

THUGGERY CHECKMATED IN ANDHRA

GOVIND TALWALKAR

IT WAS nothing short of political thuggery in Andhra to dismiss the N. T. Rama Rao ministry, but the evil designs of the leadership of the Congress(I) were foiled by the tremendous public pressure and the 165 MLAs who stood firm against the allurements of money and positions. However, the end would have been different if two dozen more MLAs of the Telugu Desam party would have crossed the floor and joined the shameless brigade of Bhaskara Rao.

Whatever happened in Andhra is in conformity with Mrs. Indira Gandhi's politics which does not tolerate opposition. Her henchman Mr. Homi. J. H. Taleyarkhan played a hatchetman and dismissed the ministry in Sikkim. Taleyarkhan was 'satisfied' that the ministry had lost majority support but this satisfaction was illusory and President's rule had to be imposed. The Central Government acted on the false report of the Governor who in his turn pandered to the wishes of the Central leaders. So instead of impeachment Taleyarkhan was honoured with an Ambassador's post in Italy.

Next came the Jammu and Kashmir ministry headed by Dr. Farooq Abdullah. Though Mr. G. M. Shah could prove his majority, the manner in which Farooq's ministry was dethroned was reprehensible.

With the two ministries thus toppled Mrs. Gandhi became bold enough to dislodge the N. T. Rama Rao ministry.

Actually Ramakrishna Hegde was on the hit-list but as Mrs. Gandhi believes in surprise attacks she went for Rama Rao. The Andhra leader had the shock of his life when he returned after a coronary bypass operation in the USA to find that his colleague Mr. Bhaskara Rao had raised the banner of revolt. The latter took with him 56 MLAs but claimed the support of more than ninety and could form a ministry with the ready and willing support of the Congress(I).

The Governor Mr. Ram Lal was, as expected, 'satis-

fied' and Bhaskara Rao was given 30 days to prove his majority. However, all the money that he brought from Delhi and the gangsterism in which he indulged could not help him. As the game was fated to be lost, Mrs. Gandhi came out with the extraordinary explanation that she came to know about the Andhra happenings only through a news agency report. Except her apologists nobody in the wide world believed it.

If she were kept in the dark then it betrays incompetence but if she had known it, then she was guilty of terminological inexactitude, to put it mildly.

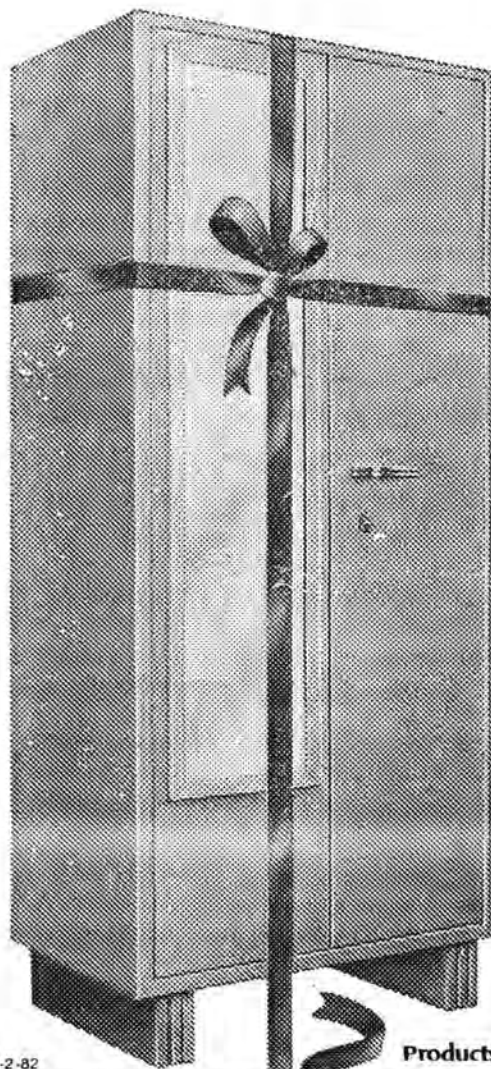
Ram Lal became the scapegoat and had to go. Nobody was sorry for him, for a corrupt and degenerate person like him deserves to be in jail and not in the Raj Bhavan. But he is not alone in making the Raj Bhavan the forum for deciding the fate of a ministry. Even the Janata party committed the same offence when Mr. Sanjiva Reddy as President of India followed a similar course. The country will soon have to find a way to check such gubernatorial and Presidential intrigues.

