

janata

Vol. 73 No. 14

April 29, 2018

Sachar Saheb :

**A Unique Personality
With Socialist Vision**

Prem Singh

**Is just Garlanding of
Portraits is Honoring
Ambedkar?**

Ram Puniyani

**Fixing Minimum and
Maximum Income Bars is
Vital for Equitable Society**

Shobha Shukla,
Bobby Ramakant and
Sandeep Pandey

Editor : **G.G.Parikh**

Associate Editor : **Neeraj Jain**

Managing Editor : **Guddi**

Editorial Board :

**B. Vivekanandan, Qurban Ali
Anil Nauriya, Sonal Shah
Nandu Dhaneshwar,
Sandeep Pandey**

D-15, Ganesh Prasad,
Naushir Bharucha Marg,
Mumbai - 400 007.

Email : janataweekly@gmail.com

Website: www.janataweekly.org

Impeachment: A Serious Matter

Kuldip Nayar

It is sheer arrogance. True, Chief Justice Dipak Mishra denied permission to the Allahabad High Court judge Nayaran Shukla to prosecute the Lucknow-based Prasad Education Trust, which runs a medical college. But this is not such a violation of law which should invite impeachment of the Chief Justice of India.

The Congress Party was divided but since its president Rahul Gandhi decided to move against the Chief Justice, even the balanced Kapil Sibal had to fall in line. Ashwini Kumar, another senior Congressman and an advocate, has made it clear that he was uncomfortable with the move for impeachment. Even people like former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, P. Chidambaram and Abhishek Manu Singhvi, also lawyers, did not sign the motion.

Ghulam Nabi Azad, also a senior Congress leader, was reading the impeachment motion at the behest of Rahul Gandhi in the Rajya Sabha and collected signatures of its members. It is mandatory that such a motion has to be moved in the upper house. The fact that the ruling Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) did not have a majority in the Rajya Sabha also came in handy to the Congress and

six other opposition parties.

Despite the required number of signatures, Chairman of the Rajya Sabha M. Venkaiah Naidu, originally from the BJP, rejected the motion outright. Vice President Naidu, in his 10-page note, explained the swiftness of his decision, ascribing it to the seriousness of the charges and unnecessary speculation.

“All facts as stated in the motion don't make out a case which can lead any reasonable mind to conclude that Chief Justice on these facts can be ever held guilty of misbehaviour,” said Naidu. He had apparently consulted legal and constitutional experts and took notice of the media opinion, which has vehemently criticised the impeachment move.

Union Minister Arun Jaitley has, understandably, called the impeachment notice a “revenge petition”, accusing the Congress and its friends of using as a “political tool” the impeachment notice against the Chief Justice, who retires in six months. The Constitution says the Chief Justice of India can be impeached only on grounds of proven misbehaviour or incapacity.

The opposition backed its demand listing five grounds, which, the Congress said, equals

misbehaviour. These included the assigning of sensitive cases to handpicked judges, raised publicly in January by four top judges who accused the Chief Justice of abusing his position as “master of the roster.” Subsequently, the four senior most judges also held a press conference to air their views, the trigger being the Judge B.H. Loya death case. It has since been reassigned.

This was an unprecedented move. Similarly, the impeachment proceedings have never been taken up against a Chief Justice of India. The Chairman forwards such a notice to the Rajya Sabha secretariat to verify two factors—the signatures of the members who signed the petition and whether rules and procedures have been followed. Obviously, Naidu was not convinced.

The debates of the Constituent Assembly indicate that the framers of the Constitution comprising of all political parties were very cautious in laying down the impeachment clause. The members did not want the impeachment to be taken lightly. I am sorry to say that the Congress Party has thrown all caution to the wind, which the party itself was very careful about once upon a time. Rahul Gandhi, by his behavior, has disrespected the wishes of the Congress stalwarts at that time.

But one thing is clear. The Chief Justice has, indeed, compromised his position and the stature of his office. As pointed out by the senior most four judges, he has “abused his exercise of power” in choosing to send sensitive matters to particular benches by “misusing his authority as Master of the Roster with the likely intent to influence the outcome.” In addition, the Chief Justice had acquired land when he was an advocate by giving

a false affidavit. Of course, he did surrender the land in 2012 after he was elevated to the Supreme Court. But then he took so much time to do so despite the allotment having been cancelled years earlier.

Of course, there are a few cases of High Court judges against whom impeachment moves have been made. But before the moves could be made, they themselves resigned. For instance, Justice Soumitra Sen of the Calcutta High Court avoided the ignominy of becoming the first judge to be impeached by Parliament by tendering his resignation. He did so after the Rajya Sabha had passed the motion making him the first judge to have been impeached by the Upper House for misconduct. Justice Sen was found guilty of misappropriating Rs 33.23 lakh under his custody as a court-appointed receiver in the capacity as a lawyer, and misrepresenting facts before a Calcutta court in a 1983 case.

Similarly, Justice P.D. Dinakaran, Chief Justice of the Sikkim High Court, against whom the Rajya Sabha Chairman had set up a judicial panel to look into allegations of corruption, resigned in July 2011, before impeachment proceedings could be initiated against him. Corruption, land-grab and abuse of judicial office were among the 16 charges framed against Justice Dinakaran.

Justice V. Ramaswami has the dubious distinction of being the first judge against whom impeachment proceedings were initiated. In 1993, the motion to impeach him was moved in the Lok Sabha, but it failed to secure the required two-thirds majority. Justice Ramaswami was caught in a controversy for spending extravagantly on his official

residence during his tenure as Chief Justice of Punjab and Haryana in the late 1980s. The Supreme Court Bar Association even passed a resolution calling for his impeachment.

Impeachment is a serious matter. It should never get politicised. Rahul Gandhi has done so. And, to that extent, he has weakened the judiciary. Since he heads an influential all-India party, he should be extra careful about his actions. His mother, Sonia Gandhi, may not be familiar with the intricacies of politics. But then, she should have advised his son to respect the spirit of the constitution.

Email: kuldipnayar09@gmail.com

Janata Subscription

Annual Rs. : 260/-

Three Years : 750/-

Demand Draft /

Cheque

on

Mumbai Bank

in favour of

JANATA TRUST

D-15, Ganesh Prasad,
Naushir Bharucha Marg,

Grant Road (W),
Mumbai 400 007.

