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FREEDOM FIRST FOUNDATION AN APPEAL

Freedom, with social responsibility and the rule of law, is the foundation of civilisation and a precondition for social and cultural progress. Few people however, have an adequate idea and understanding of the meaning and value of freedom and its implication in day-to-day life. Generally, freedom is taken to mean merely the absence of restrictions on whatever one wishes to have or do. It is doubtful whether freedom as a basic value has become a part of our cultural ethos.

There is urgent need to promote the acceptance of the values of freedom and dignity of the individual among our people and specially among the young. The only hope lies in the efforts of voluntary organisations specifically dedicated to the promotion of these values. A long-term programme of sound popular education in the meaning, implications and responsibilities of freedom in all its aspects is necessary.

These considerations, and the desire to make efforts in that direction, have prompted the establishment of the **Freedom First Foundation** as a non-partisan, educational, charitable Trust for the promotion of these values and ideals. The Foundation will organise lectures, seminars, study classes, and other educative and cultural activities, and will publish and/or subsidise the publication of periodicals, books and pamphlets, for the promotion of these aims and objectives.

We appeal to all those who are committed to freedom, democracy and an open society to support the Foundation by sending donations and contributions to the corpus of the Foundation which, according to its rules, is invested and only the income will be utilised for the expenses and activities of the Foundation.

The Foundation has been registered under the Public Trusts Act and donations of Rs. 250 and above are exempt from tax under Section 80 G (1) of the Income Tax Act, 1961.

Cheques should be made payable to the Freedom First Foundation, 127, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 400 023, and earmarked for its corpus.

U. S. Dilemma In Central America

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

"We cannot foretell tonight just when the acts of dictators will ripen into an attack on this hemisphere and us. But we know enough by now to realise that it would be suicide to wait until they are in our front yard. Anyone, with an atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war, knows that it would be stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy which will prevent such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place."

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his *State of the Union Message*, January 1941.

IN WHAT is perhaps one of the most striking ironies of history, FDR's formulation of foreign policy strategy has found ready acceptance by a successor government which is as far removed from Rooseveltian ideology as the Reagan Administration, in its response to the current crisis in Central America.

Predictably, the Reagan initiatives, including the recent appointment of Henry Kissinger as Chairman of a Bipartisan Commission on Central America, have sparked off a major controversy, both in the U.S. and outside, the like of which has not been seen for months. Even some of those who have been known to be generally sympathetic to the Republican Administration in Washington have joined the shrill chorus of protest over what they see as the gradual makings of another Vietnam.

Battling valiantly in the face of such criticism, the President and his advisers have been at pains over the past few weeks to dispel the apprehensions, and also the many myths that have proliferated, partly from an improper understanding of the issues involved, and partly from the mounting communist-dominated disinformation campaign.

"We face a special threat in Central America where our own national security is at risk," explained Reagan in a speech to the American Legion in February this year. "Central America is too close to us, and our strategic stake in the Caribbean sea lanes and the Panama Canal is too great for us to ignore reality. The spectre of Marxist-Leninist controlled governments in Central America with ideological and political loyalties to Cuba and the Soviet Union poses a direct challenge to which we must respond."

There can be no gainsaying the Soviet influence in the region, although this aspect has not been accorded

enough prominence in the international media. An U.S. inter-agency intelligence study published in July revealed, for instance, that "in addition to overt diplomatic and propaganda support for the insurgents, and the covert supply of weapons frequently through their East European allies, the Soviets launched an active measures campaign that involved the use of such classic techniques as forgeries, front groups, covert press placement, disinformation and manipulation of mass organisations."

As recently as in August 1983, at least 16 cargo vessels were reported to be en route to Central America from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with massive supplies of military equipment. Earlier, in May, the American government released photographs of Soviet freighters unloading military supplies at the port of Corinto on the Pacific coast, presumably for use in the Nicaraguan effort to overthrow the El Salvadoran regime. A month before, Libya had attempted to transfer about 52 tons of "medical equipment and supplies" through Brazil, but the plan failed as the Brazilian authorities discovered in time that the cargo actually consisted of weapons.

