July 29.

POWELL'S RACE FIGURES 'COMING TRUE'

By Mary Ellen Synon

Mr Dipak Nandy, former director of the Runnymede Trust and member of the Equal Opportunities Commission who once dismissed Mr. Enoch Powell's statistics on race as "simply mad," admitted yesterday

(Continued on page 10)

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

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



COMMITTEE OF A HUNDRED DEMANDS TOTAL REPEAL

LAWYERS' MEMORANDUM ON 42nd AMENDMENT

FOLLOWING on the first activity of the Committee of A Hundred which was to draw attention of the concerned Authorities to the problem of admission to Medical Colleges in Maharashtra, the Committee has now directed its attention to the very important matter of the repeal of the 42nd Amendment which is agitating the minds of freedom loving citizens in the country.

Members of the Lawyers Group of the Committee consisting of Mr. Porus Mehta, Mr. Anil Diwan, Mr. D. H. Nanavaty, and Mr. & Mrs. Radhakrishnan 42nd who have examined the question of the repeal of the Amendment have prepared a Memorandum which has been forwarded to the Prime Minister and the Union Law Minister, which reads as follows:

- (a) The Janata Party in its manifesto has pledged total repeal of the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution. Divergent views have been expressed by important members of the Janata Party about the repeal of the 42nd Amendment. One view is that useful provisions of the 42nd Amendment may be retained. Another view including that of some cabinet members is that the 42nd Amendment must go as whole. In fact, two of the members after taking their oath of offices as Ministers made a special exception in the case of the 42nd Amendment which became later on the subject matter of a decision of the Delhi High Court.
- (b) It is a matter of regret that there is a move not to repeal the 42nd Amendment in its entirety. Such an attitude would amount to a breach of faith with the electorate. Apart

from it, such a move is contrary to sound principle. There are several reasons why all amendments to the Constitution made during the period of the emergency should be repealed altogether.

- i) There was no public debate on them.
 - ii) The Press and other media were at that time muzzled.
 - iii) Even in Parliament and State Assemblies there was no debate worth the name.
 - iv) Leading Opposition leaders in Parliament were then imprisoned without trial.
 - v) The Amendments were rushed through in an unconscionable manner.
 - vi) From the facts which have come to light after the elections, the declaration of emergency itself seems to be illegal.
- (c) It is therefore necessary that public opinion should demand that the pledge to repeal the 42nd Amendment *in toto* be carried out. If so desired, those changes which are considered to be useful could then be reintroduced through fresh constitutional Amendments which could be discussed openly and freely and considered on their merits.
- (d) The alibi that is sought to be raised, that the Congress members in both Houses of Parliament would block the passing of the Bill to repeal the 42nd Amendment, is unacceptable. The right course is for the Union Government to move for a repeal of the 42nd Amendment and dare the Opposition to defeat it.
- (e) In this context the statement issued by the Supreme Court Bar Association on August 5, 1977, expressing 'alarm and dismay' at the fact that several State Governments and even the Union of India had been relying in the courts of law on the provisions of the 42nd Amendment so as to deprive citizens of their legal rights, is to be welcomed. As the Association rightly says, this would appear to indicate that the Government acquiesces in the denial of citizens' rights. The statement of the Bar Association further puts on record the fact that lawyers throughout the country have strongly supported the stand that the 42nd Amendment should be abrogated. The Bombay Bar Association has also passed a resolution similar to the one passed by the Supreme Court Bar Association."

WORLD NEWS

(Contd from page 9)

day that "Mr Powell's doom-laden projections are likely to be coming true."

Referring to predictions made in the late 1960s that by the end of the century British city-centres would be largely coloured, Mr. Nandy said that at the time he and others challenged Mr Powell.

There would not necessarily be, they had said at the time, "increased density of coloured immigrants in inner cities." Now however Mr Nandy says "impeccable non-discrimination policies" in urban housing have produced heavy concentration of coloured immigrants.

Mr Nandy was speaking at a conference on housing and jobs organised by the South Bank Polytechnic in London, and pleading for "special provision for special groups" in housing.