Janata

is available at

www.lohiatoday.com

*Obituary***Sachar Saheb : A Unique Personality With Socialist Vision****Prem Singh**

He had forbidden us to call him 'Justice Sachar'. So I began to call him Sachar Saheb. Four days after his death, I sit down to write this tribute. The personality of Sachar Saheb was like a masterpiece, epic in its dimensions. A classic personality in this absurd period! In a tribute like this, written for the media, there is little scope to remember him in that ethereal form. It can only be an attempt to understand his thoughts, concerns, anxieties and work in a pragmatic perspective.

Sachar Saheb passed away on 20 April 2018. He would have been 95 years old this 22 December. My friend Ravikiran Jain, president PUCL, used to say with much assurance that Sachar Saheb will live to be a hundred. Considering his strong desire to live, it seemed very likely. Before the last bout of illness, he was capable enough to take care of his health on his own whenever he fell ill. But for the last three months, it seemed that he has made up his mind that it was time for the abandonment of the body. Now he will live among us through memories, thoughts and work.

Tributes to Sachar Saheb have appeared continuously after his demise in newspapers, magazines, portals and condolence meetings. In these tributes he is remembered as a capable and successful lawyer and the Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court who made unabated efforts and waged constant struggles in order to protect civil rights, human rights, constitutional and democratic

institutions and the interests of deprived and oppressed sections of the society. Sachar Saheb's name had become more well known during the last 10–12 years due to the Sachar Committee Report and its recommendations. While paying him tributes, most people—friends, colleagues and admirers—do not forget to mention and discuss this unique contribution of Sachar Saheb.

In my knowledge, hardly any written or verbal tribute to Sachar Saheb has discussed his role in contemporary political thought and political activism. (An exception to this trend is the tribute by Tanveer Fazal, published in 'The Wire'). It cannot be said that journalists and scholars are unaware of his political ideology and activism. Then, what could be the reason that associates who profusely praise his work do not mention his political affiliations? Why this omission?

Despite being seriously ill, Sachar Saheb continued to pen his views, and wrote his last article 'India Needs Draupadi and Not Savitri' only a few days before his death, which was published in the English weekly *Janata* on 1 April 2018. Just a few days prior to this article, he wrote 'No Conflict Between Hindi and State Regional Languages' on March 3. The subject matter of these two articles relate significantly to Dr. Lohia's views. Sachar Saheb's writings and work are often perceived to be rooted and inspired by Dr. Lohia's political philosophy and struggle. It would be

pertinent to mention here that in most of his articles and statements, the earlier ones as well as these last two, Sachar Saheb invariably referred to socialist leaders, Dr. Lohia in particular. His deep commitment to the cause of PUCL had its genesis in the fact that JP had established it.

Sachar Saheb became a member of Socialist Party from the time of its formation in 1948. He was also the secretary of the Delhi Pradesh unit. He played an active role in the programs organised by the party. In May 1949, while participating in a demonstration in front of the Nepali Embassy in Delhi, he was arrested along with Dr. Lohia and stayed in jail for one month and a half. In 2008–09, several senior and young socialist leaders/activists from across the country, including Sachar Saheb, held meetings in different cities for the re-establishment of the Socialist Party. Consequently, in May 2011, the Socialist Party was reinstated as Socialist Party (India) in Hyderabad. Since then, Sachar Saheb had worked tirelessly for the expansion of Socialist Party despite his senior position and age.

In sunshine, rains, storm and cold, he used to walk in the streets with the party workers and participate in demonstrations/meetings/conventions organised by the party. He used to call the workers all over the country to get information about party activities. Any party worker could meet him at home at any time without prior information. In the previous assembly elections in Delhi,

the Socialist Party had fielded a candidate from the Okhla legislative constituency. Sachar Saheb's house falls in the same area. He addressed street meetings for the candidate and distributed pamphlets walking through crowded streets. During my candidature from East Delhi, he was active throughout, from filing of nomination to the last day of the election campaign. In politics like life, Sachar Saheb was trustful and a believer. However, many, including socialists, with whom he interacted were not always trustworthy. Like Kishan Patnaik, he also had a naive belief that the NGO people can be a part of transformative politics!

Sachar Saheb had immense faith in socialism, secularism, democracy, civil rights, individual freedom and the non-violent mode of protest against injustice. Behind Sachar Saheb's multi-faceted role was his deep faith in democratic socialism and socialist vision. The report and recommendations of the Sachar Committee should also be understood from this perspective. Without considering this perspective of his life, there is no meaning in praising his personality.

What then is the reason that many journalists and scholars who pay homage to his memory forget to mention the shade of his political inclination? The main reason for this omission appears to be that Sachar Saheb was against the neo-liberal policies being implemented in the country by successive governments for the last nearly three decades now. There is almost a general consensus in the civil society regarding these policies. The Socialist Party (India), of which Sachar Saheb was a founding member, has repeatedly stated through its policy document and resolutions that if the public sector

is destroyed for establishment of the private sector then the constitutional and democratic institutions too will be destroyed. Secularism and democracy cannot be saved by abandoning the value of socialism contained in the Constitution. Blind adherence to neo-liberal policies promotes communalism, superstitions and idiocy on the one hand, whereas on the other hand it promotes blind nationalism. This understanding and analysis of the Socialist Party is inconvenient for most secular intellectuals and leaders. They take leave of their own responsibility by merely placing the blame on the RSS for 'fascism'. In

doing so they free the neo-liberalist/neo-imperialist forces to wreak havoc on the working masses of the country.

First Bhai, and now Sachar Saheb. Within a fortnight, two stalwarts of socialism have passed away. This is not the loss of the Socialist Party only. It is an irreparable loss to the politics of values instilled and nurtured from the freedom movement, the Constitution of India and the socialist movement. 'The struggle will continue!' With this resolution the Socialist Party salutes its revolutionary leader.

Email: drpremsingh8@gmail.com

Is just Garlanding of Portraits is Honoring Ambedkar?

Ram Puniyani

This 14th April the 127th birth anniversary of Bhimrao Ambedkar was marked by heightened celebrations of the occasion by most political formations, but more so by BJP. Prime Minister Modi while paying tributes to Babasaheb said that the Congress was against Ambedkar, that his government has given him the honor due to him, and that no government has honored Babasaheb as much as the current regime!

In this game of appropriating Ambedkar, the BJP is operating on multiple grounds. One is the propaganda that the Congress was opposed to him; two is that it is the BJP which is honoring him by introducing an app like BHIM in his name or dining with dalits in

their households. It is true that in posturing to honor Ambedkar, the BJP is dominating the scene, but are BJP's policies really upholding what Babasaheb stood for? What does respect mean—mere posturing or valuing his political and social contributions?