Nor is that all. The extent of the Soviet/Cuban-backed military build-up in the region can be gauged by the fact that the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua has within months of its accession to power enlarged its armed forces to the point where it can today claim more military might than all its neighbours taken together. Apart from the 138,000 men in uniform (who constitute 39 per cent of the male adult population), the Sandinistas have an impressive array of military equipment, including Soviet tanks, East German trucks, anti-aircraft guns and howitzers. In addition, there are no less than 2000 Cuban military and security "advisers", 4000 civilian "advisers" (e.g. 'teachers' who carry out Marxist indoctrination among the poor and uneducated), 60 to 70 Soviet military "advisers", and a lesser number of East German, Bulgarian, North Korean and PLO "advisers".

It is in the light of these facts that the Reagan initiatives need to be seen. The American dilemma, to be sure, is as palpable as it is vexing. William Buckley summed it up neatly when he observed in the *National Review* that "It is a terrible responsibility to be a superpower. The consequences of being a superpower but not acting like one are immeasurably more terrible."

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AS I SEE IT

MINOO MASANI

SO THE incendiaries in the Kremlin have done it again! It is in the nature of the beast to show his teeth every now and again, so who can be surprised at the barbaric act of shooting down peaceful men, women and children travelling in a Korean civil airlines plane?

For the first four or five days after committing the crime, those guilty tried to evade their guilt. They later confessed to it because of tapes of the conversation between two Soviet pilots and their base, which were played to the U.N. Security Council. Here are some extracts:

Pilot 1. "The ano (Korean airliner's air navigation lights) are burning. The strobe light is flashing." "Roger, I'm at 7,500 (feet), course 230." "I am closing on the target." "I have executed the launch." "The target is destroyed." "I am breaking off the attack." And again:

Pilot 2. (Reports from Tokyo, quoting sources in intelligence and the Japanese Defence Agency, said that the MiG pilot was heard saying to his base in Sakhalin) "I am going to fire a missile. The target is the KAL (Korean Air Lines) plane." In a further exchange Sakhalin said: "Take aim at target." Pilot: "Aim taken." Sakhalin: "Fire." Pilot: "Fired."

These tapes show clearly the cold-blooded nature of the crime and give the lie to the cock-and-bull stories put out by Moscow. No wonder the Soviets have vetoed a U.N. inquiry.

The Times of September 5, editorialised: "If any good can come from last week's criminal destruction of a South Korean airliner by Soviet fighters, it must take the form of a clearer understanding in the West of the nature of the Soviet system. This callous regime, which shoots first and asks questions afterwards, served a timely reminder on the members of the Atlantic Alliance that if they do not hang together they may be hanged separately."

"The Sakhalin massacre has made every leading Soviet figure a pariah of the international airways", wrote the *Sunday Times* on September 4.

Except, of course, in New Delhi. Among those murdered by the Soviets was an Indian, Mr. K. Patel, but for the first few days the Indian Government remained mum on the issue. Not a word of protest, but re-

peated use of the word "alleged" on radio and television.

Later on September 7, after the Kremlin had owned up, a Government of India spokesman was commissioned to "deplore", but not "condemn". The same trick as over the rape of Czechoslovakia. What is worse, the spokesman went on to observe that "full facts of the incident have not yet been clearly established." Of course not; they never will be. For those who could not see Soviet tanks enter Budapest in 1956 or invade Afghanistan later, such blindness has become endemic. All in the name of "non-alignment". As Mr. K. R. Sunder Rajan puts it in the *Sunday Observer* of September 11, "To conclude that hypocrisy is a key element in Mrs. Gandhi's foreign policy is only an understatement".

* * *

Some time back a patriot returned from exile to his own country. Mercifully, he has not yet been assassinated. He is Dr. Joshua Nkomo who came back to Zimbabwe, from where he had fled a few months earlier to escape assassination at the hands of the Zimbabwe government's goons.

Nkomo was a more prestigious figure in the struggle against Mr. Smith's former regime in Rhodesia than Mr. Mugabe, the communist guerilla leader. But when the elections were held, as happens in black Africa, the Shona tribe to which Mugabe belongs and which is in a majority, gave him a majority in Parliament, while Dr. Nkomo who belongs to the minority Ndebele tribe in Matabeleland, came a poor second.

