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Sunday, 11th April.

This morning the Executive Committee of the Citizens for Democracy resumed its work and finished by lunch time. The attendance and interest was good.

Monday, 12th April.

This afternoon, Karnik and Jehangir Patel came over and we made plans for the June issue of Freedom First which will have to be prepared and published in my absence.

Wednesday, 21st April.

We met this afternoon at Farouk Reporter's office to plan the conduct of the LSP work during the absence in the coming week of myself, Mr. Reporter and Mr. Deshpande.

JP has taken ill and has been moved back to hospital. Dialysis is not going ^{off} ~~his~~ very smoothly. I looked in this evening and for the first time I saw him with the artificial kidney. It has been there all day. Evidently the process ~~has~~ to be slowed down because of his infirmity. It does not look at all good.

Thursday, 22nd April.

This morning I joined Manavati at the Chambers of the Chief Justice, Bombay High Court. We had made a request for the fixing of the date for the hearing in the Supreme Court. We have agreed to some date next week. It seems my case always comes up either when I am away from Bombay or about to leave! This has been happening

with tiresome regularity.

In the afternoon and evening there was a crisis over Soli's book. Tata Press who had willingly taken it ^{for} ~~after~~ reading it should have naturally ^{completed} ~~compiled~~ the entire text, but they developed cold feet and "Bombay House" have decided that they should not put their name to it. So now somebody else has to be found to print the text which is ready, to bind it and to put their name to it. I spent a great deal of time in this search.

I saw JP this evening, back in his bedroom on the 16th floor. He looked very much ^{more} relaxed than yesterday but things are not good. The veins in his leg are refusing to cooperate and the opening that they had made in the arm does not work either. Tomorrow, the poor man has to go through a minor operation on his leg.

Anyway, he was cheerful and we had a little chat at the end of which I said goodbye. He promised to keep well till I returned.

Friday, 23rd April.

It looks as if we may get another press to carry on with Soli Sorabjee's book, as from next week. The matter is now in the hands of those who stay behind in Bombay and I have left whatever guidance I can.

I have to go to see JP again this evening as a result of a bright thought on his part which requires further discussion.

EMERGENCY DIARY

THURSDAY, 26 JUNE

I was woken up early before dawn this morning by a telephone call from Noorani telling me that Jayaprakash and Morarji had been arrested and that various other people were being picked up. He had just gathered this from a B.B.C. broadcast. I waited impatiently for the morning newspapers and noted that they were either ignorant of these developments, or had been prevented from reporting them. As I had earlier said, "midnight is the Prime Minister's most glorious hour. Later on in the day we learned that Delhi had been deprived of all newspapers by the simple expedient of creating a "power shortage" in newspaper offices alone! This went on for two days after which the newspapers, duly emasculated, began to re-appear.

I rang up Nani Palkhiwala this morning in the belief that every cloud has a silver lining and that something should be saved from the wreck. That something should be Nani who had gone and put his foot into it earlier by appearing for the Prime Minister in the Supreme Court in appeal against the judgement of the Allahabad High Court finding her guilty of corrupt practices during her election campaign in 1971. He suggested that I should see him at 11 o'clock that morning which I did. I was glad to find that Nani had already arrived at the right decision, which was to return the Prime Minister's brief. "With Morarji and JP in jail, how could I possibly appear for her?" he asked. How indeed? I responded. I asked him what made him in the first place appear for the Prime Minister in court. "I never thought she would do this", he protested. "In fact I thought she would listen to me from now on and I could guide her in the country's interest.

What naivety, I thought to myself. I told him that he had been extremely naive. He and I had repeatedly discussed the lady and her every action. How, after writing his own book Democracy Defaced & Defiled could he entertain such illusions? Anyway, here was his opportunity and I was delighted he was taking it.

Nani told me that he was meeting with a certain resistance in certain quarters to returning the briefs. The plea was to wait for

two or three days before returning the brief. The argument was that something might happen meanwhile, such for instance, as JP and Morarji being released. At the naivety of this suggestion I laughed outright. Nani himself did not buy this advice as he said it lacked "a sense of timing", with which I heartily agreed. I told him it should be now or never. I offered to write to JRD Tata and Nani said I could do so, mentioning that I had already seen him. I got back to office and penned a handwritten letter to the Chairman to nudge his elbow, urging him to allow Nani to return the brief. (copy kept in Emergency file). On getting back to office, while I was writing the letter, I received a phone call from Nergish Palkiwala who pleaded that I should drop in on her immediately. I found her at home in a state of nerves all agog at her husband's dilemma. Needless to say, her instincts were on the right side. But would Indira be vindictive? I said I could honestly reassure her that nothing would happen to Nani if he returned the brief. She appreciated that Nani had no option after what she had done and had made his position as he lawyer impossible.

At dinner time that evening, I learned that Nani had got through to Gokhale, the Law Minister and had returned the brief. Gokhale had pleaded with Nani to desist or that at least, he should not inform the press. Both requests were rejected and Nani had already issued a press statement.

But would it be published? I telephoned Inder Malhotra, Assistant Editor of the Times, to make sure. Inder said that next morning's publication of the Times was still uncertain. But assuming it was published it would carry the news with a bare announcement without giving the reasons that Nani had given in his statement. Far from being annoyed, I found myself positively relieved and even said that it would be good enough. How one's angle changes and one's sights are lowered at the first touch of harsh realities!

Listening to the radio that evening we learnt of the bogus "Emergency" proclaimed by the puppet President. This was on top of

of the external Emergency already existing. The provocation was the decision of the Opposition Coordinating Committee to launch a Satyagraha on Friday and JP's militant speech with one more reference to the army and the police. It is a pity that JP once again ignored my plea to him to desist from references to the army and the police not obeying illegal orders [as also to Jagjivan Ram and Chavan.]

FRIDAY, 27 JUNE

P
+
This morning's papers carried the text of the pre-censorship Orders of the Delhi and Maharashtra Governments. As editor of Freedom First I have to decide what to do about our little "rag". It was obvious that, as I had once forecast in Freedom First when I took over the editorship in 1971, the day has come when the major newspapers would lie down and be trampled upon and the fight for the freedom of the press might devolve on little "rags" like ours.

I telephoned the Chief Director, Information and Public Relations Officer of the Govt. of Maharashtra, who was designated as the Joint Censor. He turned out to be a Mr. I. Mathur. He very kindly gave me an appointment at 12 noon. Accompanied by Ruzbeh Antia, our editorialeal assistant, I took the page proofs of the July issue which, as it happened, were ready for printing.

Mr. Mathur reminded me that we had met earlier many years ago when he had asked for my assistance to recommend him to the Public Relations Society of America who evidently wanted my imprimatur to pass membership applications from this country. I told him I was glad to have been of help to him and that I now wanted his imprimatur for my journal.

We had an amicable session. He struck out a couple of articles of mine, one critical of the PM and the other of Chavan. This appeared to be reasonable. When he cut out the UP Chief Minister Bahuguna's remark that "Indira is our Supreme Court", I protested on behalf of the PM! I was also amused by his cutting out two critical remarks about JP in the course of a review of my book on him by Sheila Sumant. It seemed that now JP had become, like Trotsky "an unpersons"

I asked him whether I could keep blank the

pages he had censored and put a legend "Censored" across those pages. He had no objection, since this was correct. When we got back to office, I asked Ruzbeh to prepare a block reading "Censored" running across the front page in red ink. But, alas, that was not to be the end of the story.

SATURDAY, 28 JUNE

Opening my Times of India, I was shocked to find that S.B.Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, had warned the press that no white space would be kept and that it would be regarded as a serious offence. Cursing away at this impertinence, I rang up our printer, Krishnan and, as I had greatly feared, he pleaded that we should bow to the Chief Minister's dictat, however unreasonable it might be. So I decided there should be no Freedom First on 1st July.

The whole day I boiled with anger and wondered how to find a constructive outlet for it. Before long the answer came and that was to appeal to the Court of Law against the Censor.

a very peculiar letter from Noorani (original in the emergency file).

It appeared to me, reading between the lines, that Noorani was backing out of his commitment to draft the petition and to drop the legal part of the fight by using lack of response at the Bar and Nani Palkiwala's attitude. *look at the alleged*
incurram *True fact!*

Oh well, a Palo Chalo re!

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Inkaram *There from!*
Oh well, a whole chalo re!

MONDAY, 30th JUNE

in order to set things straight at last!

All evening I was pestered by telephone calls from various busy bodies asking me if it was true that JP had died. On the one hand I felt sick with fear that it might be true and I was hopping mad with the rumourmongers. I felt I should do something about this next morning.

the morning

JP's brother Rajeshwar came to see me. He told me that his telephone had been disconnected since the morning of the 26th. How very stupid! *What a man - crime* how harmless, his only quality being that he is JP's brother. I advised him to go to Delhi and try to have an interview with JP wherever he might be. I did not know then that JP was actually in Delhi. *there* I gave him two letters, one to a *Takurda* to guide him and the other to Om. Mehta., the Minister for State and Home Affairs who had been one of my *best friends* when I had been chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, asking him to arrange for the interview and saying that I could not believe that they would be worse than the British imperialists. *out of it* (Copies in Emergency file).

Prasad

My advice to Rajeshwar was to file a habeas corpus petition in the Delhi High Court, in case he was not allowed to see JP. *at least acceptable compromise or interim*

*with my...
in order to set things straight at last!
Section 133 of the Constitution
Court in London*

TUESDAY, 1 JULY

By Noorani asked to see me and came to the office at 10.30. He was still very keen about moving *forward* with the petition. He was also keen that we should go to the Supreme Court in Delhi and

he would affirm about
that ~~we~~ ^{he} should go with S. Bhambhani. He was not so happy with Bhambhani's
advice that we should move ~~with him~~. *about Bhambhani's*
the Bank High Court.

there
Shambhu
Bhambhani
I noticed that this prospect did not excite him ~~so~~ ^{very} much.
I decided to send the ~~PM~~ ^{Bhambhani} a telegram about JP's condition. I had heard
rumours by then that he was, at the All India Institute of Medicine in Delhi,
under treatment. Surely the ~~woman~~ ^{she} would realise that if anything happened
to JP, she would be blamed, however unfair that might be.. I recalled how
a lot of people had believed that she had killed L.N. Mishra, ~~and I had~~
~~held her brief and protected her against such an assumption.~~ *accusation*

My telegram was worded: "In order to avoid alarmist rumours against
JP's condition would urge the daily bulletins signed by the doctors be
put out on the radio and the ~~press.~~ ^{there is} I thought I had done a good job
of advising without charging any fee if only she would realise it but
May be she did as would appear a day later.

It is interesting that a day later
a letter came about JP's condition from
Dr. Gupta to the doctors at the
Institute in Delhi saying that he had arrived.
and that no worse than when he had arrived.

WEDNESDAY, 2 JULY

high
Hearing that Khushwant had returned from abroad to India, I telephoned
him and asked him to lunch with me at the Yacht Club that afternoon. He
came ~~looking~~ ^{his} along. He too was shattered at what Indira had done. He
confessed that he had not taken my warnings during the past few years
seriously. Serve the ~~idiot~~ ^{himself} right for being shattered. Anyway he is
cursed he said. He told me about the fight he had put at the ~~time of~~
the censorship. The junior editorial staff were with him but ~~shattered~~
shattered *the Editor was doubtful to him*
was hostile and friendly to the emergency. He told me he would not give
in to the censorship in so far as the Illustrated Weekly was concerned.
But I felt sure he would ~~have~~ ^{be} his face ~~was~~ ^{was} saved and I gathered some-
thing on these lines ~~was~~ ^{was} between the Times and the Maharashtra government.

Anyway another soul had been saved from the burning. Halleluhah!

On the one hand, how many thousands of people in India had been cured by the events of the last 4 or 5 days? There were some unfortunately whom it could be said that these events had slipped past them "like water off a duck's back."

In the afternoon, ~~xxxxxx~~ went and had tea at Jamshed Wadia's place along with half a dozen good friends. Everyone was clear about the nature of what had happened, but it was by no means very easy to decide what one should do *a useful use could be*.

THURSDAY, 3 JULY

Noorani paid another unscheduled visit to my office at about 11 o'clock. Still keen to get on with the fight in ~~xxxxxx~~ court.

the newspaper

FRIDAY 4 JULY

S. Bhusan and his wife were the guests of honour for dinner at my place where I had asked a dozen friends to meet him. Noorani *any time*. I was disappointed that Tobacchowala could not come because of a sprained ankle, but Mrs. Tobacchowala was there and Kamaljit Singh because of a bad tummy.

SUNDAY, 6 JULY

First thing in the morning I went to call on ~~Mr~~ Shanti Bhushan, the brave lawyer who had won ~~Mr~~ Narayan's case for him in Allahabad and who ~~agreed to be~~ ^{was} at the Taj. He was appearing at the Bombay High Court in some civil suit. Noorani came along with him. I consulted him about the possibilities ~~about~~ ^{of} fighting a) the emergency and (b) the ~~pre~~ ^{pre} censorship order or at least the censors ~~xxx~~ decision. ~~(see emergency file)~~. He held the view that ~~the~~ more often ~~that~~ one went to court these days the better. He was dubious about attacking the emergency successfully, but was more confident about the ~~pre~~ ^{pre} censorship and the problems of Freedom First. He said he would appear for me in court provided he was ~~xxx~~ in Bombay and was ~~looking forward to doing so~~.

From the Taj we went straight to Nani Palkhiwala's. I reported what had happened to Freedom First on Bhushan's advice. Nani said I was on the right track and should go ahead. I said I did not want to embarrass him ^{at} the same time ^{and} did not wish to leave him out. ~~What~~ Would he appear ⁱⁿ at court or rather stay away. Nani asked to be excused at least for the admission which would come ^{up} in the next few days. He might appear later after a month or so for the main trial. He explained that the "proximity" between his appearance for the PM and now here for me ~~was~~ ^{was} embarrassing. I told him I appreciated that it was a point of delicacy. A parallel that passed through my mind which I did not mention was that it was like a divorced man or woman who ~~were~~ ^{was} not allowed to remarry for 6 months or a year.

From Palkhiwalla's we went on to ~~Sodhwala~~ ^{Sodhwala} & "uncle" to ask him whether he would like to join in the fight. I thought the old man was in two minds. Even someone as brave as him appeared to

be scared stiff of MISA. ~~He xxxxxxxx~~ confidentially mentioned
to me that what bothered him was that owing to old age and arthritis
he could not squat. I told him I appreciated his point but that we
would fight with one date when it came to it.
~~Amengst an engagement to address young Rotarians who call themselves~~
Rotaracts at their annual jamboree, the organisers very nervously telephoned
me in the morning to ask if they could count upon my presence on the
platform that afternoon. I reassured them that I would be there and
do my 20 mins. stint.

I was faced by a big and enthusiastic crowd of youngsters nearly
half of them ~~young~~. My own talk came between the installation of their
grand master and the showing of their film "Johnny Mera Naam."

I decided to be naughty and to have some fun. So I made a
comparison between the ~~xxxxxx~~ present and my own younger days as a
rebel when we fought British repression, ~~xpraised~~ illegal bulletins
broadcast over the illegal radio etc. I wondered whether the generation
gap made any difference in this respect and twitted them as being part
of the Bolsheviks who talk a great deal but had not so far shown the kind
of dedication to ideas that were shown by JP and others of my generation
in 1932 and 1942. I conceded that our generation had let them down by
playing the fool led by Nehru for 25 years. But two ~~right~~ wrongs did not
make a right. An alibi they might ~~xx~~ claim was that we were fortunate to
have Mahatama Gandhi, while they poor dears only had Indira Gandhi! The
young folk applauded and laughed and we all had a good time. The seniors on
the platform were ~~if~~ however a little more shaken and asked if I would
be all right. ~~I reassured them I felt quite safe.~~

MONDAY, 7 JULY

I received two covers from the High Court. One was the draft of a
petition prepared by Mr. Rana, a devil of Soli Sorabjee, and the other was

TUESDAY 8th

July
I wondered who I could get as an attorney to take on my case and brief counsel, and I suggested ^{to} my old friend Shantilal Shah ^{to} who suggested we have a chat. Shantilal came along and was good enough to say that he would try and arrange for his old friend ^{Shankar Bhushan} to take on this case.

Shankar Bhushan
Raja Babu returned from his pilgrimage as it happened to

Chandigarh. He reported on his visit to his brother who is now lodged in the Medical Institute in Chandigarh. He found JP in bad shape. To start with his blood pressure was very low and his sugar count very high. *bad* He assured his brother that he would not go on a hunger strike since he did not believe in suicide. *bad* He had no desire to come out of prison alive ^{after} for the way this girl had behaved. *just* It beat him how Jawarhal and Kamala's daughter could behave in this way. I laughed and said I agreed about Kamalaxi, *it's depressed because he is* in any case, he was denied company, but was allowed to walk up and down the verandah with an armed cop on each side of him. *everlastingly his explanation* Poor JP was certainly paying for having broken out of Hazirabad jail in 1942. *aspirations!*

WEDNESDAY 9th

Shankarlal told me that he would like to introduce me to one of the partners of his ^{old firm} company that afternoon. At lunch interval I went to ~~xxx~~ Soli Sorabjee's chambers to collect the draft petition *1/2*

which his junior Bana had promised me. Having collected it, I went to the office of ^{Bharilamb} Byeshankar Kanga but not before I learnt that Jungoo Ghagrat who was reluctant to take on our case, ^{Rana + Ghagrat} were going over to see Nani Palkhiwala about something or the other. The thought passed through my mind that I hoped it was not to meddle in my affairs.

When I got to Byeshankar Kanga's office he was making arrangements with them for briefing the council namely ^{council} Shushan and Soli Sopha ^{and} to settle the petition, I received a call from Nani asking if I could see him. I agreed to do so and immediately told Shantilal that I smelt ~~a rat and would not be surprised if Nani were to try and persuade me to desist from going to court.~~

When I got to Nani's office my hunch proved to be correct. Like the fox without the tail in Aesop's fables, these young chaps had somehow thought they would feel easier in their mind if I did not embarrass them by going to court without their assistance.

To my amusement and surprise, Nani trotted ^{out} two utterly ~~fatuous~~ arguments which they had somehow managed to sell to him.

*in my mind
which the
said had been
sent to him
the other
convinced
to me.*

The first of these was that if I went to court and failed our opponents would be even "stronger." I told Nani I failed to see the logic of this arguments which would ~~make~~ mean never to resist evil or an invasion of one's country ~~again~~ because if you resisted it and failed the evil doer or aggressor would be even stronger. The good old problem ^{saying} of when you cant resist rape relax. I said that was not ~~what~~ what I had

learnt from Mahatma Gandhi.