The fact is that Ambedkar's world view and philosophy stood totally against what BJP stands for. BJP can speak with a forked tongue with great amount of expertise. When it says that the Congress was opposed to Ambedkar, nothing can be farther from truth. We know that Ambedkar's struggles for breaking the shackles of the caste system were a major influence on Mahatma Gandhi which led him to launch his anti-untouchability struggles, which

was a real way to honour Ambedkar. Though he was not member of the Congress, Ambedkar was invited to become a member of Nehru's Cabinet with the important portfolio of law. It was Congress which took his concerns seriously and he was made the Chairman of drafting committee of Constituent Assembly. Not only that, social reforms were uppermost in the minds of Nehru-Congress, because of which Nehru asked Ambedkar to draft the Hindu Code bill, which was opposed by BJP's parent organisation to the core.

How do we assess the BJP attitude to Ambedkar? First, we need to recognise that though the BJP was formed only in 1980, its roots lie in its predecessor, the Bhartiya Jan Sangh (1952), and the parent organization of both is the RSS (1925), whose ideology of Hindu nationalism controls its politics. At all crucial occasions, the RSS opposed Ambedkar ideologically. With regard to the Indian Constitution, when the draft of the Constitution was presented to the Constituent Assembly, the RSS mouth piece *Organiser* (November 30, 1949) wrote: "There is no trace of ancient Bharatiya constitutional laws, institutions, nomenclature and phraseology in it . . . there is no mention of the unique constitutional developments in ancient Bharat. Manu's laws were written long before Lycurgus of Sparta or Solon of Persia. To this day his laws as enunciated in the *Manusmriti* excite the admiration of the world and elicit spontaneous obedience and conformity among Hindus in India. But to our constitutional pundits that means nothing."

The RSS took out its worst aggression against Ambedkar when

he presented the Hindu Code bill. The RSS Chief M.S. Golwalkar came down scathingly on it. In a speech of August 1949, he said that the reforms piloted by Ambedkar "has nothing Bharatiya about it. The questions like those of marriage and divorce cannot be settled on the American or British model in this country. Marriage according to Hindu culture and law is a sanskar which cannot be changed even after death and not a 'contract' which can be broken any time." Golwalkar continued: "Of course some lower castes in Hindu Society in some parts of the country recognise and practice divorce by custom. But their practice cannot be treated as an ideal to be followed by all." (*Organiser*, September 6, 1949).

The BJP came to power in 1998 at the head of a coalition, the NDA. One of its important Cabinet ministers was Arun Shourie, who has written a most scathing criticism denouncing Ambedkar. Even while the current dispensation is garlanding his portraits and photographs, BJP minister Anantkrishna Hegde openly declares that the BJP has come to power to change the Constitution. While Ambedkar was deeply wedded to secularism and equality, the UP Chief Minister Adityanath Yogi declares that secularism is the biggest lie of independent India. The strategy of BJP is to pay lip service to Babasaheb and at the same time to erode his principles regarding caste and gender equality, his principles as made explicit through his burning of Manu Smriti, the book which RSS ideologues have been upholding.

Ambedkar was for annihilation of caste, as he saw this as the major obstacle to social justice. In contrast, RSS ideology talks of

harmony between castes; this also gets manifested in RSS work among dalits through the Samajik Samrasta Manch.

At another level Lord Ram has been the central figure in their political mobilisation. Had BJP family really been respecting Ambedkar, would they have made Lord Ram the central symbol of their politics? The Ram temple issue has been used by BJP to strengthen itself. UP Chief Minister has announced a huge statue of the Lord in Ayodhya. Lately Ram Navami is being promoted all over the country, on the occasion of which armed youth take out processions particularly in Muslim localities. What had Ambedkar to say about Lord Ram? In his book *Riddles of Hinduism*, Ambedkar is critical of Lord Ram, pointing out that the Lord kills Shambuk, a low caste boy who is doing penance, and also kills King Bali from behind his back. Ambedkar's reserves his strongest criticism of the Lord for banishing his pregnant wife Sita and not enquiring about his sons or wife for long years!

Respecting *Ambedkar* is not just garlanding him, respecting him has to begin with upholding his critique of *Manusmriti*, respecting the values of Indian Constitution and dedicatedly working for secularism and social justice, which were his central concerns. BJP's policies have strengthened anti-Dalit biases and violence, which has become more overt during the last few years. In contrast, Gandhi-Nehru-Congress valued Ambedkar's concerns, despite having different political affiliations.

Email: ram.puniyani@gmail.com

Fixing Minimum and Maximum Income Bars is Vital for Equitable Society

Shobha Shukla, Bobby Ramakant and Sandeep Pandey

Government doctors (and other employees) demanding salary hike is common news. Succumbing to the temptation of greener pastures, government doctors moving to private hospitals in the country or migrating abroad is also fairly common. But what is turning heads around is the news of Canadian doctors declining a salary hike! Amazing as it may sound, over a thousand doctors protested against a recent decision of the Canadian government to increase their salaries. This story has affirmed the faith of humanity in the concept that medical practitioners, more than other professionals, will give precedence to service over their careers.

Over 850 doctors and 150 junior doctors (who are pursuing post graduation studies or seeking advanced super speciality training) in Quebec province of Canada have declined to accept a salary hike, saying that they cannot, in “good conscience”, accept increase in salary when nurses, other healthcare staff and patients are facing hardships due to cuts in health budget. These doctors believe that only stronger public health systems can deliver health security to all. When public health systems are reeling under resource crunch, how can raising the salaries of doctors be justified? If nurses and other healthcare staff are forced to work in stressful and challenging conditions, and lifesaving healthcare services slip beyond the reach of people,

then how will the tall promises of health security and universal health coverage be delivered? These doctors have appealed that instead of raising their salaries, government should utilise these resources in strengthening the public health system, so that nurses and other healthcare staff can work in better and secure conditions and healthcare services are within the reach of all those in need, especially the most deprived or terminally ill.