Mr. Mugabe, who has openly advocated the establishment of a one-party dictatorship, had refused to give safe conduct to Dr. Nkomo while he was in Britain. But when they tried to deprive him of his seat in Parliament by reason of his prolonged absence, Dr. Nkomo bravely returned and attended Parliament to protect his seat. Was he cheered for his act of courage? On the contrary, his courage and statesmanship were, according to the *Herald Tribune* of August 20/21, 1983, "greeted with petty gibes and a chorus of laughter" from the Treasury benches. Nkomo has, so far, been luckier than his counterpart in the Philippines, Benigno Aquino. Let us hope it stays that way.

(Courtesy: *The Statesman*, Calcutta)

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A CLOSE SHAVE FOR ANDROPOV

MILES KINGTON

THERE WERE jubilant scenes in Russia earlier this week when Yuri Andropov was found innocent on a charge of using a small American girl for unethical purposes. If he had been found guilty there could have been heavy penalties, especially for the judge and lawyers.

The first transcript of the trial is beginning to leak through, and we are proud to bring you an exclusive extract today. It has been declared authentic over the phone by more than 40 historians.

Counsel: Your name?

Andropov: Yuri Andropov.

Counsel: Your profession?

Andropov: Head of the Soviet Union, president of the Moscow Parks Committee, Honorary Colonel of the Massed Band of the KGB. . . .

Counsel: Thank you, one job will do. Is there any truth in the rumour that your flat is stacked high with Glenn Miller records?

Judge: I do not see what this has to do with the case.

Counsel: Nothing, comrade judge, but it is something the whole world is dying to know.

Judge: Some other time, perhaps.

Counsel: Quite. Now, Mr. Andropov, did you or did you not issue an invitation to a young American girl recently to be your guest in the USSR?

Andropov: I did.

Counsel: Were the words of your invitation: "Come to Moscow and I will show you a good time"?

Andropov: No. I said to her: "Come to Moscow and I will show you that Russia does not want war".

Counsel: Are you seriously suggesting that you and a teenage American girl exchanged letters about the international situation?

Andropov: Yes. She wrote to me first.

Counsel: This becomes more and more ludicrous. You now expect us to believe that a small girl in America wrote to you about the arms race, and that you wrote back inviting her for further talks?

Andropov: Yes.

Counsel: There are 10 million little girls in Russia, Mr Andropov. Why did you not write to one of them?

Andropov: Because they did not write to me first.

Counsel: Perhaps they did not have your address, Mr Andropov. Perhaps nobody in Russia has your address. Yet you ask the court to believe that this little girl in America knew your address. Had you perhaps been advertising in American magazines for little girls to be your penpals?

Andropov: This suggestion is outrageous. . . .

Counsel: Perhaps you actually prefer American girls, Mr Andropov? Do you prefer the sun-tanned freckled, pretty American teenager to our pale but dumpy beauties?

Andropov: This is absolutely monstrous.

Judge: The line of questioning is dubious, Mr Andropov, but it cannot be denied that you have been writing to little American girls, and not to Russian girls. I think we ought to be told why.

Counsel: Perhaps I can put it another way. When the rest of the praesidium want to know how talks with the Americans are getting on, do you mention the fact that although not in contact with the White House you are writing to a small American girl about things?

Andropov: I do not think it would interest them.

Counsel: I see. You have concealed all this from the praesidium. Have you talked it over with Mrs. Andropov?

Andropov: Yes, of course.

Counsel: I hope she was understanding. We shall find that out in a moment, when Mrs. Andropov takes the stand to talk about your private life. Meanwhile, may I ask if you have ever corresponded with young American boys about the arms race, or indeed invited them to Russia?

Andropov: No.

Counsel: Well, thank heaven for small mercies.

(The case was adjourned at this point for new prosecuting counsel to be found).

(Courtesy: The Times, London)

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BOOK REVIEWS

MRS. GANDHI'S SECOND REIGN By Arun Shourie; 1983 Vikas Publishing House; Pp. 530; Rs. 150.

THIS IS not a cheerful book, and its effect on the sensitive reader may well be to plunge him into deeper despair regarding those who administer our country, the methods by which they maintain themselves in power in the face of the most damning evidence, and their ability to cock a snook at truth, justice and all norms of decency. To read this book, however, is an experience which every thoughtful citizen should give himself, considering its painful aspects as something to be endured just as we endure inoculation during a serious epidemic.

