

BACK TO SQUARE ONE

S. V. RAJU

"Disgusting", "sickening", "terrible" are among the epithets in vogue among people to describe their revulsion against the goings on in Delhi. Politics in India has nose-dived to a new low. Alongside a sense of revulsion is a feeling of being let-down, cheated and betrayed.

In the early days of 1977 it was a question of 'unite or perish'. Opposition parties were clearly aware that unless they presented a single party the people would reject them singly. And if back in opposition they knew what to expect from Mrs. Gandhi. The trauma of the Emergency was fresh in everyone's mind. With amazing speed four parties normally at each other's throats literally hugged one another. 'The old parties are dead awaiting only a formal burial', said the leaders of these parties. 'Please believe us, we come to you as a single united party. Politics in India has taken a new turn. Elect us and we promise to restore your liberties and give immediate attention to pressing problems of development neglected by the Congress.' The people believed these leaders and gave them their votes. The Janata Party was given a chance to govern the country.

Every one remembers the much trumpeted pledge taken by the Janata men at Gandhi's samadhi at Rajghat. Even at that time there were many who smiled at the obvious hypocrisy of the politicians assembled at Rajghat. But could they refuse to do what Jayaprakash Narayan wanted them to? If he wanted them to take a pledge at Rajghat, they would do so. After all, a pledge is only a pledge not a legal document on stamped paper! The echoes at Rajghat had barely died when the wranglings began, and continued unabated. It would require a whole volume to narrate the dismal story of squabbles and power plays that followed. Nor is it necessary because the gentlemen in question were kind enough to quarrel in public. Suffice it to say, there never

was any genuine integration. The Janata Party was really a united front, the term 'party' merely to delude the people and relieve them of their votes. The parties died but party-mindedness didn't, and the inevitable has happened, perhaps a little sooner than expected.

At the time of writing the game of numbers is on. It reminds one of the awful developments after 1967, of SVD Governments, of claims and counter claims; and of the unseemly spectacle of legislators herded together like sheep to be produced before the Governor for physical verification. Many of those now squabbling in Delhi were prominent then in State politics.

Our politicians have indeed learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. The shock of the Emergency has worn off and politics in India is back to square one.

Where do we go from here? By the time this issue of *Freedom First* sees the light of day, a government headed by Mr. Morarji Desai or Choudhary Charan Singh may be in power. Whoever is, both can only lead minority governments depending for their survival on smaller parties (the latter's survival ironically will depend on Mrs. Gandhi's support!) and groups whose support will be forthcoming only for a quid pro quo. Neither can last long in office. An early general election is clearly on the cards. May be even six months from now.

When that happens what is the choice before the people? The same old discredited lot? The thought is indeed shattering. Anyone with any sense of shame would keep away after having made such a sorry mess of things. But then, 'shame' is a word foreign to our politicians. Then who? Mrs. Indira Gandhi? There are many who voted Janata in 1977 and who now openly declare that perhaps Indira Gandhi, with all her faults and despite her son, is

"the time has come," the
 walrus said,
 "to talk of many things:
 of shoes-and-ships-
 and sealing-wax-
 of cabbages-
 and kings-"

-lewis carroll



OF CABBAGES & KINGS

How Human is Humanitarian ?

When India exploded her first nuclear device a Western agency supplying food to hundreds of slum children in Madras immediately decided to cut off their donations. Their reasoning: If India could afford to spend money on nuclear explosions it could manage to feed its exploding population. Other agencies, particularly those with a strong Christian bias, also use pressure through their donations, by insisting for instance that no money or food will be supplied for their projects if these are forced to follow the family planning policy of the government. This was of course more rigorously pursued in the days of the Indira government.

A recent report by the *Daily Telegraph* questions the extent to which charitable organizations may exert political pressure. In Zimbabwe-Rhodesia for example military sources speaking for the government complained that the UNICEF has been supplying the Patriotic Front guerillas with combat medical kits. "In this year of the Child," the source notes, "it is more than cynical for the UN children's fund to supply aid to terrorists who have shown no compunction in killing women and children". UNICEF's annual report last year showed that it was helping four Southern African guerrilla movements — The Patriotic Front, SWAPO of South-West Africa and the PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress) and ANC (African National Congress) of South Africa. Besides money they also helped in giving "humanitarian air and social service training" which is the kind of euphemism that could cover various degrees of indoctrination.