— *Daily Telegraph*, September 15.

Reviews

FREEDOM FIRST AND LAST

Prophets of Freedom and Enterprise by Michael Evens. (Kogan Page, Price £ 2.95 pg. 88.)

THE Indian elite (having been educated at the cost of the poor, as Dadabhai Naoroji rightly pointed out nearly a century ago) prayed for an enlightened dictatorship when they were blessed with a wonderful Constitution, ensuring them basic freedoms. Mrs. Indira Gandhi fulfilled their wishes on 25th June, 1975. After tasting "enlightened dictatorship", a number of them have found that there is no such thing as an enlightened dictatorship unless you equate enlightenment with torture of the innocent, jailing people without trial because petty bosses of the ruling party give lists of "dangerous people" to the local police, a Press, Radio and Television debauched by intellectual prostitutes in power, misuse of police powers of the State to extort monies from industrialists and traders, and to threaten common people, and a general degradation of life by a state policy based on lies, distortions and organised violence.

This message has, however, been very clear in the writings of several liberal writers. Aims of Industry in the U.K. has done a great public service by arranging to publish a small but highly informative book "Prophets of Freedom and Enterprise" edited by Michael Evens.

Our illiterate masses, who retrieved the lost freedoms in March 1977 elections by giving the boot to the "enlightened dictatorship" establishment, cannot read the writings of these liberal thinkers. They do not need them either because they have the right instincts and can distinguish between good and bad. The confused educated can and should read this book. Since they plead lack of time to read the original writings, the next best thing they can do is to read this highly readable book. Eight learned men have presented the liberal philosophy of Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Alfred Marshall, John Maynard Keynes, Prof. Milton Friedman, Ludwig von Mises, Prof. Karl Popper and Prof. F. A. Hayek.

The essence of their thinking is given in brief essays which dispel some of the misrepresentations which their original writings have suffered at the hands of prejudiced Marxist intellectuals. For instance, Adam Smith did not exclude government from all activity: on the contrary, he saw a great role for it, particularly in creating a framework for economic activities, a job in which many of them have notably failed. His warnings have come true in countries like India with their statist economic policies. "Great nations are never impoverished by private, though they sometimes are by public, prodigality. The whole, or

almost the whole public revenue, is in most countries employed in maintaining unproductive hands....."

Some politicians use "competition" as a dirty word, a "monopoly" as a blanket word to cover any and every enterprise. John Stuart Mill clearly enunciated the difference between these two concepts: utterly dissent from declarations against competition Monopoly, in all its forms is the taxation of the industrious for the support of the indolence, if not of plunder I do not pretend that there are no inconveniences in competition But if competition has its evils, it prevents greater evils no one will be able to foresee a time when it will not be indispensable to progress....."

Mill emphasised another aspect of the state's role which needs to be noted today more than ever before. State control of education would help depotism, he warned.

The controversy between Keynesians, of governmental intervention in the economy by liberal deficit financing, and Friedmanites, i.e. those who support curbs on money creation and marginal role for the state, is after all not so acute, as both John Maynard Keynes and Prof. Milton Friedman are liberal in their thinking. This conclusion emerges from two essays on these great economists. Pointing out that Keynes theory was a specific remedy for 1930s and not an all-time prescription, the author says that Keynes was a liberal in politics, and helped to draw up the Liberal Party policies in 1920 though he was not a party member.

Of relevance and special interest to us in India today is Friedman's warning that inflation arising from Government's abuse of its monopoly power over money supply and consequent attempts at control of the economy through bureaucratic regulation leads to distortions and eventually to the undermining of the rule of law. Whereas, if government concentrates on its essential tasks such as preserving law and order, providing a framework of laws applicable to all, and a stable monetary environment, it would be rendering a far greater service to its citizens, the cause of social justice (the first victim of inflation) and democracy.

Two modern thinkers who are neglected in studies in India are Ludwig von Mises and Karl Popper. Their warnings against well intentioned persons converting the State into an all-powerful Moloch and thus destroying individual freedoms which the rulers all the while profess to believe in needs attention. Contrasting institutional (rule of law) methods against direct action (bureaucratic control), Popper points out that the former helps to preserve democracy while the latter leads to its destruction.

