

ISN'T IT TIME FOR JP TO SPEAK UP ?

M. R. Masani

THERE is an old Russian proverb which says: "The yesman is your enemy, but your friend will argue with you." It is perhaps time for those of us who are like myself friends of the Janata Government to act on that adage.

There are probably two things on which there is a wide area of agreement among intelligent people. The first is a great sense of satisfaction and relief at the change from an authoritarian to a democratic regime. The other is a growing sense of disappointment and concern at the performance of the new administration. Now that the honeymoon is over after the first hundred days, people are watching with a clear eye what goes on in New Delhi and they don't like what they see.

The two areas on which concern is building up are those of economics and public morality. Prices keep rising, and no amount of threatening businessmen and traders, including — perish the thought — the use of MISA and violence in the streets will bring prices down. On the contrary, the payment in cash of Compulsory Deposits which the Finance Minister described in Parliament as a concession to Labour will, as he himself admitted, only stoke the inflationary fires. The Budget, which Professors C. N. Vakil and Brahmananda have rightly categorised as potentially inflationary, is a typical Jawaharlal Nehru budget and the requisite "U-Turn" that Mr. N. A. Palkhivala has for years been urging is conspicuous by its absence. The pampering of those who take part in illegal strikes, as in the case of *The Indian Express*, has resulted in the loss of 4.2 million man-days during the last four months. We seem to be back again to the sterile Socialist clichés of the Jawaharlal Nehru period, and demagogic Leftist "lung-power" seems to be prevailing over Gandhian principles. The Janata Party appears to be developing a split Jekyll-and-Hyde personality.

Even more disturbing is the moral let-down. The people have been treated to a spate of broken promises and pledges such as those against defections and the toppling of State Governments and

those for the selection of honest men as candidates for election and the freedom of members of State Assemblies to choose their leaders and Chief Ministers without interference from Delhi.

There is also the spectacle of chronic infighting among the groups who have come together to form the Janata Party. Mr. Jagjivan Ram has confessed to "deep anguish" at this phenomenon and quipped that "only the CFD seems to have merged in the Janata Party". Mr. Prafulla Chander Sen has

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You Said It

By LAXMAN



... He has warned that he will dump the culprits into the sea or boil them in oil! Although he doesn't mean it, it shows our determination to bring the prices down! ...

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Goenka And Grunwick

THE way in which the weak Governments can kow-tow to organized Labour and sacrifice the needs of justice has recently been demonstrated both in India and in Britain in a somewhat parallel manner.

In India, when the employees of the *Indian Express* in New Delhi indulged in an illegal strike, the Managing Director of the Company, Mr. Ramnath Goenka, who has a proud record of standing up to the attempts to take over his paper by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her Government, did what every citizen has a right to do. He appealed for protection to the Bombay High Court which, on 14th June, granted an interim stay against the implementation of the Union Government's dictat for payment of interim relief to the employees and fixed a date for the final hearing of Mr. Goenka's petition. One would have expected the Janata Government to deal with the illegal strike by arresting its ringleaders for breach of the law while allowing Mr. Goenka to obtain justice from the Bombay High Court.

But that would perhaps have been asking too much. Instead, the illegal strikers were received in deputation both by the Prime Minister and the Labour Minister and, in deference to their pressure, Mr. Goenka was bullied into withdrawing his petition and yielding to the demands of the illegal strikers. Mr. Goenka has told the sad story in his paper on 8th July and has made out an unanswerable case to show how he was discriminated against *vis a vis* other newspapers which had taken the same attitude, far from being shown any appreciation or gratitude for the way in which the *Indian Express* had stood up to the authoritarian regime. Mr. Goenka sadly expressed the hope that the new government was 'not adopting the same method as the previous Government, though in a more subtle and sophisticated form'.

In a somewhat parallel situation, on finding that his loyal workers, who are mostly Indian women, were sought to be intimidated by mass picketing at his factory gates, Mr. George Ward, the Managing Director of the Grunwick film processing factory in the suburbs of London, appealed to the judiciary for protection against this intimidation of his loyal workers who did not want to join the Union to which he had denied recognition. Mr. Callaghan, the weak kneed Labour Prime Minister, refused to do anything to stop the trade unions from violating the law in regard to peaceful picketing, a term grotesquely applied to some 18,000 hooligans who collected on July 12 outside the gates of the Grunwick factory throwing missiles at the bus carrying the workers into the factory and trying to overturn the

bus and risking the lives of the workers who refused to be intimidated into joining the strikers. That situation continued for weeks and, though scores of policemen were brutally attacked and injured in trying to maintain the law, all Mr. Callaghan could do was to warn Mr. Ward not to go in appeal to the highest judicial tribunal in pursuit of his quest for justice. Mr. Ward courageously rejected the warning and the Court of Appeals ruled in his favour.

Social justice is a good thing but, when social justice makes demands which are contrary to the law of the land, as in these cases, it ceases to be social justice and becomes rank demagoguery. It is tragic that democratic governments should in both countries have succumbed to such pressures.

Kashmir Elections

By his victory over the Janata Government in the elections to the Legislative Assembly in Jammu and Kashmir State, the *Sher-i-Kashmir*, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, has once again shown that he stands as nobody else can for the aspirations and desires of the people of Kashmir. Rightly or wrongly, the Sheikh, who has now become once again the Chief Minister of his State, was able to convince the electorate that, while they accepted the Indian Union, with which they had 'special relations' embodied in the Constituoin of the Republic of India as "friends and not masters", they were not prepared to allow the special status enjoyed by them to be eroded. He would not allow the Centre, he averred, to act like 'colonial masters'. The people of the State have backed his position.

The position in Nagaland, which also has special rights and a special measure of autonomy guaranteed to it in the Constitution, is not very dissimilar. There too the people of Nagaland are not prepared to allow their special relationship with the Indian Union to be destroyed.

It is no good repeating that Kashmir and Nagaland are parts of India. Of course, they are, but historically they are not parts of India in the same sense that Uttar Pradesh, Bihar or Maharashtra are. It is important in this connection to recall the words actually used by Mahatma Gandhi when Nagaland delegates approached him for protection when the British left India and transferred power to Indian hands. "The Nagas have every right to be independent", said Gandhiji, "We did not want to live under the domination of the British and they are now leaving us. I want you to feel that the Naga Hills are mine, just as much as they are yours. But if you say that they are not mine, the matter must stop there. I believe in the brotherhood of man....."

I do not believe in force and forced unions. If you do not wish to join in the Union of India, nobody will force you to do that".

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan had in the 60's espoused the cause of the Naga people and had managed to arrange for a cease-fire in the hostilities between the Indian Armed Forces and the Nagaland Army, and Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Prime Minister, had endorsed those efforts and sought to win over the people of Nagaland through conciliation. That is the path of statesmanship.

And Now Lanka

There is a song that runs:

'Lay your pistol down, baby,
Lay your pistol down,
Pistol packing mama,
Lay that pistol down.'

We understand that ditty was very popular in Sri Lanka during the late lamented Mrs. Bandaranaike's regime. Since the lady in question would not lay her pistol down, she has been removed from office by the people of Sri Lanka, who had evidently had enough of her.

It is a matter for rejoicing among Liberals throughout the world that Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, the leader of the United National Party, has been returned to power by a clear verdict of the electorate. One after another, the pro-communist regimes in the Sub-continent have been replaced in Bangla Desh, India and Ceylon by more pragmatic ones. The new Government has already given an early indication of a shift in foreign policy by the statement that it would not be quite as active as its predecessors in the cause of non-alignment. Indeed, there is every indication that Sri Lanka will join the Association of South East Asia International (ASEAN) which is genuinely non-aligned but which has been anathema to bogus non-aligned Governments like those in India under Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

No Doles

Some years ago, Mr. B. K. Nehru, then Governor of Assam and Nagaland, in two speeches made, one in Jorhat and the other the Madon Memorial Lecture in Bombay, tried to educate the Government of India about the real nature of employment and unemployment. He quite rightly pointed out that there is genuine employment only when the person on the job produces more than he or she receives. Otherwise, he pointed out, the solution was easy. The Government of India had only to give a dole or pittance of Rs. 100 to every man and woman over 18 and give them some kind of work and announce that India had solved its unemployment problem! Since, however, the payment of these doles could only be made by printing currency notes in the

Nasik Security Printing Press, everybody in India would soon be unemployed.