Oxfam, Christian Aid and War on Want, reports the *Telegraph*, have recently come under attack, precisely because of their failure to demarcate the point at which their aid begins to be coloured by politics.

"The role of charity," says the Chief Charity Commissioner in Britain, Mr. Terence Fitzgerald, who has been inquiring into their activities, "is to bind up the wounds of society." The charities in question seem to feel that unless they strike at the weapons that inflict these wounds they will simply be caught in an endless threadmill. Oxfam for instance argues, that it would be better to dig a new well in a remote Indian village thereby provoking a possible attack on the entire power structure of that society, than to rush in milk powder and medicines only after it has been struck down by drought and

famine. Using a similar reasoning, the people behind 'War on Want' came out with a publication that attacked the arms trade, multinational companies and milk sales to the Third World. This again was considered to be going beyond the parameters of what is considered to be charitable behaviour.

One of the proposals that was made during this debate was to divide the activities of such institutions into political and non-political branches. Even this is considered to be a dangerous step as such groups would then be used as "fronts for furthering dubious political aims, which could frustrate the original and purely humanitarian impulses that first led to the formation of these agencies.

Coming back to India, a recent visitor to the cyclone devastated areas of Andhra Pradesh had similar suggestions to make about the aid that is being given to the victims, who, though they did not lose their lives like the victims of the previous cyclone, have suffered even more damage materially. Our informant noted that for hundreds of miles not a single electricity pole or single-storey building was left standing. The acres of precious tobacco plantations had been converted into a vast desert wasteland of sand and mud. This makes one wonder whether the Government will not do better to study and implement the proposals of environmentalists, who point out that by planting a heavy zone of trees which may have originally been cut down to make way for cash crops, they could contain the worst ravages of the cyclone that periodically appear to be visiting the coast. At the same time it would be worth studying what other countries facing similar problems have done to protect their population and building cyclone proof houses and other such facilities in a systematic manner. At present not only is a lot of money being spent on instant aid, which will go nowhere in solving any long term problems, but there is also a feeling of cynicism amongst those who give this aid that the money may never reach the real victims of the tragedy.

G.D.

Betrayed by Whom ?

In Bombay one cannot get a morning newspaper anymore. The *Times of India* is on an indefinite holiday due to a dispute between rival unions, the office of the *Free Press Journal* has burnt down. And though the *Indian Express* still manages to break into print and the *Free Press Journal* resumed publication recently, there are just not enough to go around. It is the sort of situation which at other times one might have responded to with cries

of indignation, not unlike the withdrawal symptoms of a drug addict deprived of his daily fix. Not any more. There is only a sense of relief that one is spared the nausea of watching the degrading spectacle of political convolutions taking place at the centre.

"The politicians have betrayed us" says a friend. His voice quivers with the suppressed rage that every person who has stood in a post office to buy stamps that do not stick, turned taps that do not even drip water, waited for buses that never come, paid eight rupees for a kilo of a delicacy called a tomato, or gone through the horrors of a college admission for a child with less than a percentage of eighty, has experienced in one way or another.

There are not many people today who do not feel that they have been cheated of their right to a better deal. The plight of the Janata at this moment only aggravates this sense of self pity, since at one point it seemed that it had solely come into being to strike a new deal. At this lowest of low ebbs in the politics of modern, secular, free India, so often billed as the largest democracy of the world, it is worthwhile considering some of the defects which brought the Janata down.

The Janata has been accused of encouraging casteist and communal tendencies to develop in the country. How strange! Are these attitudes to be found only in the Janata leadership? One has just to read the columns of matrimonial ads. to find out how communal and casteist Indians can be. Worse, persons who are otherwise addicted to Western ways in their habits as far as dressing, smoking, drinking or going to the movies is concerned, persist in clinging to traditional beliefs and customs in all other matters. An executive whose father died sometime ago, insists on observing elaborate funeral rites that mean his absence from work at regular intervals throughout a year following the death. If the company or the country suffers from the loss of a few hundred man hours, he is not to be blamed, for he is after all being faithful to the customs that seem to honour the dead more than the living. Another gentleman of the same persuasion insists that he should be given accommodation only in those areas sanctified by members of his own caste. Though at his office he may use a telephone handled by others, at home his telephone cannot be touched by anyone who may defile it by virtue of belonging to another caste.