Friedrich August von Hayek, whose monumental research and writings have shaken the intellectuals in the western world from their apathy, is another

thinker neglected over here. He has pointed out that once intellectuals are assured of their own liberty, they wish to mould society according to some ideal which precludes liberty to others!

How true! This brand of intellectual is prominent in the Indian political landscape. The "Emergency" in India proved what Hayek argued in his masterpiece, "The Constitution of Liberty" and other writings: there is no half or quarter or partial freedom. The Rule of Law in economic and political sphere are two sides of the same coin. Those who love freedom cannot afford to decry autonomous institutions like a strong and independent judiciary, a free Press, universities and other educational institutions outside the grip or influence of government, voluntary social institutions and a vigorous competitive enterprise. The State has a big job in protecting them as well as creating conditions for them to flourish.

This book should be available in a paperback, cheap edition in countries like India. Confused intellectuals who profess their love for freedom can do no better than at least think over the points made, and honestly ask themselves the question: "If freedom is worth it for themselves, can they afford to overlook the arguments of these thinkers?"

M. R. PAI

ART OF CENTRAL ASIA

— by Chhaya Bhattacharya
(Agam Prakasan, Rs. 200)

MARCO Polo was there and so was that peripatetic Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien. With the discovery of the sea routes linking the East with the West, the tourist traffic along the old Silk roads through central Asia dwindled and with it went the culture that flourished there between the 2nd and 10th centuries A.D. The once carefully tended oases were neglected and with the invasion of the proselytising hordes marching under the Islamic banner, the central bowl of Asia reverted once more to a dustfilled basin.

It is only during the last century that Western archaeologists and travellers started scraping the dust bowl to discover a vast quantity of relics and antiquities. The most well known among them is Aurel Stein, who in the early part of this century led three expeditions into the region, which is bound on one side by the Great Wall of China and on the other by the Ural mountains and the Caspian sea. Stein was followed by teams of Japanese, French and German archaeologists, all of whom discovered quantities of ancient loot which has been preserved in the Museums of their respective countries. Ms. Bhattacharya gives a brief summary of these expeditions and goes on to make a detailed examination of the various artifacts with special reference to the wooden objects from the Northern Silk road. Her book is the result of a doctoral theses on the subject granted by the Freie University, West Berlin. This

can probably give an idea of both the qualifications and limitations of the work. It is obviously not meant for the general reader but will serve as an admirable guide for those who wish to do further research.

The art of central Asia shows the influence of a multiplicity of styles in which the Hellenistic, Indian, Iranian and Chinese are the most immediately recognisable. It is of course extremely difficult in a situation like this to say who influenced whom, but it was Aurel Stein who suggested from the remains of a ruined temple at Miran which showed a hollow domed circular shrine with a solid stupa, a form used in Indian rock-cut halls, that this could have been a prototype for the later Christian rotundas. Ms. Bhattacharya does not waste her time in such interesting speculation but concentrates on giving a thoroughgoing description of the major portion of the wooden objects of the Berlin collection, a third of which comprise of Budha figures.

In the first section Ms. Bhattacharya describes the artificats region or oases-wise, differentiating the various distinctive elements and tracing the common traditions such as the Gandharan Which are to be noticed. She uses illustrations to clarify some of her points. This is followed by a large and highly detailed description of each one of the 552 illustrations each of which bears a serial number and a registration number of the Museum. These details will no doubt be of great help to those who have no direct access to the objects themselves.

GEETA DOCTOR

THE RAJAJI FOUNDATION

The best memorial to Rajaji would be one not of brick and mortar but in the spreading of his message of Dharma and the norms for a free, liberal society, said Mr. Masani addressing a press conference in Bombay on September 23. He pointed out that Rajaji's views are as relevant today as they were when he first propounded them. Basic to Rajaji's thinking was the need to educate the people "rather than run after the immediate pleasures of transient political power". This was the advice he gave to the Swatantra Party which he founded.