Your Editor once tried in the Lok Sabha to convince Prime Minister Indira Gandhi about the truth of these basic principles by reading what Mr. B. K. Nehru, her cousin, had to say. I said that perhaps, like the Cabots who talked only to the Lodges and the Lodges who talked only to God, the Nehrus perhaps listened only to the Nehrus. But, like Queen Victoria, the lady was not amused.

It is good to know that her successor in office has got hold of the right end of the stick on this subject. The Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, made this clear when he told the Lok Sabha on July 28, 1977, that giving doles to the unemployed was no remedy but it should be work that was meaningful and proved productive. It is to be hoped that the Prime Minister will stand firm and continue to shoot down any suggestions for levying the proposed "unemployment cess" at a cost of around Rs 4,000 crores by which those who work would be taxed to subsidize those who do not. A surer way to ruin would be hard to find.

No More Titles

Kudos to the Janata Government on its reported decision to scrap the honours and awards which have been conferred since Independence. This announcement was greeted with applause in the Lok Sabha when made by the Prime Minister on July 13. The Attorney-General had quite rightly advised that these awards were not only contrary to the law but also to the spirit of Article 18 of the Constitution.

This recalls a very interesting discussion among the Congress Party members of the Constituent Assembly some time in 1947 or 1948. Your Editor had then taken the position that the so-called awards were nothing else than titles and there should be no room for them. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to whom Moscow's word was, as always, law insisted however that, as in the Soviet Union, while titles would not be conferred, awards of merit could be given. Nehru had his majority. It is good that

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IN THIS ISSUE

Professor S. P. Aiyar contributes a review article on the various attempts at 'instant history' which have adorned the bookshops during the past few weeks.

Mr. S. A. A. Pinto's article is a thoughtful contribution on the horrible phenomenon of torture which has become a part of our national scene.

The Editor asks the provocative question: 'Isn't It Time For JP To Speak Up?'

1975 AND ALL THAT

S. P. Aiyar

JOURNALISM", wrote Matthew Arnold, "is literature in a hurry." The authors of several recent books on the Emergency have raced against time to catch their readers before the theme becomes stale. But few of them can make any claims to having produced literatures and their readers are bound to express divergent opinions.

Among the books that have hit the market, *The Judgement* by Kuldip Nayar (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House) has achieved a success which is not justified by its intrinsic merit. It has been serialized and widely commented upon and some notable denials have already been made publicly. The reasons for its immediate success are not far to seek. Nayar claimed to tell "The Inside Story of the Emergency in India" — the subtitle of his book — and he seemed most qualified to tell it. Like several others who were imprisoned during the period, Nayar acquired the image of one who dared and paid the price for it; and his frequent contributions to the *Indian Express* before and after the emergency made his name familiar to the readers

of an English daily. He was also the first to be in the field: once more the early bird had caught the worm!

Kuldip Nayar is a veteran newspaper man with a flare for scoops and a skilful use of contacts. This quality is reflected in the very first page of *The Judgement* where he tells us that an attempt was made to buy off Justice Jag Mohan Lal Sinha of the Allahabad High Court! It was Nayar's revelations which burst the bombshell on July 20 resulting in the resignation of Mr. D. S. Mathur from the chairmanship of the committee set up to inquire into the affairs of the notorious Maruti Pvt. Ltd. He later described his book as the tip of the ice-berg and remarked that the inquiry commissions would prove the veracity of the facts he had mentioned. But nothing shocks the public any more for such is the extraordinary notoriety of the clique that ruled India during the dreadful months of Indira's emergency.

The most useful part of Nayar's book is the first chapter where he tries to reconstruct, with what

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the Janata Government has closed this little opening for intellectual corruption.

Vietnamese Refugees in India

IN our August issue we had praised the new Prime Minister, Mr. Begin, of Israel for making a good beginning by giving asylum to Vietnamese refugees fleeing from Communist tyranny.

We are happy to take note of a similar humanitarian rescue effected by Captain K. V. John and the crew of the Shipping Corporation vessel 'Laxmi' which saved 91 Vietnamese men, women and children on a tiny sinking boat off the South China Sea. The SCI vessel arrived in Madras along with the refugees whose rescue was not only an act of conscience on the part of Captain John but also in conformity with International Maritime Law.

The unfortunate Vietnamese, the engine of whose boat had failed five days before the rescue, had been starved of food and water and many of them could hardly stand. During the voyage back to Madras, the 64 man Indian crew nobly shared their ration and drinking water with the Vietnamese who had intended to reach Hong Kong.

It has been announced that India will provide a temporary home to these 91 who have been issued identity cards to stay "temporarily" in this country.

Does this mean that our Government is so frightened of communist Vietnamese wrath that it can not do what Israel has done to allow the 91 men, women and children to make their home in India? Is this what non-alignment is to be made to mean? If the Indian Government does not do the decent thing,

it is to be hoped that the U. N. High Commission for Refugees will arrange for asylum either in the United States, where the State Department has asked the White House to approve the admission of 1500 Indo-Chinese refugees stranded in various parts of Asia, or elsewhere. It is good that the U. S. Secretary of State in a recent speech to the Asia Society said: "A new flow of Indo-Chinese refugees commands the world's urgent humanitarian concern".

Chief Justice's Gaffe

CHIEF Justice Beg of the Supreme Court did not exactly distinguish himself when he went to a function organised by the Cultural Department of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in New Delhi to discuss that very "cultural" document, Brezhnev's new Constitution, and made the profound remark that "the new innovations to be found in the draft of the Brezhnev Constitution were a healthy sign towards achievement of the humanistic goal by the people of Russia". We shudder to think of the language in which the people of Russia would comment on this remark if it came to their notice.

Perhaps members of the Bench who found that the writ of *habeas corpus* had ceased to run in our own country last year might find it difficult to appreciate the real nature of the Soviet dictatorship but, in a gallant effort, we have sent a copy of the August issue of *Freedom First* to Chief Justice Beg since it contains a symposium of comment on the Brezhnev Constitution from various parts of the world. There is no harm in trying, is there?

Incidentally, what was Mr. Madhu Limaye, General Secretary of the Janata Party, doing presiding at that function and echoing Chief Justice Beg's views?

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knowledge he possessed, how the emergency came to be imposed and identify the accomplices in the conspiracy. In this he confirms what one already suspected. Siddhartha Shankar Ray had a key role in suggesting the declaration of the internal emergency. Arriving in Delhi in response to Mrs. Gandhi's SOS, he immediately sent for a copy of the Constitution and showed how it could be done within the law. "Internal emergency", says Nayar, "was the cloak a lawyer had found for an action planned with dictatorial motives." Others made their own little contributions to the final result. Sanjay's friend, Kuldip Narang, supplied a copy of the Philippines censorship rules and the machinery for implementing them. These he had acquired from friends in the American Embassy in New Delhi.

In some two hundred pages Nayar races through the complicated developments during the period — the arrest of the leaders, censorship and the attempt to puzzle the Press, the Parliamentary debate on the emergency, the attack on the Constitution and the Judiciary, the torture of prisoners, the Turkman Gate tragedy, the announcement of the elections and the final verdict of the people. It is a packaged deal that he offers and it is just the kind of book that most busy people are after. But the merits of the book do not survive its reading. It does not live up to the expectation roused by the high-power publicity it has received. Its reference value is restricted. It floats on the surface of events; it titillates but does not satisfy. Nayar claims to have used some underground material but there are no citations. His account of what happened to the Indian press, specially the *Indian Express* and *The Statesman*, is scrappy and disappointing. His failure to give credit to V. K. Narasimhan seems to me less than fair. Nayar's style is undistinguished although it shows a marked improvement over some of his earlier books. On page 40 he quotes Mrs. Gandhi as having said that she would like to go down in history as a strong personality, "somewhat like Napoleon or Hitler because they would always be remembered." I am sure the readers would have liked to know the source of this interesting quotation.