It was daylight robbery in Andhra, and Bhaskara Rao was a willing gangster. We witnessed a blatant abuse of the administrative machinery to coerce and bribe legislators. The pretender to the post of chief minister even went to the extent of accusing Rama Rao of being a CIA agent and having secret links with China through the CPI (M). Every effort was made to kidnap the MLAs. As if this was not enough, a communal riot was engineered in Hyderabad at the behest of the pretender administration. Property and lives of the people apparently have no relevance to the power-hungry thugs let loose in this country.

What we witnessed in Andhra was a reprehensible and relentless pursuit of power. This is the logical culmination of the politics which is being followed

(Continued on page 7)

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IN OFFICE BUT NOT IN POWER

PETER BAUER

PRESIDENTS Nixon and Reagan and British Prime Ministers Heath and Thatcher were elected with comfortable majorities. Soon after, they deviated considerably from their declared objectives. Why?

A perceptive journalist friend offers an explanation: Politicians don't seek office to carry out policies. Their purpose is to gain office; and in order to get elected they announce policies. Once elected they will pursue courses that combine least trouble with best prospects for continued office, that is policies that maximize the net advantages of their position. For a right-wing leader, so-called moderate or middle-of-the-road policies are most likely to be useful.

There is something in this explanation. It accords with what can be expected from the operation of pressure groups and coalitions. But it still leaves open the question why pronounced deviation from the declared Thatcherite or Reaganite objectives, which were electorally so successful, should prove most convenient or even necessary to the incumbents. A tentative explanation is offered here.

Mr. Heath (1970) and Mrs. Thatcher (1979), and Presidents Nixon (1972) and Reagan (1980) were elected by substantial majorities of the popular vote. However, they were elected without the support—indeed, with the opposition—of influential and articulate groups in the civil service, the academies and the media; and also against the wishes of “progressive” businesspeople, politicized writers, critics, trade union leaders, members of the clergy, entertainers and professional humanitarians. Taken together, these categories largely make up the contemporary Western “political nation,” that is the people who dominate discussion of public affairs, influence the course of events and circumscribe the freedom of the political leadership. What suits the interest of politicians is much influenced by the climate of opinion, which in turn is affected very considerably by the interests and attitudes, and therefore by the activities, of the political nation.

The components of the political nation are important sectional interests. Moreover, their activities often reinforce the direction of many other sectional interests, especially economic interest groups, which put pressure on governments.

Both by inclination and by self-interest many of the most effective and influential people within the modern political nation dislike the market system. They are often both articulate and plausible, adept at appealing simultaneously to people's self-interest and emotions. Their opponents, including prominent conservative politicians both in Britain and the U.S., often find it

difficult to put their case effectively in public discourse, partly because they haven't thought issues through, even when their instincts are correct.

The electoral successes of Richard Nixon, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan have led to a serious underestimate of the role of these groups. While genuinely conservative politicians can get elected against the opposition of these groups, their hostility can effectively circumscribe or even frustrate the policies of conservative leaders.

Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Reagan are in office; they aren't in power. They aren't in power because they cannot bring about the major changes they had envisaged or proposed, and to some extent seemed to believe in. The political nation can frustrate their wishes in various ways. The experience of Mrs. Thatcher and Messrs. Heath, Nixon and Reagan suggests the effectiveness of these methods.

