

INCENTIVES FOR GOODNESS

Jayaprakash Narayan

In days gone by men tried to be good, impelled by some higher moral force in which they believed; and goodness means such things as truthfulness, honesty, kindness, chastity, unselfishness. Men felt that it was the highest moral duty to try to be good. Whether they succeeded in their trial, or whether they tried at all, was a different matter. The important point is that society provided every individual with the motive to be good; it was the command of religion, of God; it was necessary for one's highest growth, for self realization; it brought peace and supreme happiness; it brought salvation and freedom from births and deaths.

In present society, with the hold of religion gone, faith in God shaken, moral values discarded as dead-weights of the dark ages of history; in short with materialism enthroned in men's hearts, are there any incentives to goodness left? Indeed, has the question any relevance at all to present facts, problems and ideals of human society?

I hold emphatically that no other question is more relevant to us today.

In spite of what may be broadly described as the materialist climate of present society men everywhere are engaged, in their different ways, in creating a heaven upon earth—in remaking, refining, perfecting human society. These efforts, even the most idealistic and ambitious, such as communism of its original conception, seem, however, to be shipwrecking on one obdurate rock—human baseness. It is clearer today than ever that social reconstruction is impossible without human reconstruction. Society cannot be good unless individual men are good, and particularly those men who form the elite of society.

Here then is the crux of the modern problem. Men wish to create, if not an ideal, at least a good society.

Modern science and technology make that task far easier than ever before. But men lack the tools with which to make themselves. And the ideas are forgotten, and they begin to fight for power, position, spoils, bringing down the whole edifice of the new society.

Therefore, the problem of human goodness is of supreme moment today. The individual asks today why should he be good. There is no God, no soul, no morality, no life hereafter, no cycle of birth and death. He is merely an organisation of matter, fortuitously brought into being, and destined soon to dissolve into the infinite ocean of matter. He sees all around him evil succeed — corruption, profiteering, lying, deception, cruelty, power politics, violence. He asks naturally why he should be virtuous. Our social norms of today and the materialist philosophy which rules the affairs of men answer back: he need not. The cleverer he is, the more gifted, the more courageously he practices the new amorality; and

Twenty-seven years ago, when *Freedom First* was a mere four-month old, we were privileged to carry a front page article by Jayaprakash Narayan. That was the time when JP gave up Marxism and embraced the Gandhian path. It speaks volumes for the greatness of the man, that till he breathed his last on Monday, September 17, JP held steadfastly to the position he took in September 1952.

We publish again on this page that fundamental article by JP which is as valid today as it was when he wrote it.

in the toils of this amorality the dreams and aspirations of humankind become warped and twisted.

For many years I have worshipped at the shrine of the goddess — dialectical materialism — which seemed to me intellectually more satisfying than any other philosophy. But while the main quest of philosophy remains unsatisfied, it has become patent to me that materialism of any sort robs man of the means to become truly human. In a material civilization man has no rational incentive to be good. It may be that in the kingdom of dialectical materialism, fear makes men conform, and the Party takes the place of God. But when that God himself turns vicious, to be vicious becomes an universal code.

I feel convinced, therefore, that man must go beyond the material to find the incentives to goodness. As a corollary, I feel further that the task of social reconstruction cannot succeed under the inspiration of a materialist philosophy.

It may be asked if any social conditioning is at all necessary for men to acquire goodness. Is not man essentially good? Are not most men in every society decent?

Yes and no.

Man is a socio-organic being: he is partly the product of "nature" and partly that of society. What man is by nature cannot be said with certainty. Indeed, the very concepts of good or bad are supernatural or super-organic. There is nothing good or bad in nature. Human nature, apart from the instincts of self and race preservation, is most likely of a neutral character which acquires moral tones in accordance to social conditioning.

It is true that in every society most men are decent and good. These men go through life without being called upon to make any vital moral judgements. Their routine of life runs within narrow circles and, custom and tradition answer for them the questions concerning right and wrong.

But, firstly, these harmless decent men are apt under social stimuli to turn suddenly wild and vicious. Decent Hindus and Muslims, living peaceably together, didn't hesitate, as we know to our cost, to fly at each others' throats when the social passions were aroused.

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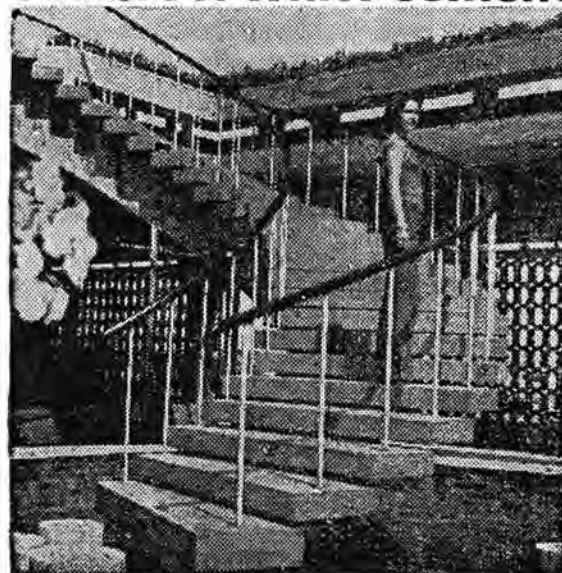
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Secondly, what is vital for the character of society, and for the direction of its growth, is not so much the character of the inert mass as that of the elite. It is the philosophy and action of this group of the select that determine the destinies of men. To the extent the elite become godless or amoral, to that extent evil overtakes the human race.

Let me hasten to remove a possible misunderstanding. I do not mean to suggest that all those who profess a philosophy of materialism are vicious nor that all non-materialists are good. But what I do assert is that there is no logic in materialism for the individual to endeavour deliberately to acquire and practice goodness. On the other hand, those who go beyond matter will find it difficult to justify non-good.

Non-materialism — I am using this negative phrase because I have no particular school in mind — by rejecting matter as the ultimate reality, immediately elevates the individual to a normal plane, and urges him, without reference to any objective outside of himself, to endeavour to realise his own true nature and fulfil the purpose of his being. This endeavour becomes the powerful motive force that drives him in its natural course to the good and the true. It will be seen as an important corollary of this that only when materialism is transcended does individual man come into his own and become an end in himself.

