

THE STATE OF CHILDREN

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

NOT SO long ago, the Director of the Nutrition Foundation of India, Dr. C. Gopalan, made a timely, if somewhat grim, prediction that, unless drastic steps were taken, 20 million out of the 23 million children expected to be born in 1983 will be physically and mentally impaired due to malnutrition. Given the ineluctable fact that an overwhelming majority of these children will be born in the rural areas, one would have thought that the Government would heed the warning and take immediate action to avoid such a calamity. Instead, in the very next Budget which was presented to the nation less than three months after Dr. Gopalan had delivered his warning, the Government struck a death blow to the cause of rural development by withdrawing the already-circumscribed benefit of tax deduction available to companies and other assesseees involved in rural development work.

This is but one example of the debilitating lack of vision inherent in most governmental policies of recent years. It also points, incidentally, to a more culpable wrong, viz., that despite all the high-flown rhetoric that characterises the government's pronouncements on development in general, precious little is being done to translate objectives into reality.

The appearance, in this context,

of a well-documented report by UNICEF entitled *An Analysis of the Situation of Children in India*, could not be more appropriate. The report, says David Haxton, Regional Director of UNICEF for South Central Asia, "is an attempt at contributing to an understanding of the extent, nature, correlations and consequences of the different factors that determine children's development. It is part of the preparation for a renewed social response to the current situation of children."

Its other merits apart, the report serves a particularly useful purpose inasmuch as it highlights, in the most graphic terms, the magnitude of the problem under discussion by an objective analysis of basic statistical data gleaned largely from official sources. In doing so, it obviously errs on the side of moderation, but, even so, it succeeds in underlining the crying need for urgent action.

The figures are truly disconcerting: of the more than 270 million children in this country, less than half have access to an essential minimum of nutrition, health care and learning opportunities; rural child mortality is as high as 48.9 per cent as against 38.29 per cent in the urban areas; at least 60 per cent of Indian women suffer from anaemia, which is one of the causes of infant mortality; nearly

a third of the pregnancies among poor women are wasted in miscarriages and stillbirths; less than 15 per cent of children below five years can be considered as having adequate nutrition; nearly 30,000 children become blind each year due to vitamin A deficiency alone; although about 80 per cent of children are enrolled in schools between 5 and 8 years of age, as much as 63.1 per cent drop out before completing primary school and 77.1 per cent before completing middle school. . . .

The standard governmental alibi for this appalling state of affairs is, of course, lack of resources. This, despite staggering increases in the volume of money being pumped into the public exchequer year after year. In any case, what is the government's record in areas where its burden has been sought to be lightened by private enterprise? The production of vaccines is a case in point. Despite nearly 20 to 30 per cent of the child deaths occurring due to six common immunizable diseases, viz., tetanus, measles, tuberculosis, whooping cough, diphtheria and poliomyelitis, governmental policies have ensured that the production of vaccines has seldom kept pace with increasing demand. The effects of such policies in other areas of health care are too well-known to need reiteration.

THE POLITICS OF ILLUSION

ASHLEY TELLIS

WE HAVE done so much with so little for so long, that the ban-the-bomb coalition now assures us we can do anything with nothing. It has been almost 70 years since the First World War claimed 15 million lives. Hardly a doomed generation later, European appeasement, Soviet duplicity and Hitler's panzer hordes purchased another 51 million lives in a Second World War. Today, the Group for Nuclear Disarmament (GROUND)—one of the total offshoots of the international anti-nuclear movement—informs us that the longest period of peace in European history, purchased at the cost of nuclear deterrent, is an illegitimate epoch and the sacrifices made for the same are but an illusion. While the depth of this movement, intellectual and otherwise, is an obvious embarrassment, there is little doubt about its breadth. A potent combination of astute political publicists, pliant media in search of sensation and a public gripped by a sinister anxiety has produced an alliance of strange bedfellows.

The beguiling doubletalk of GROUND, made manifest through apocalyptic visions, simplistic slogans and distorted statistics, fails to obscure its pathological frustrations with the successful deployment of the Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the most prominent failure of Soviet foreign policy in this decade has precipitated numerous alliances of counterfeit peacemakers in the Third World, including India,

dedicated to condemning the US as guilty of 'accelerating' the arms race.