Shourie writes in a direct, hard-hitting style, with that air of complete assurance which journalists tend to display. Where facts are concerned, he has done his homework—even to the extent of quoting the complete text of Top Secret documents. Marshalling his evidence with devastating logic, he will carry conviction to most readers, at least in the first seven of the nine chapters into which he divides his book; it is only in the last two chapters that he propounds ideas and conclusions some of which we might feel inclined to query or dispute. Incidentally, as a "reformed Empire-builder", this reviewer would express his appreciation of Shourie's refusal to blame even a fraction of our current woes on the departed British.

In his Introduction, Shourie presents the argument of the whole book, which might briefly be summarised thus: "India can no longer be saved by her politicians but only by her common people. Before individuals and groups can start to salvage and reform the country, they must realise that what is happening is not *inevitable*, and that it lies in the hands of each citizen to make his own contribution to the achievement of something better."

Chapter I depicts our Prime Minister as a person compelled to rely on "subalterns" who are mostly either ineffective or dishonest. The section entitled "Gangrene in the Hands" thus paints her dilemma: If she chops off her hands, she will be crippled; if she does not, the gangrene will spread to the whole body.

Chapter II amounts to an indictment, factual and detailed, of the men who have administered large parts of our country for the last few years. We have read

of all these charges, of course, in the daily press of the time, but the effect of presenting them all in a single charge-sheet is quite shattering. We are given lists, state by state, of men who have been condemned by Enquiry Commissions and yet remained unshaken in their seats of power. We are shown how politicians use our criminals, and warned that it would need no more than 65,000 enforcers, at a cost of only six and a half crores, to hold down by terror the whole of urban India.

Chapter III lays bare "Top Secret" details of how certain prominent persons have manipulated "huge unaccounted funds" and got away with it. It also deals with rulings by the presiding authorities of both our Houses of Parliament which are far from easy to justify. Chapter IV is chiefly concerned with "the ineffectual record" of all our Administrations since 1969, and with the misuse of the National Security Ordinance and Act. Chapter V's title, "The Judiciary; Preaching high, practising low", describes its contents. The internal dissensions of the Supreme Court are highlighted by recounting Bhagwati J's feud with the Chief Justice of India; and we are reminded of the former's remarkable thesis that the judiciary must be not merely an umpire but an active "agent of social change".

Much of Chapter VI deals with the Bhagalpur blindings, together with the demonstrably false attempts of almost everyone concerned to disclaim even knowledge of, let alone responsibility for these shocking deeds. We are also told of the police witness who perjured himself in some 3000 cases. Finally, the well-known saying of "One law for the rich, another for the poor" is exemplified by two cases, in one of which the rich accused (a Chief Minister) successfully frustrated justice in his own case. Chapter VII discusses the counterproductive practice of wooing the minority groups in a way which merely fans the flames of their intransigence.

Chapter VIII suggests that the public are now inured to everything and anything, all our institutions have let us down, and idealism has finally succumbed to the commercial spirit. More and more individuals have

come to believe that democracy cannot work and are growing ready to hand India over to dictatorship.

The expectations aroused by Chapter IX ("What should I do? Where should I begin?") are only partially fulfilled. Shourie's answer seems to be a rather hesitant recommendation to revert to the Gandhian principles of love and non-violence, patience and self-sacrifice. He suggests that we must wait for the idealist fool to step in where the satanic angels do not fear to tread.

The last section, "Reason for Hope", may not add much to our depleted stock of optimism. The author relies chiefly on the undoubted fact that, scattered all over India are men and women of goodwill who do not wish to collaborate with evil. The persons, he thinks, have already shed their illusions about our rulers and begun to realise their own power. Let us hope he is right.

—Thomas Gay

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**CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OF INDIA: A Critical
Commentary By H. M. Seervai; 3rd Ed., Vol. 1; 1983;
N. M. Tripathi Pvt. Ltd., Pp. 1071+262; Rs. 260.**

BY ANY reckoning, Seervai's commentary on the Constitution occupies a pride of place among the handful of standard legal works brought out by Indian authors in recent years. Now in its third edition, the book has come to be relied upon increasingly by practitioners and academics alike in unravelling the seemingly endless subtleties of our constitutional scheme.