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"the time has come," the
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- Lewis Carroll



OF CABBAGES & KINGS

The Sikkim Verdict

There were uproarious scenes in Parliament in May 1978 including a walkout in the Rajya Sabha. Some of our Parliamentarians were protesting the then Prime Minister Mr. Morarji Desai's rather mild remarks to a "New York Times" correspondent that the manner in which Sikkim was merged with India was not "desirable".

The fiction that the people of Sikkim voluntarily voted overwhelmingly for the merger of their State with India in a special poll held on April 14, 1975 has now been convincingly exploded. In a free election to choose their representatives to the State Assembly the Sikkimese have unanimously rejected all the national parties and returned to power what the Statesman alone has correctly described as a "pro-Chogyal" party, the Sikkim Janata Parishad. The Janata Parishad had in fact made it plain in its election campaign that it opposed the merger of Sikkim into India.

Not many will shed tears over the deserved defeat of Kazi Lhendup Dorji the former Chief Minister who led the Congress(I) and later switched over to Janata.

Janata President Chandrashekar said after the results were announced that there was no need to 'panic'. 'Panic' Mr. Chandrashekar? Why should anyone panic unless of course he was referring to his flock who have cause to worry over the implications of Janata's rout for the rest of India. The Sikkim verdict is something of which Indian democracy can be proud.

SVR

Quite Right Mr. Charan Singh

For saying the right thing Choudhury Charan Singh is in difficulties with his Congress(U) allies. Addressing an election meeting in Cuddapah, Andhra Pradesh, the Caretaker Prime Minister blamed Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru for ignoring agriculture and making large investments on big industries. What is wrong with what he said? Much of our present economic ills are directly attributable to Nehru's bias in favour of heavy industry and his step-motherly treatment of agriculture.

According to a *Times of India* report, the Congress(U) is upset that the Choudhury Saheb had breached an agreement not to make anti-Nehru speeches anymore!

The Congress (U)'s umbrage is a warning that these gentlemen have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.

As someone put it (in another context) they continue to have a vested interest in their first mistake.

SVR

Away with the 42nd

It's nice to see Mr. N.A. Palkhivala back in action in the Supreme Court defending civil liberties. When stepping down from the U.S. ambassadorship Mr. Palkhivala said that he was returning home to work for the removal of the 42nd Amendment, and that is precisely what he is doing. He is currently arguing a writ petition before a five judge Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court.

But it is sad to note that the government (even this Caretaker one) headed by a person who had pledged the elimination of the 42nd Amendment is actually contesting the petition and arguing for the retention of the 42nd Amendment. One would have expected them instead to help Mr. Palkhivala.

Which leads one to the sad conclusion that when in power even good men are averse to anything that would reduce their power.

SVR

Who's Where?

Here's a puzzle for those who fancy this sort of entertainment.

The Lok Dal is allied with the Congress(U) but not the Janata Party which is allied with the Parallel Congress which is an ally of the Congress(U). The AIADMK is an ally of the Janata Party in Tamil Nadu while in a coalition government with the Lok Dal which has a mini alliance with the Congress(U) which will work in collaboration with the CPI and CPI(M). The DMK is allied with Congress (I) which beckons Bahuguna who has had discussions with the Lok Dal. George Fernandes who left the Janata Party wants a deal with that Party so that Mrinal Gore can have a straight contest with the Congress (I) which is prepared not to contest against Jagjivan Ram.

Question: Who is where and with which party?

SVR

Now We Know!

According to a *Times of India* report 39.8 per cent of the members of the dissolved Lok Sabha were graduates. Matriculates and post-graduates made up 25% each.

With our standards of education being what they are, no wonder the sixth Lok Sabha ended the way it did!

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HAVEN'T WE HAD ENOUGH?

Freedom First has received several letters from readers giving their comments on Mr. Masani's article "Haven't We Had Enough?" published in our last issue. The constraint of space prevents us the luxury of a verbatim reproduction of these letters. We carry below extracts from some of them and hope to publish a second instalment in the December issue.

The Common Man's Disgust

I have read with great interest Mr. Masani's article "Haven't We Had Enough?" published in the September issue of *Freedom First*. Mr. Masani has said all that a patriot and an honest national leader would and could say.

The most important sentence in it is how to throw the politicians out without destroying democracy is our problem."

A change in the constitution is a thing of secondary importance in the existing circumstances. What is of primary importance is for intellectuals and geniuses to come forward and reach out to the masses with a message (not slogan) "rise and move on to kill nation's arch enemy."

Would you believe, what the man in the street feels and opines? "Stop this bloody election; invite Field Marshal Manekshaw to take on now the steering wheel of the country's sinking vessel. One who won the war against Pakistan can undoubtedly defeat the enemy within.

V. R. BOAL
Rajkot (Gujarat)

The Enemy is Within

For those who are advocating that the present set-up is alright for the nation and it is only the people who failed the constitution, one simple question: Why has the system failed to attract the elite to serve the nation? Quite apart from their participation, how many of their suggestions have been honestly implemented by the governments' concerned? So long as more than half the electorate remain illiterate and ignorant of their responsibility, the system is best suited only for unscrupulous politicians to play their 'games' merrily at the cost of the nation. The result is already known, and at least now should we not opt for necessary reforms to prevent the recurrence of history?

To prevent the political catastrophe that is fast approaching the nation, it is imperative to start a movement for raising the national conscience in people's minds to the magnitude of the Swaraj movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. The enemy to be driven out this time is our own selfishness and self-centredness.

R. N. BHASKARAN
Dhone (Andhra Pradesh)

Out With Politicians

Without any shadow of doubt Indian politics has reached its lowest ebb during the 28 months of non-performance rule of the Janata Government under Morarji Desai's Prime Ministership. This is so because, surely not all, but a fairly sizeable majority of the members of the Lok Sabha were blindly busy primarily with attainment of their personal ambition, power, money and self-gain instead of national interests for which they were elected. The second is that the resultant rampant defections are the root cause of the presence of the multi-headed hydra of corruption in the body politic. The third is that to root out the politics of corruption some honest citizens will have to take courage in both their hands, organize electoral councils, contest the ensuing mid-term poll either as party or independent candidates, win the parliamentary election, provide honest, efficient and stable government and thereby, God willing, salvage the country from the scornful scourge of political opportunism.