The political nation is widely equated with public opinion in Britain. This adds to the effectiveness of the more articulate Conservative “Wets,” the Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance, and also those senior civil servants close to the academies and the media. Time and again one hears it said that “public opinion” won't stand for this or that policy or measure proposed by Mrs. Thatcher or her circle, meaning by public opinion the particular categories of people most of whom are opposed to Mrs. Thatcher's objectives. In Britain, reducing the influence of these groups seems a precondition for the implementation of Mrs. Thatcher's objectives. Somewhat analogous relationships can be seen in the U.S. and Western Europe.

Reelection by itself won't enable Mrs. Thatcher to overcome this resistance. She must seek out allies within these groups, enhance their effectiveness and promote cooperation among them, as well as between them and the political leadership. These methods have been used successfully by Hugh Gaitskell, Harold Wilson and some other Labour politicians, and they have been used most successfully by the Kennedys.

Unless these tasks are attempted and performed with some success, conservatives won't be able to effect substantial and lasting changes even if their objectives are popular; they won't be able to take advantage of opportunities for major change (as distinct from merely electoral opportunities) that may arise. However often they are elected, they will be only in office and not in power.

(Prof. Peter Bauer has retired from the London School of Economics. He is now a member of the House of Lords.)

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AS I SEE IT

MINOO MASANI

WHEN SOME time back the United States Government announced that they would stop financial aid for population control to countries that considered abortion a "legitimate method of population control", there was widespread alarm among countries with proliferating populations. Now that the World Population Conference, which met in Mexico in August, has taken the same stand, the position will be better understood. What was lacking in the first instance was an awareness of the importance of the six words "as a method of population control".

Though I was a member of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament that legalised abortion in this country through the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1970, I believe that the stand that has now been taken by the U.N. International Conference on Population is a reasonable one. Abortion is a method of birth control, but it is by far the worst of the lot. There are many better methods of preventing conception, such as the condom, inter-uterine devices, tubectomy and vasectomy. Abortion is often bad for the health, both physical and emotional, of the woman concerned and should be avoided except as a last resort. That is why family welfare clinics in India, both official and private, often refuse to perform an abortion on a married woman with too many children unless she agrees to undergo tubectomy at the same time.

There are many other reasons to justify an abortion. Such, for instance, is the right of a woman to control her own body, and I was very happy when the other day driving down Chowringhee in Calcutta I saw a Government poster saying prominently: "It is safe; it is legal".

The U.N. International Conference on Population also passed another resolution rejecting coercion as a method of birth control. That again is a wise decision. Where, as in North India during the Emergency or in Communist China today, there is forcible birth control, it creates many other problems. Thus, for instance, the Chinese *diktat* that every family can only have one child has meant that female infants are put to death by drowning like puppy dogs immediately at birth so that, until a boy is born, the family may not be punished for breaking the law! The result is that it has been estimated by an American demographer from Princeton University, Mr. Ansley Coale, that some 250,000 baby girls have been killed in China since the introduction of the one-child policy in 1959.

It is true that, in countries like India and China, where the proliferation of population is quite scandalous, even abortion can be used as a form of birth control. Japan did so with great success a little earlier. But surely backward countries like ours should put their hands in their own pockets for this purpose and not expect more advanced countries with higher standards to lower them for our sake.

* * * *

In view of the somewhat excited way in which news from Lanka is displayed in the Indian Press, and particularly when the word "genocide" is used recklessly and out of context, it may be enlightening for us to know how this looks from the detached and cool heights of Berne in Switzerland as presented in the *Swiss Press Review and News Report*:

"The conflict between the majority Singhalese and the minority Tamils in Sri Lanka has been going on long enough; but only now has it taken on an international dimension. We find quite suddenly that the recent renewal of violence in northern Sri Lanka is based on international Communist support for a secessionist state.

"One of the centres of this would be Trincomalee, for centuries known as the best harbour between the East African coast and Singapore. The government of Sri Lanka, under President Julius Jayawardene, though non-aligned, is sympathetic to the West, and the American Seventh Fleet at present has facilities at Trincomalee.

"So it is significant to see who may be behind the Tamil guerrillas, the Liberation Tigers of Eelam—Eelam being the name of the state they would like to create. We find that they are being helped by a number of Soviet surrogates, including the PLO, Libya and North Korea. Arms have been sent by all three of these, and the most recent development is the introduction of a Tamil radio station which happens to be located on a North Korean freighter cruising in international waters off north eastern Sri Lanka.