The next argument was equally idiotic. Masani and Gorwalla who had been prominent in the fight against Mrs. Gandhi. *If they want to come to court* come to agree again the judges would not sympathise. Some colourless namby pamby editor who had never done anything worth mentioning should be found to file the writ so that the judges would feel sympathetic for the ~~par~~ poor wretch who was being harrassed by the censor. I told Nani that I would gladly withdraw from the field if his bright friends or he would produce such an ~~editor~~ *editor* to a mouse who had suddenly become a ~~18~~ lion. Nani conceded that such an animal would be difficult to find. So I said what it amounted to was that if cowards would not fight brave men should ~~is~~ not do so either. *A reduction of absurdum. I told Nani I was not shaken.*

THURSDAY 10th

Next morning I went to *Blue* *to* Byashankar Kanga collected the dockets prepared for the *Council* overnight. A.D. Gorwalla came to the office and I took him to lunch at the Yacht Club to get him ready to file a similar petition himself. But alas like the *"I forgot Goshun"* I could have *sup* *freed* man who did not become Prime Minister and said "I had ~~broken~~ Nani." I had an appointment with *him* after lunch to collect my draft petition along with suggestions that he had promised. Gorwalla asked if he could come with me and definitely uneasy at the prospect I said he could. When Uncle asked Nani for his views *inade* Nani read to him his speech of the previous afternoon.

and to my horror uncle lapped up the arguments. The straw that broke the camel's back was when he asked Nani what he would do in his place and Nani said he would not file the writ petition for the time being. At this point Gorwalla bowed and withdrew from the field of battle.

I asked Nani what he meant by "for the time being" and he said ^{he} should wait for a while, may be a fortnight, may be a month. Something but might happen, ~~and~~ he hadn't the foggiest idea what. Just like Mr. Micawber I thought to myself. ^{that} I reminded Nani sitting in that very chair on the 27th June he had indignantly turned down advice from his colleagues to wait for two days before returning the P.M.'s brief. ^{some} ~~He had told me~~ that there was a sense of timing about such matters. I told him I felt exactly as he had done and ^{surely} perhaps to go right ahead. I came to office after sending uncle home in a taxi and suggested he ^{follow me} before of doubt the old adage passed thru' my mind ^{that} when in doubt, don't.

At 3 o' clock that afternoon we had a meeting of the DRS executives to decide what to do about Freedom First. I found all my colleagues ready for battle and we therefore decided on two things, ^{one} to resubmit the fresh issue of Freedom First to the censor putting on the front page V.M. Tarkunde's article on the scope of the pre-censorship order. It was a helpful suggestion Nani had made to me earlier that afternoon. If ^{after} even in this the censor did not cooperate, I should go to court. (Resolution of Executive ^{in the file} board attached).

Amour latter the Executive Committee for Cultural Freedom also met in my office. The issue here was not so simple. ^{after} In passing a resolution of protest against the repression as the DRS had done we tried to grapple with the problem presented by the Quest. Shah's editorial on the Gujarat elections had been slashed by the censor, also some items ^{re-} are published by the daily ^{from} ~~papers~~.

Shah the editor could readily urge that whatever line we took we should stick to, ^{we} should not be asked to suspend publication and later on while

while pre-censorship was there he asked to read ^{some further} ~~proofs~~ with his tail between his legs. "Do not make me ^{go in hunger} ~~thunder~~ strike in the morning and ask me to break it at suppertime." Fair enough. But since nobody knew when the censorship would go ^{whether} in two or three months or in as many years a difficult question to answer. ^{Under these circumstances} the ICCF could hardly bow cheerfully to precensorship. ^{Would I work out a compromise from} the chair which was unanimously accepted. I suggested that we suspend publication for the time being, watch what happened to Freedom First in court and meet again on 4th August to take a final decision, by which time I thought it would be easier to take. ^{the idea of Quest going to court} in line with Freedom First ^{was dropped because of} the danger of a smear campaign ^{based on} posed on following foreign affiliations.

That evening I learnt that Piloo Mody was in Bombay on parole because of the death of one nephew and the critical condition of the other. So I called ^{Vijaya} ~~Vijaya~~ and made an appointment to see them tomorrow at their place on Carmichael Road.

FRIDAY 11th

Piloo was as fat and cheerful as ever. ^{many} Unlike the older people he and his kind were together half a dozen of them and did not lack for company. I gathered that Ashok Mehta, Chandrashekar, ^{and} Raj Narayan were with him in Rohtak.

I found Piloo as irresponsible as ever. For instance, it had not struck him that they might just conceivably be released for the duration of the session on the eve of the session of Parliament the PM had announced that ~~afternoon~~ for Monday the 21st. He was appalled at the idea and promptly said they would ^{have to} ~~work out~~ a session. I told him that they dare not do that as the whole country would laugh at them as cowards. He and others, ^{the} suggested, ^{that they would} ~~that they would~~ prepare their speeches when they got back. Similarly I told him that ^{he} ~~that~~ they be prepared to fight elections towards the

end of this year or early next year. But how unfair that ^{could} ~~shall~~ be protested Piloo. That I told him would be ^{was exactly} the idea. They might be released a month or two before the elections ~~for the purpose I told~~ Mrs. Gandhi

^{Upstairs} ~~that~~ I thought ~~Mrs. Gandhi~~ would much rather have the sari of diplomacy on than be stripped of it and have to rely on the ^{Army} ~~army~~ because she knew what happened to people who did so. In any case I had done my bit to warn in ^{Piloo} ~~Parliament~~ and outside. I said it would be like a boxer who locks up his contestant in a cell, ties his ^{Arms} hands behind his back and starves him, while he himself feeds and drinks before the occasion. Then a day before the boxing match, he releases him ^{months} and asks him into the ring and asks him if he is a man or a mouse. Piloo really enjoyed the joke. ~~I said to him that it was like~~

Mrs. Gandhi a few days later confirmed my hunch ~~as~~ by saying the opposition ^{should not be so important} ~~is~~ important since the elections were not very far away.

A little later on getting to office to have a shock. The partner of ^{Piloo} ~~Bye~~ Shankar Kanga who was looking after my case told me that their senior partner Mr. Thakore had created a crisis. Evidently he had been raided by income tax authorities ^{the} ~~in~~ a couple of weeks ago. He had now been "advised" ^{by} ~~to~~ by friends that if ^{Piloo} ~~Bye~~ Shankar Kanga took my case, he would be harassed by the I.T. authorities. He had given the firm the option to get rid of my case or to allow him to retire from the partnership and sever the connection ^{which had lasted} ~~last~~ over several decades. My friends ^{said} ~~they~~ were ashamed of themselves and could I please help them out. I said I would gladly do so and we tore ^{off} ~~the~~ S. Kanga's name from all the ^{books} ~~books~~ to his relief. There I was again without a solicitor in this great city of Bombay. Everyone I asked including Nari Santok of Mulla & Mulla ^{having} ~~having~~ asked if I could kindly excuse ^{them}

Down in the dumps that evening I rang up Soli Sorabjee's home to find out if he had returned from abroad. Soli told me he had just come back. He asked why I did not drop in to have potluch with them that evening. I readily agreed. I needed a pick me up but not his whisky. The ground lost that morning was again gained when I told Soli about my woes. He said that if nobody in Bombay appeared for me, he would. I told him that I had got to the point of being resigned to ~~argument~~ ^{arguing} for myself. He said that he would not hear about it and to find ~~me~~ ^{me} another solicitor who could brief him.

SATURDAY 12th

I spent most of the weekend contacting various people and asking if they knew of a solicitor who was not a woman. My friends all said they would try and let me know.

SUNDAY 13th

My old colleague of the Swatantra Party, Varilal Nanubhai rang to announce that he was in Bombay ~~that morning~~ and asked if I could drop in on him. This I did. As usual Varilal was in a very excited state of mind. This time it was not Bhalibhai Patel and Baria whom he was fighting.

It was timidity and ~~by~~ ^{for} his friends in Ahmedabad who kept on putting off the fight in the nature of Satyagraha in which he ~~to~~ was keyed up.

Varibhai asked if I would go with him to Ahmedabad to persuade the Chief Minister and various other people to launch a crusade. In an occasional

fit of humility as Rajaji had once described, I asked Varibhai why when he could not persuade his colleagues ~~why me~~ but he insisted on it, ~~by~~ ^{but only}

~~making~~ ^{I made} a counter proposal with my good friend C.T. Daru should be asked to come down to Bombay instead to talk things over with me. Varibhai

set about telephoning Daru to get him to agree to be in Bombay next morning.

From Varibhai's place I went straight to Ram Jetmalani whom I thought I would propose as a second string to ~~my~~ ^{my} bow - just in case.

I told Ram I hadn't bothered him earlier as I had gathered from his lawyer friends that as a result of the very brave speech that he had made at the Bar Association ~~on~~ the morning of the 26th when the courts closed down for the day, he had been in ~~imminent~~ ^{the} danger of detention and I did not wish to add to his troubles. He told me he had recovered from all that and was game for another fight. I always thought that cowardsice and bravery had a place in each of us and it all depended which one came up on top at an ~~opportune~~ ^{the} moment. As all brave warriors have confessed, they were darned frightened at the moment of their heroism. People tortured by Stalin and Hitler have ~~had~~ told the same story. Anyway, it was good to know I had ~~two~~ ^{Commil} ~~camera~~ if no solicitor.

MONDAY 14th

My old friend John Scott, ~~Scott~~ ^{son of Nehru} the American Russian communist had written to me weeks earlier asking me to keep lunch that day free for him. Sure enough he was there in room 455 at the Taj that morning. When I joined him for lunch ~~in~~ ^{at} the Rendezvous, I reminded John of the disaster he had got me into when ~~he~~ had some ten years earlier misquoted me ~~in Time~~ and invited ~~the~~ on my head the wrath of Nehru. He promised to be good this time and ~~we~~ we had another frank talk. Pray god I did not see it misquoted ~~another~~ ^{once again} time in Time from which he told me he had just retired. When I described what Mrs. Gandhi had done as a coup, John who had come after a few days in Delhi ~~perked~~ up and said that I was the first man in India who had given that ~~accurate~~ description. In Delhi ~~everyone~~ just talked about ~~as~~ ^{the} "Emergency."

After lunch I had a session with C.T. Danu who had returned from Ahmedabad. He explained the ~~position~~ ^{local} to me and told me that he had given Vasibhai the good news that daily Satyagraha was going to start in Ahmedabad from the 16th in several places in Gujarat. This would continue till the 26th and their target was ~~a~~ 10,000 people in prison ^{Cam}

:9:

by the end of the week. So when we met Vasibhai a little later he was already in a more relaxed frame of mind and there was very little persuading left for me to do.

A visit to Soli Sorabjee that evening completed the day.

TUESDAY 15th

Today was a sad day. I had hardly got to office at 9.15 when the phone rang and someone told me that my cousin had collapsed and would I come immediately to Shiv Shanti Bhavan. When I got across the Maidan in my car 5 mins. later and went up the lift, I had a horrible shock to see Dolly sitting on the landing with Pheroze's ~~dead~~ body in front of her just outside the lift. She told me that he had died in the lift on the way down 10 mins. earlier which was a case of sudden heart failure. The rest of the morning was spent at Pheroze and Dolly's place and the afternoon at the funeral.

Inbetween I ~~stole~~ ^{stole} a few mins. of 11 o' clock to keep my appointment with Mr. Vinod Rai at Sachivalaya ~~next day~~ ^{next day} an ~~.....~~ ^{He} prop agent from Delhi who had promised to go thru' the revised test of Freedom First I had submitted to him the previous morning. He could not have been worse. Not only did he coolly disallow ~~Takurde's~~ ^{Takurde's} Madras high court proceedings and the Bar Council but he proceeded to disallow the proceedings which Mathur had allowed a few days earlier. When I protested he said that Mr. Mathur had made a mistake. He was good enough to say that I was quite free to appeal against his judgement. I knew where to go he added and he would be glad to apologise if he ~~pressed~~ ^{pressed} along. I said I would hate to deny him that opportunity and would see to it. ~~that he got it.~~

I told Mathur that he was a perfect angel compared to this devil sent down from Delhi. Poor Mathur dutifully rubber-stamped several decisions of Vinod Rai who was only his "adviser".

for Angush
Cited by
and said
his account

:10:

WEDNESDAY 16th

At last a solicitor ^{has been} found. A young man Mr. D.H. Nanavati, whom I had once ^{seen} in another context, volunteered and I went to his chambers at 10 o' clock this morning. When I thanked him for coming to my rescue, he told me ^{asked} "Mr. Masani, what is the worst they can do to me?" Well, I said, the very worst which I think they could do is that ^{you} he could be detained under MISA, the same as me." You are wrong, he said, they can kill me and I am quite prepared for that rather than suffocate to death ~~the other way~~ doing nothing." I shook hands with him and felt real good. So we got down to the job and got things ^{moving} humming again. He would brief Soli Sorabjee and ~~wait till an opportune moment to get our petition filed~~ ^{work hard} and heard for admission if possible ~~2 days later~~ on Friday. ~~Almost thought that the legal bags would not do it but they did do so.~~

That evening back to the Towers of Silence which I was to frequent like a real ghost for the next ^{couple of} ~~two or three~~ days.

THURSDAY 17th

At 4.a.m. in the morning I got up to go against to the ~~Tux~~ Towers of Silence for a morning ceremony which ~~is to~~ start at 4.45 a.m., finish at dawn. ~~xxxxxx~~ I must say if it wasn't for the vultures ^{in the morning} it is a lovely place, cool and green if only one could have an electric crematorium in such a place instead of ^{in the morning} I could die more cheerfully. In the afternoon, back to the Uhhana ceremony but not before I went to the high court to swear in my petition.

FRIDAY 18th

This was ^{the} a great day when our matter would come up in the court. So at 11 o' clock, flanked by my ^{loyal} lawyer associates Jehangir Patel and ^{my counsel} ~~Ramesh~~, I found myself sitting behind the council of Soli Sorabjee. Soli started in great style and I was enjoying every bit of it when the judge (Mr. ^{Justice} Sharad Desai) interrupted him and said ~~he had had enough~~ he was convinced. A rule naski was to be served on the Maharashtra Government and the censor

who was We were ^{so} very pleased with that we agreed to the ^{this} on Union Govt. being dropped ~~and~~ the judge's advice. But then came the catch. The judge cheerfully announced that the hearing would be fixed for Sept. 2. At this point, prodded by ^{me} cries of pain and anguish from Soli. Though he did not say it, ^{my} what he meant was that justice delayed was justice denied. But the judge was adamant. He very graciously however, brought the day forward from Sept. 2 to August 29. Which was quite clear to me that he was trying to throw the hot potato from his plate and pass it on to some other colleague from his bench. When we left the court, I found out that this was exactly what was happening. Mr. Justice Desai ^{had} only taken writ petitions till the 1st Aug. Anyway, beggars can't be choosers. ~~So we had a month more to relax.~~

SATURDAY 19th

Had an appointment before a different kind of tribunal this morning and that was the Charity Commissioners' ^{at work} ~~senior~~. It turned out that a Mr. Deshpande was acting as such. So at 10 o'clock in response to ~~my~~ aunt Sophie's plea, I called at his office in the morning requesting him to expedite his consent to the Theosophical Company a charitable Trust selling a land to me in Ooty on which some day, God and Indira, willing I could build myself a little cottage to retire to. Mr. Deshpande was charming but he told me that the trustees must advertise in the English and Tamil newspapers etc. etc. which would take a month. That is what the Courts would expect of him before he gave his royal consent.

While his clerk was making out his final response to Madame Wadia, we had half an hour to chat. He told me that he would be glad to help me in another month's time. He read Our India so we discussed the Emergency.

As an intellectual he said he was unhappy but ~~xxxxxx~~ but his wife, who was not one, was pleased. Some prices had gone down and anyway these horrible workers would ^{not} be allowed to strike anymore. So what did it matter if people could not talk or write for a while. It was good to find

He had a sense of humor
 a sense of ~~humor~~ and I enjoyed the talk which he told me he had also.

SUNDAY 20th

After a call at Dolly's to try and cheer her up, I went over to Sophia Wadia and gave her the Charity Commissioner's love letter. We laughed over our words. *words and phrases* *He would* Provide an advertisement to try to get back to Deshpande within 30 days.

MONDAY 21st

Raju went over this morning and got the Indian Express and Dinammi advertisements book for the earliest possible day on behalf of the Theosophic Company.

Rajababu turned up to see me this afternoon. I persuaded him to go up again to Delhi and Chandigarh for an interview with JP and *bring* him a petition in the Delhi High Court which *this* wretched lawyer *on* had been sitting all this time. He told me he would leave next morning and do the needful.

TUESDAY 22ND

I had lunch with Prof. *Shenoy* Chinoy at the Taj. I was very amused that he had suggested that it might not be safe to talk in a restaurant. He too had heard that story going around India about the two people in a coffee shop *who* had ~~gum~~ called the lady names, been tapped on the shoulder and been swallowed by MISA never to be heard of again. Anyway I insisted on my Rendezvous lunch and got it. *Shenoy's expression* Poor Chinoy was in a horrible state since he lived in the place called Delhi. He left in better shape

afternoon Sept 26th :13:

promising to send me an article on Indira and the economic packet.

~~I suggested he did a fairly well going one and I would get it published~~ *I said*

by Khushwant in the Weekly. Nothing could be better, I said, than

turning out to be
Indira ~~was~~ being compared to a Markos, The Shah of Iran or
Lee Kuan Yew and calling on Chino as her economic advisor.

Later that afternoon we had an executive ~~meeting~~ *a meeting* from the PEN *Executive*

Depressed
~~Center and who raised~~ the usual resolution of protest to be sent to

the Presiden, PM and the International Headquarters. Three cheers

for Aunt Sophia. She *presented* *resolution* provided a really good one the best part of

which reports it was to take the PEN pledge for freedom of expression, which is

2 *recalled his own failure*
~~she reminded the former said~~ by President Radhakrishnan and Prime

Minister Nehru both vice-presidents of PEN.

WEDNESDAY 23 *Indy*

On going thru the Times of India this morning I was a little surprised and ~~surprised~~ perplexed to find that the Prime Minister in the course of her ~~speech~~ *apologia* in defence of the Emergency in the Lok Sabha the previous day was reported by the UNI message to have "cited many utterances by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan and his close associate Mr. Masani soliciting the intervention of the army "to save democracy in India." Since I had done nothing of the kind I wondered what she had got hold of and I imagine it was some kind of distortion of my ~~ON~~ 'Z' *magazine* interview of March 1974 in the course of which I recalled answering some questions about the role of the armed forces.

The first thing of course was to find out what the good lady had said. I wrote to George ~~Veghese~~ *Veghese* and sent a telegram to P.G. Malvankar asking if they would be good enough to get me the text of her remarks. That ~~evening~~ *evening* I followed up by phoning George. *The Times of India* that morning, however, had a little bit of good news and that was that the ~~COM~~ *Government* had been gracious enough to withdraw their omnibus precensorship order in favour of the Central government's more limited order. Since this was one of the prayers in my petition a few days earlier, I suppose we could ~~however~~ *claim* do our scenes that the enemy had discreetly beaten a retreat *before he* was forced to do so in court. But alas who is to know about it except the cowardly Editors who will make no use of it but but go ~~and read~~ *on* submit to the illegalities of the censor? *He* told me that he too was rather intrigued by the PM's remarks but had so far failed to get hold of the text but would try. He suggested my trying to get the text from the UNI who were responsible for the report.