K. P. BHAGAT
Nagpur (Maharashtra)

Elect Independents

Each day's paper brings news confirming the suspicion that our political parties are incapable of rising above personal and party considerations. Union Law Minister Mr. Kacker was strongly for debarring persons found guilty by enquiry commissions from contesting elections, but on 27th Sept. he is reported to have said that the debar move has been dropped because it will have serious retrospective effect. What these retrospective effects are have not been spelt out, but it passes one's comprehension how ordinance making powers can be so effete as not to be able to avoid such retrospective effects. The fact of the matter appears to be that the ruling party is apprehensive that a debar move may spoil its election prospects.

Mr. Chandrasekhar and Mr. Morarji Desai have approved the withdrawal of four cases against Mr. Bansi Lal by Haryana CM Mr. Bhajan Lal. It is not known why these honourable gentlemen should encroach on the province of the Courts and decide on the existence of adequate evidence after the institution of proceedings. Any one with a knowledge of the functioning of judicial brains must know that judges themselves sometimes differ on the appreciation of evidence and it is difficult to believe that these quick-withdrawers are unaware of the fact. The irresistible conclusion, therefore, is that these gentlemen have been swayed by considerations other than the country's interest. Obviously, the rule of law is not safe in their hands either.

Of course, nobody should dream of the rule of law or respect for the judiciary or legally constituted Commissions from Cong. (I). The Mother gave evidence of it in her appearances before the Shah Commission and the Son showed evidence of it when he appeared the other day before a Special Judge with a bunch of muscle men and danced in the court room leaving the judge to bewail his inability to take contempt proceedings because he could not identify the culprits!

There is, therefore, no choice for the honest peace-loving, law-abiding citizen from among the three major parties in the field. The civic elections in Kerala tend to show that given the chance the discerning voter would prefer independents: the party position on Sept. 20 (later position has not appeared in the daily paper) is as follows:

Results declared — 6200	
CPM (I)	2219
Cong.	488
ML	475
Cong. (I)	194
CPI	226
ML (O)	106
RSP	11
Independents	2497

The independents may have had the support of political parties but that does not alter their character vis-a-vis the voter because that was the best option they had. It may not be wise to project the results to state or national level, but that will not be because people prefer political parties to independents: rather, it is as Bernard Shaw put it in his preface to "The Apple Cart", because the truly representative person has "neither the time nor the money" to spend on elections. The Charan Singh Government's proposal that the Governments will bear part of the election expenses of political parties is not going to help independents and so we shall have "the same lot" returned to Parliament with very minor variations.

A MADHAVA WARIAR
Kottayam, (Kerala)

Change Politicians Not Constitution

No party with a nation-wide base, which can be considered as a serious contender, deserves to be voted to power. We do not want charismatic personalities at the cost of freedom, neither are we obliged to fulfill Mahatma Gandhi's dreams at the cost of stability. We need a government, faceless yet alive, casteless yet impartial and which would not need the label of secularism to sell itself.

It is up to the veterans to organise an alternative that would provide such a government. And the veterans will succeed only if every citizen realises the need of the hour.

The need is not to change the constitution but to change the greedy lot of politicians who have been deceiving the electorate and abusing power. The need is for the intellectuals to rise to the occasion and actively participate in politics. The need is for the middle class to shun indifference. The need is for the rich to stop abuse of their riches towards rigged elections.

Our politics does not seem to respond to the process of evolution. The need is a revolution!

VIJAY PHADKE
Pune (Maharashtra)

A Plea to Intellectuals

Our educated elite do not set a good example for the mass of people to follow. Excluding a few shining examples of integrity, and a few bad cases of proved viciousness, our elite are an amorphous crowd of intelligent, amoral automata, without individuality or professional pride, who let themselves be sucked into the rat race of rising expectations. In pursuit of self-interest they slide down the slippery path of sycophancy and silence, when their clear duty is to stand up and be counted. Their justification for such abject behaviour is that they are in "good" company.

It is this mass of amoral automata which must be brought back to an awareness of right and wrong. Gandhiji was able to influence a whole generation, and one likes to believe that J.P. has not laboured in vain. Corrupt politicians are beyond redemption, but there is no need to write off the uncontaminated younger generation. There is still hope for spiritual regeneration in our lifetime.

Sensible individuals must come together and mobilise uncommitted voting power in favour of honest candidates. Such a move may help to raise the calibre of all candidates standing for election. In the process it may also be possible to persuade a few outstanding persons to enter Parliament as independents.

Such men of integrity and ability can exercise influence out of all proportion to their numbers. In a House which is not likely to give a clear majority to any single party, a few truly independent members would come to command the confidence of treacherous factions unable to trust one another. Unanimous nomination of Justice Hidayatullah as Vice-President shows that the good is the last resort of forces of evil at loggerheads. The time is opportune for mounting a vigorous campaign in favour of clean administration, and to field outstanding persons as candidates. All men of goodwill should come forward to play their part in this endeavour of national regeneration.

M. K. D. PATEL
Vallabh Vidyanagar (Gujarat)

"ARMY AVIATION"

Maj. Gen. E. D'Souza, PVSM (Retd.)

An ill wind and a chill wind appear to be blowing between Army HQ in South Block and Air HQ in Vayu Sena Bhavan to the detriment of good inter-service relations, a battle winning factor in any war. Articles have been appearing in the press on Army Aviation; there has also been talk on this issue both unhealthy and undesirable, a trend which all well wishers of these two outstanding Services hope fervently will blow over harmlessly, leaving in its trail, stronger Army-Air cooperation.

Our Army, the fourth largest in the world today, feels that it has a strong case for its own helicopter and fixed wing light aircraft for vertical envelopment and support and for the control and observation of artillery fire. The Air Force, on the other hand, feels that there is no such need. The aim of this article is to examine the two divergent attitudes and the justifiability.

To better understand the problem it is necessary to briefly spell out the economic position in the country today and in the next decade and our ability to buy or produce sophisticated helicopters large enough and powerful enough to be effective weapons platforms.