Though designed primarily as a reference work for the legal profession, Seervai's treatise nevertheless has a wider appeal in that substantial portions of the commentary are devoted to discussing questions of constitutional propriety as distinguished from constitutional legality, with an unmistakable emphasis on those enduring values of the law and morality without which no democratic polity can hope to survive. Mr. Seervai has, in particular, put libertarians like the readers of this journal in his debt by consistently and fearlessly standing on the side of freedom and the rule of law.

Nowhere is this commitment to freedom more evident than in the author's steadfast refusal to be taken in by some of the demonstrably populist trends that have characterised recent judicial pronouncements, especially of the Supreme Court. Mr. Seervai has convincingly demonstrated how utterly mistaken people by and large have been in receiving with unrestrained glee the high-sounding rhetoric of certain judges without realising the undesirable, if not dangerous, long-term implications of such utterances. For example, Justice Bhagwati's frequent claim that the Supreme

Court's current approach on interpreting Art. 14 (the right to equality) has been something of a revolutionary breakthrough, comes in for sharp criticism from Mr. Seervai who argues that "far from enlarging the fundamental right to equality, (the new approach) has narrowed that right to one aspect of it."

The author is no less critical of the growing fashion among members of our higher judiciary to denounce the very system they have willingly consented to administer, as being a "colonial legacy" and highly wasteful of judicial time. Curiously enough, some of the very judges who indulge in this exercise are known to be the most prolix and long-winding in their pronouncements from the Bench. The most obvious example is, of course, Krishna Iyer, J., to a discussion of whose verbosity Mr. Seervai had devoted, albeit reluctantly, a whole section in the previous edition of his book.

As is only to be expected, Mr. Seervai's exposition of the constitutional provisions and his dissection of their finer aspects are as illuminating as they are comprehensive. One unfortunate thing, however, about works of such a broad canvas as the present one is that the time-lag between publication of successive volumes is often exasperatingly long. Even so, one can be reasonably sure that discerning readers, both in the profession and outside, will cheerfully endure the wait before the second volume of the book is out, hopefully by the end of the year.

—K. S. Venkateswaran

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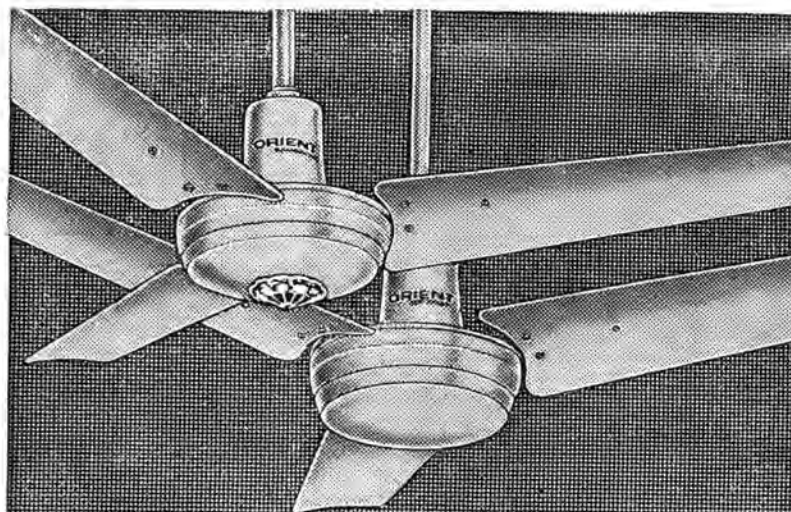
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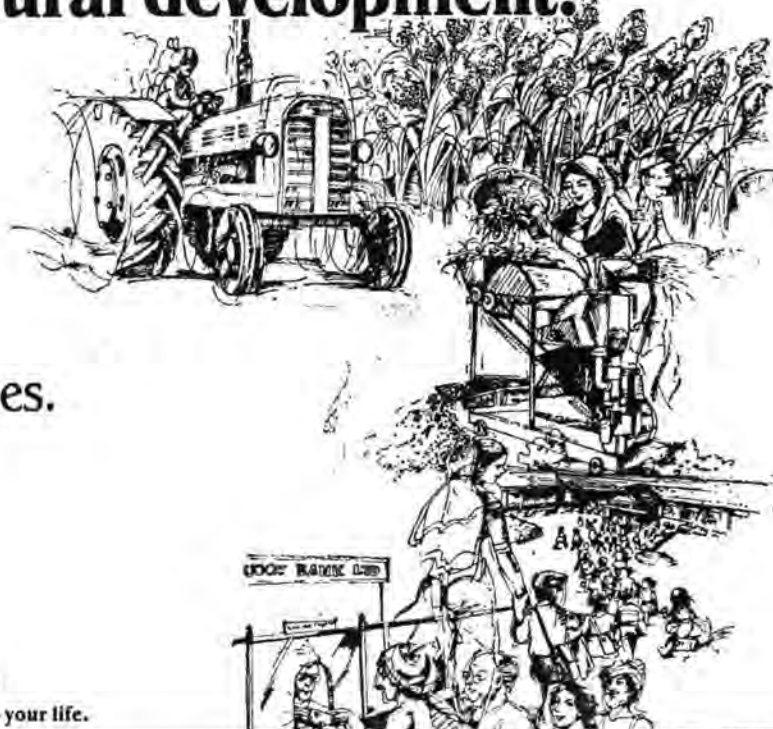
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Manifesto of Freedom (1950)