One of the evils of hurried writing is the temptation to quote at length and Kuldip Nayar succumbs to it. There are extensive quotations from parliamentary speeches and long accounts of the torture of Lawrence Fernandes and Snehalata Reddy in their own words. Whole paragraphs are reproduced from U.R. Anantha Murthy's introduction to Snehalata Reddy's Prison Diary without proper acknowledgement and this is an unpardonable sin in a writer.

The Decline and Fall of Indira Gandhi by D. R. Mankekar and Kamla Manekekar (New Delhi Vision Books) covers the same ground as the earlier work, but it varies in emphasis. The titles of some of the chapters indicate the tone and quality of the book: "The Lady's Style", "Idi Amin Outdone", "Enfant

Terrible", "Bansi the Butcher", "Destiny Takes a Hand". Their treatment differs from Nayar's in many ways. The Mankekars totally reject the view that Mrs. Gandhi considered the possibility of stepping down temporarily after the Allahabad judgement. They speak of the existence of "unimpeachable evidence" to show this and refer to a 'contingency plan' for the suspension of the Constitution and the promulgation of a state of internal emergency. If this is so, why do they not produce the *unimpeachable* evidence they possess? That preparations were on much earlier than June 25 is more than probable and can be inferred. Jayaprakash Narayan, for instance, believed that there must have been more than one plan in existence. But these details, if true, have yet to come to light. Nayar is perhaps closer to the truth when he says that though the idea of "doing something" was present the specific form of the action later took shape only on the 24th of June.

The British had developed detailed rules for dealing with contingencies and a blue-print for action existed based on the experience of handling the 1942 movement. It is probable that the bureaucrats fell back upon that experience. But there was also some bureaucratic clumsiness and mistakes were made. Nayar mentions how arrests were carried out on the basis of some old list in existence with the result that the police had a warrant for the arrest of a man who was dead long ago!

Mankekars' book scores over *The Judgement* in some respects. One gets a better account of the harassment of newspapers, of the role played by students in Delhi and the courage with which Durga Bhagwat attacked the emergency. They acknowledge the role played by the RSS but this is not adequately dealt with. *The Decline and Fall* (I dislike that pompous title) is dedicated to Jayaprakash Narayan but the authors completely ignore the role he played before and during the emergency! Also missing is the contribution of the Citizens for Democracy and other organizations which fought for civil liberties.

A careful reading of both the books reveals many printing and other errors which is the price for hastiness. A few proper names are misspelt in both books; proof-reading has been unsatisfactory. On page 39 of Nayar's book we read: "The Dhavan from the PM's house brought the draft." The Mankekars refer to *Himmat* as a fortnightly and this is obviously a mistake. The index in *The Judgement* could have been better; the *Decline and Fall* does not have any.

However, the real defect in both the books is that while they whet our appetite, they fail to satisfy us. What is lacking is a framework and a perspective. The "Fall" of Mrs. Gandhi is not in dispute but one might ask, When did the "Decline" begin? Both books seek to dramatise events and begin with the Allahabad Judgement. There is no analysis, no interpretation. The Mankekars refer to Indira

Gandhi's autocratic temperament and speak of her being "unlike her father". But between father and daughter there are many similarities and Nehru's democratic temperament has been greatly exaggerated. It is true that he might not have gone to the lengths to which his daughter — and grandson — went in the total lack of humanity in dealing with political opponents but he was not averse to bringing pressure on newspapers or suppressing uncomfortable critics. Like the daughter he indulged in squandermania while mouthing socialistic slogans and, like the daughter again, he protected the corrupt and the unscrupulous. That he had a strong tendency towards authoritarianism cannot be disputed since he had himself acknowledged it. In some ways, he was an amateur; the daughter had *finesse* and subtlety reinforced by a cynical indifference to the means employed. But the Kamraj Plan was thoroughly Machiavellian and in grooming his daughter for the high office he proved to be a consummate politician. In contrast, Indira Gandhi was more genuinely "oriental" in grooming her son and getting rid of her enemies. The link between her autocratic instincts and the tragedy of the Emergency is provided in her own brutally frank statement that the opposition had been *vanquished but not destroyed*.

Promilla Kalhan's *Black Wednesday* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers) is a curious non-book of less than a hundred pages with some appendixes added to give it weight. Her "original" contribution lies in stressing the defects in Mrs. Gandhi's character which led to her downfall and the basis of this view is a letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Vijayalakshmi Pandit on June 2, 1934. But she is not equipped for

undertaking a psychological analysis. The book includes the birth of the Janata Party and an account of Morarji Desai. The best thing in the book is the attractive title and there its merit ends.

Among the books which command respect is V. K. Narasimhan's *Democracy Redeemed* (New Delhi: Chand & Co.). No dramatic disclosures characterize this book, no "inside" stories are revealed. It is, as to author says, a testament of faith — a faith in the Indian people, faith in democratic values, and above all, faith in the destiny of our great nation, which has survived many vicissitudes and has succeeded in preserving its immemorial heritage." It is reflective rather than descriptive and what imparts value to the book is the author's own courageous role as Editor-in — Chief of the *Indian Express* during the dark night of the Emergency. Yet his modesty prevents him from setting forth the details of the conflict which the paper had with Shukla. Skilfully woven into the text are some of the editorials he wrote during the period and some which could not be published. For Narasimhan, while the imposition of the emergency compels us to ask why India's democratic institutions proved so vulnerable and caved in to the autocratic rule of one person, the return of freedom was the greatest achievement of the Indian people, much greater than what they gained in 1947. He rightly says that the Emergency proved beyond doubt "how precarious are the people's liberties if a Government is permitted to concentrate all power in its hands and if there are no constitutional or judicial restraints on the abuse of power." All those who subscribe to liberalism and put FREEDOM FIRST will wholeheartedly support this view.

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TORTURE AND PREVENTIVE DETENTION—I

ORIGINS AND CONSEQUENCES

S. A. A. Pinto

THE cause of personal liberty would be better served if the sudden and widespread outcry against torture and detention without trial did not concentrate on the cases of political victims, in particular Naxalites, with special reference to those which occurred during the Emergency. The accusations are true and the indignation justified, but the emphasis on happenings during the Emergency and preoccupation with cases of political detenus and Naxalites could deflect attention from the fundamental issues at stake.

The practice of torture has been in existence from time immemorial and is not confined to India but it is man alone amongst all living species who indulges in inflicting pain for the sake of causing pain with the ulterior motive of gaining something. (Therefore, "inhuman" is entirely the wrong adjective; so are "brutal" or "bestial".) Neither animal nor reptile nor bird nor insect is known to cause pain for the sake of causing pain, but only in the course of killing for food or in self-defence.

As *homo sapiens* evolved into a rational being, he also learnt to employ pain for gain and acquired the perversion of cruelty for pleasure. With civilisation, torture became a part of the penal law, that is, it became an accepted form of punishment for offences, often meted out publicly for setting an example to others. Hypocrisy having gained sway, in no country today does the law recognise torture as a *punitive* measure but while, on the one hand, cruelty and sadism continue though practised in a clandestine manner, on the other hand, the governments of most countries unofficially employ torture as an investigative device. The tragedy of such casuistry is that torture is underhand and uncontrolled and, therefore, even more difficult to root out.

Being the infliction of pain upto or beyond the limit of tolerance with the object of extracting information or a confession of guilt, torture necessarily hurts the innocent more than the guilty. Apart from being wrong, even from a practical point of view torture instead of aiding investigation, distorts it.