GROUND's strategy of grand deception unfolds around the screening of the Japanese film, *Prophecy* with its apocalyptic bigthink documenting lavishly the horrors of the atomic explosion at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. After insinuating extensively about the overkill of American Cruise missiles, B-52 Bombers and the macabre romance of the finest foods available aboard the US Trident submarines (its studied silence on the Soviet arsenal is as telling as it is stunning), *Prophecy* solemnly concludes with an announcement that the choice before us is between 'survival' and 'extinction'. But that is emphatically *not* the choice. The choice is between the chance, not the certainty, of a disaster of uncertain magnitude and certain institutional and social arrangements that best defend not only material consequences but also moral systems. However, since propaganda and veracity have never yet shared a bed, it is unreasonable to expect that GROUND's deliberately contrived simplicity will ever comprehend such choice.

GROUND has spared no effort to galvanise the unimaginative into believing that a single nuclear detonation would be a hideous affair—it may be said they have proved this point as conclusively as the manufacturers of calendars could prove, if they set out to, that Christmas comes but once a year. The avowed aim it is claimed is 'comprehensive and total disarmament'. Parenthetically, read the 'comprehen-

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sive and total disarmament' of the West. But even if their objectives were not so self-serving, it is difficult to understand what such a nebulous phrase is meant to convey. If it is understood as the *complete* destruction of *every* nuclear weapon in the extant arsenals, such a notion besides being relatively naïve would be positively dangerous.

To begin with, the idea is a logical non-starter. Only a world government would be able to enforce such a total abolition of N-weapons and that structure does not yet exist. Moreover, the internal constitution of such a structure would demand that in order to contain the recalcitrant violator, the world government itself should possess N-weapons.

It could be further argued logically that even if complete disarmament were possible, it would certainly not be desirable in terms of either prudence or stability. A strategy of complete elimination of *all* N-weapons possessed by every state places an inordinate premium on the temptation to cheat by one or the other party. The coercive power generated by even a few withheld N-weapons rises exponentially in a world where all other competitors are bereft of similar leverage. The fear that one state may even *attempt* such a breakout will fuel instabilities and latent pressures to rearm in order to safeguard goods of deemed high moral value which may otherwise succumb to or become victims of pre-emption. Total nuclear disarmament may thus become a panacea worse than the problem.

A realistic response to the problem of N-arms must be premised on the understanding that N-arms cannot be wished away. Even if every N-weapon yet produced was destroyed, N-weapon technology will always remain indelibly embedded in the minds of men. A unilateral renouncement of N-weapons cannot alter this fact and even if both superpowers unilaterally disarmed (whoever believes Chernenko would will find it easier to believe that Hitler was the best thing that happened to Germany) there is nothing in principle that prevents the numerous *ayatollahs* and dictators of the Third World from creating and deploying them.

The correct policy for restraining a nuclear genie out-of-the-bottle must be to systematically control it through arms control negotiations. The heart of such negotiations would be built around deep cuts in the extant arsenals consistent with the security needs of the relevant nations and this includes making certain that no single power has enough N-weapons superiority to be tempted to think that it could use its coercive power with impunity.

The shrewd reader will have immediately recognised that the heart of this policy is the maintenance of a 'balance of power', a concept that GROUND

ignores because it points to the central weakness of its arguments. In the nuclear age, such a balance is maintained when each side retains sufficient firepower to destroy the other even after having absorbed a first strike, thus making for mutual restraint from attack, because consequent retaliation in kind makes aggression tantamount to suicide. If this nuclear balance is destroyed by an imprudent freeze that solidifies existing inequalities or by unilateral disarmament (as GROUND would have the West suffer) the risk of war or other morally unacceptable outcomes only increases.

The heart of GROUND's deception is the pretence that the *only* task before us is the prevention of nuclear war. To this end they have acquired an entirely new life, clearly made more stimulating by an ignorant and adulating media, out of urging military abdication by the West. The innocent might believe that if all the N-weapons of the West were to disappear overnight, the concerns which sent GROUND marching through the streets would be met and the further existence of such a coalition would be infructuous. Hardly. It would speedily discover unimaginable dangers in the *conventional* arms possessed by NATO in general and the US in particular, and once again, truth, reason and realism will be overwhelmed by less noble passions.