THURSDAY 24 *Indy*

I managed to get Mirchandani, the Head of the UNI on the phone and requested him to be good enough to obtain the text of the PM's reference to me. *This evening* That afternoon the text was read out to me. As I had anticipated

it was a garbled version of odd sentences *Shyam Lal* backdated to my long 'Z' interview. It started out with that she had lifted the misquotation from "New Age" of May 14, of which I had already *commented* in the column *Me and the* Lamp Post of Freedom First entitled "Simple"! After misquoting me in this way the PM had gone on to say triumphantly "it is there in black and white."

FRIDAY 25

Today I posted my letter to the PM protesting against her misquotation against me in the Lok Sabha. (Letter copy in Emergency file). Giving the lady credit for not having done this intentionally, I told her that she had ~~had~~ been very poorly *briefed* by whoever had briefed her. I also took the trouble of quoting the missing passages *in* between the quotations which would have changed the sense of the text completely. I did not expect a reply (and did not get one except for the receipt of the AD from her office.)

I also sent *a* letter for publication in the Times of India to Shyam Lal in the course of which I quoted the full text of my letter to the PM. Here again I *am* ~~had~~ not very much hope of fair play. But I thought it was necessary for the record. *Also, to the Editor of the Times of India.*

MONDAY 28

On returning from a visit to *ADG* on professional work from Kalyan, I received Shyam's evasive reply suggesting that I should get in touch with the UNI to put up a contradiction since the Times of India was not the only one who published their report. As it happens, it was the only one in Bombay *but* what is the use of arguing with dishonest people. Shyam has throughout been a coward ~~xxxx~~ *of* the Emergency. Perhaps he has gone back to his stulteness vomit. According to Khuswant the censorship and repression should have come much earlier.

TUESDAY 29

After consultation with Soli Sorabjee I wrote a letter today to Mr. I. Mathur, Chief Director, Information & Public Relations asking him whether in view of the fact that the UGC had rescinded their precensorship order, he would be good enough to reconsider his decision of July 15 about

Freedom First ~~and~~ and permit the publication of the matter in question. I also asked him for the text of the Maharashtra Govt's. latest ~~issue~~ ^{note} ~~of~~ and a copy of the text.

We doubt if we shall get a reply to this letter, but it ~~will~~ ^{may} be useful in court when the matter come up for argument.

I ~~think~~ thought it was time, now, that the dust had settled a little on the coup d' etat of June 26, ^{to} ~~of~~ ^{to} ~~telling~~ ^{to} our friends particularly about a brief analysis of what had happened during the past month. I ~~further~~ ^{therefore} wrote to G & R and made sure that the letters would reach them. G ~~has~~ ^{is} already had a copy of my book, but I sent one to R who had not seen a copy.

WEDNESDAY 30

Had an interesting lunch with ^{Cashmore} ~~Kushroo~~ who had just returned to India from the West. I got a great deal of encouraging information about attitudes in London. Among other things, I learnt about how B.K. Nehru had been sent away with a flea in his ear by Callaghan, the British Foreign Secretary, when he went with his apologia about what was being done in India. Like Queen Victoria, the British Foreign Secretary was not amused ~~nor even prejudiced~~. What the British press have done during the past month ^{has} ~~is~~ justified my having been an Anglophil even when I went to British prison.

^{Cashmore} ~~Kushroo~~ told us about the speech he had made the previous afternoon his statement when the PTI had their annual general meeting in Bombay roundly demeaning the censorship. This of course will not be published in any newspaper. In fact he mentioned that ^{Shyam} ~~Shyam~~ started squealing in anguish at the meeting itself. But ^{Cashmore} ~~Kushroo~~ said that it had appeared in the London Times that morning and that New Delhi was very agitated as to how they got the text of the speech. I suggested he better keep his bags packed as a precaution on getting to Calcutta that afternoon.

THURSDAY 31 *Lrh*

For good measure I sent our cowardly speaker Dhillon a copy of my letter to the Prime Minister^{his} saying that if I had been in Parliament I would have asked permission ~~me~~ to contradict the good lady on the floor (text of letter in file).

FRIDAY AUGUST 1

I received an interesting visit this morning from Ramanujam, son of K. Santhanam, with whom I had already been in correspondence. He told me how shattered his father was and how miserable he was that at the age of 80 he should live to see everything he had worked for ~~thru~~ but his life in ruins. Santhanam^{Santhanam} incidentally was one of my ~~colleagues~~ colleagues in the Constituent Assembly of India and a very good member at that. I ~~was~~ thought a little cynically that this was ~~a~~ ^{the} feature of all Old Bolsheviks and that we were lucky ^{an} like our counterparts in Russia not to be butchered in thousands ^{like} were by Stalin. That, is how the world revolves, ^{ending} not with a bang but with a whimper.

In the evening Nani was to inaugurate the Management Institute of the South Indian Education Society in Matunga. I decided to be present for two reasons, ^{One} that it was my duty as a member of the Advisory Council of the Institute, and the other that Nani should not feel that ~~we~~ ^{he} had turned ^{his} back on him because of what had happened. By the time I could start, however, it was raining cats and dogs. ^{So} I rang up Nani and Nargish and asked if they could give me a lift in their Mercedes since I likely to drown in my little ^{flat} ~~flat~~, saying they pick me up from the Willingdon Club enroute. Due to the rain and traffic we arrived an hour late but an expectant crowd was still there. I was glad to see that Nani's charisma did not appear ^{to be} too badly ~~affected~~ ^{affected}. Driving in the car with them I decided to be a little naughty and told Nani ~~that~~ with glee how my petition had been

admitted by ~~xx~~ the High Court and how I thought it might do some good in the way of stopping him from doing something worthwhile, ^{Ann} ^{deserving others from} ^{but} as he had failed to do in my case and alas succeeded, in the case of Gorwalla.

Nani's speech in Matunga lacked its usual élan. The poor chap will obviously take sometime to recover.

TUES SATURDAY 2 ^{August}

This morning, while working at home, I dictated the first draft of a circular letter designed to initiate a move in the direction of conciliation which should be put out to around fifty men and women in India outside the world of active politics. What drove me to do this was the feeling I had entertained for a day or two was that perhaps ^{that would be the country needed was to} we should get back to some kind of normality and ^{after a long} precipitate a further election next year. ^{after a long} Deferent or the relaxation of tensions whatever the right phrase might be. Which ever way we look at it one needed the Prime Minister's goodwill and cooperation for this process. It might be difficult to get it but it would be worth trying.

I recalled how, when the British had got Gandhi and we were flat on our backs in 1932-1942 the Quakers are friends, as they called themselves from England would come to India and start on their mission of council starting with the Viceroy and ending up with Gandhi. Even when we were in prison while we in our arrogance had viewed these efforts with a certain amount of amused condescension I recalled that under our skin we had been very grateful to be helped out of in this way. I felt as a result that the Quakers were no longer there and thought of them with a certain amount of nostalgia.

Later that morning, the phone rang and who comes on the phone but Marjorie Sykes, one of the Quakers of Gandhi's days. She told me that she had just arrived in India and could I see her. Could I just.

I told her ~~xi~~ that my scepticism about God answering Quaker's prayers was shaken by her call and I suspected that from now on ^{she} might even answer my prayers since ~~the~~ I had been praying for the Quakers that morning and

I went to call on her that afternoon where she was staying with her Indian Quaker friends. ^{Madame} ~~Madame~~ liked the letter I had drafted asked to be invited after I had made sure she had an Indian passport and very nobly said she would come down all the way from Kotagiri where she was going in the next two days. It was good to have encouragement and to feel that I was not leaning on unsound lines. They had mentioned that their colleague Mr. John Elder (only in his 50's) would be coming to India in the middle of August. They would make sure that he met me ~~immediately~~ on ~~arrival~~ arrival and before he went to Delhi where he would prepare for a meeting with the Prime Minister. Wonderful I said that we would coordinate our efforts and ~~shall~~ ^{we} arrange our meetings with Mr. Elder before he left India.

MONDAY 4

We had two interesting meetings in succession this afternoon. The first was the ^{Indian} ~~Indian~~ Committee of the Indian Labour Group which was remarkably well attended by about 15 members. It was to condole on the passing away of our ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ Bangalore. But after that we took the opportunity of discussing the recent events. From the Chair I suggested that we ~~should~~ ^{we} should not take an altogether one-sided view of condemning the repression and should also ^{and} ~~and~~ the threat of Satyagraha held out by JP and the opposition leaders at the time when the Supreme Court had ^{had} ~~had~~ to judge formally from the High Court at Allahabad. I suggested that it was a great liberal approach. I was glad to find that ~~every~~ ^{every} single member endorsed this view. So we asked Subramaniam to put up a draft and then send it to the ~~Liberal~~ Liberal International in London.

This meeting was followed immediately by the one for the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. This was an adjourned meeting from an earlier one on 10th July when we had adjourned in any final decision about Quest. At this meeting where I was also in the chair, I suggested that we adopt a flexible attitude of distinguishing between essentially political journals like Freedom First on the one hand and Quest and the PEN on the other as literary and cultural media. As the first could not function under the ban of censorship that was being enforced, there was no reason why the other could not make it. This view was accepted and it was agreed that Quest should resume publication.

TUESDAY 5

In the course of the day I decided that the letter that was to go out should not be only sent with my signature but should be jointly signed by three or four others of the right kind. I therefore started lobbying for the signatories. My first victim was Kushwant who still had to atone by his crimes for his disgusting article on Maruti. So he called on me that afternoon. I showed him my draft letter and asked him if he would agree to sign it if I could get a few others. Kushwant said he would sign it if there was no one else except him and me. Shahbash! How people change from cowardice to courage. If no man is a bad boy it seems nobody is a worm forever. This worm certainly had changed.

The next person I thought of was Prof. V.V. John who was still in Bombay after attending the ICDF execution the necessary I started pursuing him on the evening at 4 p.m. I landed the fish at 9 p.m. where he was staying at Warden Road for dinner. When I went over and disturbed his dinner and told him the plan, John was most enthusiastic and said this was the answer to his

xPRt

prayers. People in the North had badgered him to write to the woman ^{80th or} do something. And this ^{was} had been the answer. He very sweetly volunteered to revise and edit the letter overnight and give me a clean retyped version at 8.00 a.m. the next morning. While there are men like that, there is still hope for the old country.

WEDNESDAY 6

At 8.00 a.m. I was at John's place to catch him before he left for the airport. On beautiful thick paper there ^{clean} a retyped version of the draft. He said it was important to answer in advance the jibe that we only wanted ^{reconciliation because} recouncil ^{to} if our friends were defeated. Here was written proof ~~that~~ ^{to} the country and should be used. Having got John's signature I moved on to complete my list. At 12 noon I called on Sophia Wadia. Having read the letter, Sophia appended her Roman hand to the document. Like John she supported the idea ^{by} a copy being sent to the PM for information so that she could not allege another "conspiracy," and proclaim another Emergency? I recalled that Stalin had even smelt ^{the} doctor's conspiracy to kill him. That made us four but, unlike the nine little nigger boys, our number had to ~~gm~~ grow.

The next to join was V.B. Karnik whom I got down from Bandra for the purpose. He heartily approved and told me that in Baroda ~~thax~~ a few days back Kamala Shankar Pandaya had told him to plead with me to do something to make the woman ^{body} pipe down a little by mobilising the ~~x~~ right people to intervene.

Our list was now complete. Shantilal Shah came the same time but we ~~all~~ agreed that in view of his proximity to Morarji he should not be ~~signatory~~ ^{only} the addressee. I thought one friend of JP's on the list was enough and the list would ~~not~~ ^{could not} bear another such.

My
~~Our~~ next victim was Mrinal Sarabhai. I called her on the phone in Ahmedabad and read the whole letter to her. Mrinal said she would have to consult the other members of the family, on which I protested. *Mrinal Sarabhai*
 I suppose if you become a of the family you become a ~~house~~ *house* banya. I reluctantly agreed to her calling me back the next day.

FRIDAY THURSDAY 7

Early morning I got a telegram from Mrinal ~~regarding~~ *regretting* her inability to place her signature on the letter. Later on a letter came that said nothing *new* except to repeat the regrets. So that was that which was a pity. She would have made an excellent name and done her *if would have* ~~share~~ *share* a lot of good. But I am blown if I drop her name from the list of addressees. Let her respond to that letter if she cares to.

for much This evening I asked Homi and Jackie Bhaba Zareer's friends *Ballou Polakowski* to the Yacht Club. They turned out to be ~~and~~ *and* leftists. ~~Jackie~~ *Jackie* like the female of the species *possibly* more deadly. I told them what I had told Zareer earlier that what they said was all "old hat" so far as I was concerned *months* *myself* having ~~washed~~ *feared* that nonsense himself at one time and quite frankly I was not going to be in argument about this all over again since nobody was ~~over~~ *that* converted but had to be cured by their own experience and their own maturity. An additional reason why they are like that is there *that* being ~~passed~~ *passed* brats living on unearned money. *ours to be* It ~~appears~~ *appears* their conscience is ~~appeased~~ *appeased* in a very easy manner.

FRIDAY 8

Every day the news in our control press gets worse. This morning we read of the passing of the 39th amendment which is ~~an~~ *an* even more disgusting one than the 38th that the bogus one-party Parliament in Delhi has passed. I felt so sick that I felt like tearing up the letter of council *because* and letting the woman go to hell in her own way. But it was not long before I was *happy* ~~better~~ *better*. We were not doing this to oblige ~~the~~ *her* woman, we were doing it for the good of the country and ~~from~~ *for* saving it.

going worse, and it must go on. When Karnik turned up in office a little later, ^{he} said he felt the same way and had come to the same conclusion. As we were talking, who rings up but Aunt Sophie, her theosophic voice quavering with fury. She said she had never felt so depressed as that morning after reading the news from Delhi. I asked if she would like to withdraw her signature. She said she felt like it but no. She had rung up to give up to give me three more names. ^{These} "My sentiments," ^{Dear} So later that evening ^{afternoon} the letter got in to various post boxes to travel hopefully to other destinations. When the response ^{comes} ~~xxxx~~ in, we shall know how many reached. ^{Though} of course there might be some brave people who might not have the courage to reply. ^{Particularly the} Altogether they all seem capitalists among them.

I answered a request from ^{Vadilal} ~~Vadilal~~ to have have a cup of tea with him on the way home and was delighted to find my favourite from Delhi and Govind ^{Shao} Deshpande from Bombay. While Vadilal was giving his usual lecture on our duties and ~~tasks~~ tasks I quietly made an engagement with ^{Peri} ~~Peri~~ to come and have breakfast with me the next morning before he left Bombay.

At dinner that evening at Mrs. Chaudhri's there was the usual discussion which get me angry but the evening was rewarding. because ^{he} who was ~~xxxxxx~~ present took me aside and asked if money would help and has offered to collect ^{some} ~~Rs. 10,000/-~~ All this was voluntary ~~xxxx~~, without even a request. Still hope for the old country ~~which is scattered.~~

SATURDAY 9

The breakfast was very useful by way of ^{a lot of} ~~an~~ interest of nature which is sadly lacking these days. I gave R a copy of my letter. He was pleased as punch, ^{but} ~~thom~~ I started by being a little apologetic

In fact he said that the Gandhians were engaged in a similar move ~~and~~
of a slightly more modest proportions. We felt ~~more~~ that these two
should be ~~complementary~~ ^{also} and not ~~correspond~~ ^{correspond} with each other. He agreed
to report what we were doing to Diwakar and ~~Southern~~ ^{Gandhian} who were among
our addressees. He promised to let me know how the move was progressing
and how the two should help each other and get ~~ther~~ ^{course}.
It was good to see R. He is a stout fellow in every sense ^{of the} word.

DRAFT

MONDAY 11th

S.M. Joshi turned up at the office this afternoon. This was the first time I had seen him for months. We exchanged news and decided to meet again before he left Bombay. In the evening I had a chat with Ganam at his home in regard to a message from Godfrey Whist and the reply to be sent to him.

TUESDAY 12th

S.M. Joshi turned up for breakfast. I was glad to find that he was in accord with our move for conciliation and did not look down upon it as any kind of compromise of principle. He has changed considerably since he very immaturely supported Mrs. Gandhi during the Girl election and the Congress split. I remember how awful he was at that time and twitted him about it. He ~~profoundly~~ ^{that} agreed with his early attitude ^{and} ~~had been a~~ ^{had been a} stupid mistake.

WEDNESDAY 13th

I had ~~another~~ interesting guest for breakfast this morning. They were Joseph Elder and Zealy Quakers from the U.S. and U.K. respectively. They had come on what might be described as a fact-finding visit to India and had landed the previous day. They were enroute to Delhi where they hoped to see the Prime Minister. ^{Arthur Khan from George Alexander} They already knew a little about the conciliation move from their Bombay friends and seemed to be happy about it. Mr. Elder promised to come back to ~~Bombay~~ Bombay in time for our meeting at the end of this month, ^{to} but Mr. Zealy said he would leave for London straight from Delhi. I thought Mr. Elder was a very attractive man with a great deal of sincerity, zest and competence.

THURSDAY 14th

JP's brother Raja came to see me this morning and told me that his son Anil and his wife would be leaving Bombay the following day for Delhi enroute to Chandigarh where they hoped to see JP in hospital. I took

the opportunity of giving a little money from my own pocket for R, since he was in dire straits financially and could do with a little help.

FRIDAY 15th

Independence ^{Day} and a grim one this year. There was an absence of the usual gaiety and festivals at this time, instead there ~~was~~ interesting news from Bangla Desh of the coup d' etat made by the armed forces involving the execution of Mujib who had converted Bangla Desh into a one party state at the ~~Soviet~~ Soviet and Indian instigation. I am sure this will have a very ^{restraining} effect on the one-party state in this country, which is ^{threatening} coming up to destroy the 1950 constitution. An awareness of the danger might also reduce ~~all~~ the arrogance in the relevant quarters.

In any event, in the afternoon I motored up with FR in his car to Deolali where I had to read two discussions, one this evening and the other the following morning. My talk this evening was on the Constitution - 25 Years Later which was based on my two lectures at Bangalore University last year. In the course of which I excluded ~~any~~ references to current events and controversies.

SATURDAY 16th

I opened the discussion this morning on the image of business and the role of public relations based on my speeches at PRSI Conferences in Calcutta and Bombay. We motored back to Bombay by dinner time.

MONDAY 18th

After office I looked up young Homi Bhaba since he and his wife were about to take off for England the following day. We chatted about Zareer and I briefed him about my understanding of the situation for Zareer's benefit. From there I went to a meeting of the executives of the Indian Council of World Affairs where we received a report about some of the members of ~~the~~ the ICWA in Delhi to get Soli Godrej's nomination.

ion paper for Vice-President declared invalid. I was told that the Prime Minister's aide Yashpal Kapur was once again at the bottom of this mischief. However, the Court in Delhi had issued an injunction restraining the Delhi people until the complaint filed by Godrej was investigated.

Soli from the chair mentioned that Y.B. Chavan had agreed to address a meeting of the Council in the middle of September. Harris and I strongly urged him to cancel the invitation and make a polite excuse to Chavan, and said that if he did not do so we and many others would boycott the meeting.