Consider what happens when a person is tortured. The person is put through intense physical suffering, all the while under continuous pressure with the constant threat of worse agony to follow to make him confess his own suspected guilt or reveal information incriminating others. Sometimes unconsciousness provides welcome relief, but only momentarily. Sooner or later the point is reached where the victim cannot stand it any longer, where death seems more merciful, but this blessing is denied because torture aims at submission, not death. (Death is to be sedulously avoided. When it takes

place it is unintended, an accident, with potential dire consequences for the police, as in Rajan's case.) Few have the capacity to endure the excruciating agony any longer. The result is surrender.

What if the victim is innocent or has no information to provide? At that moment, it hardly matters. He prefers to confess, as tutored, to a crime he has not committed or make, as tutored, a false accusation against others rather than continue to writhe in pain. The tolerance limit or the pain barrier varies from person to person. Moreover, one may be subject to arthritis or other ailments, where the slightest movements may cause acute pain thus making the victim peculiarly vulnerable. It is elementary logic to conclude that such confessions and information are based not on fact but on the tolerance limits of the victim and hence, more often than not, are completely fictitious.

It is not merely the rank and file of the police, but officers, administrators, politicians — especially those in power — and even the people seem to accept the use of torture as routine and necessary. Often the complainant in a case is dissatisfied at the police not using third degree methods to obtain evidence from people whom the complainant has accused or suspected. This is characteristic of our penchant for adopting what we regard as the short-cut and the easy way out. We ill-treat and starve our cattle but salve our conscience by passing legislation against cow-slaughter; Hindi is one of the most neglected of languages and we have not yet produced a dictionary of average quality for general use and yet we try to impose it by force as a national language for all purposes; we cannot be bothered with the hard work and patience required in propagating temperance, so we delude ourselves by foisting prohibition by law and add corruption, gangsterism and general immorality to the evils of drink; we do not fancy enlightened labour relations and prefer industrial suppression — "discipline" — by Emergency powers. As a matter of fact none of these is a way out nor does it lead to the intended destination, short-cut or no short-cut. So is it with torture. We cannot be bothered with scientific investigation, forensic laboratories and research; it is so much cheaper, simpler and quicker to torture people and nobody complains anyway; and above all the evidence is yours for nothing. Actually, all evidence produced by torture is unreliable and deserves to be discarded. This applies to most evidence in cognisable offences, which is obtained by torture *except where the accused is a man of means or has some position or influence in society.* Unless

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HISTORICAL HYSTERIA

Jal Irani

I am sure if I had not been born, nobody would have wondered why. Anyway, I am here because at birth I wanted to be near my mother, although my father thought that I was born in vain. Sometimes I wish I had been born in the Dark Ages — I look terrible in the light!

I cannot afford to spend thousands to have my family tree looked up just to find out that I have been a sap, and I am glad I do not have any blue blood, as people with blue blood remain despondent for years on end.

I arrived in this world helplessly, and all that I have done with equal helplessness is to add to the general confusion and make the editors and the readers call for urgent help whenever they come across an Irani named Jal.

People tell me that my forefathers came from Iran. I wish they had brought Iran with them, so I could have continued to own my car. I am also told that my brethren, the Parsis, beat my forefathers by years in the boat race from the Persian Gulf to Sanjan on the west coast of India. When my forefathers eventually landed in Bombay, there was not very much left by way of business except to open up tea shops.

All the liquor business was cornered by the Parsis, and each time an Irani rattled his cup and saucer to make a go of his business, one Parsi or another got knighted. This state of affairs created a cultural gap between the Parsis and the Iranis. The Parsis considered the Iranis very backward and the Iranis considered the Parsis very poor eaters.

While an Irani can wallop a whole king-size melon, a Parsi would think twice before eating one tenth of the melon lest he catches pneumonia. If a Parsi suffered from a case of floating kidneys, he would be sensible and go to a doctor, while an Irani would have an anchor tattooed on his back! Apart from the fact that the Parsis came from Persia

and the Iranis came from Iran, there is not much difference between them.

But when Prohibition was introduced in the country for the first time, the Parsis very nearly went out of their minds as well as their money. By then the Iranis were going great guns with their tea shops and were making money hand over fist. They decided it was time they too collected a few knighthoods from the British and started spending their surplus profits on educating their children in the best of schools and colleges. When their children came home during the holidays there was a communication gap as the older generation could not cope with a word of English or Parsi-Gujrati. But by the time the Irani children got well educated, the British had left and with them went the knighthoods.

However, I will never forgive the Parsis for the mess they have made of traditional Iranian names. Jamshed became Jimmy, Sohrab became Soli. Jehangir became Jhungu and Zal became Jal. Zal had grey hair prematurely and was considered the wise one.

I too got grey hair prematurely, but missed out completely on the grey cells as my father, Rustom, turned the tables on history to produce a Zal instead of a Sohrab. It is also said that Rustom the Great killed his brave son Sohrab because Rustom's wife Tehimna did not put the dog tags around the neck of Sohrab. In any case, dog tags were not invented at the time and Rustom the Great had a reputation to maintain. So much for the history of Iran!

Today, Iranians in Iran have no claim upon me as I am an Irani only in name. By now I should have taken on some trade name, but just can't work up the courage to call myself: Jalejar Rustomji Jehangirji Sodawaterbottleopenerwalla. In the first place it would straight away suggest to the party of the first part in any party that I must necessarily carry a hip flask. Secondly, it would take me half an hour to introduce myself, and lastly I would be spending the first six minutes of the trunk call spelling at the best of times.

To keep the knighthoods within the family-fold, the Parsis in-married and inter-married so much that they nearly came to a stand-sill. Bawaji with glasses married Bapaji with glasses to produce Pappaji and Mammaji wearing binoculars whose children are now wearing telescopes! Today, Parsis marry Iranis and Iranis marry Parsis. Despite education, Iranis are still a little rough around the edges. The Parsis are gentle and the high-brows among them readily appreciate the finer things of life.

Anyway, it's a good sign of the times that even I am called a Bawaji, because when all is said and done the common factor between the Parsis and the Iranis has always been the famous Bawaji NOSE!

(Continued from page 7)

he is a man of means, it is standard practice for the police to beat up an arrested person. This is a routine step before questioning commences.

Since Independence there is not a single recorded instance of a magistrate, a high court judge, a home minister or any other minister or any politician belonging to a party in power carrying out surprise visits to investigate complaints or rumours of torture, or taking special measures to protect complainants who are amongst persons, most of whom are in police custody without any charges being preferred against them.

(To Be Continued)

WORLD NEWS

30,000 KILLED BY ETHIOPIAN MARXIST JUNTA

LONDON, July 3 (AP). — About 30,000 Ethiopians have been killed or imprisoned since Marxist military leaders took power there three years ago, according to a report quoted in London's Sunday Telegraph newspaper.

The newspaper said that the report came from Kassahun Bisrat, former general secretary of the Teachers Association of Ethiopia. The Sunday Telegraph said that he fled in May by walking 200 miles into the Sudan and is now in Cairo.

The victims of Ethiopia's ruling Dergue, or military junta, include 2,000 students killed April 29-30 in Addis Ababa and 500 teachers murdered in a purge, the Sunday Telegraph quoted Mr. Bisrat as reporting.

Western diplomats said in May that more than 300 persons were killed in the capital on those two April days. Other reports put the toll as high as 500. The diplomats said that the violence appeared to have been sparked by anti-government demonstrations by students and other young persons, in some cases apparently inspired by an underground, opposition Marxist party.

— *International Herald Tribune*, July 4.

BLACK MEN HAVE HUMAN RIGHTS TOO

THE fourteenth summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity, which ended in Libreville on Tuesday, is apparently considered by those who participated in it to have been a success, if only by comparison with last year's meeting in Mauritius. Only one member state (Benin) boycotted the meeting, and none walked out. The division of Africa into "moderate" or pro-Western and "progressive" or pro-Soviet blocks was certainly not overcome, but at least it was not noticeably deepened.