Canadian doctors have raised an important issue that plagues not only the health sector but other sectors as well. Why do only salaries of the top echelon remain immune to budget cuts, whereas all other employees and common people suffer when purse strings tighten? In India too we can see this trend where not just the salaries of senior officials keep rising, but their retirement benefits get better too—and that too retrospectively most of the times. On the other hand, those working in lower positions as contractual and daily wage workers are not on the radar of Pay Commissions. Many a times, contractual workers do not even have the guarantee that they will get paid for the work already done by them. On 11 January 2018, the Lucknow District administration bulldozed on-campus-temporary-settlements of sanitation staff, ward-boys, ward-maidens, drivers and attendants, all working as contract labourers for the state government's Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital in Gomti Nagar. They were 'accused'

of encroaching upon government land, whereas it should have been the responsibility of the government or the contractor to provide housing to staff working for a government hospital.

There are doctors in India too who have been dedicatedly delivering healthcare service. For instance, Christian Medical College (CMC) Vellore in Tamil Nadu, which ranks second (first being the All India Institute of Medical Sciences-AIIMS, in Delhi) in the entire country in terms of quality of medical education and hospital services, has very modest salaries for its doctors. Senior doctors, other staff and students routinely use public transport. Despite the summer heat of Tamil Nadu, the office of its Director doesn't have an air conditioner, but all such and other facilities are available for patients. Despite modest remuneration and resources, CMC doctors have accomplished significant achievements over the years, be it organ transplants, diagnosing the first HIV case in the country, responding to people's health challenges such as snake bites and insecticide poisoning, disease mapping, or setting standards for evidence-based healthcare. After AIIMS, maximum outdoor patients seek healthcare services at CMC Vellore. It is also the only medical college and hospital in India that has, since several decades, been compulsorily sending its doctors, faculty and students every year, to serve in rural and remote areas.

Now other health-care institutions are trying to follow its example or pondering over such policies. CMC has been rendering invaluable service to strengthen healthcare in the most remote areas of the country. Contrary to this, there are several medical colleges where salaries of doctors are higher by several times, but medical competence, research and education is often of questionable quality. Hence it is not difficult to conclude that there is no direct relationship between remuneration and innovation, medical competence, research and education.

There are several more examples where doctors at individual levels have served humankind with deepest commitment. Some exemplary mentions include the two sons and daughters-in-law of Baba Amte—Vikas, Prakash, Bharati and Mandakini, son and daughter-in-law of noted Gandhian thinker Thakurdas Bang—Abhay and Rani Bang, and doctors working in the hospital established in Dalli Rajhara, Chhattisgarh by the late trade union leader Shankar Guha Niyogi. These are few inspiring examples of medical professionals who chose not to settle in big cities to make money and careers, but instead went to villages to serve leprosy patients and tribals and devoted their entire life to this mission of caring for the most disadvantaged.

Why is it so important to fix maximum income cap?

If we truly want a world where no human being is forced to suffer inhuman treatment, then it is critically important to fix both minimum and maximum incomes in a society. Renowned socialist leader Dr Ram Manohar Lohia

had advocated a ratio of 1:10 between the lowest and highest incomes. An unbridled income gap brews inequality, exploitation, imbalance, injustice and unrest in society. A report released by Oxfam, around the time of the recent World Economic Forum, showed that in 2017, 1% richest people owned 82% of the global wealth. This report also showed that in India, 1% richest people owned 58% of the nation's wealth in 2016, and in 2017 this inequality worsened with 1% cornering 73% of the wealth generated that year. How can we expect harmony in society if only a small percentage of our population enjoys the highest quality of healthcare, education, lifestyles, while the vast majority of our population is forced to live with appallingly poor quality of healthcare, education, and is deprived of other most basic amenities. Most people in India have to compromise with their dignity in their lives.

If we are truly patriotic, then at least we should live the core values enshrined in India's Constitution. The word 'socialism' is enshrined in our Constitution's preamble to ensure social and economic equality in society, and it is the solemn duty of our elected governments to stop wealth from accumulating in the hands of a miniscule minority of super rich only and ensure that every person has access to dignified quality of life.

Mahatma Gandhi's wise words assume relevance here that there are enough resources in this world to meet every person's needs, but not enough for even one person's greed.

Politician Varun Gandhi had said in January 2018 that financially well-to-do parliamentarians should not take salary from the government.

We do hope Varun Gandhi himself is following his own sane advice, but the message is clear—every person receiving salary from the government must review if s(he) needs the salary? It is common knowledge that employees in donor funded NGOs and other development agencies often receive salaries more than those in the services sector. People in government and private sectors must not get salaries that falsify ideologies they claim to champion!

A private hospital is recently reported to have reaped a profit of 1700% on consumables. Government of India had acknowledged health sector as fastest growing 'industry' in the draft of National Health Policy 2017. The number of private medical colleges has surpassed the number of government medical colleges. This is indeed alarming because private medical colleges usually charge hefty fees from students. Only those people should come forward to become doctors who are driven by a sense of service to providing healthcare to needy. Those people who eye healthcare service as an industry to reap profits should not have any place in public health system. There are so many doctors who have commercialised healthcare and provide paid services to reduce obesity, grow back receding hairlines or spur sex desire. This is clearly not public health.

Is Government of India's National Health Policy 2017 a mere gimmick?

Government of India had issued a National Health Policy 2017 which contains several promises that are in line with India's commitment at global level towards health and sustainable development.

All countries have pledged to end tuberculosis by 2030. It is commendable that India, despite being home to highest burden of TB globally, has promised to end TB by 2025. But according to the World Health Organization (WHO) reports, TB rates are not declining in India steeply enough so as to end TB by 2025. At the current rate, India might get rid of TB by 2184. Also, it is important to recognise that scientific evidence shows strong linkages between TB and other development indices. The former Head of Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) Dr Soumya Swaminathan has said that malnutrition is the biggest risk factor for TB. Likewise there are several other health and development indices that cross-connect and justify the argument that equitable development is vital to make this world a better place and people healthy. If we fail to ensure development justice for every single person, especially the most marginalised, then we will also fail to deliver on our tall claims to end TB, hunger, and poverty, or save the environment.

The National Health Policy 2017 of India as well as our country's commitment to UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) promise reduction of untimely deaths due to non-communicable diseases (NCDs) by 25% till 2025 and 33% by 2030. But a major chunk of disease burden that impacts the vast majority of our population is of preventable diseases. For example, the biggest cause of death of children under 5 years of age is pneumonia, which is not only preventable but also curable. But still the maximum number of children who die of pneumonia globally are in India. Major NCDs such as cardiovascular

diseases, cancers, diabetes, chronic respiratory diseases, etc., account for 70% of deaths. Risk of NCDs can be significantly reduced through measures like reducing tobacco and alcohol use, reducing air pollution and encouraging balanced nutritious diets as well as physical activity. While on the one hand, the government allows alcohol and tobacco industries to wreak havoc on our society, on the other hand, the government is blindly chasing a 'development model' where a growing part of our population is finding it difficult to breathe in clean air, include optimal physical activity or exercise in its daily routine, eat nutritious balanced diet, etc. It is ironical that the number of gyms for physical exercises is on a rise for the rich, but this kind of 'development model' is depriving common people of safe spaces to walk, cycle, run or have access to comfortable free public transport or to simply be able to breathe in clean air. It is a matter of shame for the largest democracy on earth that such a large number of its people are forced to live in inhuman conditions.