The occasion for the press conference was to announce the formation of the Rajaji Foundation as a registered trust. The Foundation proposes to organise public meetings, study circles, seminars and discussions, publish pamphlets and material of relevance to developing situations from time to time and at all times to seek to keep Rajaji's memory fresh in the hearts and minds of the people.

The Trustees of the Foundation are Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. Parmanand Kejriwal, Mr. Girish K. Munshi, Mr. K. H. Subramanian, Mrs. Sosan L. Panday and Mrs. S. V. Raju. The Foundation is located at 143, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 400 023.

THE FORTY-SECOND MUST GO—(Contd. from page 1)

of being adopted. So what? Does it mean that a Government in a parliamentary democracy should only introduce legislation for which a majority in both Houses of Parliament is assured in advance? There are many countries, particularly those that have Federal Constitutions such as ours, where the Government of the day enjoys a majority in the Lower House but not in the Second Chamber. A case in point today is the present Labour Government in U.K. The House of Lords — with a Conservative majority — has on more than one occasion thrown out legislation adopted by the House of Commons. Does this mean that Mr. Callaghan should from now on send for Mrs. Margaret Thatcher for a quite chit chat and say: 'Margaret, old girl, do you mind very much if I introduce a bill for such and such purpose, and will you please tell the Lords to behave? If you don't, I shall desist from introducing the measure in the Commons.' How long would Mr. Callaghan last in office if he were to follow the strategy that certain leaders of the Janata Government in Delhi have announced that they propose to follow?

Quite apart from principle, this is not even good Parliamentary procedure or strategy. The correct thing for the Janata Government is to introduce a Bill for the total repeal of the 42nd Amendment and dare the Congress Party to throw it out in the Rajya Sabha. Let the people of India know who comes in the way of the rescinding of this infamous Amendment so well described in the Janata Manifesto.

There has been a certain deal of speculation about the motivation for this attempt at backtracking. One of the suggestions advanced is that the Janata Government either find some of the powers bequeathed to it by Mrs. Gandhi's regime worth hanging on to or that they do not have the guts to come forward before the bar of public opinion and justify the repeal of certain provisions.

Whatever the motive, there can be little doubt that, if this attitude is persisted in, it may open the door to quite unfortunate compromises. Take, for instance, two objectionable provisions in the 42nd Amendment about which one hears a great deal of humming and hawing already going on in Delhi.

The first of these is the introduction of the terms 'secular' and 'socialist' in the description of our Republic. Since the majority of the Indian people are Godfearing and love their land and their property, both terms are objectionable. In case there should be any attempt to put a gloss on the meaning of these words, a reference to the Concise Oxford Dictionary shows that the term "secular" is defined as "sceptical of religious truth or opposed to religious education", while the term "socialism" is defined as "a theory which advocates State ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and exchange". By contrast, our Constitution guaran-

tees the right to the Freedom of Religion and the giving of religious education in schools belonging to the minorities by Articles 25 to 28 and Article 30 while the Right to Property is a Fundamental Right of the citizen guaranteed by Articles 19 and 31. Our Constitution is thus neither secular nor socialist.

Puppet President?

Another obnoxious Amendment is that which reduces the President of the Republic to a mere puppet and rubber stamp of the Prime Minister and Cabinet of the day. Let us imagine that a future Prime Minister comes to the then President and asks him to sign a Proclamation of Emergency suspending the Fundamental Rights of the citizen. Under the present dispensation, if the President objects to signing such a Proclamation because the preconditions to such a Proclamation do not exist, all that the Prime Minister has to do is to say that the Cabinet of the day so wills it and that the President is bound by the "advice". This is precisely what happened on 26th June 1975. Do we want it to happen again?

Even worse, if the Prime Minister of the day and his party lose their majority in the Lok Sabha and the President quite rightly asks for their resignation, the Prime Minister — unless this amendment is repealed — would be justified in telling the President to abide by the Cabinet's advice, with the result that the President becomes party to a *coup d'etat* subverting the Constitution and democracy itself.