TUESDAY 19th

Khushwant, Karnik and I met at Madame Wadia's place to assess the response to our letter and to take further steps. While it was still ^{too} early to assess the response, I reported that around ^{fourteen} people had replied. Except two or three, all the rest had enthusiastically responded to our initiative and except for those who were ill or were abroad the rest had promised to try and attend the meeting. Since most people wanted the meeting in Bombay but those in Madras wanted to meet there, it was decided that I should visit Madras on Sunday the 24th to commune with friends there and report their views at a meeting in Bombay which was fixed for Sunday the 31st at 10 a.m. at the residence of Madame Wadia, though she herself would be away in Ooty. I placed ^{be} before my colleagues the draft of a letter to the Prime Minister which I had prepared as a basis for discussion and adoption if possible at the Bombay and Madras meetings. I was glad to find that, except for a few verbal alterations, the draft was found ^{all} right by the three others (draft letter in Conciliation file).

It was decided that I should send out invitations to the Bombay meeting right away to those who had responded and to others who might do so during the coming days.

THURSDAY 21st

In the morning I called on Soli^{Soliya} to discuss our writ petition re: pre-censorship order. It was due to come up for Execution in the High Court on the 29th. We agreed that we should try and get some date between the 10th and 15th September fixed ~~fix~~ if possible for the hearing of the petition.

FRIDAY 22nd

After dinner I motored upto Santacruz airport to meet Joseph Elder who was to arrive and take off for London. We went to the coffee shop at Centaur at the airport and had a snack together. After I had reported to Elder on the progress we had made and given him a copy of the draft letter to the Prime Minister to take with him, he reported to me on the talk he and Zealy had with the Prime Minister for about an hour that afternoon.

Since they did not think it appropriate to suggest conciliation the report was not much use to me in so far as our own move was concerned.

According to Elder, they put a few questions to Mrs. Gandhi who did most of the talking. She took considerable time and pains to expound the developments which started the familiar line that there was violence and danger to the country and she had to move in to stop it. Elder said, however, that the facts were ~~xxxxxx~~ so overwhelming that they were not impressed with the Prime Minister's able but unconvincing plea.

In response to an enquiry ^{enquiry} they made as to what she had meant when she talked about the climate being created when general elections could be held, Mrs. Gandhi implied that the ball was now in the ^{Opposition's} court and it was for them to now indicate a readiness to give up ^{evils of the} ~~satyagraha~~ and other unconstitutional actions. Elder said he did not ask her how the hell they were to do this when ~~they~~ they were locked away in solitary confinement. This remark was however useful as it ties in with the draft letter we had prepared for her in regard to extra constitutional weapons being put aside before and during the election campaign.

In answer to my question ~~whether~~ whether she would describe the Prime Minister's mood as toughness or softness, Elder said neither adjective was probably appropriate but he would describe it as somewhat defensive ^{and lacking direction} and uneasy. He rather agreed ^{as was} with the events in Bangla ~~xx~~ Dosh on 15th August might have had a sobering effect judging by her position which was very peace loving and ^{proper} appropriate to a ^{quarter} audience.

Elder said that his plans were to fly to London to meet his colleagues of the Service Council and then go on to New York where he would meet his colleagues ^{of the Service Council}. He ~~did not~~ ^{would} make an objective report to his colleagues and I gave him permission to report on our own moves ^{to the} and gave him the draft provided he could avoid press publicity. He said they would be very ~~charmed~~ ^{glad} to know what we were trying to do. He said that he would have left Indian in utter despair if it wasn't for this one hopeful move. He agreed that since this was a serious move for conciliation we should all try to avoid ^{press publicity} ~~press publicity~~ which would ruin it. ^{The} appropriate time to let people know about this would be ^{at} ~~xx~~ when ~~xxxx~~ Mrs. Gandhi turned down our offer or (b) if we ~~had~~ succeeded, as the case may be. He promised not to ~~xxx~~ let the press have this story unless we get a line clear.

SUNDAY, 24th

August
I left in the morning by plane for Madras and was met at the airport by Sadasivan who drove with me to the home of Kamraj.

I told Kamraj that I was greatly encouraged by his letter and particularly by his *remark* that there was some hope of *success for* ~~sense~~ in our moves for conciliation. I then read to him the draft letter of the Prime Minister. He said that he liked the letter which was ~~normally~~ on sound lines but he promptly picked a weak spot in our proposal and that was that ~~civil disobedience and extra-constitutional~~ activities should be set aside before and during the election campaign. He did not think this would go down well with the Prime Minister *who would* but then went on to ask whether she was not entitled to five years of undisturbed administration if she *got a* ~~was to get~~ popular mandate at the polls. I said as a liberal we agreed to ~~extra consti-~~ *constitutional* weapons being set aside altogether, but we had to sell our proposal to JP and Morarji also.

*Quint
L. on
Jan 9*
At 4 o'clock our meeting started at Kalki. Among those present *was* being K. Santhanam, R.R. Diwarkar, *my* Ann Swaminathan, Venkatraman the editor of Swarajya, Aruna *Challan* from Madurai, R from Delhi and Subalakshmi and Sadasivan.

A scrutiny of our draft letter led as *was* is to be expected in the South *a sensible union* to ~~directorial~~ debate on one or two points. Santhanam agreed with Kamraj's objection and suggested that the works before and during

the campaign should be dropped and that to ^{be replaced} replace this it should be stated that the continuance of the Emergency would no longer be necessary. After considerable discussion, the draft was amended accordingly at which point unanimity was obtained.

An interesting sideline was that ^{Bhuvan} Amu very sweetly asked whether the Emergency had in any way interfered in any one's life and said that she for one had been left untouched by it. The answer to that of course was that Madras, like Gujarat was by way of being something of a privileged sanctuary and that a visit to Delhi would soon correct her impression.

I asked if those who were prepared to sign the draft letter would authorise me to append ^{their} signatures to the revised draft that would emerge from the Bombay meeting on the 31st, provided no change of substance was made in the letter. This was agreed to and the letter was signed by Amu Swaminathan, Diwarkar, Santhanam, and Sadasivan. I was disappointed that Sadasivan did not agree to Subalakshmi appending her signature.

Anyway, it was a successful meeting and indeed a successful day and cleared the way for the Bombay meeting a week later.

I had a useful talk with R. who gave me encouraging news of developments in the field of ^m Sanizdat with a base in Madras. He consulted me about his ^{problem} own view as to whether he should continue to evade arrest or surrender to the police by the 5th or 6th September ^{by} which ^{date} was the day by which he had to make a choice. After hearing from him that his utility outside was somewhat limited, I suggested that the lesser evil would be to give himself up before the due date and avoid further persecution including the confiscation

of his property and his family being left destitute. *Also since he is* If by being a Gandhian
 counting arrest would be doing what *one* came naturally

He is inclined to take that step.

TUESDAY 26th

At 11.30 I went to Bombay House to Nani Palkivala's room where M.A.
 Srinivasan had told me to join the two of them to discuss the move. Nani
 liked our letter and said his mind was working on the same lines but since
 he hoped to see the *PM on his own* ~~road~~ one of this, he would like to pursue his peace-
 making efforts *and gradually* on parallel lines. I told him he was welcome to do so.
 On the way back to office *M.A.* he disappointment me by asking to excised *a fam* to
 sign our letter to the Prime Minister. I came across another instance of the
 courage that is so prevalent these days when *Anis* Anis Jung having made anxious
 inquiries about JP, told me in response to my suggestion she *could* write to him
 though *but* she was too frightened to do so in case she got into "trouble."

~~XXXXXX~~ At 4 p.m. I receive a visit from Anil JP's nephew who reported
 to me on his recent interview. It seems that JP's health is reasonably good
 but he is still very depressed. I learnt ~~th~~ for the first time of which I
 had no idea so far, that JP's air conditioned room was an indoor room with no
 windows opening outwards, that even the 15 minutes walk he was permitted
 every evening was in a closed corridor between rooms with their doors closed
 with *and not even* ~~not~~ even a verandah. This means that the poor man has not seen the sky
 or a tree or a plant, or the sun or the moon or a star for over a month and
 lives by electric light 24 hours a day in solitary confinement.

No wonder he is depressed.

JP told his nephew in the hearing of the superintendent that I should send him ~~some of the~~ less frivolous books than I had done including books on economics and politics. I imagined that such books would not be permitted and shall add ^{sent} half a dozen books of ^{this} such variety when JP's ~~brother~~ brother leaves Bombay next Monday for an interview. JP also asked why I did not write more often, ^{So} a letter is overdue, ^{thought} there is precious little one can say which would get through to him. Anil said that JP confirmed that he had decided to go on a fast unto death commencing on the ^{25th} 21st of August but that he had mercifully postponed the idea since it was pointed out to him that the good ~~lads~~ would see to it that the people of India never knew that he had fasted to death and that they would be told that he had died normally presumably of old age!

^{what} One who gave him this excellent advise. Anyway, we have a little respite and this ~~makes~~ makes it all the more ~~urgent~~ urgent that our ~~ties~~ ^{more for} to a ~~derelict~~ and a detente is expedited while ~~still~~ still we have a little time to avert a tragedy.

THURSDAY 28th

Raj Mohan Gandhi and his wife called to see me at the home since it was a holiday. He approved of the draft letter and ~~agreed~~ it was in accord with the move. He himself felt that he would not be a good member of the team to call on the Prime Minister.

FRIDAY 29th

At 11 o' clock our petition against the censor came up for directions.

Soli mentioned to the court that the other side and we had agreed that hearing should be on the 15th September and that they had agreed to file the ⁱⁿaffaidavit inot later than the 4th. The court also agreed that I should file my ^{response}affaidavit not later than the 11th. We shall now wait to see what they have to show on the 4th, not that they have had ~~all~~ any case at all.

In the evening, Khushwant and Karnik came along and we settled the details about the meeting on Sunday morning. They both felt that the Prime Minister should be asked to reply through me.

Margery Sykes turned up in Bombay. She ~~is~~ said she like the letter. She agreed to come to Delhi to meet the Prime Minister provided it was not before the 15th.

28th August

Rajmohan and his wife called on me and we discussed the situation. He like the idea of our conciliation move and will be present at the meeting on the 31st and will sign the letter.

29th August

My petition against the censors was mentioned briefly in the High Court this morning and by a greement of both parties the hearing was fixed for the ~~29th~~ 30th of September.

31st August

We met at Sophia Wadia's place at 10 o' clock this morning. There were about 26 or 27 people present (list in conciliation file). There was a very prolonged and interesting discussion on various aspects that went on till noon. Khushwant light heard as usual disgraced himself by walking out for another engagement in the midst of it all at 11 o' clock. This drew upon his head another vicious attack by Ram Jethmalani.

The general trend of the discussion was to support the move but to warn a gainst its obvious dangers arising from the kind of person we were dealing with on the one hand and the possibility of JP and the other disapproving of our intervention. All these dangers could reach a situation where unscrupulous reporting under the shelter of censorship might result in our move being exploited for unworthy purposes to discredit not only the censors but those who might not reply because they were in prison. Khushwant, Karnik and I in response admitted that these dangers were there and urged that we should take them in our stride. The alternative would be to do nothing for fear of consequences. The move received powerful support from Anjur Patwardhan who was good enough to come from Chitur and who made one or two interesting statements about his own position. While he would sign the letter he would not go to Delhi for any talks. Nizzim Ezekiel, Professor Iyer, Rajmohan Gandhi were also very helpful. So was Margery Sykes. The doubting thomases were Ram Jethmalani, N.C. Chagla and J.P. Patel. They had various doubts and fear but all except Ram Jethmalani signed the letter. The draft itself was altered ^{on} ~~at~~ two or three points to avert any danger of it being misunderstood, to involve the disassociation of the activities of Jayprakash and others. In fact the changes made were all improvements and I for one was glad about it.

Ram Jethmalani made a very brave speech and said that he found the letter and move humiliating and a bitter pill to swallow. However, he would try and gulp it down if everyone present committed themselves to doing "something" in case Mrs. Gandhi declined to meet us. Since he was unable to define what this "something" was, nobody was prepared to give this assurance.

, Arvind Buch boss of the ATLA pointed out that he had a lakh and a half of workers to commit and should not expect to do so in this cavalier fashion. Nissim explained that signing the letter such as it was did not prevent Jethmalani or any of us from doing any other courageous things.

xx On my part I pointed out to Ram that perhaps the implication of his remark that nobody present was doing anything might be a little unfair to some of those present who could not under present conditions trumpet their activities. Anyway we all gave Ram dispensation from swallowing the bitter pill but I fear that he did not do anyone of those present any good by his performance. In the end everyone except Ram signed the letter.

It was also agreed that V.B. Karnik should go up to Delhi with the letter and try and hand it over personally to the Prime Minister but that he should not stay in Delhi for more than a couple of days for the purpose.

Altogether, people left the meeting with a certain sense of satisfaction and achievement. They want to be balled together again when there is something to report which I promised to do.

1st September

S.M. Joshi turned up at the office to see me. He was pleased with the report I gave him about the previous day's proceedings and the draft letter. He was glad we had included Chagla's suggestion that we should request to see JP and Morarji. He said M.C. Gorge, who was indulging in a one man mediation effort had already made that request to Mrs. Gandhi and been rebuffed. We both agreed that this suggestion should come from her.

Later in the morning Rajeshwar Prasad JP's brother came to see me at on the eve of his departure for Chandigarh. I gave him a letter for JP urging patience (copy in emergency file) and gave him half a dozen books of a political and economic nature which JP had asked for. He promised to report back on his return.

6th September

I went and saw Nanavati my solicitor this morning and we drafted a reply to the affidavit filed by Mathur the third respondent to my petition. It was a thoroughly dishonest affidavit he had been asked to swear. Since as we had heard the lawyers on the other side decided that it had no case to ~~argue~~ ~~maintain~~ that the material disallowed was objectionable they had decided to draw a red herring across the trail. This was that since on 14th July all ~~unknown~~ unknown to us and the world they had secretly withdrawn the Maharashtra Government's precensorship order. The censoring of my material on the 15th was not done by Mr. Mathur on behalf of the Maharashtra Government but by Vinod Rao on behalf of the Union Government.

Our answer to this of course was to draw attention to the fact that the rubber stamp of the Directorate General of the Public Relations and Publicity Department of the Maharashtra Government had been fixed to the material disallowed under the instructions of Mr. Mathur and was initialled by ~~the~~ ^{for him} deputy Mr. Nadkarni. ^{for him} This to be seen is whether it sticks to the main point or ^{allows} ~~urges~~ itself to be diverted by the red herring, in which case we will have to ask permission to ^{impeach} ~~impeach~~ Vinod Rao as the agent of the Union Government.

V.B. Karnik who had returned from Delhi on Thursday night had disappointing news to tell though he did not seem to realise that. I had given him a letter for Sehan the Prime Minister's secretary. He had found Sehan most sympathetic and cooperative. Sehan had told him that he liked the letter and had no doubt that the Prime Minister would invite us to meet her. But alas Karnik had allowed himself to be bamboozled into leaving Delhi not only without seeing the Prime Minister but without receiving confirmation that she would in fact invite us to meet her. I could not share Karnik's optimism and my fear was that Sehan had done a good PR job for the Prime Minister since he obviously could not commit her without her knowledge. Karnik said that Sehan had said that he would telephone me or him by Tuesday or Wednesday of the following week. We shall see!

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This afternoon we had a conference with Soli Sorabjee when my reply to the draft affidavit by Mathur was settled.

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Karnik came to see me and we decided on the people who should be asked to join us to meet the Prime Minister in Delhi in case the invitation materialises.

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and then from among the women

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In the evening I called on Nanavati to settle the affidavit to which I have to swear to tomorrow.

10th September

'Raja' Prasad turned up and gave me an account of his interview with JP. First of all, he brought the bad news that New Delhi had tightened up further the regulations about interviews. Instead of one interview a week with relatives, it was now to be one interview a ~~month~~ month. Nephews, nieces, etc would also be ruled out. This is what official spokesmen refer to as "relaxation of the severity of measures. Let us have more!"

Raja reported that JP's health was good and that he had written to the Government of India demanding to be transferred to a prison so that he may no longer be denied company with the hospital as an excuse. He had now been for some six weeks in an air conditioned room in which all the windows were covered. He lived by electric light 24 hours a day and since his 15 minute walk every evening was in an enclosed corridor he had not seen the sun or the moon or the stars or a tree for six weeks. He said that he rather be in a normal prison. JP had gladly accepted five out of the six books I sent him.

"Conversations with Stalin" by Djalil he returned as he had already read it. My letter was with the Deputy Commissioner who said that he might pass it on to JP later.

The most important part of Raja's report was that when he told JP about our conciliation move JP was delighted and asked him to thank me. This is great news as it removes the fear ~~that~~ ^{that} some people had expressed at the meeting on the 31st August that JP might "let us down" and it bore out my understanding of the man. Naturally, JP did not want to commit himself

on what his position would be if ever he was approached by us but he would like to know what the Prime Minister's expectations would be for a return to normality and an end to repression. *from him he returns*

A little later at 12 noon I went to the High Court to swear the affidavit I had to file.

In the afternoon G. came to see me and I gave him letters for GW and RA and thankfully declined the invitation that they had kindly extended. The main ground I gave was that I did not feel that I could afford to leave India at this moment and partly because of the conciliation efforts and my petition in the High Court and also because of the fluid situation. I said however, that if the picture got a little clearer and less murky, I might undertake a visit later this year if the invitation was still open. I also communicated the statement of the Indian Liberal Group.

Leter K. Subramaniam of the ILG came to see and we arranged for him to send the ~~final~~ official ~~to~~ to the LI the statement of the ILG in time for the Edinburgh Conference.

In the evening I got home I was interviewed for the BBC by Sushilla Anand mulk/Raj Anand's daughter, who assured me that she did not share her father's views. She is a good and charming girl. The only thing is that her tape recorder is not quite so charming and though I was interviewed for 8 minutes, neither of us knew what had been recorded as her packing would not place back. Obviously we did not discuss the bogus emergency *what* we did discuss what how to ~~raise~~ *not* the standard of life for the people. My answer to that was it was a social and technologically backwardness on the one hand and the Marxist policies by Nehru and his daughter on the other. *not very much* I welcomed that light had dawned somewhat belatedly on Nehru's grandson Banjay. *the fact*

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Wednesday 10th September

'Raja' Prasad turned up and gave me an account of his interview with JP. First of all, he brought the bad news that New Delhi had tightened up further the regulations about interviews. Instead of one interview a week with relatives, it was now to be one interview a ~~month~~ month. Nephews, nieces, etc would also be ruled out. This is what official spokesmen refer to as "relaxation of the severity of measures. Let us have more!

Raja reported that JP's health was good and that he had written to the Government of India demanding to be transferred to a prison so that he may no longer be denied company with the hospital as an excuse. He had now been for some six weeks in an air conditioned room in which all the windows were covered. He lived by electric light 24 hours a day and since his 15 minute walk every evening was in an enclosed corridor he had not seen the sun or the moon or the stars or a tree for six weeks. He said that he would rather be in a normal prison. JP had gladly accepted five out of the six books I sent him. "Conversations with Stalin" by Djalil he returned as he had already read it. My letter was with the Deputy Commissioner who said that he might pass it on to JP later.