Those who trade in pursuing the disarmament of the West have a vested interest in propping the lie that N-weapons are *the* threat to peace. The fundamental threat to peace comes not from N-weapons of *any* kind. It comes instead from the untrammelled impulses to aggression and the armigerous dispositions of some States to reorder the world through force. Aggression, not weapons, causes war and aggressors are wont to initiate offence not in response to a competitor's rearmament as much as when they perceive that the costs of aggression are substantially outweighed by its gains. N-weapons only serve the high moral purpose of raising the costs of potential aggression and preserving the national integrity of the nations of the Free World so threatened.

To affirm deterrence then, is to affirm the highest moral values. It is to affirm that condition of existence within which men would freely choose to live. The assumption of deterrence is that the preservation of a free political community is a goal sufficiently important to justify both, laying down one's life and taking the lives of aggressors who would destroy that community. It is not 'better to be red than dead'. It is better to be neither, and as the history of our age has recorded, some who chose the former have not escaped the latter. Those who deceive free peoples about this truth are the cruellest perpetrators of illusion.

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"FIDEL TRIED TO KIDNAP ME"

—JUANITA CASTRO

(We are privileged to carry an exclusive interview that JUAN FERCSEY conducted with Fidel Castro's sister when she was in Copenhagen recently.)

"FIDEL WAS a poor loser. When he was losing a ballgame, he just picked up the ball (his own) and walked away from the kids who were better players than he was." The lady who recalls Fidel Castro this way is his sister, Juanita, who left Cuba twenty years ago. "We had violent discussions, I opposed Fidel's Soviet connection and the terror-regime that he established with the old Soviet agents. I could not change him, so I left for Mexico and denounced him."

For a while, Juanita went into hiding. Friends of hers, who at that time, worked in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico, warned her that Fidel would attempt to kidnap her.

The Castro family lived on a sugarcane plantation in Biran. The father was not interested in politics and the mother was a religious woman. They had seven children: three sons—Ramon, Fidel and Raul—and four girls. Raul became an ambitious Marxist-Leninist, but Ramon wanted just to manage the plan-

tation after his father's death. He sometimes fought with Fidel, but basically he has a peaceful character. Two of the Castro girls are married and living in Cuba, and one lives in Mexico. The mother tried to keep the family together, she was always worried, and she died in 1963.

Fidel schooled in the Jesuit College of Santiago de Cuba. In the University of Havana, he was not successful, he was never elected leader of the students. But he joined the Orthodox Party—*Partido del Pueblo Cubano Ortodoxo*—and in 1951, was a candidate for the 1952 elections which never took place. The Orthodox Party had a wide popular base and was led by Eduardo Chivas, a demagogue who later, during one of his broadcasts, spectacularly committed suicide.

"Fidel is an opportunist, he has no political faith" said Juanita in this exclusive interview in Copenhagen, Denmark. "He has created his Marxist history. He is Marxist by opportunism, he needs the Soviet Union to perpetuate his power and the Soviet Union needs him to subvert the Americas and the world."

During the struggle against Batista, she believed in

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Revolution. After the dictator's fall, she was very active as a social worker. She went to work in hospitals and rural schools. In exile, she left Mexico and now lives in Miami where she owns a pharmacy. A strong and independent-minded character, Juanita is not married. A pleasant lady, she is very popular in Miami's huge Cuban community and she dedicates her life to denouncing the Castro regime. On the invitation of the International Sakharov Committee, she went with former Cuban prisoners to Copenhagen to inform the European political leaders and the press about violations of human rights in Cuba.

"The dramatic reality is the network of jails and concentration camps in Cuba" she said. "The world should know that in present-day Cuba, there are concentration camps even for children who reject communist indoctrination. 12-year old children are political prisoners in Cuba."

"Fidel betrayed the Revolution" said Juanita. "Revolutionary Cuba shall not have political prisoners, nor exiles" wrote Fidel during the struggle against Batista. And now Cuba, with less than 10 million inhabitants, has over one million exiles due to Fidel's tyranny. Tens of thousands of political prisoners were, and are, dying in Cuba; more than 15,000 were executed—not including the 'silent deaths' of the thousands who were destroyed by the totalitarian regime of Cuba."

Juanita recalled the "continental plan of Fidel" proclaimed at the Tri-Continental Conference, held several years ago in Havana. "Fidel turned Cuba into a Soviet military base for the expansion of Soviet imperialism in America. They hope to create 'many Vietnams' in Latin America and the Caribbean. Cuba served as a base for the Soviet Union for the conquest of Nicaragua, which is ruled by only one commander: Fidel Castro from Havana." (It is not well known that before the fall of dictator Somoza, Tomas Borge, now Interior Minister in Nicaragua, was for years Fidel Castro's personal envoy to the PLO, supervising Palestinian and Libyan training camps for terrorists.)