In yet another example a candidate applying for a job and claiming to be a graduate with a B.Com. degree argues that special consideration be given to him because he belongs to the "OBC or Other Backward Classes". In spite of his degree he cannot name the capitals of a single state in India and lists amongs other things Pondicherry as the capital of Haryana and Andhra Pradesh that of Assam and 'Kochin' as the capital of Orissa. If this is the standard of an ordinary educated person, why should we expect anything better from our politicians?

Another accusation which has been levelled at the leaders of the disgraced Janata, is that they have been opportunist. How many families are there, one would like to ask, who do not have one

or more of their members working as Doctors in other countries because "the opportunities are so much better abroad"? Most of them do not even wait for the ink to dry on their diplomas before apply for the qualifying exams, that will give them an entry to a foreign haven. Without the benefit of their education, so highly subsidised by a country which can barely afford to nurture such exotic parasites, would some of these countries have opened their doors to them? The answer is no, but not only do such persons fail to see this, but when they leave they manage to do so with an air of chagrin that they have been forced to go abroad because of the conditions in India. Each person who has failed in this manner to see that if the country has given him a means to a livelihood, it is his responsibility also to repay this debt, must think twice before he begins to accuse his leaders of opportunism.

The other fault for which the Janata stands indicted is that its leaders have indulged in power politics and betrayed an impotence in facing the real problems of the country. At this point one would like to relate another incident that happened recently. An elderly lady is travelling in a bus. When she tries to get down at the bus stop, the crowd waiting to get in not only pushes past her, but jostles her down to the ground. There is not one person who protests or helps her up again. The question is how many of us in a similar situation would have cared to take action? Is it not likely that we too would have betrayed the impotence of which we accuse our leaders, or worse still, jumped into the bus hoping that it would start moving quickly?

The bitter truth is that our leaders have only betrayed us by magnifying the defects that are in us.

G.D.

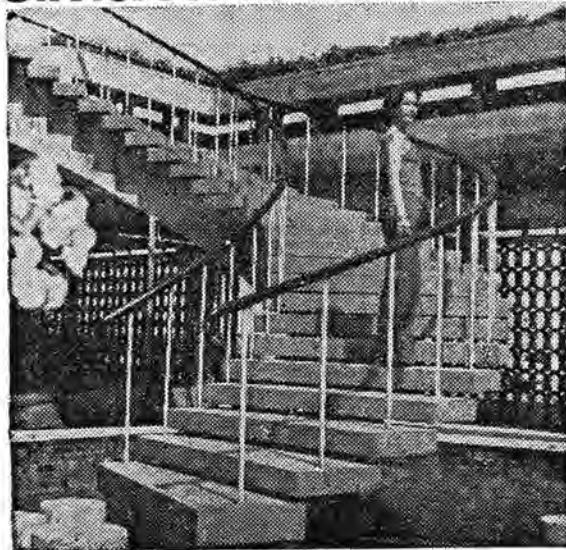
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preferable to instability and chaos. What the country needs, they aver, is strong government. If such thinking snowballs, as it probably would, the future of Indian democracy is bleak indeed.

There has to be another choice available to the people. What the situation calls for is the emergence of a band of dedicated men and women of integrity who can carry credibility with the people—men and women determined to put things right; who have the courage to strike a new path towards honest, efficient and clean government. Courage to enforce law and order and discipline within the four corners of the Rule of Law. The wisdom to realise that it is not the role of the state to involve itself in the daily life of the citizen. Men who will reduce the economic power of the State by freeing its citizens from the shackles of needless controls and regulations. As a columnist observed recently, the greater the economic power in the hands of the State the greater the scope for corruption and misuse of power and fiercer the struggle for the loaves and fishes of office.

As of now, such a group is not discernible. If it does not come together soon, the way is open for dictatorship which, as in the Weimer Republic, will be greeted with relief by a people fed up with their petty politicians.

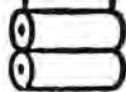
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A COUNTRY ON ITS WAY UP

Ross H. Munro

Around the world, the siren song of socialism appears to be losing its lure. Countries as diverse as Britain and France, Peru and Algeria are moving away from the creed of nationalization and toward freer market economics. None has shifted quite so far, so quickly, as Sri Lanka, the verdant island nation off the coast of India that the world still knows as Ceylon.