"Given the places from which the Tamils are getting support, it is perhaps natural that President Jayawardene should ask the Israelis for help in anti-guerrilla tactics and it is reported that an Israel interests section has been opened in the American embassy in Colombo, Sri Lanka's capital. This in its turn is not pleasing to the Arab states of the Gulf, where more than 100,000 Sri Lankas work, sending home more than \$250 million a year in hard currency. The international dimension of the crisis grows daily."

(Courtesy: *The Statesman*)

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DELHI LETTER

TOWARDS THE end of July there were two public meetings on the Punjab situation, one organised by the Indian Minorities Forum and the other by the PUCL. A notable feature was the presence of a large number of Sikhs among the audience. In fact in the first meeting all one could see was a sea of turbans. Obviously the average Sikh feels very strongly about what is going on in Punjab.

At the Minorities Forum meeting, Khushwant Singh was lustily cheered. Whenever he criticised the government's handling of the Punjab situation, he was interrupted with cries of "bolo so nihai, sat sri akal" and when he spoke of the damage to the Golden Temple caused by the army action there were loud cries of "shame". However, when Lt. Gen. J. S. Aurora said the Akali morcha had failed he was heckled and booed. In an audience of over 200, only ten-odd persons remonstrated at this show of intolerance by the majority. Lt. Gen. Aurora pointed out that there was no point discussing the fate of democracy in Punjab (which was the topic of the discussion) if they were not prepared to listen to what others had to say, since democracy meant tolerance of different points of view.

A similar incident occurred at the PUCL meeting in which Neerja Choudhary of *The Statesman*, who had gone to Punjab, came out against the violence unleashed by the extremists. Again, the Sikhs present started heckling and did not allow her to proceed. One of them accused her of advocating government policies. This, despite the fact that she was equally, if not more, critical of the government's role and especially the continued presence of the army.

In both the meetings, the government came in for a good dressing down for its inept handling of the Punjab problem, the press censorship, detention laws and the continued presence of the army.

If the Sikhs are becoming increasingly clannish, a large part of the blame must be laid at the door of the government. As Khushwant Singh said, the government does not seem to know the difference between a soothing ointment and a bucket of salt rubbed into wounds. He was of course referring to the Santa Singh supervised *kar seva* but it could well apply to the problems Sikhs in the capital are facing.

Kuldip Nayar, at the PUCL meeting, related a shocking incident. A Sikh student was travelling on his motor-cycle rather late at night when it broke down near the Safdarjung Tomb. Two other Sikhs passing by helped him take the motor-cycle to a taxi-stand from where the boy proposed going to his uncle's house nearby. They were reportedly stopped at a police picket and asked to identify themselves. The

student could not do so and he was taken to the Tughlaq Road police station. Here he was allegedly beaten up and asked to confess that he was an extremist.

Nor was it all. Early next morning, when the boy asked for a glass of water, he was allegedly given a glass of urine and forced to drink it. Throughout the night he had been taking the names of influential relatives—to no avail. In the morning he managed to get a word across to his uncle who came to free him.

If this is the humiliation innocent Sikhs are going to be subjected to, can one blame them for becoming insular?

—Komala Sarathy

(Continued from page 1)

from 1969 when the Congress was first split by Mrs. Gandhi. Even those who had nothing to do with the Congress were shocked by this ugly manipulative politics. Then came the traumatic experience of emergency. The Andhra affair was of the same genre.

However because of the people's upsurge the thuggery was checkmated. There are many who do not agree with the politics of N. T. Rama Rao, but it was he who became the symbol of the emotions and aspirations of the people of Andhra. He put Mrs. Gandhi on the defensive. It was the manifestation of the principle that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Public pressure was also a deterrence to the would-be defectors in Andhra.