The President is one of the valuable checks and balances, along with the independent judiciary, against the domination of the Parliamentary executive of the day. In his Prison Diary, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan was provoked on September 7, 1975, by certain remarks made by the then Attorney-General about the supremacy of Parliament to write: "This is a horrendous picture of our democracy. No wonder Gandhiji called parliamentary democracy a dictatorship of the majority What does the supremacy of Parliament mean? It means something sordid, something revolting to a democrat! A Parliament virtually means the Cabinet the Cabinet means the leader, the Prime Minister So let no one be beguiled by the concept of the supremacy of Parliament. The concept just does not fit into the picture. Here there must be clearly laid down checks and balances. No organ of the State should be supreme".

On another page is to be found a text of a memorandum prepared by the lawyer members of the Committee of a Hundred which has been presented to the Prime Minister and the Law Minister at the end of September. It is to be hoped that, even now, the Janata Government will draw back from the brink and desist from making a mistake for which one day the country may have to pay a tragic price.

Letters

THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG

During the dark days of the Emergency, I used to often argue that the real reason behind the total censorship of news was Mrs Gandhi's fear of exposure; that some of the things done by those who were close to her had been so scandalous that public knowledge of them might have brought her government crashing down.

This argument was not altogether a fiction-writer's hunch. It may be recalled that, even before that day of infamy, 25th June 1975, many things such as the Jakotia case, the Nagarwala case, the Maruti case, the Tulmohan case, and above all the connection of some of the smuggler kings with some of the men at the seat of power, were being openly talked about. (Was it not Yeshpal Kapoor to whom Haji Mastan said he had paid thirty lakhs of rupees?)

Admitted, my view was put forward only among close friends and in whispers, for I too, like most citizens dreaded the prospect of being marched off to the Gulag Archipelago.

The horrifying thing is that not even a fiction writer could have guessed the reality, which was as if the Mafia had taken over control. Thanks to a hectic spell of evidence-destroying made possible by the interrugnum before the Janata government became an effective instrument, what has come to light — what will ever come to light — can only represent the tip of the iceberg. But even that tip is of such staggering proportions that Kuldip Nayar, the Manekars, and a dozen others, have not even chipped its surface. Who, for instance can ever know the full story of the activities of that sinister organization called the RAW?

The murk that daily comes out in such large dollops shows that Richard Nixon and his men were but rank amateurs in the art of political malpractices; that 'All the President's Men' were like schoolboys playing at robbers when compared to 'All the PM's Men'.

True, the Americans told lies and doctored evidence and organised telephone taps and a burglary. But at best all this was done out of a sense of loyalty for their Chief, at worst, or retaining their grip on the power and influence that flowed from their positions. They did not foul their own nest; at least, none of them, so far as is known, misappropriated money for personal gains.

How can we compare H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman with our own brand of henchmen who, even while they cracked the whips, organized midnight raids on citizen's houses, dismissed or promoted officials, chastised ministers and issued orders to them were also busy building up vast private fortunes by helping themselves from the coffers of the party.

And above all, would not Richard Nixon have come out of Watergate without too much loss of

face if only he had shown the forethought of making a merry little bonfire in the White House to burn the offending tapes as Mrs Gandhi did in the case of her private papers? Who knows what went into the flames at No. 1 Safdarjung Road besides those 25-years-old petrol bills of the late Mr Feroze Gandhi?

Manohar Malgonkar

LAND OF SUPERSTITIONS AND FADS

In this land of organised superstitions and fads which wind up in the cemetery of dead ideas, our political leaders have made gods of themselves much before they have earned the right to be people. They will never know when to be silent, because they do not know that very often silence is the best substitute for brains. They will turn an earful into a mouthful at the drop of a hat.

We are told that we must not drink, as it is in bad taste to drink that which tastes good. Like the venom from a cobra, our political leaders just have to disapprove of people for not having faults different from theirs. If they drink, the seat of emotion shifts from their hearts to their heads, but if people drink, the emotions from the hearts shift to the kidneys and livers.

But then why worry about spiritual drinks in the land of spiritualism which is about to overflow with milk with the ban on cow slaughter. With the cattle population already outstripping our insect and human population, the idea behind increasing our cow population is to make us feel contented in the midst of more and more cows so that we do not go on strike every now again for higher wages and bonus.