On a series of acutely divisive issues at least a form of words was found for which both sides could vote. In Rhodesia the Patriotic Front won the OAU's endorsement as leader of the armed struggle, but not, or at least not explicitly, as sole legitimate representatives of the Zimbabwean people. A resolution condemning outside interference in the internal affairs of African states was passed with the votes of both Angola and Zaire. Border disputes between Ethiopia and Sudan and between Chad and Libya were referred to special commissions, and there was also a resolution, to improve the machinery for mediating in such disputes in future. But it remains to be seen whether there will be any progress towards a settlement of these or other disputes in practice. It remains to be seen, too, whether the decision to hold a special summit on the Western Sahara in Lusaka next October will be implemented, any more than the analogous decision taken a year ago — and, if it is, whether Morocco and Mauritania will agree to attend it.

But on one issue there was not even an attempt to

make serious progress: the issue of human rights. The African Commonwealth leaders, who voted a month ago in London to condemn the violation of human rights in Uganda, clearly felt it would be a breach of etiquette to raise the subject in Libreville to President Amin's face. Indeed, most of them rose to applaud him when he made his delayed and unexpected personal appearance at the meeting, and many applauded again (one would like to think ironically) when he informed the meeting that the Uganda defence council had awarded him the "Highest Order of the Conqueror of the British Empire". No doubt they wished to congratulate him on escaping the recent assassination attempt. No doubt, too, they knew that few of them would come well out of any serious inquiry into the state of human rights throughout the continent.

The true attitude of African governments on this question was expressed after the meeting with unusual frankness by the OAU's Secretary General, Mr. William Eteki. There were some countries in Africa, he said, where it was generally accepted that a thief should have his ear cut off — something which Western countries would regard as atrocious. "Either we must adjust to your standards or else you to ours."

Such a frank statement deserves a frank reply. Yes, we in the West do indeed have standards which are not only different from those to which Mr. Eteki alludes, but superior to them — and which, we still venture to think, are of universal applicability. It is true that we have not always lived up to our standards, as Mr. Eteki and other Africans will be quick to remind us. King Leopold II's agents cut off the hands of workers who ran away from his rubber plantations, and Mr. Pieter van der Byl (who claims to be a defender of Western civilization) refused to give the names of Africans hanged by his government on the grounds that "when we've hanged them they are generally dead". Many more examples could be given. But at least we are not proud of such behaviour. At least our moral code condemns it and we have done our best to devise legal codes to eliminate it. We believe that Africans as much as white men, criminals as much as patriots, have a right to be protected against inhuman treatment. What is more we know that this belief is shared by many Africans, even if not, unhappily, by many of those now in power, or by the European power — the Soviet Union — which gave Colonel Mengistu a hero's welcome two months ago while his troops were massacring the students in the streets of Addis Ababa. It is racialism to pretend that black men under black governments do not have human rights.

— Editorial in *The Times*, July, 7.

FRIEDMAN IN ISRAEL

HEBREW University in Jerusalem is awarding an honorary degree to U.S. economist Milton Friedman, amid reports that he could become an adviser to the new government of Prime Minister

Menahem Begin, leader of the Likud party. Friedman told reporters in Israel on Sunday that he would not become a permanent adviser to the government, "but I will gladly meet any Likud party officials."

— *International Herald Tribune*, July 5.

CHIVALRY IS NOT DEAD

IN the first case under Britain's two-year-old Sex Discrimination Act to go to the appeal court, Lord Denning decided that a factory which allowed women to leave five minutes earlier than men did not contravene the act. The judge said last week: "It would be very wrong, to my mind, if this statute were thought to obliterate the difference between men and women, or to obliterate all the chivalry and courtesy when we expect mankind to give to woman-kind." He upheld an appeal by Automotive Products Ltd., of Kenilworth, near Birmingham, against a lower tribunal which found in favor of a complaint by Barry Peake, a 33-year-old employee, that the five-minute concession discriminated against him. The firm, in its argument, had a somewhat different view of the issue than did Lord Denning. It said the concession avoids the risk of women being knocked over in the rush for the factory gates when its 6,000 employees leave work.

— *International Herald Tribune*, July 12.

ANGOLA FORCES 'ROUTED' BY UNITA

UNITA guerrillas have routed Angolan Government forces from the southern Angola border town of Cuangar.

Fierce fighting began on Wednesday morning when 200 guerrillas of the National Movement for the Total Liberation of Angola (Unita) attacked the Government outpost with rockets, mortars and machineguns along the Kavango river which divides Angola and Namibia.

— *The Guardian*, July 22.

CARTER'S STAND HELPS DISSIDENTS

PROFESSOR Benjamin Fain, a leading Soviet physicist stripped of his poses after applying for an emigration visa to Israel, arrived in London last week ready to campaign on behalf of his colleague Anatoly Shcharansky and Moscow's many other Jewish dissidents, writes Reuben Ainsztein.

His unexpected permission to leave with his wife, was granted after a grilling by the KGB. He was told that he would be allowed to emigrate only if he signed a statement implicating Shcharansky, who is shortly to go on trial for treason.

"I was asked to testify that he had sold documents to capitalist governments. I refused and said I had no knowledge whatever of such matters. After that the official notice that I could leave for Israel came as a profound shock," said Fain.

He says that since President Carter's firm stand on human rights the treatment of dissidents is decided at the highest political level. Previously KGB arrests and harassment took place indiscriminately; now orders have to come from the top. "We paraded for a week round Moscow's central law courts wearing yellow stars to advertise the facts of anti-Jewish discrimination, and we were never touched. It was only when it was all over that arrests were made."

He is convinced, on these grounds, that the decision to charge Shcharansky was taken at the highest level.

Fain has been arrested "six or seven times" since he first applied for his Israel visa in 1974. His academic immunity was gradually eroded and he was finally dismissed from the chair of quantum mechanics at the Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology last year.

Once he and three other science professors were locked up together in one of the "drunk tanks" to which professors are often taken in preference to regular police stations. They ended up giving a course in Jewish history to the other inmates.

Fain, who had already come, to the conclusion that "I was working for an evil regime that represented a threat to the world," became increasingly convinced that his place, as a Jew, was in Israel.

With no prospect of this being allowed, he was reduced to selling the contents of gift parcels ("artificial fur coats sell particularly well") sent to him by university friends outside Russia. If his visa had not arrived he would probably soon have faced vagrancy charges, like many of his former fellow-

EXPORT AWARD WINNERS. year after year!



This time, Bombay Dyeing has bagged both the Central & State Government awards for export performance: The Government of India Award for Outstanding Achievement in Export Promotion for 1972-73; and the Government of Maharashtra Directorate of Industries Prize for the Best Export Performance for 1973-74.

Bombay Dyeing has received, on an average, an award a year since 1969. We're the only textile mill with a consistent record of growth in export promotion. Sales abroad for 1974-75 touched Rs.16 crores. The exceptionally high standard of fabric quality and design have brought world recognition to our textiles even in the sophisticated markets of the USA, UK, Canada, Germany, France, USSR, Poland and Australia. That's reward enough for us.



BOMBAY DYEING

teachers, with a penalty of prison or exile in Siberia.
— *Sunday Times*, July 24.

'NYET' TO SHODDY GOODS

By Malcolm W. Browne

S OVIET leaders today ordered the vast bureaucracy that they head to provide the people with more attractive food, goods and services, while reducing the number of surly waitresses and shopkeepers and the endless lines with which citizens must contend.

The decree by the Central Committee of the Communist party and the Council of Ministers did not say exactly how the proposals were to be carried out, nor did it allocate any money for the project.

But in an article in *Pravda*, the Kremlin expressed its displeasure with the indifferent goods and services available here.

The overall supply of consumer goods in the Soviet Union and allied nations is determined for five years by the powerful State Planning Board (Gosplan). The ratio of expenditures on consumer goods to capital goods and armaments is laid down in directives. Today's decree does nothing to alter the five-year plan which began last year.