Canadian doctors have indeed shown a silver lining for those who believe in a strong public health system. Other doctors and people from all sectors should emulate them, be inspired by their conscience and agree to share resources equitably with all.

All those who receive government salaries must be treated in government hospitals

Recently Justice Sudhir Agarwal and Justice Ajeet Kumar of Allahabad High Court in UP have delivered a judgment that all those who receive salaries from government must seek healthcare

from government hospitals only and no special treatment should be provided to senior officials or ministers—they should also get treated like common citizens. If this happens, then the dismal conditions prevailing in government hospitals will radically improve which in turn will benefit the common masses.

India is one among more than 190 countries that have promised in the UN General Assembly to deliver on Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. We believe that without establishing a just social order, sustainable development, where no one is left behind, will continue to remain a mirage.

**Email: shobha@citizen-news.org
bobbyramakant@yahoo.com
ashaashram@yahoo.com**

Letter to the Editor

Respected Kuldip Nayar wrote an article published in your weekly Janata on 25 March 2018 under the heading Rahul in New Avatar? In the third paragraph of his article, he stated that "Rahul Gandhi is not that young. At 48, he is the youngest President of the Congress so far." But I would like to remind him that in 1938, Subhash Chandra Bose was unanimously elected President. Bose was then only 41 years old. Subhash Chandra Bose was born on 23 January 1897. So it is not Rahul who is the youngest President but Subhash Chandra Bose is perhaps the youngest President of Congress so far.

*With Regards,
Dipankar Ghosh*

Remembering Justice Sachar

In Justice Sachar's demise, the nation has lost one of the last representatives of the generation that carried forward the socialist vision from the freedom movement for post-independence India. He would be remembered for his uncompromising commitment to building a secular, just, democratic society where civil liberties and democratic rights of all sections of society, particularly the oppressed castes and classes and women and the disabled, are protected as per the Constitutional mandate.

For All India Forum for Right to Education (AIFRTE), Justice Sachar has a special significance since he stood firmly with the vision of Free and Equitable Common Education System from 'KG to PG' and resisted the prevailing policies of privatisation and commercialisation of education. He raised the moral stature of our 'March to Parliament' in February 2010 and led AIFRTE's resistance in December 2015 to WTO-GATS being given a license to convert India's higher education into a tradable commodity in the

global market.

The Justice Sachar Committee Report (GoI, 2006) is probably the only official document that establishes how majority of the Muslims of India have been left behind in socio-economic development. As per the report, this disparate development of the Muslim masses is the primary cause of their unacceptably low representation in legislature, judiciary and executive and also in various services, including administration, police, armed forces and educational institutions. It marked a paradigm shift through the introduction of the concept of 'socio-religious community' ('SRC'), which recognised the heterogeneity within Muslim community as the most important social phenomenon for policy formulation. Thus, in recognising that the vast sections of the Muslims are socio-economically equivalent to the Scheduled Castes and OBCs, the Justice Sachar Committee Report provided an insightful sociological tool to transform the destiny of the Muslim citizens in nation-

building. Further, if implemented, its recommendation that all public institutions should maintain a 'diversity index' of recruitment, admission and participation and that the same should be linked with the funding criteria would have democratised entire public life, not only for Muslims, but for the entire society. His demise has offered a historic opportunity to all of India's citizens having conviction in the Constitutional values to reflect upon the report's far-reaching insights and resolve to raise the consciousness of the people to persuade the ruling dispensation to implement the report in letter and spirit. The All India Forum for Right to Education (AIFRTE) and its 75 member-organisations in 22 states salute Justice Sachar's relentless pursuit for protecting the democratic, just, egalitarian, socialist and plural vision of Indian society.

- All India Forum for Right to
Education (AIFRTE)

Violent Porn and the Debate on Sexual Violence Against Women and Children

Bharat Dogra

In recent times the rapid increase in sexual violence against women and children has become one of the most worrying and shameful trends in India's society. Several factors are important for this trend. One of these is the proliferation of pornography, particularly violent pornography.

Several studies in various parts

of the world have established a close link between pornography and sexual violence against women and children.

'When watching a pornographic video, did you also want to do the same thing?' This was the straightforward question which was put to persons accused of rape

and indecent assault in a nationwide survey in Japan.

The results surprised many people. As many as 33 per cent of the respondents answered in the affirmative.

When the survey results were classified according to age of respondents, it was found that

among juvenile respondents as many as 50 per cent had answered in the affirmative.

This survey had taken place in Japan at a time (in 1997–98) when concern about the correlation between proliferation of pornography and increase in sexual crimes against women and children was already growing on the basis of national crime data.

Until the middle of the 1980s, that is, before the boom in porn videos in this country, all violent crimes including sexual crimes were declining. As the spread of porn videos increased, initially the declining trend of sexual crimes weakened and then, in the 1990s, with the porn spread continuing to rise, sexual crimes started increasing instead of decreasing, even though other violent crimes continued to decrease.

However several men disagree with the results of such studies. They say that they have been comfortable with the consumption of porn for several years, have not felt any inclination for real-life forced sex. What this view ignores is that various persons can be affected in very different ways. In a big city in which about half a million men are exposed to porn, if just 10 per cent are driven towards sexual violence to a lesser or greater extent by this exposure to porn, we have a frightful situation where the susceptibility of fifty thousand males for sexual violence and forced sex is increasing.

Secondly, even those who say that they feel no such instigation at all after regular exposure to porn for years may yet be influenced in other undesirable ways; for example they may have an increasing tendency to look towards women as sexual commodities and this may impact

their social interactions in very harmful ways.

To return to the Japanese study, commenting on its data, Seiya Morita, a teacher at Tokyo Metropolitan College, has written, “ Only the most bigoted person can believe that sexual crimes are unrelated to the spread of pornographic videos which eroticise any and all sexual crimes (rape, gang rape, sexual harassment, molestation, sneak shot, confinement of women, etc.) and make them entertainment for men.”