Sri Lanka is awakening from a long socialist slumber. The severe shortages of such necessities as cloth, soap and matches that bedeviled consumers just two years ago have disappeared. Sarong-clad peasants fire bricks in newly made kilns alongside their coconut groves and paddyfields. The hotels are overbooked with foreign businessmen eager to add to the growing flood of investment from overseas. Since it overwhelmed the leftist regime of Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike in the 1977 national elections, the government of President Junius Jayawardene has been chipping away at one of the most complicated and burdensome combinations of restrictive regulation and high taxation ever concocted by 20th century socialists.

The new government has eliminated a multitude of licenses and permits, cut back price controls, reduced import duties and trimmed taxes on business profits and agricultural exports. Private managers have been put in charge of money-losing state corporations, and the government has reduced the free and subsidized rice and flour distributions that ate up more than 30% of the previous regime's annual budget. Foreign investment is now running at about \$40 million a year, 13 times the level seen in the last year of the former government. Sri Lanka, in short, is experiencing creeping capitalism. Says Jayawardene, a lawyer: "The developing world is now giving up controls. Not only us. They've found it does not pay."

It has taken more than 30 years for Sri Lanka to find that out. After gaining independence from Britain in 1948, the country set up a welfare state that paid tangible dividends. Because of its free medical and educational programs, Sri Lanka today has one of the highest life expectancy and adult literacy rates in the developing world. But from the 1950s onward, socialist governments imposed increasingly stiff taxes on business to finance a maze of nationalized enterprises and a complex web of regulations that controlled everything from trade to foreign exchange.

In the early 1970s, the government seized the tea plantations that long generated about half the nation's export earnings. The result was a disaster. The plantations became run down as reinvestment was cut back, periodic replanting was stopped, and fertilizers were not applied. Production of Sri Lanka's three major exports (tea, rubber and coconut) plunged. Foreign investment dropped, and price and import controls created such shortages that city dwellers lined up to buy the simplest necessities.

At the same time, private companies were paying as much as 90% of their profits in direct and indirect

taxes. A bloated civil service, 420,000 strong, was required for an island population of 14.5 million. Recalls Rajah Maharaja, a leading businessman: "Many civil servants indulged in vindictive interference."

The then socialist government of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (in coalition with the Communists and Trotskyists) was so discredited by 1977 that Jayawardene entered the election campaign daring to say nice things about foreign investment. When opponents condemned him as the "high priest of capitalism," Jayawardene blithely replied: "Let the robber barons come." Though his United National Party won that election by a landslide and last month again sent his political opponents down to defeat in local elections, he must still tread cautiously. The lifting of controls and the doubling of economic growth to 6%, together with higher oil prices, have sent inflation soaring to 17% or more. In a country where the per capita income remains below \$200, rising prices particularly hurt those who have yet to benefit fully from the economic surge. While the high level of education will help future industrial growth, it creates problems at a time when adult unemployment is substantial.

The government's success will be determined largely by two key undertakings:

As part of an assault on unemployment, Sri Lanka plans to build five major dams and reservoirs over the next six years. The \$2 billion project, more than half financed by foreign aid, will employ 225,000 workers and add greatly to electricity generation and farm irrigation.

As part of its open-door policy toward foreign investment, Sri Lanka has established a free-trade zone north of Colombo, where investors can be granted exemption from import duties and taxes.

Despite problems over lack of paved roads, running water and communications, six factories have already been set up and more are abuilding. Some will make work gloves, tea bags and latex rubber threads, but most will produce garments for the U.S. market. Indeed, many companies have been attracted because the U.S. does not yet impose import quotas on Sri Lankan garments. Typically Jeffrey Bogatin, owner of a New York-based garment business, was attracted by wage costs of 73c an hour and a five-year tax holiday. Says he: "I'm shocked that there is not more of a rush by industry to this place. The people are educated and eager to work. This country is on the way up."

Time, June 25

INDIA IN NIXON'S MEMOIRS

P. M. Kamath

Indo-American relations reached their nadir during the Nixon Administration. Nixon was not a friend of India even prior to his becoming President of the U.S. He did not hold in great respect either the Indian government or its leaders. The purpose of this article is to analyse the portrait of India that emerges through the pages of the *Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1978).