The directive seems intended, instead, to change attitudes.

Among its criticisms were these:

- "The quality of service by trading organizations (stores) and the network of public feeding places (restaurants, bars and cafes) does not correspond to the increased requirements of the population.

Among its criticisms were these:

- "The distribution for sale of some products is permitted to deteriorate, even while these products are available in store rooms.

- "There are cases of rude and intolerable treatment of customers.

- "Many industrial enterprises continue to make outdated goods which do not meet consumer demands."

Among the objectives the decree orders party and government agencies to bring about are more seats in restaurants, more storage facilities for food, better designed and more attractive packaging (especially for small sizes of food products), semi-prepared convenience foods and especially frozen foods, shopping centers, vending machines, centers for recycling waste packages.....

But a group of official social scientists told newsmen today that authorities had been closely studying public attitudes toward labour productivity, family planning and other subjects.

The experts disclosed that there is official apprehension about national productivity on two counts: The individual worker is apparently not willing to give his all to his job, and because of the nation's falling birth rate, productivity may fall even further in the next few years.....

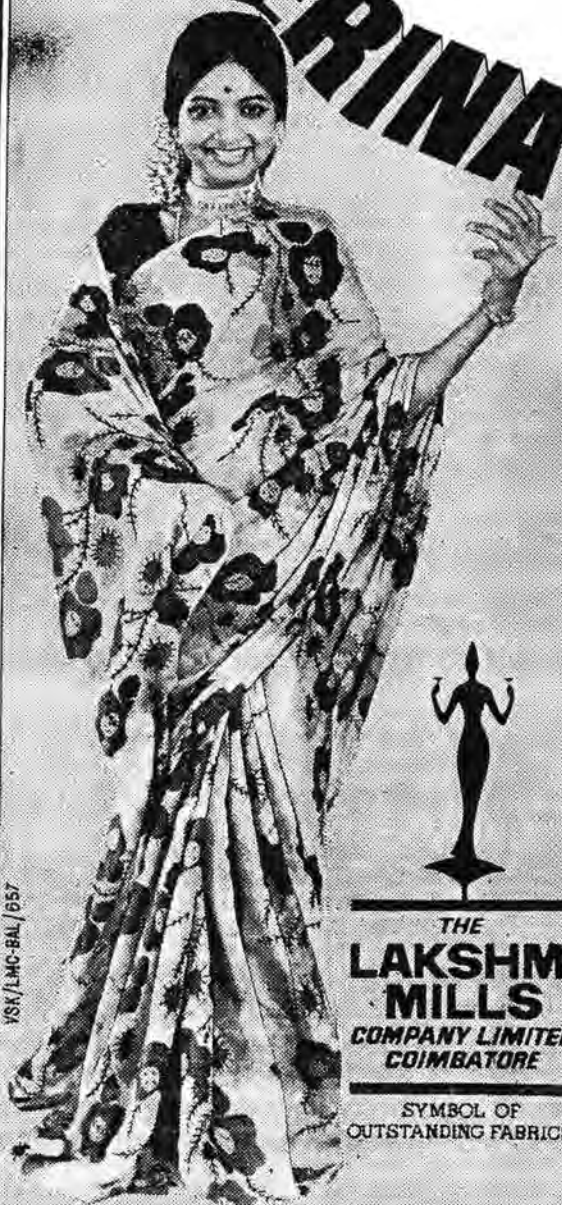
Beyond material outlays, the demand of the decree seems to be that Russians ought to be nicer to each other.

Greater effort should be made to attract competent sales clerks and waiters, the decree said, and once recruited, they should be trained to provide "cultured" service.

— *International Herald Tribune*, July 20.

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

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



ISN'T IT TIME FOR JP. TO SPEAK UP? (Continued from page 1)

courageously stood out against the pressure from Delhi to make an unholy alliance with the CP (Marxists). Even the Prime Minister on 20th July referred to complaints he had received from the people that the Janata Party was not working in a manner which they had hoped it would.

So far, therefore, there can be little disagreement. Where, however, there is room for honest difference of opinion is in regard to what can be done about all this by the ordinary citizen. There is one school of thought which looks upon these unfortunate developments as "teething troubles". They argue it is too soon to judge and that the new Government must be given more time to see what it can do. The proponents of this view also believe that criticising the new administration at this stage may help its enemies to come back.

I find it difficult to go along with these good people. Neither the reversion to the political standards of SVD days from 1967 to 1970 nor the reversion to the Statism and Leftism of the Nehru period appear to me to be passing phases. Mr. Jagjivan Ram, who ought to know, expressed the fear on July 19 that "these groups will think of their narrow interests even after five years."

The origins of the Declaration of Emergency in June 1975 are not to be found in the wickedness of a particular person. They lie in twenty-five years of politicking by those in office and in opposition and a neglect of the basic problems of the people which offered an opportunity for the establishment of an authoritarian regime. If, in June 1975, the people of India watched silently and sullenly while their freedoms were being destroyed it is because they were in the mood to throw the baby of democracy out with the bath-water of party politicians who had played the fool. We have all learned better during those eighteen months, but public memory is short and, if the present drift continues, a backlash is only too likely to develop and men will be heard once again to say: "We want a strong man at the top".

Erosion

Already, the results of the State Assembly elections show that there has been a marked erosion in Janata support. Since almost the entire Indian press had failed to supply its readers with the figures of how the people voted during the State Assembly elections, I had to obtain them from the Election Commission. They are alarming. From March to June 1977 the Janata vote had fallen sharply in Haryana from 70.35% in the Lok Sabha poll to 46.70% of the votes cast, in Uttar Pradesh from 68.02% to 48.36% in Delhi from 68.15 to 52.58% in Bihar from 66.60% to 42.78%, in Rajasthan from 65.21% to 50.41%, in Madhya Pradesh from 59.21% to 47.28%, in Himachal Pradesh from 57.19% to 49.01% and in Orissa from 52% to 49.24%. Indeed, except in Rajasthan and Delhi, nowhere did the Janata Party get a majority of the votes cast but, thanks

to the distortion caused by the archaic British electoral system, it won 76.62% of the seats. It is obvious that many of those who had voted for the Party in March sat on their hands and stayed at home in June.

Silence in such a context would mean that the Congress Party, still led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the CPI, would be the only critics and that all the gains of that discontent would flow into those channels. Would this be in the country's interest?

Such silence would also be unfair to the Prime Minister and his colleagues. When he took office, Mr. Morarji Desai had invited the people to tweak his ears if they felt it was called for. Isn't it time gently to do so?

The conclusion to which one is brought by these considerations is that continued silence would bring about a backlash all the faster while constructive criticism by the friends of the new regime may help to avert it.

If this analysis is correct, may I be forgiven if I exercise the privilege of an old friend to make a public appeal to Jayaprakash, whom I had described in an article in the *Reader's Digest* as "India's conscience", to speak up? I am only too painfully aware of his difficulties and, in particular, the extreme physical weakness and other limitations imposed on him by his physical condition. Nobody expects him to join in any denunciation of whatever may be happening. What is, however, called for is an expression of dissociation from what he may consider not to be right. The other day he asked the people of India to learn to discriminate between right and wrong. Have the people not a claim on him to ask for guidance?

During the Parliamentary election campaign, JP repeatedly assured the people that the Janata Party would keep its election promises. At a meeting in Patna on January 30 he said: "If you trust me, I can assure you that the Janata Party will fulfil its promises." Has he not then a responsibility to guide the people as to whether or not he believes those promises are being honoured? One would like to thin that with his moral prestige a word from him would go much further in putting things right than what many others put together may sal. Even otherwise, I feel he owes this to himself and his place in history.