Juanita sees the aims of Fidel and the Soviet strategy thus: "We run the risk that Nicaragua could be turned into another Soviet-Cuban military base. In that event El Salvador and other countries in the region shall fall like pieces of a domino set, one after the other. Sovietization is like a cancer, having its metastasis in the American continent."

"From Central America, it would jump into Mexico and from there to the Southern frontier of the United States" predicted Juanita Castro. "It seems impossible, but it is a continental plan of Fidel's and Soviet imperialists' which I knew about many years ago and which I denounced in due time." The plan began to

be implemented with the landing of Cuban military personnel and weapons, first in Venezuela and then in Bolivia. This failed. But being fanatics and persistent in their world goal, they jumped to African countries pursuant to the same Tri-Continental Plan. Now they carry it out in Central America.

But how could Fidel Castro survive for 25 years if he is not popular? "The Cuban people cannot manifest their wishes" answered Juanita, "they are in strait-jackets pushed against the wall..." But how will this strictly organised and Soviet-controlled totalitarian regime be ousted? "One day the same people who received the arms from the regime, will turn against Fidel" predicts Juanita Castro. "Also, they are victims of misery, of hopelessness, of life without a future and this will generate a violent reaction."

(Courtesy: *Antar-Sanchar*)

FREEDOM FIRST FOUNDATION IN DELHI

The Freedom First Foundation made its debut in Delhi on a significant date, 9th August 1984. The subject of the discussion which was opened by Mr. M. R. Masani was "9th August 1942—9th August 1984: A CONTRAST". Among the others who participated in the discussion were Mr. Justice H. R. Khanna, former judge of Supreme Court, Mr. Balraj Madhok and Mr. P. N. Lekhi.

The greater part of the discussion was devoted to the diagnosis why India had gone back so disastrously between 1942 and 1984 and what could be done about it.

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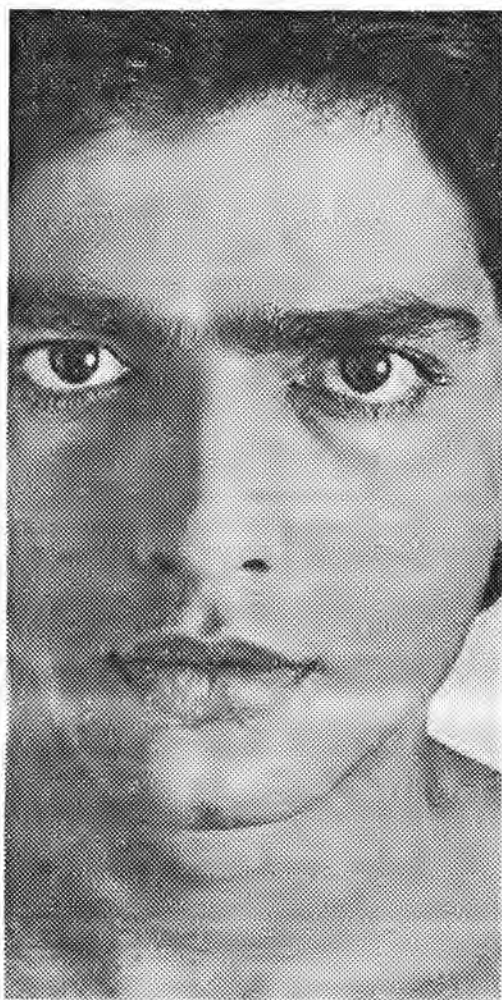
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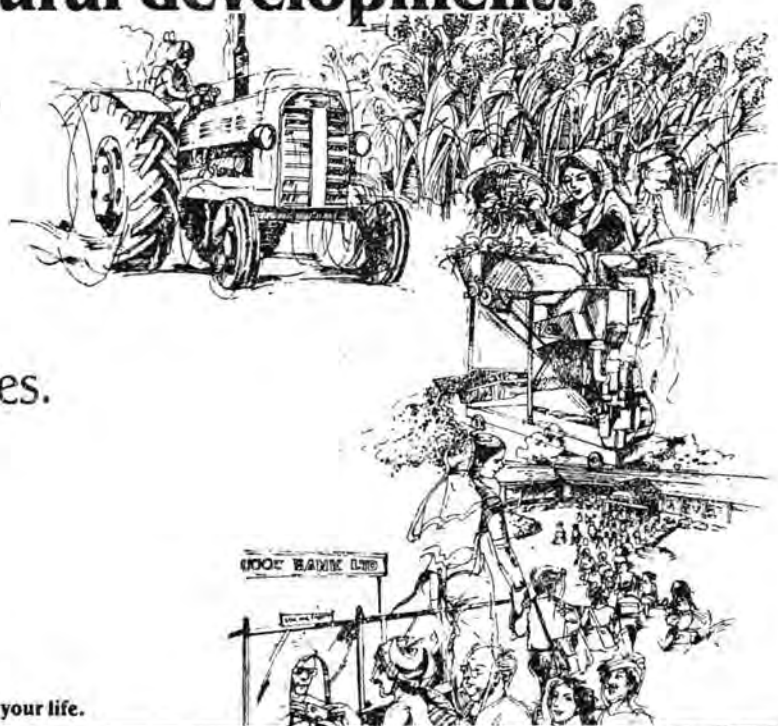