Our economic condition today is bad and is likely to progressively deteriorate further if the oil crisis worsens, OPEC countries demand higher prices and our own crude oil production remains well below our minimum requirements. Our large foreign currency reserves so assiduously built up will gradually shrink and dry up to pay for oil which we must import. Another poor monsoon will further erode these reserves to import food grains. Finally, the need for a stable government with signs of permanency. None of these conditions obtain in our country today.

On the production side we are, admittedly, producing at HAL Bangalore, the Chetak Helicopter-based on Sud Aviation's Alouette. But this light helicopter is suitable mainly for air observation post duties, high altitude flying, emergency evacuation of casualties, reconnaissance and movement of commanders. But its limited payload and airframe do not make it a suitable vehicle for a weapons platform for close support of the land battle. The Armed Helicopter, with sufficient fire power to make an effective contribution to the land battle, will have to be larger, stronger and more sophisticated. The Mi-8 is big enough, but has been optimised for the transport role. The Mi-24, used in recent months by the Afghan armed forces, is the kind of helicopter that would be necessary. But this is likely to be expensive and the cost of each could well be close to Rs. 2 crores, as even the cost of the Mi-8 which is in the region of Rs. one crore. The cost of an equivalent type from the West would be at least twice as much. To maintain and repair such aircraft and to fly them effectively needs super specialisation and know-how.

Why is our Army keen to have its own Aviation,

initially for target spotting and control of artillery fire and vertical envelopment? The first and most important reason is sharper, closer and more intimate liaison between the ground and air be it control of artillery fire, close vertical air support or even quick movement of troops to influence the land battle. The second reason is ready availability; in other words the need to go to another Service is obviated. The third reason is the need to achieve a marked reduction in reaction time. Then there is the important aspect of intimate liaison and understanding of the needs of the ground forces, especially armour and infantry which will reduce all areas of possible doubt. Apparently, in a recent combined exercise with troops, it is believed that the effectiveness of close support of the land battle by the Air Force lacked the required effectiveness as Air Force pilots found it difficult to understand the vocabulary peculiar to the Armoured Corps. There was also a delay in the arrival of "on call" sorties. To further bolster its arguments, the Army points to the effective manner the Air Observation Post (AOP) pilots drawn from the Regiment of Artillery, have functioned over the years using both fixed wing (L 5, Pushpaks and Krishaks) aircraft and Chetak helicopters. The final reason is that USA, NATO and Pakistan have such an organisation and, in the same context, so does our Navy with its ground and carrier based aircraft. It must be admitted that the reasons set forth by the Army are not only sound but are valid.

The Air Force counters these reasons forcefully but persuasively and with equal validity and relevance. Firstly the existing AOP set up. Admittedly AOP aircraft are flown and operated by Army pilots drawn from the Regiment of Artillery. But except for flying these aircraft, all other backing including Met, data, flying control, maintenance and repair are provided by the Air Force. The next reason and a very valid one is that to obtain optimum results in efficiently flying helicopters under all conditions a very high degree of highly specialised skill is needed: in other words super specialisation by individuals for whom flying is a lifetime profession. In Army Aviation, pilots will need to be inducted from the Armoured Corps, Artillery or Infantry on a tenure basis. Later, these pilots will have to revert to their own arm of service in their career interest. They will be required to keep abreast with developments in their own arms and in addition, the latest flying techniques and developments. Thus, super specialisation will be difficult and the turnover rate of pilots would be greater. This would result in increased defence expenditure, as it costs several lakhs to fully train a Chetak helicopter pilot (how much more would it be to train a Mi 8 pilot?) Yet another vital question is that of duplicating training, maintenance, repair and ground staff requirements at an enormous cost to the exchequer. In this important context of expenditure, can India afford the luxury of increas-

ing the helicopter fleet to the extent necessary to have an efficient Army Aviation and an equally efficient Air Force in the context of our current economic problems? And having agreed to Army Aviation for a limited application, would not the Army, over a period of time, not want to expand into other fields such as tactical photo reconnaissance, transportation and airborne operations? If the reasons propounded by the Army are acceptable, then all forms of vertical envelopment and close support from the air to the ground forces should logically be an Army Aviation responsibility limiting the IAF to strategic bombing, interception and air defence. The argument that we should keep up with the Joneses is not tenable. USA has the wherewithal both financially and technically to have four Air Forces (USAAF, Marine, Naval and Army). Pakistan adopted the US pattern in the heyday of US/Pak relations. Today our immediate neighbours can depend on petrodollars to afford such a luxury. NATO policy is largely dictated by USA; in addition it has the wherewithal therefore, says the Air Force, such examples are not tenable. Israel, on the contrary has a single service operating in the Air with marked success and that is the Israeli Air Force; the excellent interservice relationship and the high degree of cooperation between Army and Air Force was observed in the numerous Israeli-Arab wars.

Is it possible for air support, be it for the land battle or interception or air defence, to be separated into Army Aviation and Air Force battles? The use of air space must be viewed in its totality or else chaos may well result. There is little doubt that the control of air space be it at high medium or low altitudes must be controlled by a single agency. To this many may well argue that air space over the immediate land battle area could well be under the control of the Army using its low flying helicopters for vertical envelopment and support. But then what happens when it is necessary to induct the newly acquired Jaguars (or any such aircraft that we may acquire in the future) at tree top level for close support? The answer would appear to be obvious — a single controlling agency — the most competent one to do so — the Air Force which, even today monitors all users of sovereign air space. And, as a logical follow-up, the Air Force should continue to provide, in the interests of coordination and economy, air controllers, met reports etc. so necessary for flying. Likewise, in the interests of economy and to avoid duplication the Air Force, areas of responsibility should extend to training, maintenance, repair and replacement.