The most important of Raja's report was that when he told JP about our conciliation move JP was delighted and asked him thank me. This is great news as it removes the fear ~~that~~ ^{that} some people had expressed at the meeting on the 31st August that JP might "let us down" and it bore out my understanding of the man. Naturally, JP did not want to commit himself

on what his position would be if ever he was approached by us but he would like to know what the Prime Minister's expectations would be for a return to normality and an end to repression.

A little later, at 12 noon I went to the High Court to swear the affidavit I had to file.

In the afternoon G. came to see me and I gave him letters for GW and RM and thankfully declined the invitation that they had kindly extended. The main ground I gave was that I did not feel that I could afford to leave India at this moment and partly because of the conciliation efforts and my petition in the High Court and also because of the fluid situation. I said however, that if the picture got a little clearer and less muggy I might undertake a visit later this year if the invitation was still open. I also communicated the statement of the Indian Liberal Group. *(Letter to Emergency, etc)*

Later K. Subramaniam of the ILG came to see and we arranged for him to send the ~~first~~ official ~~to~~ to the LI the statement of the ILG in time for the Edinburgh Conference.

In the evening I got home I was interviewed for the BBC by Sushilla Anand Mulk Raj Anand's daughter who assured me that she did not share her father's views. She is a ~~good~~ ^{new} and charming girl. The only thing is that her tape recorder is not quite so charming and though I was interviewed for 8 minutes, neither of us knew what had been recorded as her machine would not play back. Obviously we did not discuss the bogus emergency what we did discuss ^{in the house had been} what how to raise the standard of life for the people. My answer to that was it was a social and technologically backwardness on the one hand and the Marxist policies by Nehru and his daughter on the other. I welcomed that light had dawned somewhat belatedly on Nehru's grandson Sanjay.

THURSDAY, 11th SEPTEMBER

Ram Mohan Gandhi came and saw me over a cup of tea and I reported to him on the reply from Delhi.

SATURDAY, 13th SEPTEMBER

At 12 noon Ganam came along with the correspondent of the German Press Agency and we talked about the situation off the record. He found that I was a little too optimistic. He saw little possibility of Mrs. Gandhi backtracking. As he saw it she was so hated that she would not dare to face either a free press or a free election. I doubted this thesis knowing the mildness and complacency of our people. He saw nothing but darkness ahead. Let us hope ~~that~~ he is wrong. This happens to be a foreign correspondent's view that we have passed the point of no return.

Sometime this afternoon Karnik came to read to me ~~about~~ the telegram he had received from Seghan, the Prime Minister's secretary, and we agreed that we should meet on Monday to plan further action such as replying to the Prime Minister and informing our co-secretaries.

One does not know what to make of the "more propitious time" referred to in her telegram. Could it be expected after the Supreme Court hearing in a couple of weeks or so? Or we have to wait a couple

of years. Maybe the good lady does not know herself?

evening
In the ~~afternoon~~ J.R.D. Tata came along for a cup of tea after his golf and, apart from discussing the problems created by the resignation of their Personnel Adviser, we also reviewed the general situation. He told me about his talk with the Prime Minister and I showed him my letter to her and her reply.

SUNDAY, 14th SEPTEMBER

This morning the national executive committee of Citizens for Democracy met at my place and we started with a cup of coffee and ~~a couple of~~ snacks. The meeting lasted from 10 a.m. to 12:45 a.m. ¹²

Apart from the members of the committee, Tarkunde and Rana had as usual ~~balloted the advance~~ ^{packed the meeting} ranga fashion, with some "invitees".

I wish one could stop this pernicious habit of self deception, ^{so} very rampant in this country.

The discussion was a little better than I ^{had} expect with S.M. Joshi in the chair. An attempt to commit the organisation to illegal action was firmly beaten back by S.M. Joshi, Soli Sorabjee, Tarkunde and myself. In the end it was decided to organise a ^{conference} on civil liberties ^{prepared} in Ahmedabad in ~~October~~ on Sunday, October 12,

confined strictly to those who are not actively associated with political parties. Chagla would inaugurate it and former chief justice Shah preside. I promised to try and be present.

It was decided that at the Conference a draft petition to Parliament should be initiated and a large number of signatures secured appealing to ~~the~~ *for the restoration of* civil liberties and the rule of law.

It was further decided that different limits on the guidelines permitted by the censorship order on some literary _____ might be put out by the committee of the Citizens for Democracy.

MONDAY, 15th SEPTEMBER

Karnik came to see me this morning and we decided to send a reply to the Prime Minister's Secretary expressing our disappointment doubting whether there would be a "more propitious time" and suggestion that the opportunity for reconciliation that existed today might not recur. (Telegram and reply in Conciliation file).

We also decided to send out letters to our *co-secretaries* ~~co-secretaries~~ informing them of the Prime Minister's telegram and our reply.

TUESDAY, 16th SEPTEMBER

My writ petition was mentioned in the High Court this

morning and Mr. Justice Bhatt^{to} whose ~~ward~~^{board} it has been
transferred has fixed Tuesday, the 23rd^{for} as the final
~~hearing~~ hearing. In view of the fiddle resorted to by
the other side, I would not be surprised if there is
a further adjournment to another day.

WEDNESDAY, 17th September

I had a chat with Rajeshwar and Sheela Dayal who had just returned from New York and London and were on their way to Delhi. They had met Zareer in London and were pleased ~~that~~ with what they saw of him.

THURSDAY, 18th September

Today was the day with pressmen. At lunch had a long talk with Cushrow Irani who told me about his problems in the Statesman. In the evening had an even longer talk with Mulgaonkar who told me about his problems in the Indian Express. It is interesting but sad that unless one ~~is~~ ^{has} a combination of ^a fearless ~~proprietor~~ proprietor and a fearless editor, one cannot keep one's end up even to the extent of asserting one's legal rights. Like for instance, publishing the judgement of Justice Rangaraj who ordered Kuldip Nayar's release.

I showed a copy of our letter to the Prime Minister to Mulgaonkar who after seeing it, said that his fear ^{which} he had expressed in his letter to me several weeks ago about the ~~imple-~~ ~~mentation of~~ conciliation move were unfounded. He had feared that we would in some lower the flag.

TUESDAY, 23rd SEPTEMBER

I wrote today to C.T. Daru regarding the Ahmedabad meeting on Sunday, 12th October and asking him if I could return the same evening. I would very much like to keep out of any public tamashas on that day in keeping with my retirement of active party politics.

TUESDAY, 23rd September (Continued)

When our petition came up in the High Court today, it was once again adjourned till the 30th instant. The slogan justice delayed is justice denied though universally accepted seems to make no impact on the ^{judicial} traditional or legal mind.

FRIDAY, 26th September

JP's brother Raja turned up to see me prior to his departure for Patna, Delhi and Chandigarh. I was happy to show him a letter that had ~~come~~ ^{come} the previous day from Tarkunde giving ~~me~~ the glad tidings that JP had ~~not~~ last been moved from his gilded cell in the hospital to a guest house of the hospital where he could see the daylight and the sky and could walk about in the open. That is a great relief. Of course even now no company is being given to him and he is held in solitary confinement. Even this concession was a result of the ^{ca} petition filed in the Delhi High Court a couple of days earlier when the ^C court ordered the other side to show the ^{cause} ~~the~~ ~~result of this conciliation.~~

Let us be grateful for the courts, about the only thing in India to be grateful for these days. It also ^{shows} ~~that~~ whatever is to

to be achieved is by going to the ^Courts and threatening
the ^Government with legal action. I have written to
Tarkunde not to relax his efforts to obtain ~~an~~ acceptable
company for JP.

MONDAY, 29th SEPTEMBER

Peters^{of the}, Deputy British High Commissioner and Martin^{High} Commissioner in Delhi came to see me. I learnt a great deal of Delhi gossip. On the other hand I told them about our effort at conciliation and the way it has got stymied at the present time.

After many years of lack of contact I suddenly got a letter today dated 20th September from Melvyn Laski of Encounter. It seems he has got hold a copy of my book Is JP the Answer? and seems to like it. He wants to quote from it, particularly the last few pages (Indira Gandhi's option, no doubt)? but wants me to give a postscript or addendum to bring the story up to date. That really is a hot potato. ^{is} the case is in such situations, there is a lot to be said on both sides. *Shall*
check.

TUESDAY, 30th SEPTEMBER

Our ^{the} petition came up for hearing in High Court and the hearing actually started for a while. At one point, the Maharashtra Government lawyers could not satisfy the court ^C with what authority Vinod Rao had enjoyed acting ^{to} as the censor. At this point the case had to be adjourned till Thursday the 2nd October to enable them to obtain the necessary instructions.

That evening, Freddy Mehta addressed the Conceptual Forum of the Bombay Management Association at the Taj on the economic situation. As usual Freddy was absolutely first class. I found myself in 100% agreement with his plea for the reversal of the ^{issue} ^{of} priorities and of the basic economic policies. I felt that what he had to say was of great

value and needed further discussion, and so I fixed up to go to breakfast with Katie and him next Sunday morning so that we could jaw jaw a little more.

WEDNESDAY, 1st OCTOBER

After thinking about it, I have decided to take the risk and so today I wrote to Melvin Laski (copy in Emergency file) agreeing to write for him but asking for the deadline.

I received a letter from Daru dated 27th September pleading as I had feared for me to stay overnight and arguing and using as a reason the inevitable public meeting that evening. I suppose I shall have to give, in though I have certainly stipulated that I shall not attend the public meeting as a speaker at their public meeting. I have addressed enough public meetings to last a life time and quite frankly I am sick of them.

THURSDAY, 2nd OCTOBER

The adjourned case came up for hearing again in the High Court but it did not come on for long this time in the light of the lying affidavits filed by Mathur, Nadkarni and Vinod Rao that Nadkarni and

:3:

not responsible for Censorship

and Mathur were in ~~response for the cause of conciliation~~ but that Vinod Rao was ~~not~~. *On the advice of Chief Justice Bhargava* that we should withdraw this petition and bring in a fresh one against Vinod Rao as it would ~~not~~ be possible for him to give us *relief* ⁱⁿ the present petition. When Soli pointed that the present petition had already last three months and a new one might ~~intend~~ ^{cause} further delay, the judge promised to guard against this and said he would be prepared to admit the new petition the following morning. *So we have to his advice*

FRIDAY, 3rd OCTOBER

Having prepared the new petition overnight for which a vote of thanks should go to our solicitor Nanavati, we appeared at 11. o' clock before the judge ^{who} ~~to~~ ^{had} ~~to~~ duly admit the new petition against Vinod Rao. While we had hoped to get the 20th October for the hearing, the judge went one step ^{better} ~~better~~ and fixed the 15th October. *Within 24 hrs* we actually go to a hearing *One has to* ~~that it is another matter, has on the~~ anticipate some further ~~delay~~ ^{turn} dilatory facilities from the other side in order to frustrate the hearing on the merits of the material that has been ~~banned~~ ^{on which} ~~when~~ frankly they have no case.

SUNDAY, 5th OCTOBER

Had a very useful and stimulating breakfast session with Freddy Mehta. I got some very useful data from ^{him} for use in ^{my} Encounter article.

MONDAY, 6th OCTOBER

Two letters from friends abroad came in today. One was from Malagodi dated 2nd October (letter in Emergency file) which reported a little about the Edinburgh Conference of the Liberal International. I was touched by his remark "so much we spoke of you, how much we missed you, how we wish you the best of luck". Malagodi had asked ~~that~~ ^I I had received the Edinburgh resolution from Richard Moore but since there is no sign of them I have written to Richard asking for them, particularly if there ^{is} was any reference to India.

~~Tjm~~ The other letter was from Mike ^{Jensen} ~~Solomon~~ from Geneva acknowledging my letter of September 26 and the receipt of the ~~same~~ second copy of my book which reached him successfully this time. It seems that it is this ^{copy} ~~one~~ which ~~he~~ had sent by him to Melvin Laski leading to Melvin's letter to me. Having failed to get ^{him} ~~it~~ from Soli to settle the draft ~~for~~ ^{of} the petition to Parliament which we had promised to prepare for launching at the Ahmedabad Conference on 12th October, I have sent today a rough draft to Daru with my letter (in Emergency file

THURSDAY, 9th OCTOBER

I have received a cable from Melvin Laski who seems to have got my letter and wants my letter for publication to him this week or the next.

Since (a) I have no time to do this and (b) I need time to prepare this letter very carefully, keeping the various angles in mind, I have written back to him immediately (letter in Emergency file) saying that his time table is out the question but that I would be able to send him a letter for publication if he gave me a little more reasonable ~~and~~ deadline which I presume will be the end of October. Let us see what reply comes in. Meanwhile, I must get going and prepare the material. The only trouble is how to keep it within a thousand words.

SATURDAY, 11th OCTOBER

I left for Ahmedabad along with Soli and several others like Chagla on the same flight to attend the Civil liberties Conference planned by the Citizens for Democracy for the following day, and stayed the night with Mona Chimsenbhai and her family. That evening there was a meeting at her place of a small group to plan the next day's proceedings and it was decided that I should move the resolution ^{man calling out to the Emergency and the torturers} for the need for democracy of civil liberties and democratic freedom. *provision*

SUNDAY, 12th OCTOBER

This was one of the most encouraging days since 26th June. The

The attendance at the Conference was ever so much better than I had expected. The college auditorium was over crowded inspite of the fact that it had more than a thousand seats. I was told that hundreds of people had asked for invitation cards and had been turned away and ~~that~~ they would attend a public meeting ^{later} the other day. I had however asked to be excused from the public meeting as I had decided to get back to Bombay ^{the same evening}.

Chagla opened the meeting with a very ~~vigorous~~ vigorous political speech. He went so far as to make two statements ^{for which} that I found myself in complete disagreement. The ~~first~~ first was that the development of 20th June were the "original sin" to be ^{and the source of} of evils ~~first~~ and the other was that he would prefer a total dictatorship to a constitutional dictatorship ^{under} in which we live.

Later at lunch Professor K.T. Desai told me that ^a perceptive professor of psychology who was seated next to him in the auditorium said that these ~~extreme~~ extreme attitudes reflected Chagla's ^{compensated} guilt of having been a member of Jawarhalal Nehru's and Indira Gandhi's ~~governments~~. Quite a cute ^{fact} business of diagnosis I thought, when I had met Chagla at a dinner party many years ago he had called me "anti-Indian" for having dared to criticise the great god Nehru. In this case ^{how} ~~no~~ further the mighty ^{fallen} follow but how the low ^{an} ~~down~~ resurrected? Anyway I decided to contradict Chagla when my time came after coffee.

Chagla was followed by former Chief Justice Shah who was in the chair. He was mild and dignified by contrast and described the last three and a half months as a "nightmare."

After coffee, I had to move the main resolution which a redraft of ~~xxx~~ what I had sent to ~~Baru~~ as a draft petition to Parliament. The resolution was quite tough and obviously unpublishable.

Since there ~~have~~ been two anti-Indira speeches, I decided that

was enough for the moment and that I should go in for a certain amount of historical analysis. It would be of more value ~~and~~ when the good lady was removed from the ~~seat~~ *scene*.

I said that my own impression ^{was} that "original sin" probably started on the 15th August, 1947 when the British handed over power and the way we had criminally mismanaged our affairs even since then. Our politicians had, by and large played the fool, looked after themselves and their parties, and failed to solve the people's problems, just like the politicians of the Fourth Republic in France who produced De Gaulle as the answer. The common people ~~failed~~ *on this point failed* to produce an infrastructure of grassroots democracy to control the politicians. The result ^{was} a fragile democratic house of cards which collapsed ^{as soon as} when the lady started puffing and puffing. Secondly, the acceptance of the bogus socialist pattern which was nothing but *fake state capitalism* Moscow,..... which could not exist for long ~~when~~ *without* democracy. Some of us had pointed this out throughout the ~~sixties~~ *sixties* in speeches in Parliament and outside. But the electorate did not listen. The ~~disgusting~~ *nauseating* spectacle of business leaders going in deputation to Delhi to plead with the Prime Minister not to resign after the Allahabad judgement ~~which was found so nauseating but~~ was the inevitable consequence of the economic pattern.

199 This was not unique to India, and I quoted Walter Lippman and Benedetto Croce to substantiate the first and second ~~constitutions~~ *points* respectively.

It was because of all these trends that ~~as~~ the British press had readily pointed out, the Indian people had surrendered their freedom quite so easily. All this would become relevant when Indira Gandhi went and someone had to take her place.

I thought I was making a somewhat unpopular speech since I suggested turning the searchlight inwards in response to Gandhiji's precept rather than

take a potshot by ^{resorting to} ~~inventing~~ what I described as a resort to "demonology".

To my pleasant surprise however, the audience applauded and at lunch interval I was told that the line I had taken was appreciated by the somewhat intelligent audience ^{who found it finer & more forthright than the} "Indira Hatao" ^{other than to go} followed. After lunch after my resolution which was seconded by Soli had been duly accepted with unanimity ^{inward} other resolutions were opposed but I had to leave before the Conference could end as I had to take the plane to Bombay.

Needless to say next morning there was not even a mention of this Conference in the newspapers in Bombay. So much for the bogus "relaxation" of censorship.

WEDNESDAY 15th OCTOBER

^{early morning}
Met Shakuntala at the airport on her from London to Delhi. She was keen to ~~talk~~ discuss Zareer's problems and outlook. He did not want to return to India because he had made up his mind that he would be detained because of his activities in London. I said that while I ~~could~~ not guarantee what the lady would do, I thought Zareer was flattering himself and that nothing would happen if he came back. I promised to write to him to remove the impression that the young folks in England were getting that people were being picked up at the Shamiana and coffee shops every other day for talking indiscreetly. Sheer poppycock ^{and expedient} invented by cowards to justify their cowardice.

In the afternoon met Barbara Bowman, secretary of the British Quakers who had come to India on some educational work ^{of} ~~in~~ the

own in the tribal areas but who wanted to know about our efforts at conciliation. Margery Sykes was also there.

I received a cable from Melwin Laski of Encounter saying that he would be glad to get my letter within a month. That is fine and will give me enough time to work it out carefully,

FRIDAY, 17th OCTOBER

My unpleasant experiences at dinner parties continue. This evening at the Watsa's I sat next to a young Jamnagar princess who prepares T.V. films in London. It was sickening to hear her echo the remark that the British Press was biased and anti-Ind-^{camp} and ^{comment} made me remember that we jolly well deserved Inaira Gandhi and I told her so.

SATURDAY, 18th OCTOBER

One more unpleasant experience at dinner. This time at the Khote's. Laxman the cartoonist who I understand is quite ~~rightly~~ rightly browned off at not being able to draw at will to my horror started defending the Times of India and his ^{also} cowardly acceptance of even the illegal directives of Mr. Binal Rao. All ~~however~~ he could say to cover up his newspaper's treachery was to blame the politicians. I had to remind him that some fifty thousand ^{of them} ~~and they~~ were all sitting in prison while he was having his Scotch. I asked him to tell

:10:

Shyam Lal what a skunk I thought he is for behaving as he has ^{is only} and I asked

Laxman to remind him how he had refused to publish my letter to Indira
Gandhi ~~exam~~ ^{my} correcting her ~~line~~ statement in Parliament about my me that
the Times had carried.