We are also told that English is an alien language and we must get rid of it. People cannot blame is kept under intensive care. All this because I wonderfully versatile language, it can be quite contradictory and so very queer at times that it is not acceptable even to Englishmen. In the English language what is applicable to man cannot be made applicable to a woman. You can call an ordinary good man a common man, but you can't call an ordinary good woman a common woman; unless you have a keen desire to get hopped on the head with a rolling pin! A man can be a wizard at something, but a woman can't be a witch at anything. A priest can get unfrocked, but a nun can't get the same treatment. She gets unveiled.

But all will not be lost with the departure of the English language as, with the ever increasing cow population, the issue of having a common national language will get solved. With cows all around us, they are bound to influence our thinking and within a few years we would have come up with the simplest of languages consisting of just one word MOO. Ofcourse, the word moo will have a million intonations depending upon the number of Os used to suggest whether we are in the pink or plain drunk on milk!

What's more, as time goes by and we keep watching these wonderful cows eating grass and chewing the cud, our food habits will also change and we could then export everything else except cows and grass. Once we get on to eating either the Janata or the Congress grass, even our political leaders will go easy on mooing, as one cannot moo while chewing the cud!

I am writing this from a hospital where my face is kept under intensive care. All this because I tried to follow the example of one of our political leaders who shaves with the use of water and without the use of any shaving soap or cream in order to save on payment of royalties to the foreign collaborators in the manufacture of soaps and creams in this country. Shaving without soap or cream may be a very good face-saving idea but, unless a man has a very thick skin or plain rhino hide, our diabetic razor blades would make a very bloody job of shaving even with the use of the holy Ganga-jal. So it is earnestly suggested that our elders allow us to use cow-cream which would be available in abundance without any foreign collaboration.

Our political leaders know better the needs of themselves than of the people. Leaders of the Janata Party have given a call to their members to either unite or perish. The way things are going, the common man feels that both the Janata and the Congress parties can UNITE & PERISH!

So, let us drag in the dead horse of Prohibition, ban the slaughter of cows, throw out the English language, and practise Yoga for birth-control in orbit to show the rest of the world our misplaced sense of nationalism.

Jal Irani

J. P. AND JANATA

Mr. Masani's article (September 1977), expressing his disappointment at the unimpressive record of Janata, is an excellent and thought provoking one. Yet there are some points on which I differ.

It is very difficult to understand the argument that the 42 amendment should be totally abrogated. One should ofcourse condemn the manner and method in which this amendment was sought. With people's representatives in Jail, with a censored press and an eclipsed atmosphere of freedom, a parliament which overlived its tenure brought this amendment. It is true. But should the 'good' points of this amendment be allowed to disappear in the attempt of undoing a wrong thing? The chapter on fundamental duties, for instance is a very good provision and this should be maintained. The bane of Indian democracy over the years has been an overemphasis on the "rights", without corresponding concern towards the duties. Our students, our labourers, and our representatives fought for their rights without caring for duties. A provision in the constitution of fundamental duties, will check the greedy claims on the Nation's cake by indisciplined groups and prevents the possible emergence of a strong leader.

I personally feel that it is not so much J.P., but our Prime-minister who should make some plain talk

to his vociferous R. S. S. and the 'socialist' colleagues fed on populist policies. It is clear that ever since he took over the Prime-minister gave way to these pressures and gave up his sane and sober stand. This policy of appeasement has already reached a dangerous point. For instance Mr. Desai said — and rightly so — that the government offices are no charity homes and the surplus staff be reduced. But next day he amended his stand, because of some protest. It is well-known that he was opposed to demands of C. D. S. and Bonus the overall effect would be killing the consumer with further prices. But the populists had their final say. He is opposed to summary release of all Naxalites, but again under pressure. If this way he allows himself to be led by the damagogue forces; of what use will be his policies? It is true that he is opposed to absolute power and openly stated that he would prefer death to absolute power. This stand is appreciable, more so when we became free from an absolutist. Yet, to swindle away sane policies to appease vociferous elements of short sightedness is a national crime. I have a hunch. Maybe I am wrong, and I will be happy if I am. The hunch is that, the more vociferous elements of ruling party are out to make Mr. Desai another Ajoy Mukherjee. I hope I will be proved wrong. Yet the trend of events confirms my fear.