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BOOK REVIEWS

INTEREST GROUPS AND DEVELOPMENT; BUSINESS AND POLITICS IN PAKISTAN by Stanley A. Kochanek; Oxford University Press; Pp. 393; Rs. 110.

AFTER reading Prof. Kochanek's *Business and Politics in India* one has come to associate a certain level of excellence with his work. The book under review, which is a companion volume, fully justifies this expectation. Together with the earlier book, it forms a formidable corpus of knowledge on the subject of business and politics in South Asia.

To those of us born in Independent India Prof. Kochanek's book is a treasure-house on the Pakistani psyche. It is quite clearly an easily understandable psyche since Pakistani behaviour is not very different from our own patterns of behaviour. Prof. Kochanek also clarifies certain aspects of Pakistani thinking which to the modern Indian mind might appear mediocrally fanatical, e.g., its incessant harping on Islam and, why, to a Pakistani, this is essential.

Prof. Kochanek traces the growth of business organisations, their internecine—almost fratricidal—feuds, the need for the Government of Pakistan to step in and how this has been responsible to a large extent for the concentration of economic power in some twenty-two families. It appears that while circumstances allowed these families to emerge at the top in business, their oligopoly ensured their survival even in the face of Bhutto's efforts to cut them down to size. General Zia-ul-Huq's usurpation of power has

not changed the situation much. Only, now, after experiencing Bhutto, the business community is more wary of Pakistan's rulers and the Government's assurances are taken with more than just a pinch of salt. This has led to a reluctance to invest within the country. Yet investment abroad is fraught with the risk of inviting local opprobrium which can grow out of control quite easily. What keeps the Pakistani economy running today are foreign remittances from emigrant labour on the one hand and the Green Revolution on the other; not, apparently, the business community.

The business and industrial community in general and the twenty-two families in particular have found that formal channels of access to the Government and bureaucracy in Pakistan have been tenuous and ineffective in the extreme because of their own inability to form strong representational organisations. Everyone therefore resorts to informal lobbying to protect individual interests. If successful, the power that accrues to them thus is enormous. The very informality ensures this. It has led to the corruption of the bureaucracy on an unimaginable scale and to the concomitant creation of "black" money. The possibility that the bureaucracy has been responsible for encouraging factional infighting to create the system of individual lobbying to line its own pockets has, however, not been considered by Prof. Kochanek.

There is an eerie, almost fey note of warning to us: An Ordinance-oriented polity backed by a large Prime Minister's Secretariat manned by powerful bureaucrats; an emphasis on executive decision-making to the almost complete exclusion of legislative procedure; a feeling of jaded ennui about Parliament

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and its proceedings buffered by a majority adequate to ensure alterations in the Constitution almost at will; a fragmented, almost non-existent Opposition which, when given the chance, demonstrates its political impotence; a politics of personalities rather than of programmes; an emphasis on personal pride and *izzat* in winning an election; an intolerance of the Opposition—these were the signs to be seen in the Pakistani body politic which made certain that the democratic experiment, if ever there was one, never really succeeded, leading to the parade of military regimes and the total lack of governmental accountability.