As Vice-President in the Eisenhower Administration, one of the early assignments of Nixon was to undertake a visit to South and Southeast Asia. India was a country included in his itinerary, and Nixon was in New Delhi in early 1953. Nixon has recorded his impressions about the Indian leaders in his memoirs. Nixon says that Jawaharlal Nehru was the "least friendly leader" he met during his long tour. Nehru's fault, according to Nixon, was that he had "made himself a spokesman for the underdeveloped nations of the Third World." Instead, had "he devoted as much of his ability to solving India's internal economic and social ills... Indian democracy might be more secure today" (p. 132). Nehru spoke in "British English" which was most un-American and which probably Nixon could not appreciate. But Nixon acknowledges the fact that he borrowed the phrase "generation of peace" from Nehru and used it in several of his speeches on foreign policy. Nixon also found Nehru so much obsessed with Indo-Pakistan relations that he spoke only about it and did not even discuss Indo-American relations with the visiting Vice-President.

Nixon's anti-Indian attitude becomes clear from the description he gives of his meeting with Ayub Khan, who was then the Commander of Pakistan's armed forces. Nixon admits that Ayub exhibited his "total contempt for the Hindus". Yet Nixon's own anti-Indian attitude makes him say that Ayub was not obsessed by the "Pakistan-India Problem." Hence Nixon found less of anti-Indianism in Ayub. How could one be totally anti-Hindu and still hold a diluted anti-Indianism?

But the rabid anti-Indian attitude of Nixon got its full play when he won the Presidency in 1969. The American response to the Bangladesh crisis as formulated by Nixon is the best illustration of his anti-Indian attitude. His handling of the crisis also was anti-American, as it did not serve the American national interest. Even as pure strategy he was on a course of condemning the side that was set to win, and which American public opinion believed should win. Nixon himself formulated policies towards India during the crisis with the help of Henry Kissinger, his national security adviser. Hence, it was not merely the then prevailing international political environment that influenced his decisions but his own personal attitude towards India played an important role.

President Nixon had taken the bold decision to normalize US relations with Communist China. In his initial efforts to establish secret contacts with the Chinese leaders, Pakistan had been instrumental. Henry Kissinger had taken off for Peking on his first secret meeting with Mao from Islamabad. Both Kissinger and Nixon owed a debt to Yayha Khan for his help in arranging the secret visit. Further, India had developed close ties with the Soviet Union and had in December 1971 signed a treaty of friendship while Pakistan, though having a formal anti-communist military alliance with the US, had developed friendly ties with Communist China as well. Thus Nixon's logic was that helping the friend of a newly acquired friend (China) was a process of further promoting and cementing the new friendship. Since China's extension of the olive branch to the US was itself motivated by her fear of a military threat from the Soviet Union, any support to Pakistan in the hour of a threat to its national security, would serve as a demonstration to China that the US was a reliable ally.

Further, the Soviet Union as a super power was committed to supporting India. The US, as another super power could play the game of power politics only by taking the side of Pakistan. Nixon quotes Kissinger in his memoirs as saying: "We don't really have a choice. We can't allow a friend of ours and China's to get screwed in a conflict with a friend of Russia's" (p. 527).

Nixon's hostility towards India was aggravated by his assessment of Mrs. Gandhi's style of leadership and his assessment of goals set by her for India's foreign policy. He had met her earlier during his 1953 visit to India when she was the Prime Minister's official hostess. Nixon records his then estimate of her: "She was intelligent, poised, and gracious, and I felt her *deep inner strength and determination*" (emphasis added, p.132). But Nixon was now facing her as the Prime Minister and the top officials of his Administration had already seen a desire on her part to build India into a strong power not only in the Indian sub-continent but in the world; in brief, she was aiming at a status for India similar to that of the major powers. Nixon was attempting to deal with her as a leader of a nation that received substantial economic aid. He was unable to deal with her as the leader of a powerful state.

With this mental framework, Nixon received Indira Gandhi in the White House in November 1971 when she visited Washington as part of her visit to several western countries to persuade them to exercise their influence with Pakistan to stop the butchery of the unarmed and hapless people of East Pakistan. Nixon however, in effect, wanted India to exercise patience and not take any precipitate action until his proposed visit to China in February 1972 got over. This India obviously could not agree

to, since not only were political conditions in East Pakistan deteriorating rapidly but the presence of 10 million Bangladesh refugees in India had created a series of political, human, financial and administrative problems for the Government of India.