So far, consideration of the problem has been centered mainly on operations, liaison and technical matters. There is one equally important aspect viz., career prospects of individuals in Army Aviation. Obviously the scope for advancement in our Army Aviation, for the next two decades at any rate, will be limited because of the relatively small Army Aviation wing. Thus, officers from the Armoured Corps

and Infantry, like their Artillery counterparts in the Air OP, will have to be inducted for flying training after a few years commissioned service in their own arm. They would then spend a few years in Army Aviation before reverting to their parent Corps to ensure that their career prospects are not jeopardised. If this is the pattern as it may well be, the cost of training so many pilots will be astronomic not to mention ground and maintenance staff and gunners in armed helicopters. Is the Army going to set up its own R & D Organisation for Army Aviation or its own Flight Safety Organisation or its Directorate of Inspection or its Aircrew Examining team and so on? The Navy, and the Ministry of Defence, are learning to their dismay that the cost of maintaining duplicate organisations of the types listed above, for a relatively small Naval Aviation are phenomenally high. It will be far higher if the Army demands a similar set up.

The conclusion that one can draw for the foreseeable future is that Army Aviation is beyond our economic resources nor is it desirable at the present juncture. In fact, as in Canada, one would like to see common facilities for all the three Services in the areas of supply, transportation, ordnance and vehicle maintenance. As the Army is responsible for ASC supplies, the Air Force should be made responsible for all flying, control, repair and maintenance and training of ground based aircraft and so on. This will ensure economy, centralised control and efficiency.

The tendency to split our meagre resources should be avoided at all cost or it may well lead to situations where the Air Force demands the right to control all anti-aircraft units as it is responsible for Air Defence or to raise its own Air Force Regiments or All Arms for the protection of ground installations.

The Army has its air support problems. So does the Air Force. Remove the personal equation, remove the tendency of building Popski's Private Armies, agree to mutually accepted modalities covering all the problems of availability, reaction time and liaison and the question of a separate Army Aviation will recede. But never, never let it be forgotten that it takes two to clap hands.

We have today an inbuilt infrastructure in our defence set-up unique in many ways — our inter-Services Schools of Instruction viz., the National Defence Academy, the School of Land Air Warfare, the Defence Services Staff College and the National Defence College. We have, at our College of Combat an Air Force representative. These institutions were designed for a very important purpose viz., inter-Services understanding and cooperation beginning at cadet level so essential in any war hot or cold. It would be a major tragedy if these institutions became an exercise in futility. Finally this splendid spirit of cooperation was evidenced to a marked degree in the 1971 war and conditions have not changed.

INDIA VOTES IN (and for?) FREEDOM

The biggest democracy is in such a political mess that its election could jeopardise democracy

First the good news. The biggest democracy the world has ever known is now preparing to hold another general election. The mere fact that this is possible is one of the most heartening features of the present international scene. Only a minority of mankind has ever won the right to decide its political fate peacefully by a free vote; and of those who hold that right today, nearly half are the citizens of India.

India's achievement in maintaining its democratic institutions has been all the more remarkable in the light of the peculiar difficulties of doing such a thing in such a country. India is almost infinitely diverse as well as huge: it has more linguistic, religious, ethnic and cultural divisions than Europe, and little historical unity except that imposed by alien rule. Despite much economic progress, it still has to contend with mass poverty and mass illiteracy. In its 32 years of independence it has been engaged in two wars with Pakistan and one with China; in its north-west, Kashmir is still awkwardly partitioned, in the north-east there have been recurrent separatist rebellions along the frontier. Yet India can still hold a free election, although democracy has foundered—or never been achieved—in many smaller, richer, more homogeneous and at first sight far less unmanageable countries.

Even the draconian "emergency" rule that Mrs. Indira Gandhi imposed in 1975-77, the last years of

government by the long dominant Congress party, caused only one year's delay in the holding of elections. And the emergency period was ended not by an outbreak of civil war or by military coup, but by the government's yielding to a nationwide demand for the restoration of the liberties that it had curtailed. Political prisoners were freed in time for them to campaign in a general election which swept Congress out of office; and, after 30 years of power, the party relinquished it without further argument. Such a sequence of events is rare in human history. Rare enough to be exhilarating.

Unfortunately, although this bright background ought to be recalled, the effect can only be to point up the muddiness of India's present political scene. In 1977 the electorate was in effect asked to answer a clear question, and it gave a clear reply. It wanted no more of the excesses for which Mrs Gandhi and her son Sanjay had been responsible in the previous two years. It wanted, and got, a restoration of freedom of expression. But the premature election that is now to be held before the end of 1979 presents no such clear issue. Far from being invited to choose between definite alternative policies, the voters will be canvassed by rivals whose eagerness for personal power has become as blatant as their readiness to reach out in almost any direction for allies.

Janata, the party or rather coalition which took office in 1977 under Mr. Morarji Desai and held it until July of this year, never found a new unifying purpose to replace the one it lost as soon as it had ousted Mrs. Gandhi. But its components, now that

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they have separated again, show little sign of seizing the opportunity to bring about a simpler and more rational political alignment. On the contrary, they have blithely joined Mrs. Gandhi in the bewildering dance that first brought Mr. Charan Singh the premiership after Mr. Desai's downfall, and then left him holding it as caretaker after Mrs. Gandhi's withdrawal of support forced him to resign and led the president to dissolve parliament.

The great Indian mosaic of regional, linguistic, religious and caste distinctions must always make for a fair amount of horse-trading among interested groups. But in this election campaign there is already an unprecedented lack of scruple both in the offering of alliances and in the encouragement of defections from rival ranks; and the campaign has a worryingly long way to run yet.

The one thing that stands out clearly in the picture of general confusion is that virtually all the recent developments have strengthened Mrs. Gandhi's position and improved her chances of regaining power. Janata, which defeated and succeeded her in 1977, has broken up. The leaders of its largest fragments, Mr. Jagjivan Ram and Mr. Charan Singh, have been obliged to woo her and have felt the force of her

displeasure when she judged their wooing inadequate.

Her argument that India needs a strong hand at the helm which she alone can provide was already becoming more persuasive when Mr. Desai's government was still in office but revealing its inability to give the country a firm lead. Now the manoeuvrings of her rivals, and their helplessness in the face of her own more skilful ones, have created enough disillusionment about politicians in general to dim, for many people, the memory of their 1977 disillusionment about Mrs. Gandhi in particular.