But thinking persons should sit up and ponder over the situation which is fraught with many dangers. One is the precedence of emotive politics over reason. But another is much more portentous and that is the degradation of social and political life. In Andhra it was not the legislature but the people, the crowds at large who have brought about the desired change. But this may not happen always. Matters of state must be decided on Constitutional fora, not in the streets. But the Congress(I) leaders in Delhi have perverted and subverted the legislative process. If this would be the order of the day then lumpen elements will take charge.

The sordid drama in Andhra would compel any sane element to take stock of the situation and change the style of domestic politics. But the Congress(I) leaders, having no compunctions, would not do so. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had said that the last word about Andhra had not yet been heard. This is ominous and calls for vigil.

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THE CHINESE OVERTURES TO TIBET

BHUCHUNG K. TSERING

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS have passed since China occupied Tibet. In these 25 long years Chinese politics has seen a lot of change which has had its effect in Tibet too. However, a vast gap still exists between the theory and practice of China's policy on Tibet.

Tibetans today are considered one of the 56 minority nationals of China enjoying 'special' privileges. According to the Chinese Constitution, "The People's Republic of China is a unitary multinational state built up jointly by the people of all its nationalities. *Socialist relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance have been established among them and will continue to be strengthened. It is necessary to combat big-nation chauvinism, mainly Han chauvinism.*" (italics mine) In real terms however, this does not seem to have happened as far as Tibet is concerned. The Tibetan economy, despite some improvement, continues to be in a shambles. The so-called socialist relations of equality has not taken place in Tibet where the disparities between the Chinese and the Tibetans, party-members and non-party members, ordinary people and the civil servants, are great.

Despite the Chinese claims of equality of all nationalities, Chinese chauvinism is very much conspicuous in Tibet. Reports from recent arrivals and independent sources confirm this. They say that the much-publicised report about the withdrawal of Chinese officials from Tibet and their substitution by Tibetans is a sham and has no real significance. The positions of power continue to remain under Chinese control while a few Tibetans have been given insignificant posts. Even today the person who holds real power in Tibet is a Chinese, Yin Fatang. The fact that China does not want to transfer real power to the Tibetans can be seen from their recent move to teach Tibetan language to Chinese officials in Tibet. This means that those Chinese officials, who hold all the top posts, will continue to remain in Tibet. Though some Chinese officials have been sent out of Tibet, Peking has nevertheless stealthily injected a lot of civilians into the region thus attempting to Sinicise Tibet. Sources say that the number of PLA forces in Tibet has been greatly increased. Today, the number of PLA forces in Tibet is estimated at over 500,000.

Despite all these attempts to placate the Tibetans, Peking does not seem to have met with real success. They have not been able to convince the people of Tibet about their "liberation". The experience of

the 40 Peking-based international journalists who visited Tibet in August last year clearly reveals this. It may be recalled that these journalists were met by many Tibetans who thrust into their hands appeals for help addressed, among others, to the United Nations Secretary-General. This clearly demonstrates the discontentment growing among the Tibetans.

Peking now realises that the real solution on the Tibetan issue lies with His Holiness, the Dalai Lama. Accordingly they established contact with Dharamsala, the headquarters of the Dalai Lama. This led to the successive visits of three delegations from Dharamsala to Tibet which was followed by the first ever 'exploratory' talks held between Tibetan representatives and Chinese leaders in Peking in April-May 1981. It is believed that Dharamsala and Peking discussed various possibilities.

However, the recent international prominence given to the Hong Kong question has provided a new significance to the Tibetan issue. Besides Tibet and Hong Kong, China today is also deeply involved on the question of Taiwan where she is appealing for 'reunification'.

Though the Hong Kong problem may and hopefully will be settled by the end of this year, reports from Taipei say the Taiwanese are wary of the Chinese communists' overtures. They suspect the genuineness of these concessions, pointing to how the communists had breached their agreement with Tibet.

Faced with these various problems, China is in need of acceptable solutions. The Dalai Lama too has taken a liberal out-look saying that he does not believe in violence and that a solution can be found through negotiations.