Nixon alleges that Mrs. Gandhi "had purposely deceived" him at their November '71 meeting by her "duplicious attitude". According to him, she professed no intention to destroy Pakistan or permanently cripple it, while actually making plans to "invade West Pakistan". This has been of course, denied by Mrs. Gandhi.

Drawing up of contingency plans in the likely event of a war is a matter of general strategy and India could not be an exception to that. But what is interesting is that Nixon accuses Mrs. Gandhi of duplicity while practicing it himself. American public opinion during the Bangladesh crisis was generally pro-India and pro-Bangladesh.

Nixon's anti-Indian attitude reached its zenith when he ordered a task force of eight ships that included the nuclear aircraft carrier *Enterprise* to move into the Bay of Bengal. It was a desperate move by Nixon when he realized that the course of war was going entirely against his plans. The action was a show of force to intimidate India, a democratic country, in a last minute demonstration of support to a crumbling military dictatorship in West Pakistan. But Nixon claims: "By using diplomatic signals and behind-the-scenes pressures we had been able to save West Pakistan from the imminent threat of Indian aggression and domination." If that is so,

Pakistan, one would suppose would not think of seeking the US support atleast for one more generation.

Nixon's anti-Indian attitude is reflected throughout the pages he has devoted to India in his *memoirs*. He speaks about "Indian aggression" and "Soviet adventurism" but ignores completely the sheer suppression of human rights by his friend Yayha Khan and company in East Pakistan. Where a reference to brutality becomes inevitable he brushes both sides with the same paint. For instance, writing on the military situation in East Pakistan during the course of the Indo-Pakistan war, he says: "The almost unbelievable cruelty of the fighting on both sides had turned the situation into a nightmare" (p. 528).

Though Nixon emerges generally as an anti-Indian and critical of Indian leaders, he is full of admiration and respect for Rajaji. Nixon calls Paul Hoffman's description of Rajaji as "one of the world's most gifted men" as "an understatement". He found Rajaji "infinitely wise". He discussed with this great man several issues like the atom bomb, communism, predestination etc. and made three pages of notes. Nixon records:

"The afternoon I spent with Rajaji, had such a dramatic effect on me that I used many of his thoughts in my speeches over the next several years and to this day I can see in my mind's eye his small body, his large hawk nose the fringe of wispy white hair around his ears, and his dark, piercing eyes as he sat on a straw mat, wearing just a *dhoti* and sandals (p. 132)."

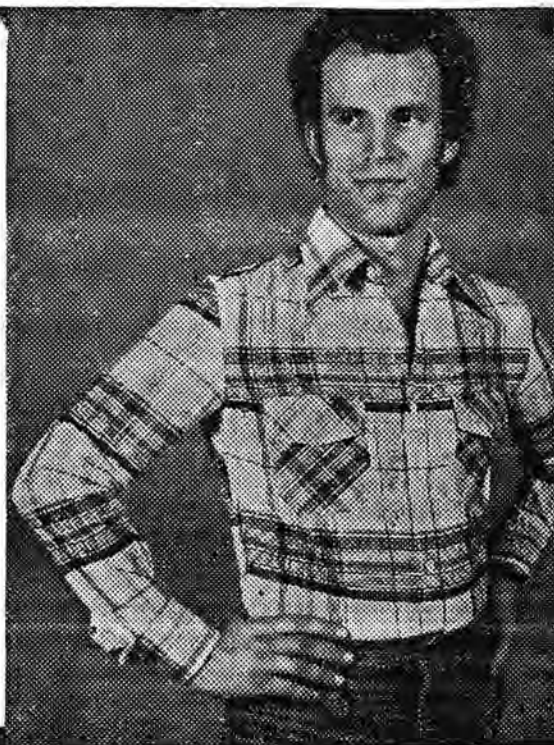
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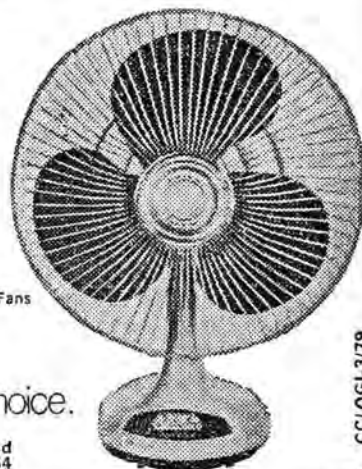
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TRAGEDY OF THE BOAT PEOPLE