She, and she alone, stood to gain unquestionably from the holding of an early election that would give her following in parliament a chance to regain the strength lost in 1977; and she has got it. Mrs. Gandhi remains wholly unrepentant about her 1975-77 actions; quite a lot of her recent political bargaining has been directed towards blocking further moves to bring her and her associates to trial for some of those actions. The biggest question-mark over India's coming election is whether it will put power back in the very same hands whose previous abuse of it was condemned by the electorate two years ago.

The Economist, September 1



No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man... In reality even those who do not believe in the liberty of the individual believe in their own."

—MAHATMA GANDHI—



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THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS

Vladimir Bukovsky

A Russian dissident, who was able to come to Britain three years ago, puts his case, political, moral and legal, against holding the Olympics in Moscow.

The Rules of the IOC say the Games can take place only in a country where there is political stability. What is more, according to point 3 of the Rules, the Games cannot be influenced by racial, nationalistic, religious or political discrimination.

It is easy to prove that the present ruling regime in the Soviet Union, where the next Games are scheduled to be held, does not accord with those ideals. It is a State involved in numerous aggressions; it occupied several countries and territories and the occupation is still going on the Baltic States, the Ukraine, Moldavia (in the years 1939-40), East Central Europe, also a part of Germany and some islands belonging to Japan. What is more, it is planned to carry out part of the Olympic Games in illegally occupied territories — the sailing events are to be in Estonia.

The Soviet Union has an aggressive foreign policy which aims at undermining the stability and sovereignty of other countries by organising enmity, and has supported revolutions in various States: Angola, Afghanistan, Ethiopia. Its rearmament threatens neighbours of the Soviet bloc. So to hold the Olympic Games in the Soviet Union would not support the strengthening of peace and friendly relations between States, but would be used by the Soviet regime to pursue its unfriendly political aims.

Turning to the point that the Games cannot be influenced by racial, nationalistic, religious or political discrimination, we should note that any attempt even to discuss independence for any of the hundred or more nationalities that make up the Soviet Union is punished as treason. Those nations' cultures, traditions and even their languages are destroyed in a barbaric manner.

The establishing of organisations which are not controlled by the Communist party, such as free trade unions, is forbidden and punishable.

All these forms of discrimination are applied also against sportsmen. To be accepted into an Olympic or national team, one is immediately subjected to special control by the KGB because the membership is connected with foreign travel. The Olympic oath taken by Soviet bloc athletes, which makes clear their political obligations, makes them a tool of Communist propaganda.

Let us look now at the requirement that the Games may take place only in a country where there is political stability.

The fact that the Soviet regime has existed for 62 years does not testify to its stability. Practice shows that the more undemocratic a regime is the more its methods of persecution prolong its existence. During those 62 years no free elections or referendums were carried out.

In spite of the repression, opposition in the country has never ended, in fact in the past few years the dissident movement has grown considerably.

What is more, the Soviet regime itself does not consider its position as legally stable. In 1917, immediately after the Revolution, Lenin issued a decree forbidding any publications except those of the Communist party and its affiliated bodies. The decree stressed that this was a temporary measure and that immediately stability was achieved these measures would be abandoned. Yet this decree has never been withdrawn.

From a legal point of view, all the measures introduced in connection with the Revolution are still applied. For instance internal passports limit travel by the population, and indeed their choice of domicile. The system of employment has the character of directed labour.

It has been officially announced that Soviet citizens wishing to emigrate cannot from now on submit their exit visa applications because of the pressure of work connected with applications for entry visas by participants at the Olympic Games.

The number of foreign Olympic guests will be limited and their stay in one place will also be restricted, perhaps to only three days, and then they will be directed to undertake the usual tourist tours elsewhere in the country. In Moscow itself the number of foreign visitors will be even more limited so that they can be easily controlled by the KGB.

Experience from recent international sports events in Moscow would indicate that national teams will be isolated. The Israelis will find the environment especially hostile, and they will have no chance to meet Soviet Jews.

From the Games the regime expects an income of several hundred millions and in hard currencies. These funds will then be used to help finance "strategic" needs.

The citizens of the Soviet Union, limited in their freedom of movement by the internal passport system, the rules for travel, the increased prices for travel and above all by the shortage of Olympic tickets—practically unobtainable on the spot—will be reduced to following events on the television. There they will see how the "greatest protagonist of world peace," Brezhnev, will bless the participants in the Games.

Security and co-operation in Europe will be possible only if all countries respect certain human rights. The Soviet Union has proved her neglect of human rights in more than one way. If the European countries are now seriously seeking peace, good mutual relations and security, it would be most unwise to encourage the Soviet Union's behaviour by participation at the Moscow Games. Co-operation, cultural and scientific exchanges and mutual economic support will become an instrument of peace only when the European countries succeed in pressing the Soviet Union to honour all the agreements it has signed.

At this very moment in international relations the Olympic Games in Moscow are badly timed. From a political standpoint they are a great mistake. From a human point of view they are a betrayal. And legally they are a crime.

—The Daily Telegraph, October, 2

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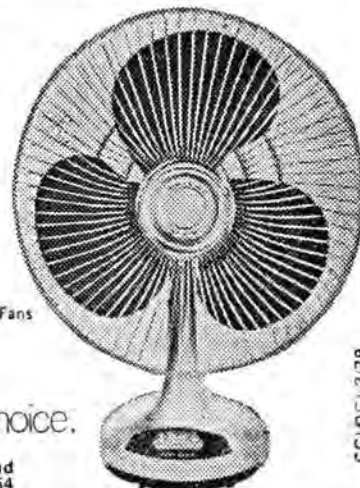
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Book Review

NEGLECTED LIVES by *Stephan Alter; Andre Deutsch*, London, 1979, 179 pp. Rs. 60/-.