Jayaprakash can of course be trusted to do the right thing at what he considers to be the right time. But what about the rest of us? In a democracy, public opinion in the long run decides the actions of Government and we now have a democratic and responsive administration. There are many ways open to each of us to do his bit as a citizen. It is high time the middle classes, including professional men, whose interests are being sacrificed for those of the vocal and privileged Trade Union element, organize for their own survival. In Ghana the professional classes recently managed to secure from a

(Continued on page 13)

Committee Of A Hundred Acts

THE first activity of the Committee Of A Hundred which has recently been formed has been to take note of the burning problem of admission to medical colleges in Maharashtra.

The Committee Of A Hundred is an informal, non-partisan organisation consisting of men and women of standing in various walks of life who are not identified with any political party. The objectives of the Committee are to act as a watchdog for the maintenance of a free society and democratic liberties and to offer constructive comment and criticism on issues and policies of public importance. The formation of this Committee was greeted with approval by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan at a press conference held at the Jaslok Hospital on April 2, 1977.

Among the members of the Committee are distinguished public and social workers like Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, educationists like Prof. V. V. John, Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta, Prof. B. R. Shenoy, writers like Madame Sophia Wadia, Anand Kanekar and Manohar Malgonkar, editors and journalists like S. Mulgaokar, K. Santhanam, B. G. Verghese, C. R.

Irani, Romesh Thapar and M. R. Masani, trade unionists like Arvind Buch and Mrs. Maniben Kara, business executives like Dr. F. A. Mehta and Mr. M. A. Sreenivasan, lawyers like C. K. Daphtary retired Defence personnel like Chief Air Marshal P. C. Lal and General Harbaksh Singh and retired civil servants like H. V. R. Iyengar and S. B. Bapat, Mr. Cyrus Guzder is the Organizing Secretary of the Committee whose office is at 127 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 400 023.

Members of the medical group of the Committee who examined the matter have prepared a memorandum which has been forwarded to the Chief Minister and Health Minister of Maharashtra, the Union Health Minister, the Vice Chancellor of Bombay University and the Indian Medical Council. The salient points of the memorandum are as follows:

1. The basic problem that requires sympathy and understanding is the predicament of the prospective medical students who have been placed in their present unenviable position by the unprecedented demand for admission to medical colleges from the merger of two parallel streams of students of Inter-Science and Std. XII. This problem could have been avoided had the Government of Maharashtra shown a minimum degree of foresight and concern.

2. With reference to the Chief Minister's Press Statement of 3rd August 1977, that 700 additional seats will be provided for these students, it is felt that standards of medical education are bound to suffer and that both Central and State Governments have under-estimated the magnitude of the problem. However, the following constructive proposals are offered with a view to mitigate the harm being done to the standards of medical education.

(a) The Maharashtra Government should immediately define publicly the steps it proposes to take to meet the contingency. It should also announce the details of the budgetary provisions to implement the above steps.

(b) The conditions stipulated by the Medical Council of India should be complied with in toto, both for the present and for the increased future students. This would cover requirements for more teachers in basic and clinical sciences, expansion of dissection halls, laboratories, etc. and increasing teaching beds in hospitals, canteen and library facilities, hostel accommodation etc.

(c) Obviously, as the present batch progresses, additional registration for post-graduate courses and recognised resident posts must be correspondingly provided for.

(d) The already existing 40% vacancies in the sanctioned posts should be filled forthwith.

(e) Disruptive transfer of staff between medical colleges should end. Steps should be taken on a long term basis to build up high quality faculties.

(f) All-India recruitment must commence to make up the shortfall of teachers. Beds in large private

(Continued from page 12)

military regime the assurance of a return to civilian government. This shows what can be done.

Imperatives

There are certain categorical imperatives dictated by the public interest on which most of us can combine and ask that action, which would be in pursuance of the Janata Party's own Manifesto, be taken without any further delay:—

1. The repeal *in toto* of the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution.
2. The repeal of MISA.
3. The establishment of autonomous Corporations for radio and Television as recommended by the Chanda Committee, and the breaking up of the *Samachar* monopoly.
4. Electoral Reform on the lines recommended in their report published in February 1975 by the Committee on Electoral Reform appointed by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan.
5. A high priority for Population Control without coercion.
6. Last, and by no means least, the implementation of Gandhiji's basic tenet: "That Government is best which governs the least" and a consequent devolution and decentralisation of power from Delhi to the States and from the States down to the citizens' level.

Throughout the Emergency, there were too many examples in India of behaviour which painfully recalled Abraham Lincoln's words: "To sin by silence when they should protest makes cowards of men." Today, when there is not even the excuse for silence that then existed, can there be any possible reason why Abraham Lincoln's reproach should be laid at our door?

(Continued on page 14)

EQUALITY THROUGH TRUSTEESHIP

By VADILAL LALLUBHAI MEHTA
(Tata McGraw-Hill, 1977, pp. 408.)

AN open admission that the book was a rushed job does not necessarily disarm its critics. But here there is an obvious reason for the "rush". One opportune moment to focus attention on a viable alternative to the way our nation has gone for three decades. We have just emerged from a long night, but not many of us recognize how dark it has been.

The title, "Equality through Trusteeship", promises much that the book does not deliver. After a fascinating glimpse of the "genesis" of the concept, it reads for fairly long stretches, like any book on "Development — with a rural bias". The main burden of the author's argument seems to be that with comprehensive planning the goal of full employment can be attained; and if this goal is pursued, other problems will get solved in its wake. This is altogether too simplistic an approach.

We must not forget that precisely because of their close affinities (Trusteeship/Stewardship), the concepts are being given much serious thought and with some experimentation, in and outside the country. One of the serious weaknesses of the book is that rather than gathering all the findings, from at home and abroad, the author leaves the argument for Trusteeship too loose-ended. The Trusteeship Model he presents is pre-eminently an attempt at an economic model, given the assumption that the wealthy will or could be made to surrender superfluous wealth. He very arbitrarily suggests a "ceiling" of "four lakhs for a family of four" after which what is possessed over and above, is to be considered a superfluity. But one does not construct even an economic model today, without taking into full account the most important and highly influential *non-economic* factors. There are too many empty boxes or rather boxes that do not appear at all on his diagram. Let us look only at two such boxes.

Social Costs which imply, if seen within the context of Trusteeship/Stewardship, that however freely the wealthy give away or out of their superfluous wealth, the giving is never entirely gratuitous. There

(Continued from page 13)

hospitals attended by many of the present and past teachers could be utilised to overcome the shortfall in beds.

3. It cannot be stressed enough that though the present increase in seats is a one time affair, provision will have to be made over the coming years to fulfil the educational obligations to this increased batch of students so that they can complete their medical education without the lowering of standards that would otherwise inevitably follow.

This memorandum has been prepared and signed by Dr. Shantilal J. Mehta, Dr. N. H. Wadia, Dr. B. Colabawalla, Dr. Mrs. Piroja Irani, Dr. K. G. Nair and Dr. S. K. Pandya.

are debts to repay. Not only to those whose labour is involved in the amassing of wealth, but to society as a whole for permitting free enterprise (not all societies do) and, unknowingly, paying its "hidden costs". An "industrial democracy" only amounts to part payment since it is no more than a power and profit sharing enterprise between employers and employees. Such internal democracy within an industrial establishment, offers no guarantee that it will not continue exploiting the rest of society.

All the social costs which have hitherto been identified, have been found to be the "true cost of production" which should have been, and at an earlier stage could have been internalized and paid for by the entrepreneurs themselves — meaning not only big business and industry but the medium and small; the trades and also agribusinesses. They remained hidden because they were passed on silently by permissive States to the society as a whole, which remained unwary, and accepted unquestioningly the extra burdens in taxes it was obliged to pay. Including indirect taxation which touches the pockets of the poor as well. Such costs are in some ways inverted losses for which expenditure of public funds is inevitable today. They are incurred in two major ways:

(i) Through extravagant or excessively wasteful use by entrepreneurs of the public utilities and services provided by the State and their disproportionate contributions towards public funds.