This year being the 25th anniversary of the Chinese occupation of Tibet, a year-long programme, including exhibitions, rallies, seminars, symposia and letter campaigns, has been planned by Tibetans from all over the world.

All these will no doubt highlight the Tibetan issue. Yet, for a lasting solution both Dharamsala and Peking will have to take a realistic view. By accepting the reality on Tibet and finding a solution thereof Peking will be also showing the Taiwanese the genuineness of their concern for "reunification".

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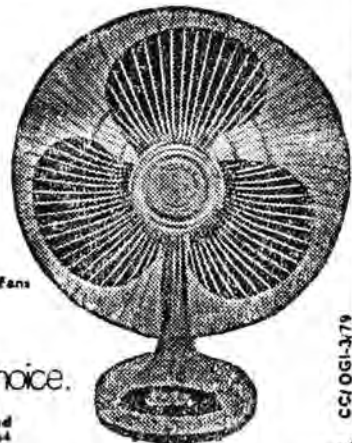
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BOOK REVIEWS

IS CAPITAL PUNISHMENT NECESSARY? By Dr. U. K. Jadhav; Anand Publications, Bombay; Price Rs. 80; Pp. 231.

THE SUBJECT of the book is controversial. Those in favour of capital punishment conjure up images of mindless and gruesome murders—Sanjay and Geeta Chopra or the Poona murders. They ask how ruthless killers like Billa and Ranga can be let loose on society, and advocate capital punishment as the only suitable punishment for such killers. The idealists who oppose capital punishment conjure up the image of an innocent man hanging by the neck till he is dead—a victim of legal blunder. According to them nobody has a right to take away another's life. Since there is much to be said for each of the viewpoints the controversy is bound to continue.

Punishment contains several ingredients. It has an element of retribution. It also aims at reform or improvement of the criminal. And it aims at prevention of crime, by confining or eliminating the criminal and by deterring prospective criminals. Capital punishment is the only punishment that contains no element of reform—for obvious reasons, unless one is thinking of improvement in the next birth! It contains, however, a large dose of retribution, and a small dose of prevention. Dr. Jadhav seeks to explore this last element of prevention—the only “respectable” element, because a civilised society does not like to admit that it considers it just or finds it satisfying, at times, to

demand an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth or a life for a life.

Fortunately for Dr. Jadhav, some of the countries of the world have abolished capital punishment. Thus in 1965 England and Wales abolished capital punishment for murder experimentally for 5 years. In 1970 the punishment was permanently abolished. This has given Dr. Jadhav ample statistics—pre-abolition and post-abolition—which he has tried to compare in order to arrive at some conclusions.

The author loves statistics. He has taken considerable pains to procure statistics from as many countries as he can. A number of people in different countries have obliged him with the statistics he required. It is a pity that the author is unable to cull out anything worth while from this considerable collective effort. But, in the process of reading the collected data, a diligent reader can gather a lot of interesting details, e.g., what is the normal weight of the murderer? It seems that out of 300 Indian murderers in Dr. Jadhav's table, 85 murderers weighed from 101 to 110 lb. while 91 weighed from 111 to 120 lb. There was none over 191 lb. in weight. Heightwise, the maximum number of murderers (52) were 5' 4" tall and 51 were 5' 3" tall. None was over 5' 11".