If *Neglected Lives* were just a novel by a gifted writer in his early twenties, an American citizen to whom "India has always been home", it might be interesting but hardly deserve the plaudits it has already won in the world press. In fact, it is a novel worth noticing because it breaks new ground on India. It is about the Anglo-Indian community that its author sees with candour, clarity and insight, but also with sympathy and rare understanding. In it, the Anglo-Indian characters emerge with clearly defined individuality, each a person in his or her own right, never wholly attractive or inspiring and inevitably flawed by circumstance and environment, but all of them round and convincing. The atmosphere of a decaying hill station—the last retreat of a community seemingly with its back to the wall—against which the story is told, has a melancholy beauty that stays with us. And perhaps most important, the characters are memorable because they are in search of an elusive identity:

Lionel, the hero, is an Anglo-Indian boy who grows up in post-1947 Lucknow. He sees his parents clearly: his mother who coats "her dark skin with pale powder" and refers to England that she has never seen as 'home', is as patently absurd to him as to us; his father, a shadowy figure less incongruous than his mother, but as confused and nebulous. Lionel's paternal grandfather was English, married to a Bengali Christian. He went to France to fight in World War I and never returned to India though

there is evidence that he was alive at the end of the War.

Lionel is attracted by Sujeta, a Hindu girl who is presently pregnant by him. He is beaten up by her brothers and escapes to Debrakot (Ranikhet?) to his father's best friend, a fellow Anglo-Indian, Brigadier Theodore (Teddy) Augden. The Brigadier, who has retired from the Indian Army in which he has seen battle service, has now bought a fruit orchard at Debrakot and lives here with his wife Natalia (Nat), also an Anglo-Indian. He is childless and Lionel may possibly fill the place of son and successor.

The story of Lionel's stay for two years at Debrakot is told by many characters, initially by himself, then by Augden and by Nat, his wife. Through this economic technique we get several versions of the same events at more or less the same time, and come to know what the characters think of themselves and others in their immediate vicinity. Through this trio we are introduced to the relationship, curious to the old-fashioned, of the foursome—Teddy Augden; Nat, his wife; Charles, Lionel's father; and his wife Millie. The two couples know each other intimately and the two husbands have in the past traded wives, so that no one is altogether sure of who Lionel's father is, whether Charles, his official father, or Teddy Augden, who longs to have a son and cannot have one by his sterile wife.

As the canvas is further unfolded, we meet Salim Ahmed (who tells his own story), a rich young Muslim, commissioned by his father to re-open a family concern, the Hotel London, at Debrakot and, after an

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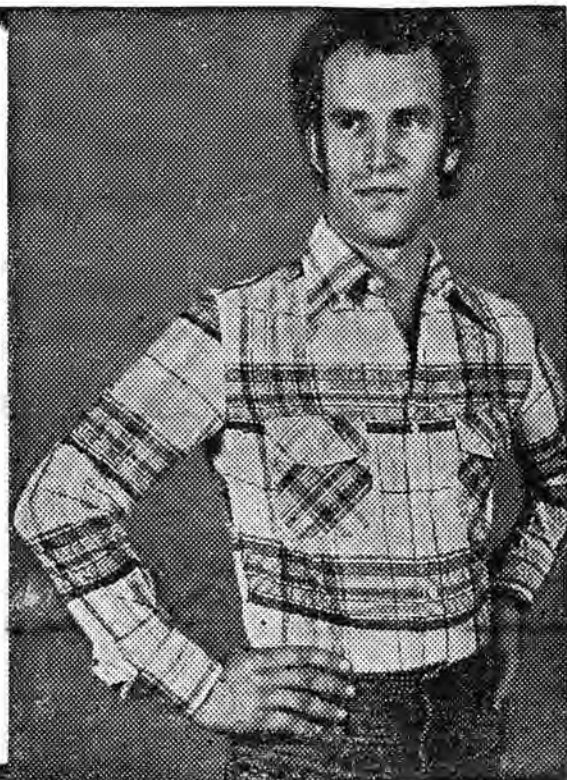
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accident in which the hotel is burnt down, Salim's friends in Delhi, including an attractive Anglo-Indian girl, Sylvia. Thrown together in Delhi for a fortnight, Lionel and Sylvia fall in love and decide to marry. They return to live their lives out at Debrakot.

The bare bones of the story are not impressive and, as might have been expected, sex plays an important, if not a dominant role in the novel. Nat Augden particularly would seem to embody the popular stereotype of the highly sexed Anglo-Indian girl-and-women who, as she ages, loses none of her sex vitality and is not unwilling at 65 to see young Lionel as both son and lover. Lionel, Sujeta and Sylvia belong to a more permissive age, but not to a generally permissive society, and so the ease with which all three indulge in pre-marital sex, though hardly surprising in contemporary fiction, confirms in India the popular view that at least Lionel and Sylvia are representative of their community i.e. are without sexual inhibition.

But the portraiture is happily more complex and subtle than the sex story suggests, for this is not a salacious novel. The boy Lionel is genuinely sensitive and eager to discover who he is. He and Sujeta, a daring girl in her Hindu Lucknow environment, discuss the vexed question of roots, and Lionel says: "We're in our separate little room on the roof (shades of Ruskin Bond of whom we are often reminded). Why should we let our grandfathers interrupt us with their history?" (13). Sujeta, who comes of a Bania family, is better attuned to her society's mores. She knows that each will finally marry in his/her own community, but is willing to be 'happy' while she can.