The parallels with India are striking and ominous. Whatever happens in India almost certainly seems to find a way of happening in Pakistan, often at an extreme level. This book adds to our knowledge on the Indian and Pakistani situation in an almost synergistic fashion. There is no doubt that Prof. Kochanek deserves credit for some very perceptive and erudite work but, more important, it is a pleasure to read him. He has an ease of style, a logical precision of approach and a feel for the subcontinental mind at an altogether subliminal level of sensitivity.

—Sharad Bailur

DADDYJI/MAMAJI by Ved Mehta; Picardo-Pan; 1984; Pp. 346; £3.50.

IN 1956, when he was only twenty-two, Ved Mehta wrote his autobiography *Face to Face*. It was a simple, straightforward story of a blind man's search and struggle for an identity. Honest, heartwarming and devoid of self-pity, it touched the reader's heart and made him aware of the less well-known perspective of the blind person. But according to Mehta, "*Face to Face* has always seemed only the bare outline of the story I really wanted to tell." He has since written a series of books about himself and his family, beginning with the biographical portraits of his parents—*Daddyji* (1972) and *Mamaji* (1979) now re-issued together as a Pan paperback.

Both biographies have been constructed from written records, testimony of witnesses and from "fragments of memory". Mehta's sources also include his maternal grandfather's diary. But all in all the biographies really are first-hand accounts of Dr. Amolak Ram Mehta (*Daddyji*) and Shanti Devi (*Mamaji*) set down in inimitable style by their illustrious son. Mehta captures in fine detail all the happenings that usually occur in Indian joint families. There is nothing new here except for the closing chapters where the parents try to come to terms with their

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son's blindness. But Ved Mehta excels in the art of what George Orwell once termed as "revealing the familiar". Birth, education, marriage, miscarriages, children, death—each event has its own impact in joint families but Mehta records its repercussions with empathy.

He juxtaposes beautifully the diverse backgrounds of his parents (England-returned doctor with a penchant for the English club life *vis-a-vis* the typically naive and superstitious Indian woman) and chronicles their moments of tragedy and triumph and shows how they made their marriage work. Here again there is nothing unusual for the Indian reader. Indeed, at times, his interest will wander. But he is tempted to return by Mehta's skilful story-telling technique. In the course of reading, even if he forgets who is who among the many odd characters he frequently encounters, he can readily consult the family tree with which both biographies are prefaced.

In the end the reader keeps wondering how his interest has been sustained in a family story that is all too familiar. Here, one feels, lies Mehta's principal success. Meticulous, honest and detached, the biographies are a must for those who have read *Face to Face*. For others they will remain a representative example of Mehta's lucid style and narrative skill.

—C. G. Pradeep Kumar

IN BRIEF...

PUBLIC LAW IN INDIA ed. by A. G. Noorani; Vikas; Pp. 311; Rs. 150.

PUBLISHED under the auspices of the Institute of Asian Affairs in Hamburg, this volume is a collection of essays on various aspects of Indian constitutional and administrative law by well-known practising or academic lawyers. Centre-State Relations (F. S. Nariman), Fundamental Rights (Soli J. Sorabjee), Directives Principles of State Policy (Veena Bakshi), Minorities' Rights (S. Khalid Rashid & Anwarul Yaqin), Educational Law (S. N. Jain), Administrative Law (Upendra Baxi) and Constitutional Amendments (Alice Jacob) are some of the areas covered. There is also, for good measure, an excellent treatment of the Emergency provisions by Anil B. Divan who, after analysing the various judgments delivered by our courts during the 1975 Emergency, pertinently points out that the Indian experience reinforces Cardozo's dictum that "the liberty of the citizen ultimately depends upon the personality of the Judge." Though meant to be read by lawyer and lay men alike, the volume should be particularly useful to the foreign student interested in gaining an introduction to Indian public law.

ADMINISTRATIVE LAW by S. P. Sathe; 4th edn.; 1984; N. M. Tripathi Pvt. Ltd.; Pp. 495; Rs. 50.