Writing in a paper titled ‘Pornography, prostitution and women’s human rights in Japan’, he has also pointed towards a lot of anecdotal evidence regarding very violent sexual crimes being related to excessive porn consumption. More specifically he says that the criminals who video-recorded their rape scenes were in most cases strongly influenced by violent pornography; indeed a lot of pornographic videos were seized from their homes.

Such anecdotal reports have been appearing in India’s media also from time to time, but unlike in the case of Japan where this led to a well-organised national survey, no comparable attempt appears to have been made in India to collect more reliable data at a national level.

According to several reports appearing recently, video clips of real life rapes and molestations are being sold in several cities in India. While one such clip may be sold for Rs 100 or so, street children are charged as much as Rs 10 to 30 for just one view. There is a lot of money in this, and some sellers are known to tell buyers on the sly that they may recognise a familiar female face in the video.

This has led to a cycle of violent porn. First, some impressionable

persons are instigated to commit rape and molestation while also making videos of their victims. Then, in the second stage, clips of this are sold in the market, unfortunately creating infamy for the victim rather than for the culprits.

In India, porn dealing with children and with incest has proved the most harmful, judging from the spurt of such reported cases in recent times.

Researcher Susan S. Cole has written, “In spite of hopes to the contrary, pornography and mass culture are working to confuse sexuality with rape, reinforcing the patterns of male dominance and female submissions so that many young people believe this is simply the way sex is. This means that many of the rapists of the future will believe they are behaving within socially accepted norms.”

Email: bharatdogra1956@gmail.com

Spectre of Fascism

Contribution Rs. 20/-

Published by

Janata Trust & Lokayat

D-15, Ganesh Prasad,

Naushir Bharucha Marg,

Grant Road (W), Mumbai 400 007

The Unemployment Crisis:

Reasons and Solutions

Contribution Rs. 25/-

Published by

Janata Trust & Lokayat

D-15, Ganesh Prasad,

Naushir Bharucha Marg,

Grant Road (W), Mumbai 400 007

India Needs More Personalities Like Justice Sachar

Ashish Joshi

India will miss Justice Rajinder Sachar. He was a person who spoke his mind on issues that were and are still integral to the idea of India.

I came to know about Justice Sachar on December 6, 2006, when I joined the Ministry of Minority Affairs under the Central government. On my joining the ministry, I was handed the report of a high-level committee on the social, economic and educational status of the Muslim community in India. My job was to cull out the report's recommendations. The report, since, has popularly come to be known as the 'Sachar report', taking after Justice Sachar, who was the committee's chairperson. This landmark report brought to fore the economic and educational backwardness of the largest minority community in India.

The report bears the well-defined imprint of the thoughts of Justice Sachar and his approach in dealing with the Muslim question. One of the primary concepts defining the report is encapsulated in the following statement: "In any country, the faith and confidence of the minorities in the functioning of the State in an impartial manner is an acid test of its being a just State."

The last time I met Justice Sachar was at a function organised by the Institute of Objective Studies at the Jamia Millia Islamia. It was in the month of January, in 2015. He was at the function to release a research report titled 'Access to Urban Basic Services in the Muslim Localities of Delhi'.

Justice Sachar was not pleased that the committee's recommendation on an Equal Opportunity Commission (EOC) had still not been implemented. I told him that we, in the ministry, had done our bit and submitted a draft cabinet note in 2008. The need for an EOC has been succinctly summarised in the following ideas:

Equality is a foundational value of our Republic. This is secured by the Constitution through Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy and is widely shared in public life. Yet stark inequalities mark our social reality for the present generation and prospects of the future generations. Worse, these inequalities often coincide with boundaries of social groups and communities making inter-group inequalities more visible than before. Hence there is a need to address inequalities and supplement the existing policies of reservations by fine tuning the definition of the beneficiaries, expanding the range of modalities and evolving a forward looking and integral approach to affirmative action.

The Sachar committee's recommendation for setting up an EOC for citizens was truly unique in its effort to address the range of inequalities affecting the lives of Muslims. Justice Sachar stressed that equality of opportunity may or may not lead to equality of outcomes. But the concept in itself suggests the

need for a level playing field and fair competition which some participants will successfully get through, even if some others do not.

Equality of opportunity, in principle, is compatible with inequality of outcomes, in offering an equal chance to be unequal. Lessons from the functioning of the EOC and other similar organisations in other countries demonstrate the utility of having such an institution in place. Especially if such an institution is tailored to the specific socio-economic, judicial and institutional context of the country in which it functions.

During his long and diverse career, Justice Sachar had earned the reputation of being a staunch champion of human rights. He took a stand and spoke out against innumerable cases of human right violations.

Human rights activist and former journalist John Dayal who knew Justice Sachar well had this to say on my request to share his thoughts about the rights activist:

For most of us whose call are in civil society or call ourselves human rights activists, Rajinder Sachar was a mentor; a pathfinder and a technical expert whose grasp of the forensic law and social processes helped bring a grip on developments that put a stress on democracy and secularism. He held both very dear, having seen the Partition at close quarters.

Dayal observed that though

most of India remembers him for the eponymous Sachar report—he must be the most recognisable name in the community after Maulana Azad and Jawaharlal Nehru—“Justice Sachar’s forte was challenging the threat to democratic processes. He showed the way in the emergency. As he showed the way often as a leading counsel of the People’s Union for Civil Rights in scores of enquiries, people’s tribunals and field studies.” Dayal said that he had known Sachar since the days of Emergency. “I remember his possibly last act of kindness to me—a set of photocopies he got made from his collection of the works of Vivekananda in which the great sage had denounced narrow mindedness and communalism. I salute the memory of a giant, brave beyond his short, slim sherwani clad persona who shunned the limelight.”

Justice Sachar was worried about the declining standards of public discourse. He believed that political discourse and debate must take place within a framework of basic decorum and decency. There could be banter and competitive digs by rival political parties challenging each other. But the political class must steer clear of the temptation of levelling fake charges at each other. To substantiate his argument, Justice Sachar often mentioned this incident of banter between British politicians William Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli. Both politicians of great skills, Disraeli once said of his rival, “If Gladstone fell in the Thames, that would be a misfortune. But if someone fished him out again, that would be a calamity.”