1 We hold it to be self-evident that intellectual freedom is one of the inalienable rights of man.

2 Such freedom is defined first and foremost by his right to hold and express his own opinions, and particularly opinions which differ from those of his rulers. Deprived of the right to say "no", man becomes a slave.

3 Freedom and peace are inseparable. In any country, under any regime, the overwhelming majority of ordinary people fear and oppose war. The danger of war becomes acute when governments, by suppressing democratic representative institutions, deny to the majority the means of imposing its will to peace.

Peace can be maintained only if each government submits to the control and inspection of its acts by the people whom it governs, and agrees to submit all questions immediately involving the risk of war to a representative international authority, by whose decision it will abide.

4 We hold that the main reason for the present insecurity of the world is the policy of governments which, while paying lip-service to peace, refuse to accept this double control. Historical experience proves that wars can be prepared and waged under any slogan, including that of peace. Campaigns for peace which are not backed by acts that will guarantee its maintenance are like counterfeit currency circulated for dishonest purposes. Intellectual sanity and physical security can only return to the world if such practices are abandoned.

5 Freedom is based on the toleration of divergent opinions. The principle of toleration does not logically permit the practice of intolerance.

6 No political philosophy or economic theory can claim the sole right to represent freedom in the abstract. We hold that the value of such theories is to be judged by the range of concrete freedom which they accord the individual in practice.

We likewise hold that no race, nation, class or religion can claim the sole right to represent the idea of freedom, nor the right to deny freedom to other groups or creeds in the name of any

ultimate ideal or lofty aim whatsoever. We hold that the historical contribution of any society is to be judged by the extent and quality of the freedom which its members actually enjoy.

7 In times of emergency, restrictions on the freedom of the individual are imposed in the real or assumed interest of the community. We hold it to be essential that such restrictions be confined to a minimum of clearly specified actions; that they be understood to be temporary and limited expedients in the nature of a sacrifice; and that the measures restricting freedom be themselves subject to free criticism and democratic control. Only thus can we have a reasonable assurance that emergency measures restricting freedom will not degenerate into a permanent tyranny.

8 In totalitarian states restrictions on freedom are no longer intended and publicly understood as sacrifice imposed on the people, but are on the contrary represented as triumphs of progress and achievements of a superior civilisation. We hold that both the theory and practice of these regimes run counter to the basic rights of the individual and the fundamental aspirations of mankind as a whole.

9 We hold the danger represented by these regimes to be all the greater since their means of enforcement far surpasses that of all previous tyrannies in the history of mankind. The citizen of the totalitarian state is expected and forced not only to abstain from crime but to conform in all his thoughts and actions to a prescribed pattern. Citizens are persecuted and condemned on such unspecified and all-embracing charges as "enemies of the people" or "socially unreliable elements."

10 We hold that there can be no stable world so long as mankind, with regard to freedom, remains divided into "haves" and "have-nots." The defence of existing freedoms, the reconquest of lost freedoms [and the creation of new freedoms] are parts of the same struggle.

11 We hold that the theory and practice of the totalitarian state are the greatest challenge which man has been called on to meet in the course of civilised history.