I really should stop going to dinner parties!

XXXXXX

MONDAY, 20th OCTOBER

Vinod Rao's affidavit which was overdue at last came up this afternoon. Once again there was an evasion about facing

the merits of the articles banned by him and the ^{merits} ~~relation~~ of technicalities ^{such as that the Court} ~~set as agreed~~ had no jurisdiction to sit on his ^{subjective decision which is final. (Anon)} ~~judification in arriving at this decision.~~ While ~~were~~ ^{we} engaged in preparing our affidavit for swearing in the next morning when the case ^{is} was to come up for hearing.

TUESDAY, 21st OCTOBER

Once again an anticlimax! While the petition (previous to mine) ^{of Lokur} ~~of Lokur~~ against the censors ^{was} ~~again~~ being argued by Soli Sorabjee ^{as} ~~was~~ was shaping rather well, this morning Vinod Rao's lawyers wanted both his case and mine adjourned on the ground that ~~they~~ they wanted to produce a ^{an undenied} ~~no judge~~ ^{no judge} of the Nagpur High Court today. ^{which is not yet available.} ~~which is not yet available.~~ The judge yielded to this far-fetched plea and cheerfully adjourned the hearing till the 12th November. He was perhaps quite happy to get rid of this hot potato. It ^{is} ~~being~~ understood that he would not be hearing writ petitions after the vacation. He

said that unless the Nagpur judgement could be produced the following morning the case would stand ^{over} until the 12th of November.

WEDNESDAY, 22nd OCTOBER

As expected both petitions were stood over till the 12th November since the Nagpur judgement was not ~~over~~ ^{available}.

In the course of the day, I got a telephone call from JP's brother who ^{gave} me a report about his son's interview with JP three or four days back. The news this time was bad. Not only have JP's digestive troubles not ended but two of his toes have got permanent ^{throats through} cramps. This is a sign of bad ~~health~~ circulation and is very worrying news because even though he is in hospital, they have not been able to cope with these troubles. Raja told me that he would be leaving just before Diwali for Chandigarh and I promised to get some new books of a non-political kind that JP now wants.

I ~~have~~ have been sitting over a letter from Inder Malhotra of the Times of India asking me to contribute a feature on books they are publishing at the end of the year. This is a group of book ^{lovers} who want to take their readers into ^{conference} about ^{books} they have enjoyed most during the year and why.

Today I wrote back to Inder pointing out that I had already as the editor of Freedom First declined to submit to the whims and fancies of the censor and could hardly be expected to do so in this instance. I said I would only make a contribution to this collection provided he was in a position to give me a specific assurance that whatever I sent would be published without any deletion ^{by} either the censor or editor. I doubt if Shyam Lal will agree to this condition. Lets see what reply comes in.

I received a cable from Melwin Laski in response to an inquiry I had made ~~a~~ verification as to the maximum number of words ^{sent} ^{between} he could use. His cable said I could ~~use~~ anything up to 2,000 to 3,000 words. This ~~is~~ ample for my purpose. ⁵

FRIDAY, 24th OCTOBER

I had shown a draft of my letter to Melwin Laski to Freddy Mehta and to ^LGanam for their comments on the economic and political aspect ³respectively. From Freddy I got an okay and from Ganam some useful suggestion ^{cuts} and about half a dozen phrases and sentences which he thought needed revision.

THURSDAY, 30th OCTOBER

I was glad this morning to get rid of my letter to

Encounter, the preparation of which took up a great deal of time

and self-censorship, ^{to} had ~~been~~ indulged in. Thank God the

^{now} dam thing is off my hands; like an arrow that has left its

bow, it can now take its course.

FRIDAY, 31st NOVEMBER

P.O. Kue

I telephoned Tarkunde this evening on Soli Sorabjee's insistence to find out whether it was true, as alleged by Vinod Rao in his affidavit, that he had withdrawn his article on the precensorship. Tarkunde told me this not true but explained the circumstances in which he had withdrawn his own petition in the Delhi High Court. He would very much like us to publish ^{his} an article though it had become out of date through amendments to the precensorship order made ~~some time~~ in August, 12.

I then asked Tarkunde what news of JP and once again it was bad. He told me that JP was now bedridden and had in consequence been moved back from the hospital guest house to the horrible room in doors where he could not see ^a the tree or the sky. He told me that he planned to see JP on the 3rd and would move in the matter of his lawsuit if it was still pending after that.

I see that Colin Legum has raised the issue in the Observer and is engaged in a controversy with some stooge in India House. It is important that the British Press get correct and up to date news about JP's condition, but then that is easier said than done. We shall see!

SATURDAY, 1st NOVEMBER

Natwarlal Parikh from Godhra came to see me and gave me a cassette containing a tape recording of my Ahmedabad speech. ~~xxxxxx~~
 I promised to get it retaped or transcribed and give the cassette back to him before he leaves Bombay on the 6th.

MONDAY, 3rd NOVEMBER

Before lunch I went and saw Rajeshwar Prasad and gave him seven books for JP. All except one had been bought for his majesty who had wanted new books. I also gave him a letter hoping it would be delivered. I told Raja to make inquiries about a judgement of the Delhi High Court in Morarji's case about which I had heard from Nathwani and to find out if the Deputy Commissioner of Chandigarh ^{was} ~~had~~ agreed to my having an interview with JP around the 4th of December after I finished my professional work in Calcutta and Jamshedpur on the 2nd or thereabouts. Raja ~~is~~ said that he would meeting JP around the 7th and would report to me on his return to Bombay on the 11th.

Dandekar, Raju and I had lunch together at the Willingdon Club and held a meeting of the Trustees of the AEI. Dandekar and I agreed that in the circumstances we should ask Rusi Cooper, now in Singapore to put in his resignation as a Trustee in the best interest of the AEI.

THURSDAY, 6th NOVEMBER

Anees Jung of Youth Times has returned to India from a visit to New York. She came and told me all about it at lunch at the Club. She was there when India took a beating in the elections to the Security Council and told me how ~~Shagrir~~ ^{chagrined} her host who was a member of the Indian delgation to the UN and his colleagues were. Naturally the ~~Reader~~ ^{Leader} of the censored Indian press was given an altogether different picture.

Anaes has now picked up enough courage to ^{talk} get JPs address and ~~now~~ write to him after my assuring her that nothing would happen in consequence.

Nathwani tells me about the Delhi High Court judgement of Justice Rangaraj in Morarji's Desai's case where the court has asserted its right to lay down conditions for detention. It is another noticeable judgement by this ~~one~~ ^{judge} judge who has quite rightly said that preventive detention cannot be punitive. He has dictated two interviews a week for two members of the family and has recommended ^{an interview} ~~per~~ fortnight for friends. I must get a copy of this judgement as it applied to JP also.

FRIDAY, 7th NOVEMBER

I lunched with Viren and Angu Shah for an informal discussion of our Attitude Survey of Mukand officers. Viren told me about his activities and how insecure he felt. He said they were quite capable of trying to frame him on some economic charge and lock him up under MISA since they did not have to prove the charge in Court.

Poor chap! This I suppose is ^{and} ~~one~~ danger someone like me who has ^{does not have} no money or no transactions ~~has~~ to worry about!

While we were lunching the news about the judgement delivered by the Supreme Court ~~judges~~ in regard to Indira's election case came over the screeed. As far as one can see the judged have done the expected. They have struck down the 39th amendment to the Constitution and then ^{has been by} applied this to accepting the amendments to the ~~Representation~~ of the people's act as valid and thus nullified the judgement of the Allahabad High Court.

Viren said that the judged had no business to play politics but I told him about my conversation with ^{the} Chief Justice of Ghana ^{was} when I ~~am~~ in Accra in 1972 or 1973 and how that Supreme Court had behaved in exactly the same way when dealing with that sob Nkrumah. The judges felt that while ^{into} brainmanship was legitimate in dealing

with a dictatorship, open provocation could only have resulted in the Supreme Court being locked up. They however, acted as good citizens in what they thought was the national interest. Personally, I think the Supreme Court judgement is a good one the most important part of it being that the 39th amendment which they have described as "despotic" has been struck down and Justice Sinha's excellent judgement has not been impugned. At the same time, if Indira wants to climb down and get off the tiger, she has a wonderful opportunity to do so now. If she does not do so in the next few weeks we shall have the old limmerick reenacted ^{about} that the "lady from Riga inside the tummy of the tiger" *with a bomb on the face of the tiger*

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10

Cushroo Irani and Soli Sorabjee came and had dinner with me ~~quietly~~ quietly this evening and we talked about various things. It was a useful exchange of information and ideas.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12

Today the High Court heard partly the writ petition against the censors, very similar to mine filed by Mr. Lokurkur in respect of two articles concerning the censorship. Soli ^{argued} argued extremely well. Since the legal issues ^{are} the same as in my case, whatever the Court decides in respect of Lokurkur's case will also apply to mine.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13

When the hearing finished, the judge Justice Bhatt gave a thumping judgement in our favour. Vinod Rao's decision was brushed aside as arbitrary, ill-founded etc. In any other country the man would have been removed from office for sheer incompetence, but this will not happen as he is exactly the kind of instrument New Delhi wants. ^{There is a} Since the petition ~~was~~ ^{has} been conceded ^{the} petition was called but ~~Shankar~~ ^{Shankar} Chagla absented himself on the grounds that he had fever, which may or may not be true but legal courtesy demands an adjournment. So we agreed to the case being adjourned to the 18th at 2.45 p.m. when the hearing has been fixed.

This morning the news was announced that JP had been released on parole ^{condition} for a month. Obviously this is a result of his health being in a parlous ^{as} his brother had reported to me last week. I am glad for JP's sake that he will have a break, even if only for a month. Besides, it may not be for a month and this might be the beginning of a thaw which we ~~had~~ ^{have} all been waiting for. I decided to fly up to Chandigarh and see him as early as possible.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14

This evening I left for Delhi to move on to Chandigarh tomorrow. Mehra had telephoned the Deputy Commissioner Mr. Devassayan ^{he} who said I was welcome to see JP but that I should call on him first. I stayed the night with Mehra. Patodia very kindly offered to give ~~me~~ ^{he} his car to drive to Chandigarh and back next morning.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15

Early morning Patodia came to hand over his car and driver at 7 a.m. It was a pity he could not come with me due to engagements in Delhi. After motoring for four hours, we reached Chandigarh ~~about~~ and I called on Mr. ^{he} Devassayan.

He turned out as expected to be a charming young man from the South — extremely courteous and helpful. He told me that they had kept an hour for me till 12.00 noon to see JP and sent a man with to escort me to the hospital. ~~At least in theory the police are withdrawn but they are now acting as the agents of the doctors.~~ ^{He gave me a permit signed by the Doctor} in bee

I found JP in much better shape than I had expected. He was sitting up and having his brunch. Though he complained about lack of appetite, he had eaten some porridge and an egg and some fruit, which wasn't bad.

When I asked JP his intentions he said that he would like to leave Chandigarh the next day for Bombay or Delhi. He preferred Bombay which I ^{also} ~~did~~ too.

I then moved on to meet Dr. Chotani about whom I had heard some very fine things about his medical skills. As it happened he also turned out to be a sparkling ^{ly} intelligent man ~~and was most helpful~~. Dr. Chotani said I was most welcome to take JP away to Bombay if I could arrange for a private aircraft. If, ~~however~~, it was to be in two hops, ^{through} to Delhi he would advise

JP to break his journey at Delhi and rest at the All India Medical Institute there *for a while two*

I moved on to Devassam *in* to find out ~~was~~ transportation arrangements the government were in a position to make. He in turn got on to Delhi. While I was with him Sugata Das Gupta telephoned him from the office of P.N. Dhar the Prime Minister's *Principle* Secretary. They wanted JP to break journey in Delhi. Since I did not think it was such a bright idea I was put on the phone and Sugata said that for various reasons which he could not explain over the telephone it would be desirable for JP to stay a little while in Delhi enroute to Bombay. He said that no direct flight to Bombay was possible *in Delhi* and I agreed to JP breaking journey the following day.

Later in the afternoon, before leaving for Delhi I had another chat with JP, this time of a somewhat more political nature. I found that he had not changed his angle of vision. He was all out to get the opposition parties together and win the *general* election to Parliament.

~~about two~~ "Give me ~~xxx~~ two months" he said and he would defeat the Prime Minister.

I questioned these assumptions and said that in any event I had done my bit earlier in trying to get the opposition parties together and was no longer available for that purpose. He was welcome to *that*. I also suggested that his optimism about two months was unjustified and that more time at least three to four months would be needed for *the* campaign. I gave JP *a* copy of the letter we had written to the Prime Minister on 31st August, and suggested that he read it later. I fear JP was no more inclined *now* to take the advice which I had given him in March and April than he was then. He will have to make up his mind by the time his thirty days leave of absence from detention come to an end. And I can see it is not going to be easy for anyone.

I motored back to Delhi in time for bed.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16

JP was due to arrive by the IAF flight at 2 o' clock at Palam and with a bouquet of roses I went to receive him. I found a gathering of about 50 to 60 of JP's good friends including Sugata Das Gupta, B.G. Verghese, Acharya Kriplani, Ramnath Goikar, etc. We were asked to wait at one of the exits where JP would be brought in an ambulance, allowed to greet us and then proceed to the Institute. As it turned out he was whisked away by the doctors and police by another exit. This to much gnashing of teeth against the Prime Minister and government. *led* But I could not resist the thought that the great leader who was no longer a prisoner could ~~not~~ *had not to that to demand that* greet his friends.

Anyway it was good that I met Sugata who came home with me ~~and~~ and filled me in about the background to the release which it turned out is not altogether based on JP's health, though that was no doubt *an deliberate* the ~~exhilarating~~ factor. I told Sugata I was a little shattered by the detailed story he told and he on his part was shattered that JP talked to me in Chandigarh in such an intransigent manner.

Evidently, the usual Bihari vacillation *is* was very much there. How right Gandhiji was about JP and his lack of clarity on fundamentals which evidently still persists.

TUESDAY, 16th November

2.45 p.m. had been fixed for the arguments in my case against the censor. I was able to listen that afternoon to the long winded drivel of an utter ass, an elderly gentleman named Mr. Advani. He was ^{so} ~~very~~ pathetic that I could have not selected a better lawyer to fight against us! With an opponent like this I hardly needed any advocate myself. The rest of the hearing I was unable to follow because of my having to leave for Deolali early morning the following day for a training programme for Voltas.

Saturday, 22nd November

This morning JP was flown down to Bombay from Delhi after five days of needless delay in his treatment starting. Thank ~~God~~ they were not successful in delaying him any longer or he would surely by now have been a dead man.

I went and looked him up at six this evening like a law abiding citizen during visiting hours and stayed only two or three minutes with him. I told him I would drop in for a chat after he had rested.

Sunday, 23rd November

At 10.30 a.m. I went and called on JP. I may be wrong but I definitely had the feeling that he was a much weaker and frail ^{man} ~~man~~ a few days earlier. That I suppose is a contribution of the P.M.'s ^{secretariat} ~~secretariat~~ for delaying him

in Delhi.

Dr. Shantilal Mehta, with whom I had a chat on the verandah, takes a grim view and shared his fears with me. He mentioned a lot of things he had to do to his kidneys which, being in medical language, sounded like Greek to me.

While I was chatting to JP, Shantilal came in and told JP that he and I had been in college together. He told me that he had already been attacked by the Janmabhoomi newspaper for having kept JP's condition a secret. Shantilal was quite justifiably angry at this slur. When he asked JP a question as to what he should do, JP said that he left things entirely in the doctors' hands. When Shantilal turned to me, I told him that he should perhaps put out a tentative and non-communicative bulletin saying that it would take a few days for JP's kidneys to be put ok, and that till then no firm prognosis or diagnosis could be published. At this to my surprise, Dr. Mehta said that he was in no condition to say that JP's life was not in any danger. I thought it was an odd remark to make in the patient's presence. But it was undoubtedly intended to make JP realise that it was not urgent at which Shantilal agreed that there was no immediate threat. He said that they would put JP on an artificial kidney the following day.

Tuesday, 25th November

After long negotiations ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{and many delays} my old friend Uma Shankar

Immediate Shipping & Commerce
Dikshit turned up in Bombay to address a meeting of the IRTDA, an invitation which he had accepted at my instance.

When I had him on the phone that I could not be at home,
As soon as he told me I telephoned him and he told me that he would not come down to Bombay if I ~~xxxx~~ wasn't present on the occasion since ^{he} looked forward to a chat with me. I had to postpone my departure to Calcutta on the 23rd and agreed to leave on the 25th evening.

I went and saw him at the guest house of the Shipping Corporation of India at ~~Caffe~~ ^{Chat} Parade and we had a long ~~gossip~~ ^{chat} after many many years. I told Dikshit who had called on JP to make an anxious enquiry about his health that if JP died during the next few weeks, no one in India, certainly not I, would be impressed by the alibi that the PM and the ^e government wished to create by throwing J^r out of prison when he was ~~practically~~ ^{practically} a dying man. Dikshit kept absolutely quiet and looked unhappy. It is obvious that he is no longer consulted and carries little weight even though he has always been a loyal stooge to Nehru and his daughter and though he was credited with considerable influence only a year ^{or two} ~~back~~.

When I asked him ~~xxx~~ why Bharuah, the clown had been nominated Congress President in his place, he amused me by saying how it was contrived when four

~~Cabinet~~
 or five congress fellow travellers in the Congress Party got together to form
 a lobby. They took Bhargava's resignation from the cabinet to the Prime Minister
 and said that they had "persuaded" Bhargava to make a sacrifice by giving up
~~Cabinet~~
 his Congress job so that he could become Congress ~~President~~ President. According
 to Dikshit, the poor lady told him that, faced with this accomplished fact, she had
 no option but go along. I told Dikshit that I for one could hardly swallow
 that one. The poor lady could have torn up the resignation as she was known
 to do otherwise. So I said, it obviously suited her purpose. At this
 Dikshit conceded that she had ~~paid~~ ~~played~~ ~~had~~ ~~had~~ compared him with Bhargava ~~say~~ that
 he was a very useful man (a) because he was pliant and did what he was told
 and (b) because he should ~~curtail~~ ~~curtail~~ the communists from the Congress Party.
 He on the other hand, she told him would be "controversial" as Congress Party.
 According to Dikshit, the alternatives now facing ~~her~~ ~~them~~ were either
 an early election with the raising of the censorship, release of prisoners and
 the virtual lifting of the emergency ~~with~~ ^{or} the postponement of the elections
 for ~~a year~~ ^{there} or so. I told Dikshit that ~~there~~ was a third alternative and that was a
 phony election without the lifting of the censorship ~~etc.~~ Dikshit ruled this
 out as being altogether unthinkable. I told him that, so far as I was concerned,
 I would ~~much~~ prefer a postponement to the election to a rigged one and that
 he could ~~reiterate~~ quote me to the PM if he so desired.