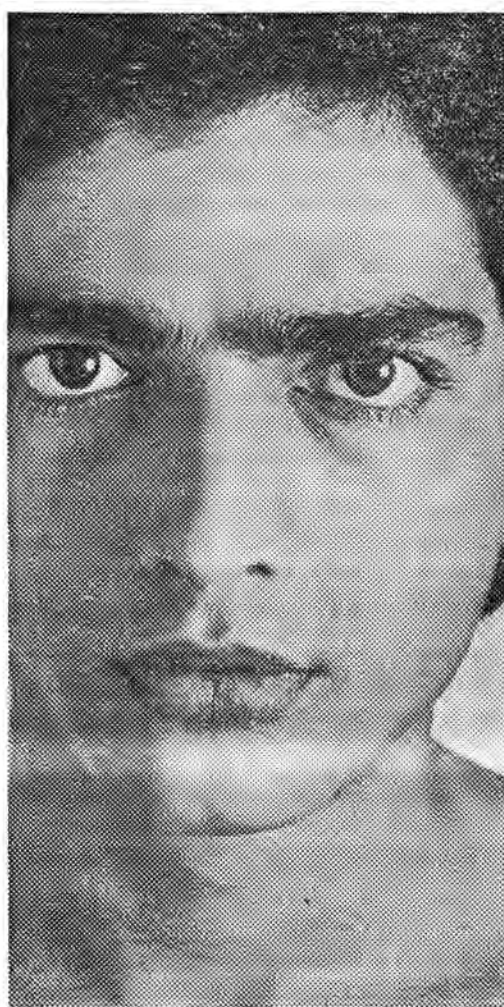
The more relevant tables deal with the social background of the murderers—urban or rural. It seems that murderers lurk more in rural areas than in urban areas. Among the causes of murders, illicit sex takes the “pride” of place, followed by land disputes. Among the “professions” that breed murderers, agricultural labourers occupy the first place.



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The tables dealing with the trial of murderers and the punishment meted out to them are also interesting. It seems that between 1954 and 1963, there were 1,05,720 murders. As against this, only 5,957 murderers were awarded a death sentence. The actual executions carried out were however, only 1,251, the other sentences being commuted by the Government. It is not shown how many cases of murder were brought to trial, how many accused were acquitted, and how many were convicted. But from the death sentences awarded, only 11.6% were carried out. 88.4% were commuted by the State. The Supreme Court, therefore, was not really breaking new ground when it pronounced that death sentence should be awarded in the rarest of rare cases. The task of awarding a death sentence, in any case, is not a comfortable task for the judge. According to Dr. Jadhav's numerical sleuths, "a conscientious judge goes on thinking at least for eight days before he finally awards capital punishment"!

As against this growing disinclination to award or to execute a death sentence, there has also been a growing crime rate which is reflected in the tables. As far as one can gather, Dr. Jadhav has advocated the retention of capital punishment in view of the increasing crime rate.

Apart from this statistical data, Chapter IV of the book contains a useful summary of the provisions of

the Penal Code dealing with offences punishable with death, which will interest a lay reader.

In the second edition the author has added the latest resolution of the U.N. General Assembly on capital punishment and an appendix on some typical multi-murder cases. This edition is also the maiden printing venture of his wife. It is haunted by the printer's devil which has swallowed for example, portions of the last sentence on many pages. There is a delightful table where the devil has played havoc with the names of every city featured in it, with the solitary exception of Delhi—the capital city! This table contains "Ahmedabad", "Bongolore", "Bombey", "Celcutta", "Hyderobed", "Kenpur" and "Medres". The publisher has modestly put a note saying, "there might be mistakes through oversight in the printing for which the readers will kindly excuse me". How can one deny a request so charmingly made?

The book is, like the proverbial curate's egg, delectable in parts.

—S

THE SURVIVAL OF THE INDIVIDUAL by Apa Pant; Sangam Books; Pp. 149; Rs. 75.00.

MENTION the word individual and one instinctively thinks of Locke, Hobbes, Greene, Laski and the in-

BIG DEAL FOR SMALL INDUSTRIES

A new climate needed for fostering the development of small scale industries, cottage industries, handlooms, handicrafts has been created in Karnataka State. Many ambitious new schemes have been drawn up for the year 1984-85 to promote development of small and cottage Industries. The schemes provide financial assistance and technical know-how to the entrepreneurs.

The Schemes are:

1. Construction of 1510 industrial sheds by December 1985 at a cost of Rs. 36 Crores as against the construction of about 2,000 sheds at a cost of Rs. 20 Crores during the last 20 years.
2. Establishment of functional industrial estates for pharmaceuticals, leather, hand tools etc.
3. Creation of a marketing Corporation for small scale industries.
4. Establishment of a Handloom Technology Institute
5. Establishment of State Coir Development Corporation
6. Establishment of a Leather Technology Institute
7. The Contributory Thrift Fund Scheme applicable to all weaver members of the primary co-operative societies would be extended to Karnataka Handloom Development Corporation.
8. Development of Industrial areas exclusively for non-resident Indians.