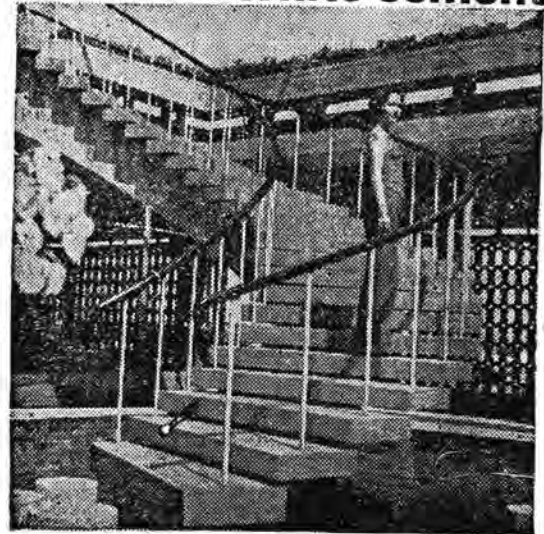
12 *We hold that indifference or neutrality in the face of such a challenge amounts to a betrayal of mankind and to the abdication of the free mind. Our answer to this challenge may decide the fate of man for generations.*

13 **The defence of intellectual liberty today imposes a positive obligation: to offer new and constructive answers to the problems of our time.]**

14 *We address this manifesto to all men who are determined to regain those liberties which they have lost and to preserve [and extend] those which they enjoy.*

(* In the Danube Edition commentary to the Manifesto as reprinted in *The Trail of the Dinosaur* (1955, 1970) Koestler drily pointed out that "the words in square brackets were added to the draft by the British members of the editorial committee, Professor A. J. Ayer and Mr. Hugh Trevor Roper.")

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A LETTER

Sir,

A BLUEPRINT FOR RUINING INDIA

The Mandal Commission Report, which has been in the news recently, is a blueprint for the disintegration and ruin of India. If implemented, it could be disastrous for the country, given its potential to instigate caste-war and create a vested interest in backwardness.

Is a community to be called "backward" merely because people of that community claim to belong to a particular caste, sub-caste or denomination? If so, are we not encouraging and institutionalising the vicious caste system while preaching the need for ushering in a casteless society?

Also, will the quota system, with its emphasis on reservation of jobs, seats in educational institutions, etc., end the caste system or perpetuate it? Will it not put a premium on inefficiency, ignoring merit and talent?

The sad truth is that every politician in India, barring a few honourable exceptions, has a vested interest in perpetuating the caste system even while condemning it for public consumption. Unfortunately, any movement for justice based solely on merit, talent and deservedness has little chance of success in the present atmosphere of widespread ignorance, because those who possess or value qualities like merit and talent constitute a microscopic minority of the Indian population, as against those clamouring for "backward" status who obviously form the largest vote-bank in the country.

—S. S. Bankeshwar

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Better an Iron Lady than those cardboard men.

—*Herald Tribune*, June 14.

Ideology ruined Labor and it was not what won for
Mrs. Thatcher. Her Maggie-ness did.

—Flora Lewis in the *Herald Tribune*, June 14.

When there is no apparent solution to the problem,
send for Henry (Kissinger).

—*The Economist*, July 23.

Death is our friend, the truest of friends. He delivers
us from agony..... I do not want to die of a
creeping paralysis of my faculties—a defeated man.

—Sayings of Gandhiji.

Italy's economy is like a race horse under a parti-
cularly heavy jockey.

—*The Economist*, July 23.

I think I can claim to be one of the few male human
beings who has never married Elizabeth Taylor.

—James Cameron in *The Guardian*, August 16.

Hell is when you get what you think you want.

—Anthony Clare quoted in *The Observer*, August 7.

Loathsome to the eye,
Hateful to the nose,
Harmful to the brain and
Dangerous to the lungs.

—King James I on smoking quoted in *Herald Tribune*, August 20.

Thou shalt not carry moderation into excess.

—Entry in Arthur Koestler's diary quoted in *The Observer*, July 24.

Am I supposed to insist that things are getting bet-
ter when our diminishing future is in the hands of self-
evident mediocracies?

—James Cameron in *The Guardian*, August 30.

No amount of external support can solve a country's
problems if its domestic economic policies stand in
the way of economic growth.

—British Government White Paper, *The Times*,
July 30.