Justice Sachar would also cite examples of the uneven relationship between Nehru and Ram Manohar

Lohia. It’s well known that after coming back from Germany, Lohia worked in the central Congress office alongside Nehru, who was then president of the Congress party. Lohia was Nehru’s most bitter opponent at the time the Socialist Party quit Congress in 1946. But their personal relations never changed. When Lohia was arrested in 1949 for being part of a protest, Nehru sent him a basket of mangoes in jail. The gesture so annoyed Sardar Patel that he wrote to Nehru that while the government had arrested Lohia, Nehru was sending him mangoes. Nehru politely reminded Patel that politicians should not mix personal relations with politics.

Prominent among the judges who were critical of the Emergency, Justice Sachar called the dictatorial censorship a “permanent scar on the soul of India,” adding that “the highest judiciary’s role in the perpetuation of the emergency remains a blot”. As punishment for his defiance, he was transferred from Sikkim to Rajasthan.

Justice Sachar was clear about the role of judiciary in a democracy. In one of his articles, he wrote:

Wherever there is a written Constitution, the Supreme law is the law of the Constitution and for even the Parliament to accept that its powers are limited by the written Constitution is not in any manner to derogate from its sovereignty but only to accept that its sovereignty like the sovereignty of the executive and the judiciary is limited by the written Constitution. In India we have had the established principle that King, though an absolute sovereign must yet

function within Dharma, which is another way of proclaiming the principle of the supremacy of law.

A firm adherent of the principles that he believed in, Justice Sachar was acutely aware that it is only at our own peril that we abandon the core constitutional values of liberty, equality, fraternity, secularism, rule of law and justice. The very embodiment of what we imagine the rule of law to be, Justice Sachar was the perfect combination of intellect, integrity, humanity and humility.

India needs more personalities like Justice Sachar.

Courtesy: The Wire

Footprints of A Crusader (The Life Story of Mrunal Gore)

by
Rohini Gawankar

Published by
Kamalakar Subhedar

Secretary,
Samata Shikshan Sanstha,
Pareira Wadi,
Mohili Village,
Sakinaka, Ghatkopar (W),
Mumbai 400 072.
Mobile : 9820092255
Contribution : Rs. 300+

Asifa's Just Killers!

Prem Singh

The cry seeking justice for Asifa is becoming stronger and deeper. From Delhi to the United Nations, from social and civil rights organisations to civil society citizens, more and more people are out on the streets shouting slogans and demanding justice for Asifa. The social media is parading her pictures, right from happier times to the horrifying end; protesters unfurl their respective banners and flags, and suggest varying degrees of punishment. From Kathua to Delhi, and in many other cities in the country, protest marches and candle light vigils are being carried out for Asifa. Children are also joining and participating in the protests in large numbers. A woman officer in Delhi government has gone on a hunger strike on the issue of women's security. She says that if Modi can carry out demonetisation in one day, why can't he show similar promptness in ensuring women's safety? Beside the furore in the social media which is deluged with messages for justice for Asifa, newspaper columnists and intellectuals too are writing angry letters and articles demanding justice for Asifa. The gruesome news has shocked the international media too. The anger against the rape in Unnao had not yet subsided when this incident of kidnapping, rape and murder in Jammu and Kashmir shook every conscience.

Asifa, whose innocent life was snuffed out by this act of barbarianism, did not know that there exists a real judicial system in the country, where great law-givers

and judges and lawyers dispense justice on the basis of witnesses and evidences. She did not know about the United Nations Organisation (UNO), which also works to ensure justice for the citizens of the world. Asifa did not know that governments mete out justice equivalent to specific sums of money handed out to the parents of young girls like herself who are killed with such gruesome violence. Asifa did not even know that fascism has arrived in the country, and that concerned people will later rue the fact that her fate was the result of that fascism, and that true justice for her means defeating those fascist forces. She perhaps wouldn't have even dreamt that she was being administered 'Hindu justice' in that temple. Asifa might have been ignorant about the tricolor that was hoisted by those nationalists who, in support of the accused, marched from the courts to the streets, brandishing their love for their country.

God knows how well Asifa registered the simple fact that she was a Muslim. But she certainly did discover in her eight-year old life that hell is not a place in another world, it is right here, on this earth—on a territory touted internationally as a paradise on earth. Before leaving the world, she also learnt that Satan is not just the adversary of God, he also mauls tender limbed children. What more justice will she hope for God to give her on the day of judgment?

If there is such a thing as soul or spirit, Asifa must surely be wondering now, in absolute amazement, as to why only after

her tortured end have so many people and so many organisations suddenly become active and jumped to her defense. Talib Hussain, the lone lawyer from her native village who protested against the horrific act when her kidnapping and death first came to light, may not appear so alone to her now. As a part of the infinite soul, Asifa would marvel at how huge this country and the entire world is, how much full of debates and arguments, beset with beliefs and questions, riddled with attacks and counterattacks.

She would completely understand why this world will not give her justice. Whatever justice is there in this system—social justice, economic justice, civil justice, human justice and child/juvenile justice—she has been kept away from them all. Which is why it was so easy for her entire being to be thus trampled and crushed. She would understand that this passionate furore over justice for her would soon get cold. Another furore will swell and ebb with the next incident. She would understand, like other souls, that this swelling and ebbing is an everlasting process.

Asifa must be wondering why do these people pretend so much? What compels them to do so? But perhaps, it may be that they are genuinely disturbed. They are truly concerned. They want to usurp the entire share of Asifas and appear 'just' themselves. They want to tell themselves and the world that they are not party to this savage mindset. They want to demonstrate that none of this is happening in their names.

Souls perhaps have no hatred for anyone. So Asifa would smile and say “Just killers”!

Just three suggestions, if you deem them fit, towards the fight for justice for Asifa. One, the national flag should not be used to support just any purpose. It should be used only for national programs. The 2014 decision of the Supreme Court, which allowed anyone, at any time and for any reason, the right to hoist the national flag, should be revoked. Two, we learn to quiet down, and have more introspective, inner conversations with ourselves. Perhaps then we might understand that we all are complicit and responsible in various ways for this situation. Three, the RSS should understand that the Pandora's box of ‘Hindutva’ that they've opened has no use for society, nation, civilisation or human race—none at all. The nation's politics, economy, education, culture—all have been taken over by corporations. Any organisation feeding on corporate powers can rise to power. But as long as human civilisation survives, social and human ostracisation, such as the kind that the RSS advocates, will continue to find stiff opposition.