'KARNATAKA INFORMATION'

dividual versus family, society, state/authority—in short, of the individual, his rights and duties.

Apa Pant in his book under review strives to rise beyond Rousseau's "Social Contract" and the ethical levels towards the realm of metaphysics. He evolves his thesis from the individual, his environment, his survival in modern times.

As for the individual's desires—the pleasure principle—he is urged to attempt to reach out for the wildest and the most subtle experiences, but within the context of Isopanishad. "All that exists in" Divine Energy, that which moves in this world of movement. Enjoy it by not being attached to it; do not be greedy; whose is this wealth?"

Apa Pant points out how the individual is becoming confused, even cynical in the present day "highly competitive consumer society with its crude corrupt callousness at all levels of existence." But then there is also the warning that only when the individual is alert, intelligent and competent to be really responsible can order and harmony be brought about amongst the various groups of society. The individual through apathy, laziness, fear or greed supports the pyramids of power.

The author admits that the Indian individual too appears "as competitive, cruel and uncivilised as an individual anywhere else." He also admits that with some exceptions, the average individual in India has a totally negative attitude to his work.

Essentially, the modern consumer society unlike past civilisations urges the individual to increase his necessities, wants, and desires and confuses him, forcing him to seek solace in godmen, drugs, alcohol, sex, violence, etc. The author makes an ardent plea to the individual to understand Nature and be aware of its inner joy and harmony and not to disturb the ecology and the environment if he wants to be genuinely happy.

—S. I. Clerk

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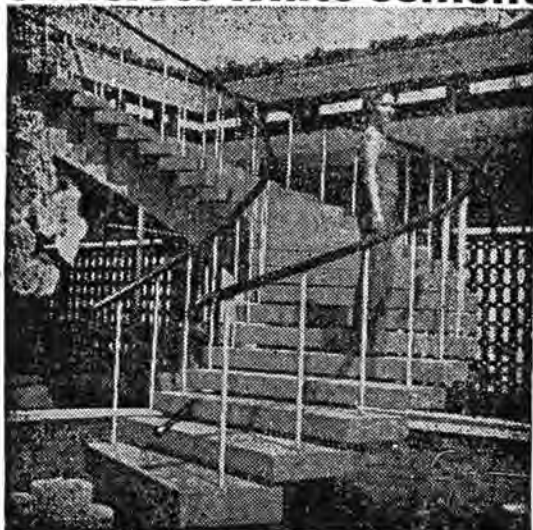
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WITH MANY VOICES

What's so great about having a woman at the White House? Kennedy had thousands.

—American comedian Joan Rivers quoted in
The Sunday Observer, Sept. 9.

If Mr. Reagan is re-elected, he will no more seek nuclear war than he will seek assassination.

—Bernard Ledwidge in a letter to *The Times*
(London), August 18.

I am not cut out for political life How can I ever be in politics? If I have to choose between being a leader of Sikhs and my evening Scotch, I know which one will win.

—Khushwant Singh in *Debonair*, Sept. 1984.

The minority complex is a peculiar thing It is a self-imposed social and cultural deprivation a form of pomposity and meaningless arrogance. It often means exaggeration of the trivial and the toleration of irrationality. At its worst it is multi-headed bigotry.

—Abu Abraham quoted in *India Today*,
September 30.

Playing a concert with Zubin (Mehta) is like riding a magic carpet.

—Jacqueline duPre quoted in *India Today*,
September 30.

A good husband is healthy and absent.

—Japanese proverb quoted by Robert Christopher
in *The Japanese Mind*.

I love being a writer. What I can't stand is the paperwork.

—Peter de Vries quoted in a recent book.

How can a country which cannot even teach one out of 700 million people to run fast enough to win a bronze medal at the Olympics afford to go in for a national symphony orchestra?

—Zubin Mehta in *Society*, October 1984.