FOR many years now, Sathe's work on administrative law has been recommended as a standard text-book for graduate and post-graduate courses in law in India. Though no patch on comparable works like Wade or de Smith, it has acquired a considerable following in academia. The fourth edition, published earlier this year, provides an updated treatment of the subject, incorporating the various developments that have taken place during the last five years. Since, on the author's own admission, the book has the limited objective of acquainting the student with the principles of Indian Administrative law and is not meant to be an exhaustive commentary on the subject, it would be unfair to criticise the work for being superficial. The topics covered include judicial review of administrative action, delegated legislation, classification of administrative action, reliefs and remedies against the Administration, public enterprises and the Ombudsman system. The case-law has been brought more or less up to date.

WRIT JURISDICTION UNDER THE CONSTITUTION by B. L. Hansaria; 1984; N. M. Tripathi Pvt. Ltd.; Pp. 300; Rs. 90.

HIGH prerogative writs are perhaps the most efficacious instruments of judicial review. They have a fascinating history going back several centuries and it is a telling comment on their resilience that the passage of time has not in any way weakened their serviceability in the cause of justice. These writs—*habeas corpus*, *mandamus*, *certiorari*, prohibition, and *quo warranto*—occupy an important place in our Constitution. Hansaria's book, besides providing an overview of the writ jurisdiction, examines the peculiar features of each writ and the conditions governing its use. Unfortunately, the discussion is not uniformly illuminating; the author could have done well, for instance, in examining those problems of liberalised 'standing' and public interest litigation which are coming increasingly to the fore. Instead, he has chosen to merely echo the pious declamation and bombastic rhetoric of people like Justice Krishna Iyer. A pity indeed.

CHOOSING THE PRESIDENT, 1984 by The League of Women Voters Education Fund; Nick Lyons Books; New York; Pp. 112; \$5.95.

CHOOSING THE PRESIDENT is a comprehensive enchiridion dealing with all aspects of the American Presidential Electoral Process. An unbiased non-partisan perspective based on a fair review of historical

developments, the book enables the lay person understand how America elects a President. Various appendices, a detailed bibliography and a comprehensive index should make the book appealing to both lay person and specialist.

KANT by Roger Scruton—(Past Masters); Oxford University Press; 1982; Pp. 89; £1.25.

ROGER SCRUTON's *Kant* is a little masterpiece. Within the span of a hundred pages, Scruton presents the reader with an incisive introduction to the man, his life and the central problems of Kantian thought. The fact that Kant, besides being amongst the most original of modern philosophers, is also the most difficult is further reason for complimenting Scruton. Scruton emphasises the historical development in philosophy that produced the Kantian phenomenon and shows it to be an attempt to construct a philosophy which would be neither rationalist nor empiricist but which would demonstrate the limits of any human understanding. A careful survey of Kant's conceptual apparatus is concluded with a rare exposition of Kant's highly original philosophy of art. Scruton's *Kant* is an excellent introduction to the complexity of Kantian thought.

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WITH MANY VOICES

Any one who has studied Sikh history will know that as long as there is one Sikh left alive in India, there will be one rebel against tyranny and injustice.

—Inderjit Singh in a letter in *The Guardian*, July 31.

Mr. Scargill is a law-and-order problem; he is not a political problem. His emergence is a measure of the decay of Labour leadership, Attlee and Bevin would have made short work of him.

—Lord Mayhen in a letter to *The Times*, July 31.

Kashmir was for Kashmiris and no one could deprive them of it.

—Dr. Farooq Abdullah quoted in *The Times of India*, August 10.

Harijans have always been raped in India. They are meant to be raped.

—Mr. Mohan Rao (Officer-in-charge of Jaipur police station) quoted in *The Indian Express*, 12.

If you want to make a fortune, don't work on a newspaper; own it.

—James Cameron quoted in *The Sunday Observer*, September 2.

Anyone wishing to note the inconsistencies into which terrorism pushes even thinking people has only to study editorials in the Indian press on Punjab and Sri Lanka. The arguments of one are sufficient to refute the arguments of the other.

—Rajmohan Gandhi in *The Economic Scene*, August 1984.

Mr. Reagan has successfully rekindled the embers of optimism and self-confidence which John Kennedy and Franklin Roosevelt in their respective eras set aglow.

—Editorial in *The Economist*, August 18.

Russia is looking lonelier than ever in its hibernation.

—Editorial in *The Economist*, August 18.

No African one-party leader has ever been peacefully ousted from power (though it must be added that of the handful of multi-party members of the Organisation of African Unity only little Mauritius has actually ejected its ruler at the polls).

—Editorial in *The Economist*, August 11.