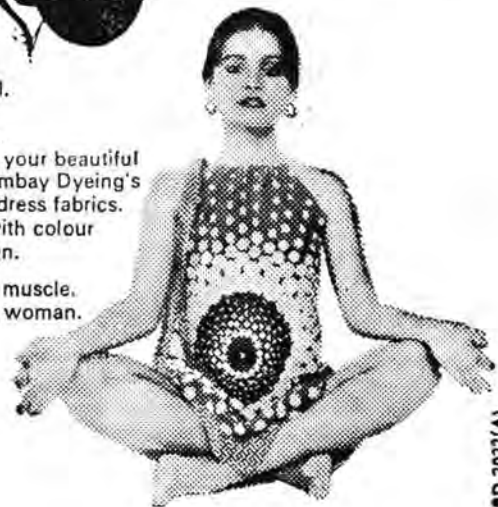
M. Murlidhar

Man is stronger. Woman is smarter.



Woman.
Supercool.
Serene.
Stunning.
To match your beautiful
mind, Bombay Dyeing's
range of dress fabrics.
Vibrant with colour
and design.

Long live muscle.
Long live woman.



BOMBAY DYEING

8D.2022(A)

WITH MANY VOICES

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

—Tennyson.

We are getting ourselves into a sick and sad society where people who want to express a point of view have to spit in other peoples' faces.

— Joseph Gormley, Miner's leader, quoted in *Daily Telegraph*, September 6.

The national figures in New Delhi, both past and present, have taluka minds.

— P. G. Mavalankar MP, to a Rotary Club, on September 14.

As a libertarian, I would infinitely prefer a Tory government subject to Liberal influence to a Labour majority free of such influence, as well as vice-versa.

— David Steel in the *Times*, August 1.

The last time something was concluded with honour — peace in Vietnam — we all know what happened.

— Fred Emery in the *Times*, September 9.

The time may not have come yet to shed a tear for democracy, or for the Janata Party. But the way things are going, or not going, frustrates, disgusts, and angers. Hope is dead — hope that Janata would think and act differently from its predecessor.

— C. G. K. Reddy in *The Guardian*, August 12.

There are only three ways of influencing people — fascination, competition, example.

— A. D. Gorwala in *Opinion*, September 27.

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Conscience and politics as currently practised, like oil and water, don't mix.

— A. D. Gorwala in *Opinion*, September 27.

No time is ever the right time for a great power to sacrifice a small friend for a big one.

— *The Economist*, August 27.

It is impossible always to foresee the full extent of other people's mistakes.

— Bernard Shaw quoted in *Encounter*, September 1977.

Memories are normally short; but these are not really so short as to make a confirmed political sinner like the Congress to muster up enough audacity to appear as holy, pious and saintly.

— Editorial in *Point of View*, September 24.

That leaves Pakistan with elections that are not really elections, leaders who are not really leaders and military referees who are not really impartial. One cannot be sure what comes next: but it will not be cheering.

— *The Guardian*, September 23.

People come to Agra to see the Taj Mahal and Agra Fort: people go to Delhi to see the Qutab Minar and Indira Gandhi.

— Indira Gandhi at Agra quoted in *Indian Express*, October 8.

The demands of the hierarchy are very slight. They want me to hate what I love most, and love what I most hate.

— Boris Pasternak quoted in *Time*, September 26.

Paperwork is to Government what, say, breathing is to the governed.

— *Time*, September 26.

He (Sir Keith Joseph) is from one point of view a valuable politician just because he is so little a politician, so much an honest man who puzzles his way through problems and ignores political arts.

— *The Economist*, September 17.

The right to retire on a pension at 65 is a twentieth-century idea.

— *The Economist*, September 17.

The man dies in all who keep silent in the face of tyranny.

— Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka quoted in *The Economist*, September 17.