We then proceeded to the IRTDA meeting at CCI ^{he} where I move a voted of thanks and recalled Dikshit's earlier years in Bombay and the days he and JP and I were fellow law-breakers working together underground as absconders. Dikshit later told me that he enjoyed my speech and said that it was with great self control that he on his part had desisted from telling the august gathering that he had really come to Bombay for a chat with me and only secondary ^{to} speak to them.

After lunch I rushed to the high court where the judge was to start pronouncing judgement in my case at 2.45 p.m. When I got there I found that he had already started the judgement an hour earlier. His judgement was strongly in my favour. After disposing of the legal issues in our favour, the judge proceeded to examine the articles that Vinod Rao had ~~been~~ banned from publication. When the court rose for the ^{day} ~~xxxx~~ he had sanctioned my publishing Tarkunde's and the Maharashtra's Bar Council's resolution. On the items of world news etc, he will pronounce tomorrow morning but, alas, I will be away in Calcutta for which I leave tonight.

Thursday, 27th November

Today's Statesman carried prominently the report of Judge Bhatt's judgement pronounced in my favour yesterday.

This evening I met Ramnath Gajekar ^{Gajekar} who dropped in to see me. I learnt about the tremendous pressure that was being put on him not only by the ^{govt} ~~govt~~ ^{ent}

but by K.K. Birla the PM's stooge and Shanti Prasad Jain to save his own skin and that of his son and daughter-in-law by handing over on a platter

the Express Service of newspapers. Gopankar is fighting back not in the

Masani but in the Marwari way by entering into negotiations in the course

of which judge seeks to ~~out~~ ^{side outmanoeuvre} the other. Since his intention is not

yet ever I wish him luck and told him not to weaken. I said I could almost

guarantee that he ~~would~~ ^{not} have to be detained under MISA as he feared and that

I always ~~have been~~ ^{found him} a bringmanship approacher with such people. He left me

~~with determination not to give in.~~ I was told later that my talk with

him had been a tonic and had left him with more determination than ever.

Friday, 28th November

After my work on Indian Tube I ~~called on~~ ^{at} D.N. Patodia who

happened to be in Calcutta and dropped in on me at the Grand where I am staying.

Among other things which came to light that a general election to Parliament

will not be held this Spring and that obviously Parliament will be asked

to prolong its lown life for another year. This follows from what Patodia

said that K.K. Birla and other fund raisers for the PM had been told during

the last few days that they were committed to telling them that their

contributions were no longer needed and that they could hand over in October

1976. He said this was definite. In a way I am rather relieved again because

I could just not see free elections this March. This means that the prisoners will remain in prison and the order of censorship will continue for several months ^{at least perhaps} which is inevitable in the circumstances.

Wednesday, 3rd December

~~ixmpent~~ On the plane I ^{met} ~~was told to see~~ JP's brother ^{in law, Shrinath}

Prasad who told me he proposed to drive straight to the Jaslok to see how JP was and I said ~~ix~~ "me too." We got to the hospital about 8 and looked in on JP for a few minutes. I told him that I would see him the next morning.

Thursday 4th Dec ^{enhu}

This morning ^{at} on visiting hour I looked ⁱⁿ on JP and suggested that JP put a few lines together for the purpose we had in mind. He suggested I do a draft for him ~~and sign it~~ and ~~so~~ anticipating this I brought ^{had out} a draft from my pocket which I had prepared that morning and asked ^{him to} how he liked it. He said it was fine. I then suggested that he sign it right then. "Just like you" he said, but signed it, after making one little change at a point which showed that he was not signing blindly. I reassured him by telling him that this was only a holding operation ^{1/2} till we could do something a little better authenticated.

I decided to get something done because JP was going in for a biopsy of his kidneys that afternoon and according to Patwardhan ^{Richard}

:';

~~who~~ was a kidney biopsy could once in a while be fatal due to a shock to the kidneys.

Mercifully, when I called later that evening again ~~XX~~ JP had come out of the biopsy. But the tissues obtained were inadequate and the poor chap might have to have another biopsy.

This evening I got JP permission to bring with me tomorrow Colin Welch one of the editors of the Daily Telegraph who will be lunching with me tomorrow and KP readily agreed. He was very keen that we should give him a copy of JP's letter to the PM written after his detention sometime in July '75 but I strongly advised against precipitate action of this kind.

Friday 5th

Opening the newspapers this morning I was glad to find that the detention order on JP had been altogether withdrawn.

I called on JP ^{or} by way to office ^{to} get certain details for this evening's "signing ceremony."

I then had lunch with Colin at the Sheraton where I was to find he was carrying three copies of the December issue of Encounter along with extracts from my book "Is JP Still The Answer?" My own postscript will appear in the January issue.

Welch of course, was delighted that I could ^{interview} him to JP
for a few minutes this evening and promised not to do anything
that would embarrass JP by whatever he wrote in the Telegraph.
So I picked him up in the evening on my way home and we called on
JP at 5 o'clock. It was just a courtesy call and Welch enquired
about his health and how he was feeling about things.

JP's answer amounted to this: physically he was in very
poor shape, but spiritually he was very strong. ^{He} he had not changed
his mind about condition of India. ^{now} He was in a state to do nothing
and ~~as~~ he had been in solitary confinement ~~he was in detention~~
for four and a half months. He thought ~~was important~~ since he had
^{improved since being} ~~arrived~~ in Bombay but it would be a long fight.

Colin Welch told JP he was delighted to hear him full of fun
and smiles and humour. He has promised to send ^{me} his two articles
in the Telegraph when they appear. I have promised to show them
to KP JP.

At 6.30 ^{pm} Poli turned up with a Notary Public and we went
through the formal ~~sing~~ singing and notarising of JP's "political
testament." I sincerely hope we won't have to ~~use~~ this and that
JP will be able to speak for himself in the coming weeks and months.

Saturday, 6th December

Colin Welch dropped in for tea on his way to the airport this evening for London. We had a long chat for a couple of hours, when Cushman Irani of the ~~State~~ ^{Statesman} ~~Statesman~~ a Statesman also dropped in. Just as he was going, Soli Sorabji also turned up with photo copies of the previous days documents, and was thus just in time.

Sunday, 7th December.

I met George Verger at the Joslock Hospital this morning, he came home, and had a talk over beer. He told a little about the "Proposals on the floating list" in Delhi, ^{all} ~~which~~ ^{have} ~~constituted~~ ^{been} to changes of a drastic nature which ^{are} ~~is~~ attributed to various people, among those being Rajni Barooch on the one hand and B.K. Nehru on the other! The question is how this will be legislated during the coming session of Parliament commencing ⁱⁿ the beginning of January. It is a pity people talk about this document but nobody produces a copy. I then met Soli for lunch where we were joined by Cushman and Nargish Palit ^{and} ~~Palit~~ ^{Palit}.

Monday 8th December.

I went this morning to Madras in response to a pressing invitation from the Swatantra Party to join Chief Justice Subbaro and Shanti Bhushan at a meeting to commemorate Rajaji's ~~xx~~ birth anniversary.

The meeting turned out to be a great success from every point of view. The Kamraj ^{palace} ~~palace~~ where the meeting was held ^{with over 2500 people} ~~was~~ crowded to capacity with atleast 500 people standing at the fringes. Subbaro did not make a speech, and knowing my U.P. colleagues ^{and} ~~that~~ ^{their} long ^{business} ~~business~~ I asked permission to speak first, which I did for half an hour. Shanti Bhushan talked over an hour ~~an~~ ^{an} a quarter and the audience patiently listened and

Int J's ambulatory
applauded. Apart from the mob photo hunters, law students and others present, Shanti has made a great reputation and a well deserved one.

So the meeting was a success, but the next morning the reports in the Hindu and the Express were miniscule and in the papers outside Delhi nil. Long live the relaxation of the Censorship ~~of~~ Mrs. Gandhi talks about.

Thursday 11, December.

On reaching Bombay this morning I telephoned Raja JP's brother to ask about JP's health. He was jubilant since JP had, ~~and~~ *had* a very good day, but as I talked to him I got a x feeling that this jubilation could lead to a depression over night.

and Ramnath Gauda in
I talked to Ranna yesterday on the telephone to Calcutta and he told me of the long talk he had with Dr. Ma ni, the nephrologist at the Joslock. But like most doctors he is being childish and feminine and refuses to let any foreign specialist be invited ~~in~~ except when his *Lordship* decides it is necessary. The odds are that JP will have died by then.

Friday 12th, December.

Today JP was put on dialysis and towards the evening he came out of it in very bad shape not being able to see any one.

WEDNESDAY 17th DECEMBER

The Government's appeal against the ~~jud~~ judgement of Justice Bhatt was fixed for hearing before Justice Madan and Justice Kanya this morning. Once again, however, we ^{were} are in for a disappointment since the Court did not sit because of the indisposition of Justice Madan. This ~~has~~ for all practical purposes knocked out the possibility of our case being decided before the Christmas vacation which starts at the end of this week. This also means that there can be no issue of Freedom First. *in January*

This evening JP came out of his dialysis in rather poor shape. He had breathing difficulty and congestion of the lungs, and was put on oxygen for a couple of hours. This was a set back after the progress he appeared to be making during the last few days. One imagines this up and down situation will continue almost endlessly, but it makes one rather gloomy about the ultimate outlook.

THURSDAY, 18th DECEMBER

The High Court today decided that the appeal against Justice Bhatt *in my* favour should be heard on the opening day of the next session, namely, Monday, 5th January. The judgement in Lokurkar's case, which ~~has~~ already been heard, will also presumably be delivered after the hearing of my case. So the two judgements will follow one on the heel of the other.

FRIDAY, 19th DECEMBER

When I called this evening at the Jaslok Hospital, I found JP watching TV and in much better condition than I had seen him for several days. I was able to discuss with him matters concerned with his letter to the Prime Minister of 21st July, 1975. JP is now thinking in terms of going home, that is to his brother's place in Bombay after about a week. I think this is very dangerous, considering he can hardly walk two steps yet and the fact that he would have to come all the way to the Jaslok Hospital three times a week for dialysis. His brother Raja however, assured me later that there was no danger of this ~~matter~~

being done/and it would two or three weeks before JP would be actually allowed to leave hospital. Meanwhile, he has to gather strength and get accustomed to walking around and being on his feet.. Anyway, it is good to watch the progress and one hopes it stays and there is not the usual setback in a day or two.

SATURDAY, 20th DECEMBER

S.M. Joshi turned up at the Jaslok this morning and we both agreed about the unwisdom of JP rushing from hospital in a couple of days. We therefore decided to take the bull by the horns and tried to persuade ~~him~~ Dr. Money to put off the departure by a few days till JP was in a little better condition to do without the nursing and attention he had been receiving at the hospital. Living up to the reputation that I had gathered about him from others, Dr. Money turned out to be a very cocky young man who thought he knew all the answers. His rejection of our request bordered on rudeness.

MONDAY, 22nd DECEMBER

This evening at Parthi's place for drinks, Dr. Shantilal Mehta who had been in Goa, turned up and I took a couple of minutes to tell him about development regarding JP during his absence. He too seemed to be unhappy about the decision which had been taken while he was away. All I could do was to ask him to put off the departure for two or three days while JP gathered a little more strength and walked about a little more and ground his feet in general.

TUESDAY, 23rd DECEMBER

I was delighted to learn that JP had not left the hospital, so I looked him up again in the evening. Obviously Dr. Shantilal Mehta had done his stuff but the reprieve is only till tomorrow evening!

WEDNESDAY, 24th DECEMBER

JP moved to his brother's place this evening and I was told on the telephone that he was resting after the day's dialysis. I promised to look him up tomorrow morning.

THURSDAY, 25th DECEMBER

I was relieved to find that JP looked well and relaxed when I called on him in bed at his brother's place this morning. Fortunately, he does not have to go back to hospital for dialysis which gives him two days' rest.

TUESDAY, 30th DECEMBER

I called on JP for the first time at his brother's residence. I must confess I was greatly relieved to find that the first three or four days at home had gone well and that he was none the worse for wear. Psychologically he was feeling good. How long this will last is hard to say. One should keep one's fingers crossed.

Saturday, 3rd January

I had a good chat with Shanti Bhushan who is at his brother's place, this morning. He told me about his progress with the case before the Supreme Court. He thinks that the options are still open with the five-man bench and it is impossible to say at this stage which way the majority will swing. He thinks that if the majority is against the government, ^{the CJ} he will tell the Prime Minister privately that he did his best for her and could not do anything more ^{Shanti Bhushan} with the chief justice. I gave Shanti ^{Shanti Bhushan} about Indira's dictation to go into a dictatorship. Shanti is reluctant to accept my five-year prospectus. Evidently people in his circle think that a war with Bangladesh might shorten the agony. ^{and here, she would} The idea being that if India should attack Bangladesh ^{she is not a war} and be disgraced and dismissed ^{leader} she is not a war leader. Interesting thought, but I argued on the other hand she might win and that Pakistan and China might not come to Bangladesh's rescue and she would become a war hero. On the other hand, we might take a beating and become another Hungary or Czechoslovakia. I noticed that these possibilities had not occurred to Shanti Bhushan and he is way above the average UPite in intelligence. ^{then}

Later this morning, Jehangir Patel my colleague on Freedom First called and we did a little bit of optimistic and premature planning of our February issue before ^{in anticipation} Vinod Rao's appeal ^{by the Supreme} could be passed by Justices Madan

and Kanya. Nothing like being optimistic at ~~this time~~ ^{like this!}

Mehra and I called on Kamal Wood to condone with her on the death of Eveland. She conceded that it was actually a relief but she was cleft in two because their lives had been so ^{intertwined} entwined for more than a quarter of a century.

Tuesday, 6th January

At last the hearing of the appeal before Justices Madan and Kanya started this morning. To start with, it was amusing but as the day wore on it became tiresome because ~~their~~ ^{my} very little progress was made. There were a few interesting ^{moments} moments, however because of the discovery made by Justice Madan that my solicitor Nanavati through sheer negligence ^{had} not filed ⁱⁿ his appearance. I had to go up and down the stairs forgetting about my spine and at last discovered his wife who is a practising advocate. She too ran up and down the corridors looking for her missing husband, and at last ^{got him to sign} ~~got him to sign~~ one of his fellow attorneys. This, however, was only made possible by the kindness of Justice Madan who very sweetly announced that the court would adjourn for five minutes for a smoke or a wash. ~~The five minutes became fifteen when the judges were told that the fifteen minutes had become~~ ^{of the judge's wife} ~~For these fifteen minutes I shall stop grumbling at the garrulous lawyer.~~

Wednesday, 7th January

Today was a bad day in that nothing moved and practically the whole day ~~had been~~ ^{was} wasted in irrelevant squabbles between Justices Madan and Kanya.

Also, I had a shock when I discovered that the Prime Minister's ^{lying} ~~quotation~~ ^{in Parliament} had been put in as exhibit and my solicitor had conveniently forgotten to show this to me for the last two months. I rushed

to the office, got out my letter to Prime Minister, got copies made and rushed back to court. Somehow or the other I want this fact to get to the notice of the judges but it seems, due to my lawyer's negligence the misquotation must stand uncorrected. The law certainly is at times an ass! In my annoyance I have worked out a solution, to hell with the lawyers and the courts. I shall publish my letter to the Prime Minister in the February issue of Freedom First and send a copy to every judge of the High and Supreme Court. Advani who is appearing for me says this is fine.

Friday, 8th January

Another tiresome day with no progress. Soli and me tearing our hair at the waste of public time and money. Advani of course is enjoying it drawing his fat fee towards which all of us income tax payers contribute.

Friday, 9th January

Today things moved a little in the Court and at last we reached Tarkunde's article. The Lord be praised for small mercies. At this rate the case should ^{be} over in a couple of months!

Also I had a practice over my letter to the Prime Minister. Soli was away and Noorani was in charge and at a suitable moment under my instigation he moved to hand up to the judge two copies of my letter to the Prime Minister. Having duly read and chuckled over my letter Justice Madan handed the letter back to Noorani saying that it should be placed on record. When Noorani told him that I was his ^{equally upset} and that since only yesterday I had become aware of this misquotation being on record, Madan castigated my solicitor. ~~This of course was not to be taken very seriously~~ because having seen my letter, the prejudice that had been sought to be

corrected in their minds had been dispelled. By the time this comes up in the Supreme Court, the judges would have seen my letter in Freedom First. The truth shall prevail! *Walter J. Rife*

SUNDAY, 11th JANUARY

I had a busy morning. ^FFirst a call on JP soon after 11 o' clock followed by a visit to me at home by Mr. E. ^{Behr}~~Bhear~~ of Newsweek. He is actually based in Paris but has been sent on a roving visit to India about which he said he would write shortly. He has promised to send me clippings of Newsweek. I agreed to talk to him on ^{the} record as I had done with Colin Welch of the Daily Telegraph who certainly made good use of the material I gave him. ^{Behr}~~Bhear~~ told me something I did not know that the Washington Post and Newsweek came from the same stable (owned by a lady whose ^{name} I have forgotten) and whom our lady in Delhi dislikes immensely. They are ^{however}~~however~~ persona non grata with Delhi.

TUESDAY, 13th January

The hearing of Vinod Rao's appeal was resumed by Justices Madan and Kanya this morning. I made my apologies for my absence the following day as I was ^{to be} in Delhi to meet Mr. Zetz and Godfrey Wust of FNS.

WEDNESDAY, 14th January

I spent the day with ^{Godfrey}~~Godfrey~~ Wust and his colleague who was leaving for Germany and could not come to ^{Bombay}~~Bombay~~. In the evening ^{Godfrey}~~Godfrey~~ and I flew down to Bombay together.

THURSDAY, 15th January

I had a very busy ~~morning~~ day what with putting my nose into the

more than
 High Court every minute and seeing through a very busy day with Must, starting with lunch at the Taj, *and* a meeting of the LSP Board at 5.00 p.m. and dinner at my place for twenty guests. *again*

FRIDAY, 16th January

Godfrey Another very busy day starting at the Grand Hotel where I introduced *and* Godfrey to a group of discussion leaders of the LSP alumni. Went to the High Court where Soli Sorabjee's turn at last came. He did a splendid job as usual but could not finish when the court rose for the day. Noorani will take over after the weekend.

In between, lunch at the Taj, an Indian Liberal Group tea at the Yacht Club, where there was a surprisingly big turn out and finally dinner at Ganam's.

SATURDAY, 17th January

Godfrey We saw Ganam Godfrey off at the airport for Colombo. This morning it was arranged that I would participate in a symposium they are organising in Berlin in March. *Godfrey* Godfrey promised to give me the dates as soon as he reaches Bonn.

SUNDAY, 18th January

We had a conference at Soli Sorabjee's place where all the lawyers were present and Noorani was briefed on the various issues coming up in court in the coming week.

MONDAY, 19th January

Noorani was excellent in Court. In fact, contrary to our fear that he and Justice Madan would clash they got on like a house on fire. Noorani joined Justice Madan in discussion ^{of} various irrelevancies of a gossiping nature which seemed to appeal to the bench. Finally, this evening and tomorrow Advani will reply and the hearing will be wound up.

THURSDAY, 22nd January

I called on JP on my way home from office this afternoon. He mentioned that he would like a little help for his personal purpose and I promised to see what I could do. He says he is feeling slightly better than when he ~~was~~ left the hospital but is still very weak.