Asifa's soul might find solace in this hope, and her parents and siblings might find the strength to bear the trauma. And for the rest of the country's citizens, the government and juridical system will do something, to calm down the agitation. They have to justify their existence. Two resignations of BJP ministers have been tendered in the Jammu and Kashmir government. Some court procedure or the other too will happen in time.

Email: drpremsingh8@gmail.com

The Sachar Saheb I Knew

Tanweer Fazal

Justice Rajindar Sachar passed away on Friday. He was 94, so one could say that it was a life well lived, and that everything is eventually perishable in this world. What could be better than to be able to live by your ideals, and when you die, to have a ring of admirers to remember you. These words of consolation, of solace, do provide succour to the bereaved. Yet, there is a void that Sachar saheb leaves. This sense of emptiness is compounded by the times we live in, when the values of trust and conviction are plummeting, both in public and in private spheres. Sachar saheb in his small frame was far more towering when it came to living by the principles he cherished. And yet, he would rarely impose them on others.

Obituaries are difficult to write, especially of those who have moved you, influenced you, perhaps which is why you try to run away from attributing mortality to them. Obituaries are also a closure, an acceptance that ultimately the swan has flown away, alone. I have attempted to write tributes earlier, too, when one of the tallest communist leaders of the Naxalite movement passed away; when our leader at Jawaharlal Nehru University was killed by Shahabuddin's (an RJD leader) gunmen in Siwan in Bihar; when a friend much younger than me died of heart failure. Never could I proceed beyond a few sentences. Similarly, it is difficult to write about Sachar saheb too. But, perhaps I have matured now.

My close association with

Sachar saheb began in the Prime Minister's High Level Committee (set up in 2005 to prepare a report on the social, economic, and educational conditions of the Muslim community of India), where I was a researcher, and he, the chairperson. Whether it was the politics that we shared or his interest in the subject that I was researching for the committee or a combination of both, I was summoned far more frequently than my colleagues to his chamber. He would seek my opinion on the interpretation of tables that were furnished to him by the research team, but more than that, our discussion would be about a range of issues: history, the horrors of Partition, state of politics and also religion. As it turned out, most often I chose to be an avid listener, given the depth of his knowledge on these subjects. Those concerns were so close to his heart, and he spoke with such passion that he would often lapse into Punjabi, forgetting that a Bihari was sitting in front of him.

The committee toured the length and breadth of the country, and on his direction, closed door meetings with bureaucrats, police officers, ministers and chief ministers would invariably be complemented with public hearings. People travelled from remote towns and districts to share their grievances with the committee. There were special sessions with women representatives, NGO workers and community leaders. These were learning occasions for all of us, when official truths, carefully calibrated data and

the ‘glories’ of governments would be confronted by the reality and its perception on the ground. Sachar saheb ensured that the dignity of the ordinary person never diminished in the meetings in which high officials of the government were also present.

For me, there was a lesson to be learnt as to how one should conduct oneself while holding a responsible position and a high public office. Despite the insistence of the host governments, Sachar saheb never agreed to have a red beacon on his vehicle, a status pronouncement that very few would decline. A standing instruction from the committee was that the chairperson would stay only in state guest houses, no matter how shabby they were in comparison to seven-star hotels. This was the code of ethics that he had set for himself—never were these forced on others, the members, the researchers or the subordinate staff.

He was perhaps conscious that the report was being awaited by the people, and the task at hand had to be completed in time. Usually in government-appointed committees and commissions, given the perks, status and importance that come attached to it, there is a tendency to prolong its tenure. This very often suits both the governments of the day as well as those in these bodies. If truth is uncomfortable, better leave it buried. But Sachar saheb, from the very beginning, had made it clear that no extension would be sought. Ultimately, the committee completed the mammoth exercise in record time, with only one four-month extension to incorporate the information from the 2004–05 round of National Sample Survey.

Though not a specialist, Sachar saheb brought immense wisdom, a

sense of uprightness and fortitude to the exercise. This helped the committee stay together and focused even in difficult times. The committee was accused of communalising the armed forces by seeking religiously disaggregated data of employment. The huge controversy that followed helped the chief opposition, the BJP, go hammer and tongs against it, but Sachar saheb remained undaunted. He defended the decision to seek the headcount of the defence forces on grounds that as it drew from public exchequer, it was accountable.

It was not that indignities were not thrown at him. For accepting to head a government-appointed committee, many thought that he had fallen for sarkari lure. During a meeting, one chief minister (no prizes for guessing who), on being probed over the skewed figures of minority development from his state, chose to give it back to Sachar saheb: ‘Agli baar phir jab kisi committee mein aapka number lag jayega, phir aayiega’. (Come next time, when you are once again made a head of another committee). The bureaucrats laughed with their chief minister, adding insult to injury. For a person who was himself the son of a governor and chief minister, who had been the chief justice of a high court, served on national and international tribunals and panels, and one who had chosen not to run after positions, to be mocked at like this was hitting a little too low. It angered the committee, but Sachar saheb kept his calm—he simply repeated the question, conveying to the CM that nothing would deter him. A couple of years later, when the central government conferred on him the Padma Vibhushan, the country’s second-highest civilian

award, he politely declined.

Sachar saheb’s optimism knew no bounds. In politics, he had immense confidence. He looked with dismay as the Anna Hazare anti-corruption movement swayed his colleagues of the socialist stream, one after the other. As one of them announced the coming of ‘new politics’ and predicted the end of ideology, Sachar saheb could foresee the onset of fascism. In spite of his advancing age, he founded the Socialist Party, and devotedly campaigned for it. Like a young party enthusiast, he was constantly on the lookout to rope in new people. I have a feeling, he had set his eyes on me as well. He would personally call me to ensure participation in the party programmes. His politics was however, not inanimate and mechanical but fashioned out of humane and life-affirming values. Every Eid and Baqr Eid, he would make it a point to greet all of us, a practice that he continued till his end. Farewell Sachar saheb. This Eid, you will be missed.

Madhu Dandavate
By

B. Vivekanandan

Price: Rs. 20/-

Janata Trust

D-15, Ganesh Prasad,
Naushir Bharucha Marg,
Grant Road (W),
Mumbai 400 007.



GANNON DUNKERLEY & CO., LTD.
An infrastructure company established since 1924

REGD. OFFICE

*New Excelsior Building, (3rd Floor),
A.K. Nayak Marg, Fort, Mumbai 400001.*

Tel. : 022 2205 1231

Fax : 022-2205 1232

Office :

Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Mumbai & New Delhi