(ii) Through environmental abuses and their impacts of public health and amenity: such as air and water pollution, toxic substances communicated through different food chains, and a dangerous depletion of resources which seem not to suffice for the "survival needs" of burgeoning human populations, but continue being overexploited to supply an increasing multiplicity of artificially created needs.

As matters stand, such costs cannot be internalized and paid for by the entrepreneurs without sending prices soaring skywards and encouraging inflationary trends.

Education when seen within the context of the two concepts, also faces new demands. "Equal opportunities" of education, or anything else, cannot establish absolute equality. The best that can be done is to reduce the existing inequities which amount to the grossest forms of exploitation. This is not merely because people, by nature, are unequally endowed with talents but also because they show lack of desire, drive or will, to put whatever talents they possess to productive use, even for their own advancement, leave alone the advancement of society. Although to a large extent, the two are inseparably entwined. This is why both concepts imply the 'schooling' of larger numbers to a greater willingness. They imply a re-education of the educated especially, through informal means, to enable them to grasp the significance of an alternative way. Since the educated elite are the opinion leaders and trendsetters in all societies, they would include those also in government: the politicians, bureaucrats and technocrats.

It is a sign of maturity on the part of those who govern, if they clearly identify, define and limit themselves to what are properly the tasks of "governance". Conversely, it is a sign of political immaturity on the part of a government, if it continues to take on or take over what the people themselves are well able to do.

The more "thinking people" cost their minds to plumb the depths of such concepts, there is sure to be a surfacing of ever-widening circles of implications. As yet only a very few pebbles have been cast in the pool. Therefore the author could not have been expected to exhaust the whole content of Trusteeship to discover to us how it can serve to reduce existing inequities, which is all "equality" can be taken to mean. But since we are promised a second, revised edition of the book, we can look forward to his doing more and better.

D. M. KALAPESI

AN ENTREPRENEUR PAR EXCELLANCE

"The Life of a Textile Pioneer" by the late Nilkan Perumal; (Kuppuswamy Naidu Charity Trust for Education and Medical Relief : pp 104).

This is the life story of the late G. Kuppuswamy Naidu (1884 — 1942) an agriculturist turned textile magnate of Coimbatore. The author of this delightful little biography is an old guard journalist the late Mr. Nilkan Perumal who wrote the piece in 1951. The volume has been updated by the Secretary of the Trust which has published the volume on the occasion of its silver jubilee.

Elegantly got up this little book tells about a man who used his share of the family property to develop enterprises in the textile industry in South India.

Beginning early in life with a loan from his maternal uncle, Kuppuswamy Naidu, took to trading beginning with tobacco, burning his fingers in the process and passing on to the cotton trade before finding his metier in the manufacturing processes of the textile industry. Setting up a small cotton ginning factory in 1905 using a pair of oxen to pull the rollers in the gin, Kuppuswamy Naidu went on to build textile mills. Today the Laxmi group which stands as a giant group in the South is a monument to the enterprise of an entrepreneur par excellence. One suspects that he was aided by the fact that he did not have to function under a system of permits, licences and quotas!

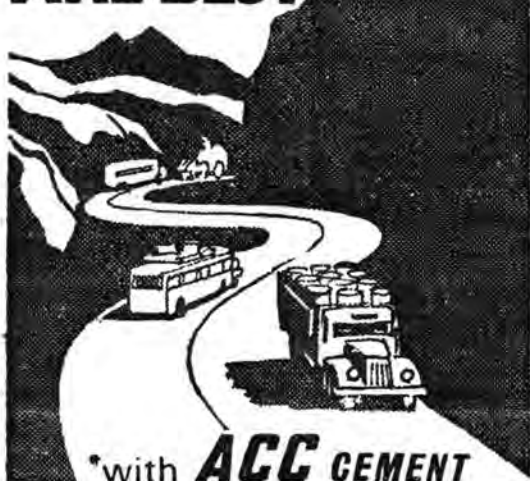
He was a philanthropist of great dimensions. A school and a hospital are among the edifices standing in Coimbatore are silent testimony to the memory of a man who, long before the phrase was invented, had a strong sense of social responsibility in business.

Among his sons (he had a daughter and four sons), Mr. G. K. Sandaram has been carrying on his father's tradition in great style, thus proving an exception to the general rule that the progeny of the illustrious are but mere shadows of their parents.

S. V. RAJU

Good Roads do most to develop the country and

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ROADS*
ARE BEST**



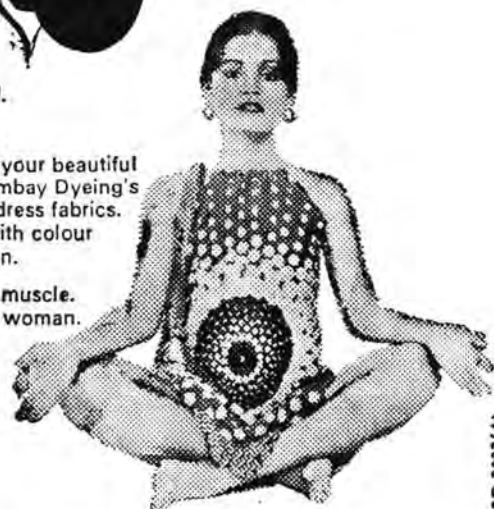
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WITH MANY VOICES

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

— Tennyson

If a consensus — a word very popular in India these days and used so often to make confusion worse confounded — were to be taken for the choice of the most disappointed and frustrated leader of India today, the No 1 choice will be Jayaprakash Narayan's.

— T. K. Menon in *Deccan Herald Weekly*, July 31.

Mr. Rajni Patel (at the House of Soviet Culture) complimented Mr. Vajpayee for reflecting the spirit of friendship for the Soviet Union that existed until the Janata Government came to power. "Mr. Vajpayee's pronouncements make us feel as though it was Jawaharlal Nehru speaking through Mr. Vajpayee."

— *Indian Express*, June 22.

The Kremlin has begun to go public with its diagnosis of President Carter as a demagogic anti-Communist who listens to God and Henry Jackson (a worse combination the Soviet mind cannot imagine).

— Strobe Talbott in *Time*, July 11.

Let us put an end to the bloodshed that is abhorrent to us, and sit down at the negotiating table in sincerity and seriousness.

— Premier Menachem Begin quoted in *Time*, July 4.

Israeli citizens are really soldiers on eleven months' leave.

— Yigael Yadin in *Time*, July 4.

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Leonid Brezhnev knows human rights as Pasteur knew diseases, from combating the spread of them.

— George F. Will in *International Herald Tribune*, July 7.

While no Prime Minister in the world told lies, our sister, the former Prime Minister, never told the truth.

— Mr. Charan Singh in the *Times of India*, July 14.

Cynics in Africa — and they are many — used to say that the only word in the title of the Organization of African Unity that the pan-African body lived up to was "of".

— Nicholas Ashford in *Times*, July 7.

Brezhnev's garage resembles the royal stables of King Louis XVI of France, and, if he doesn't watch out, he may wind up like Louis, who was guillotined.

— Radio Peking in *International Herald Tribune*, June 6.

Why did the Russian scientist cross a giraffe with a cow? So that it could graze in Poland and give milk in the Soviet Union.

— Peking *People's Daily* quoted in *Times*, June 6.

How much territory is to be traded in exchange for how much peace? May be there can at least be some territory for some peace.

— Gen. Moshe Dayan in *International Herald Tribune*, July 9, 10.

The writer of an instant book has a measure of poetic licence, and Mr. Nayar has not been modest in using it.

— *Sunday Statesman*, July 10.

To his credit, Mr Menahem Begin, Israel's new prime minister, makes no claim to speak directly for God.

— *The Economist*, July 9.

Pakistan has its politicians to blame for this week's reversion to military rule; it may yet have its generals to thank for a return to democracy.

— *The Economist*, July 9.

Electorates are not long on gratitude to governments that bring them through Armageddon. Remember 1945?

— *The Economist*, June 25.