WEDNESDAY, 28th January

Mehra and I had lunch with Khushwant Singh at the Yacht Club. He complained of harassment by the censor. "What you too?" I asked somewhat sceptically. Whether this is genuine or an attempt to claim solidarity I cannot quite make out. He claimed that the lady has refused to give him an interview which he had asked for for the ~~xxx~~ Illustrated Weekly. If this is so, I for one would not break my heart over it. Bootlickers deserve to be kicked.

FRIDAY, 30th January

Madhu Mehta insisted on my participating at his annual Gandhi anniversary prayers once again. So I spent from 6.15 to 7.15 at his place through a program of Gandhiji's recorded words and bhajans and hymns of which he was fond.

SATURDAY, 31st January

Peters, British Deputy High Commissioner asked me to join him for a beer to meet one of their whizz kids from Delhi. He was a bright young man named McGregor, extremely well posted ^{for me} who is supposed to be learning Hindi.

SUNDAY, 1st February

I left Bombay this evening for a week in Calcutta and Jamshedpur on professional work.

TUESDAY, 3rd February

This evening I had dinner at the Nanavati's and had occasion to meet at last Mother Teresa who was in Jamshedpur looking for some land outside the city for establishing a leper home. She explained to us

how difficult this was because surrounding villages immediately objected on the ground that they and their sons and daughters would be written of in the marriage market as contaminated people and that the value of their own land would drop. The obvious answer is to find a deserted stretch of land with no villages around but this is not likely in most parts of over crowded India. Mother Teresa turns out to be younger than her pictures. She speaks English well enough but I decided not to invite her to deliver a speech on our 68th May this year, though I shall press for this next year.

WEDNESDAY, 4th February

In response to an invitation from Father Tom, the head of the Xavier Labour Relations Institute, I gave a talk, open to discussion on Employees' Association with Management - Its Scope and Limitations. Father Tom and the audience seemed to be satisfied.

FRIDAY, 6th February

This evening I went and dined with Father Tom and his fellow priests at their ~~XLRI~~ XLRI guest house. I was cross examined throughout the evening on the political and economic problems of the day.

SATURDAY, 7th February

I moved to Calcutta this morning and had lunch with Cushroo Irani. They have impounded his passport while he was away in Hong Kong at a press meeting. He is filing a writ petition to get it back. This is in addition to one civilian and one criminal lawsuit he is already fighting. Poor chap he is certainly having more than his fair share of but seems to be good fighting for nonetheless.

SUNDAY, 8th February

Returned to Bombay in the evening after conducting an Executives Conference for the Indian Tube Company in the morning. In the evening I met at dinner Adam Watson, former diplomat and now in charge of the program of the International Association of Cultural Freedom, operating from London. I had missed him during his last visit so this was our first encounter. We argued all around the place, but he appeared to me to be fundamentally reasonable and certainly not an anti-anti-communist like his friend Sir Adam Bullock or Shepherd Stone. We decided to carry on our talk at lunch tomorrow.

MONDAY, 9th February

This morning I had breakfast with my old friend John Marsh at his room in the Taj before he left for the airport since this was the only time he could make it. We discussed the affairs of the world as also possibilities to cooperate in the field of management consultancy, which he has now entered. He is at present going around India as a consultant of Bharat Heavy Electricals. The government enterprises seem to be waking up!

At lunch Adam Watson and I concluded our discussions and arrived at some agreed procedures. Though he like his predecessors would like Quest to be delinked from the ICCF, he does not make an issue of it or make it a precondition, but ^{concludes} it is our own business over here.

TUESDAY, 10th February

At last the judgement in the censors's appeal against Justice Bhatt's judgement was delivered. It took the whole day from 11 a.m. to beyond 5 p.m. We have won again though not as completely as before the single judge. On the point of law we won hands down every single plea of the censor being thrown out. On facts, we won on nine articles of the eleven. In regard to the

two casualties, namely, Tarkunde's article and "Jai Jayvardhan" the censor was given the benefit of the doubt. ^{recently} What was disappointing was that the court only awarded Rs. 2,000/- to us which is extremely mean considering. However, in these days one must not look gift horses in the mouth.

The language of the judgement delivered by Justice Madan was in part most elegant and sturdy and will make good reading in Freedom First where I think it will be worth carrying in instalments for three or four months. His little essay on the role of the censor was quite a treat!!

The other side evidently wish to go in appeal and will move the court separately in a day or two.

WEDNESDAY, 11th February

This morning unknown to me the government lawyers informed the court that they wish to go in appeal to the Supreme Court against the judgement and asked for a stay order against my publishing. ^{meanwhile} the resolution of the Maharashtra Bar Council attacking the proclamation of the Emergency which seems to have got under the government's skin, the court refused to give the stay order until they filed and moved a proper petition asking for special leave of the Supreme Court. The hearing of this petition was fixed for 23rd February. My lawyers agreed that, meanwhile, I would not publish this resolution which was really big of them considering that the next issue does not appear in any case before 1st March!!

It is not clear whether or not on the 23rd they will move for a stay to prevent my publishing pending appeal in the Supreme Court the remaining eight articles sanctioned by the court. I shall have to see that enough space is kept for them in the March issue to bring them into the press on the 24th ^{after}

if all goes well. I think I shall parody the New York Times slogan "all the news that's fit to print" by giving the title "all the news the censor did not think ~~it~~ fit to print," or something like that.

One must really twist his nose hard and accompany it with a smart kick on the shins.

In the afternoon we had our Freedom First editorial board and planned the rest of the issue leaving the question of extracts from the judgement ^{and} of the banned material open till the 23rd.

FRIDAY, 13th February

I received a visit at the office from Trigor, the Israeli Consul General, after a long time. He seems to have been out of Bombay a great deal.

I was glad to find him in good spirits but then what does ^{one} ~~soon~~ expect from the Israelis who have taken over from the British the quality of not knowing ^{when} that they are beaten. [?]

SATURDAY, 14th February

I called on JP this afternoon. It appears that his dialysis the last two or three times has not been going too well. He is unable to take the whole treatment and on one occasion fainted and the function of the artificial kidney had to be stopped. The proportion of urea and creatinin seem to go beyond acceptable levels. I suppose this was only to be expected and it has been my view from the time that JP left hospital that this was not anything of a permanent solution but since a kidney transplant is apparently ruled out, ^{there} he does not seem to have any option.

FRIDAY, 20th February

Cushrow Irani was in Bombay and had dinner with me. Poor chap, he is struggling manfully in a sea of troubles, the latest being the impounding of his passport. He is full of fight however and is engaged in litigation against the government in three courts at the same time. What is good is that he can ^{counter} attack so bravely that I am sure the enemy is thrown into confusion at his spunk.

SATURDAY, 21st February

Cushrow came again for lunch and we agreed to meet when I am in Calcutta on the 2nd of March.

TUESDAY, 24th February

Was invited to dinner at the British Deputy High Commission by Peters with Harold Macmillan. It was fun in one way because the old man gossiped about Lloyd George, Baldwin, etc. I noticed however that he very deliberately kept ^{away from} the state of India today which, coming from a former Prime Minister

of Britain was both disappointing and characteristic of a nation of shock keepers, because the old man has come here to open a photo copy in ^{Shank} ~~print of~~ Macmillan's in Bangalore and obviously wants to keep in with the powers that be.

WEDNESDAY, 25th February

Sharok Sagawala had lunch with me at the Yacht Club. We naturally discussed Tata's most of the time. He expressed his great distress about the demoralisation among his colleagues and mentioned ^{Dumbarton} Arward Seth, Dugger Sawhney's great protegee, going to ~~Indira's~~ Indira's meeting, at the Shanukhanda Hall in Matunga. This notwithstanding having read my article on Fascism and agreeing with it. He confessed however, that the emotional pull of the Prime Minister's message was very strong. To put it in other words, while his mind is clear, his heart accepts fascism. All very sad.

Later in the afternoon I met Rusy Mody. It seems that ^{at} the board meeting of TISCO that morning, Wadud Khan did not make much progress with his moves for a takeover of TISCO.

I frankly suggested to Rusy that they should open up a life line to Sanjay and do a little bit of lobbying to counter the communist fellow travellers like Wadud. I said I would not do this myself but since they were engaged in a game of survival and were in any case sucking up to the government, I saw no reason why they should not re-insure in this manner against attack.

FRIDAY, 27th February

Marjorie Sykes is ~~back~~ in Bombay from Kotagiri on her way to Delhi. I went and had a chat with her at aunt Sophia's place where she is staying. She said

that there is a great under-current of resentment amongst the Tamil people against Delhi's overthrowing their government. All very good, but how long will it take to surface? I see that Gorwalla has in Opinion

given this warning about the impact of the takeover in Tamilnadu ^{on} about the unity of the country. But as Bernard Shaw's St. Joan said in her last words before being burnt at the stake, "how long oh Lord, how long?"

SUNDAY, 29th February

I had a chat with JP this morning. It seems that he is getting restless with having to maintain silence in the face of ^{the absurd} daily mendacious statements by Indira. His agony is easy to imagine. I wonder what I would do if I were in his predicament! Since I am not, it is easy for me to advise him not to try ^{to} enter into a polemic with her. Fundamentally, he is ~~on~~ the horns of a dilemma. Either he is a sick man who cannot be imprisoned and therefore cannot enter into an active public controversy or he is well enough to function politically and therefore to be locked up again. Since the latter alternative would mean perhaps only a few weeks of life it is not difficult to decide what advice to give him.

When, however, JP persisted, I suggested that instead of issuing a corrective to her lies which no newspaper would publish anyhow, he might consider putting together a thesis which he was so fond of doing in his Marxist days which would be a kind of analysis of all that has happened, its implications and what the people of India should do. This also would have to ^{be} samizdat but it should be a once for all shot and after that again complete silence. I suggested that this might just about wash.

JP has agreed to follow this line of thought but knowing how slow he is to get going with any kind of writing, I doubt if he will be ready with anything of this kind for quite a while. I promised to help him with ^{to the} getting some economic data which would be in the nature of a fair balance sheet of the gains and losses of the Emergency.

TUESDAY, 2nd March

I reached Calcutta in the afternoon in time for a business talk with Suraj Dass over drinks at his home. Before that I had a chance to see Cushrow Irani who told me about his problems. He is fighting extremely bravely against odds and has not less than three law suits to attend to. The most interesting of them is the

writ petition to get back his passport which they have impounded. When the government found that the judge was inclined to be fair to him, the Advocate General got the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court to shift that judge and put somebody more pliant * in his place!

WEDNESDAY, 3rd March

Cushrow drove with me back to the airport to post me with the latest developments in regard to his fight to prevent the Statesman falling into Indira's hands. It being the last daily newspaper that still survives. The latest is that they are trying to ~~conquer~~ ^{buy} the shares of the Statesman or to obtain proxies in favour of Rajni Patel so that they can capture the Statesman, throw out Cushrow and appoint a stooge editor as in the case of the Indian Express where they have succeeded.

FRIDAY, 5th March

The censor's petition for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court came up ~~xxxx~~ once again before the Divisional Bench who again threw out Advani's petition because it was so badly drafted that ^{as they put it if they were} ~~they have again given him~~ leave without as they ^{could} ~~put it~~ the Supreme Court laughing at him. They have given that idiot to whom the taxpayers pay ~~Rs. 100/-~~ ^{Rs. 800/-} every day to put together another petition which the Court has practically dictated to that ass. While this forbearance is rather trying to us, I understand that if the Divisional Bench were to dismiss his petition ^{costs} with ~~cause~~ as one would love to see them do, ~~the~~ Chief Justice Ray in Delhi would give them leave to appeal without much ado. Hence the patience shown to them ^{cause} here.

TUESDAY, 9th March

Jonathan Power, who has been introduced by Mel Lasky of Encounter came to dinner with his friend. He writes not only for the Encounter but ^{for the} a regular column in the Herald Tribune which I have been following, and he writes well. He is an attractive and intelligent young man inclined to be somewhat Gandhian in his economic approach.

WEDNESDAY, 10th March

This evening we had an interesting dinner party at Soli Sorabjee's. Cushrow, who turned up this evening from Calcutta, told us he was flying back next morning. He could not stay on because one of his cases is already being argued in the Calcutta High Court and will come up again tomorrow morning. He came to get some Bombay High Court cases which would help him at the other end. Ashok Desai was good enough to cite these cases to him on the telephone, so the mission was accomplished. Rather expensive at Rs.1200/- and a night at the Centaur!

THURSDAY 11th March

This morning I took Jonathan Power and Mr. Rassate, the German News Agency Correspondent from Delhi to see JP. They got more out of him than perhaps any foreign correspondent in recent months. For once I had to act the censor and object to various remarks of his being quoted by them! What he said was true of course but should not be for him in his present state of health to say those particular things. As it is it will be interesting to see what they make of it, though I guess I shall never see the German text of the interview as it is published.

FRIDAY, 12th March

Once again before the Division Bench but this morning it was high drama in place of the usual waffle.

It seems that yesterday that bastard Vinod Rao served an order on the press not to publish the proceedings in Ram Jethmalani's case in the Bombay High Court which Nani Palkhiwala is arguing. This order of course is not only clearly illegal but also in flagrant defiance of Court's judgement in my case. Soli made the most of it by creating a sensation in Court by producing the censor's order in court and asking for *time* to consider whether we should book Vinod Rao for contempt of court.

Advani made things worse for himself by objecting to an adjournment on the ground that the matter had dragged on long enough. Considering that ~~g~~ that things had to be adjourned three times so that he may be taught how to draft a petition, this was rich. The Court let him have it. They admitted his petition but called on him to serve notice ~~in~~ *only* on him to show cause why leave to appeal to the Supreme Court should not be granted.

When Advani asked for a stay order restraining publication of the Maharashtra Bar Council's resolution the Court flatly declined to agree to any interim stay. Justice Madan pointed out that Freedom First appeared on the first of each month and he doubted whether I would bring out a special issue carrying the four line resolution but if I felt like doing so I was welcome. Altogether, it was a glorious and encouraging morning with complete rout for the enemy. Justice Madan even went so far as to tell Advani that he was quite prepared that the following morning his client would see to it that a *board* false report of the proceedings of the Court would appear (the following morning's Times and Express specified the judges' *expectation*)

WEDNESDAY, March 17

A highly political day with Kamala Shankar Pandhya coming home at 8 a.m., V.B. Karnik at 12.30 p.m. and S.M. Joshi at 3 p.m. Joshi who is attending the political leaders meeting with JP over the week-end from which I have asked to be excused, told me about their plans to create a single new party called the Bharatiya Janta Paksh (BJP) and to function in that way pending normal functioning of the older parties which could then wind themselves up. I wished him luck but expressed my doubts about things despite the hard ~~times~~ *blow* they have all received.

FRIDAY, March 18

Howard Erdman joined Raju and me for lunch at the Yacht Club. We discussed to what extent his forecasts about the Swatantra Party in his book on that subject had come true.

SATURDAY, March 20

Soli Sorabjee, Tripathis and I settled that Tripathis would publish Soli's book on our case ~~and~~ entitled "Not for ~~Publication~~ Publication - the Law of Press Censorship in India. Only thing now is to find a press which will print the book within a month by giving it priority.

SUNDAY, March 25

I went and saw Shantilal Mehta with Leela Parshottam.. We told him about our anxieties about JP's health. He takes a more optimistic view about the outlook than we do and thinks JP can carry on like this even in Patna for two or three years. In regard to a kidney transplant, he still rules it out and made a new point that JP's diabetes would destroy a new ~~kidney~~ kidney even if it was transplanted. So even then there is no permanence.

SATURDAY, March 27

I joined Viren Shah ^{the} at his office along with Mr. Chinubhai Choksi of
Mafatlal to discuss a problem in regard to the transfer of 1000 shares
in the Statesman. *Mr. HPO found us later.*

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Saturday, 27th March.

I spent the morning with Viren Shah, Chunibhai Choksi and part of the time with Hari Nanda discussing possibilities about Statesman shares held by Mr. K.B. of Colaba. I am afraid we did not get very far as H.P.N. said he could not resist any pressure.

Saturday, 3rd April.

Spent the morning on books. First to Soli Sorabjee's Chambers to discuss the printing of his book on 'Censorship', then on to the Sheraton to meet Narendra Kumar of Vikas who seems to be interested in publishing my memoirs. I have promised to send him a typescript of the first twenty-one chapters.

Saturday, 10th April.

I had a series of meetings at home this week-end. At 10 o'clock we had a meeting of the ~~Executive Committee of the I.C.C.F.~~ ^{I.C.C.F.} ~~xxxxxxx~~ at which the Agenda of the Annual General Meeting in June was settled.

At 4.30 in the afternoon, the Citizens for Democracy commenced their meeting at my place. JP turned up for part of the time and was very constructive and moderate, opposing some silly proposals to go in for illegal activities and to admit political party leaders.

Sunday, 11th April.

This morning the Executive Committee of the Citizens for Democracy resumed its work and finished by lunch time. The attendance and interest was good.

Monday, 12th April.

This afternoon, Karnik and Jehangir Patel came over and we made plans for the June issue of Freedom First which will have to be prepared and published in my absence.

Wednesday, 21st April.

We met this afternoon at Farouk Reporter's office to plan the conduct of the LSP work during the absence in the coming week of myself, Mr. Reporter and Mr. Deshpande.

JP has taken ill and has been moved back to hospital. Dialysis is not going ^{off} ~~his~~ very smoothly. I looked in this evening and for the first time I saw him with the artificial kidney. ~~He~~ ^{He} has been there all day. Evidently the process ~~has~~ to be slowed down because of his infirmity. It does not look at all good.

Thursday, 22nd April.

This morning I joined Nanavati at the Chambers of the Chief Justice, Bombay High Court. ^{They} We had made a request for the fixing of the date for the hearing in the Supreme Court. We have agreed to some date next week. It seems my case always comes up either when I am away from Bombay or about to leave! This has been happening

with tiresome regularity.

In the afternoon and evening there was a crisis over Soli's book. Tata Press who had willingly taken it ~~after reading it~~ ^{for} ~~and~~ ^{completed} should have ~~naturally~~ ^{completed} the entire text, but they developed cold feet and "Bombay House" have decided that they should not put their name to it. So now somebody else has to be found to print the text which is ready, to bind it and to put their name to it. I spent a great deal of time in this search.

I saw JP this evening, back in his bedroom ^{in the hotel} on the 16th floor. He looked very much ^{more} relaxed than yesterday but things are not good. The veins in his leg are refusing to cooperate and the opening that they had made in the arm does not work either. Tomorrow, the poor man has to go through a minor operation on his leg.

Anyway, he was cheerful and we had a little chat at the end of which I said goodbye. He promised to keep well till I returned.

Friday, 23rd April.

It looks as if we may get another press to carry on with Soli Sorabjee's book ~~as~~ ^{from} next week. The matter is now in the hands of those who stay behind in Bombay and I have left whatever guidance I can.

I have to go to see JP again this evening as a result of a bright thought on his part which requires further discussion. *Done.*

Labaree, 24th April

Left by D.L. in the morning for Geneva