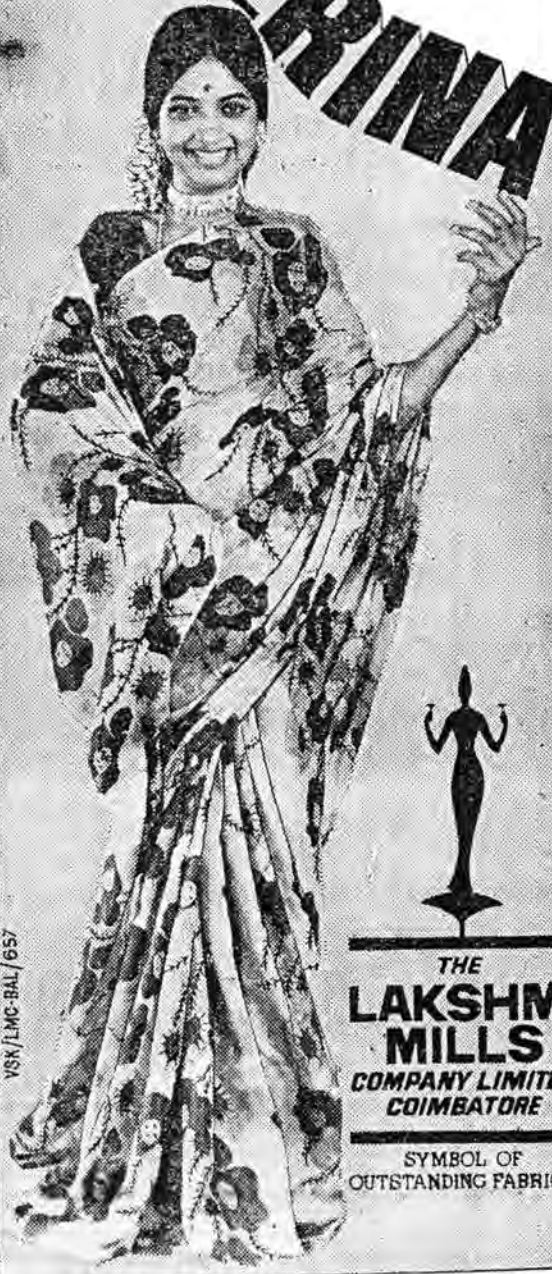
The conflict that emerges from mixed parentage and race, and the taboos consequent upon the British social structure in India, tends to deny Augden the strength that normally proceeds from self-confidence and self-respect. He recognises that he hates India for the status that she has denied him, and would escape from her if he could do so with any prospect of economic survival. Millie, Lionel's mother, never ceases to regard herself as different from, and superior to Indians, but Lionel and Sylvia are unafflicted by these illusions—they belong to a younger and more sensible generation that has grown up in free India. Sylvia notably takes herself for granted, is, indeed, much more conscious of the generation gap within her own Anglo-Indian community, than she is of the gulf that divides Anglo-Indians from Indians, Hindu or Muslim.

Stephen Alter is a serious social commentator and is concerned with both the social group and its several members. Lionel begs Sylvia not to alienate older members of their community who have settled in Debrakot because: "All their lives they've been concerned with one thing — their legitimacy we're part of their legitimacy. Something like a marriage is very important to them because it reaffirms their community" (176). So the search for Anglo-Indian identity is not only an odyssey for each one, but also for the whole community. What is it that makes this collective tradition, and why is it that the tradition should be maintained?

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Neglected Lives gives us no answers to the questions it raises, but this is not vital in a novel. The success of the work lies in the understanding it brings to us of a misunderstood community of people. There is in it no spite, no contempt, no cynicism. There is instead a determination to present Anglo-Indians as more or less normal people in a situation that bristles with social and racial abnormality. We are made to see the problems of members of this community with sympathy. The writing is generally very good and, when on natural landscape, Alter is often deeply moving.

MURIEL WASI

INDIAN RELIGIONS by S. Radhakrishnan: *Vision Books New Delhi, 1979, pp. 190 + index, Rs. 25/-.*

The book under review is a collection of essays by the renowned statesman and philosopher S. Radhakrishnan.

As the title suggests, the book deals with the basic tenets of the different religions of India. Whether it is Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism or Sikhism, that have taken birth in India or religions such as Islam, Christianity and Zoroastrianism that have made their way into the country and acquired roots, they are all in sum part of the religious experiences of Man. The variations and distinguishing features of the historical religions and their specific beliefs reflect the social milieu in which they exist.

Radhakrishnan emphasises the need for religions to strengthen their common ideals and understand the differences among them with sympathy. To him no religion can claim superiority over the others. In fact, a cross fertilization of ideas among the different religions alone can promote and enrich spiritual life. In his earlier writings, Radhakrishnan has shown with great wealth of learning that this has been so throughout the centuries.

In the ultimate analysis, the objective of all religions remain the same. To quote, "Things in the valley separate us, up yonder high above us we are all one. The variety of ways has meaning at the foot of the hill, but if we understand what they signify on the snowy summits, we shall know that all are reaching out for god".

Over the centuries, the world's religions have become confused with out-dated and meaningless rituals, customs and superstitions. Most often than not, these extraneous and sometimes crude aspects have dominated the practice of religions. In the process, the essence of religion has been missed out. The separation of what is living and what is dead in the world's religions is no easy task. In his own way, Radhakrishnan was in his time strikingly successful in interpreting the great religions and restoring their appeal to the modern mind in a world of science and rationalism. The brief anthology of his writings serves in providing not only an attractive account of the religions of India but also in bringing to the ordinary readers the thoughts of a remarkable philosopher and statesman.

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

—Tennyson

The only way to move a politician's bottom is to hit him on the nose with a base (ball) bat.

H. Jarvis, (the father of Proposition 13),
The Daily Telegraph, October 8

Madhya Pradesh is as unnatural as the Janata Party and its split is a foregone conclusion.

Slogan of the movement for a separate Chhatisgarh state, *Times of India*, October 22

We will wipe them out! the nation voted for the Islamic republic and everyone should obey. If you do not obey, you will be annihilated.

Ayatullah Khomeini, *Time*, October 1

Soviet ambassadors are the product of a bureaucracy that rewards discipline and discourages initiative.

Henry Kissinger, White House Years, *Time*, October 1

You are soft, you have demonstrated weakness all over the world. You lost Ethiopia, you lost Angola you lost Iran. . . . You don't have a policy at all.

Israeli Defence Minister Ezer Weizman
to Harold Saunders, U.S. Assistant Secretary
of State, *Time*, October 1

One thing we have learned in this terrible century of ours is that the rule of law with its notion of inalienable right is a far more valuable safeguard to the individual than the delusory 'one man, one vote'. There are many cases in which the judges speak for the masses far more truthfully than the governments they have supposedly elected.

— Paul Johnson, *The Guardian*, October 8.

Violence is a lie which destroys what it claims to defend.

— Pope John Paul II, *Sunday Telegraph*, Sept. 30.

There is no prostitution in China. However, we do have some women who make love for money.

— A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman,
Herald Tribune, October 15

Zia, when he seized power, was regarded as a funny man. He was likened to Terry-Thomas, both in appearance and attitudes. He is no longer a joke. He is a disaster.

— *The Daily Telegraph*, October 19.

I was brought up as an Anglophile, to some extent emerged into an Americanophile and, in the ten years that I am in government now, I have turned into a Francophile.

— Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt,
The Economist, September 29.

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