Robin Gordon-Walker

The crisis of the "boat people" could become as great a tragedy as the Vietnam war itself unless a solution is found. This was the stark message from Sir Murray Maclehoze, Governor of Hong Kong, when he arrived in London on 13 June for urgent talks about the refugee influx. The small, already crowded territory of Hong Kong, is in the forefront of the desperate situation created by the inhuman behaviour of the Vietnamese Government.

There are more than 50,000 Vietnamese refugees in reception camps on the island awaiting further resettlement. All possible reception areas are full to overflowing and yet hundreds more Vietnamese arrive off Hong Kong harbour in their small boats every day.

The problem of the Vietnamese boat people is only part of the catastrophic refugee situation throughout Indo-China. There are now more than 200,000 people encamped in Thailand who have fled from fighting in Cambodia and Laos. The distinctive and appalling feature in Vietnam is that the people are not "ordinary" refugees fleeing war zones; they have been forced out by their own Government in a deliberate policy of intimidation and pressure. Worst of all, these people are consigned to overloaded and unseaworthy boats and it is reckoned that as many as two-thirds of them die a horrifying death by drowning in the open sea. Unless rescued by passing ships, very few survive to reach a port.

Interviews with survivors and other evidence confirms that the Vietnam Government is systematically seeking to drive out its citizens of Chinese origin numbering more than one million. They have been dismissed from Government employment, forbidden to work in specified occupations or to engage in private business. In the city of Cholon more than 30,000 small private businesses, mostly run by Vietnamese of Chinese extraction, were forced to close. Harassment includes imprisonment without cause and looting of houses. They are given the choice of being sent to live in euphemistically titled "New Economic Zones" or leaving the country. In either case all their property is confiscated. The fact that so many choose the option of a one-in-three survival chance at sea testifies to the thoroughness of the pressure.

The refugee traffic is organised at all stages by Government officials and the inadequate small craft involved are escorted out of territorial waters by official patrols. The Government claims that the refugees are people who go voluntarily at the instigation of "international reactionaries" or because they cannot adapt to difficult post-war conditions. In fact, so controlled is the traffic that anyone trying to make their own way out without official permission runs a great risk. In December last year a boat leaving Saigon with 220 refugees aboard tried to leave without a permit. It was sunk by Vietnamese gunfire and only 16 people survived.

The Government charges fees — about £1,500 in gold — for making the departure arrangements. Those unable to raise the money at home in many cases obtain the necessary sum from overseas. In

this cynical way the refugee traffic has become a lucrative foreign-exchange earner for Vietnam second only to coal exports. A further disturbing trend in recent weeks has been the extension of the pressure to non-Chinese — mainly members of South Vietnam's former middle class. Recent boatloads arriving in Hong Kong and Malaysia have contained an increasing proportion of ethnic Vietnamese.

The only real solution is for Vietnam to stop its barbaric policy. Much behind-the-scenes diplomatic pressure has been exerted by countries of East and West but without much apparent effect as yet.

Meanwhile, the situation must be handled as a humanitarian issue which can be contained only by concerted international action. The countries of South-East Asia have borne the brunt of the problem — Hong Kong, for example, has accepted 9,000 boat people for permanent settlement. But they are heavily-populated developing countries with their own social and economic problems. Their chief role is as an immediate refuge and temporary haven. The rest of the world shares the responsibility for absorbing refugees for permanent settlement, and if the burden is shared internationally this can be managed.

So far, however, the burden is not being properly shared. Three countries with historic links with the area — China, the United States of America and France — have between them taken nearly 500,000 of the 553,000 Indo-Chinese refugees settled since the end of the Vietnam War. Only eight other countries have taken more than 1,000. Britain is one of these, having given refuge to nearly 2,000 — several hundred in the first part of June — and having agreed to take over 2,000 more. The United Kingdom cannot absorb large numbers because of her special historical commitments to Commonwealth immigrants. Many developed countries with no such special commitments have accepted only hundreds or handfuls of the boat people.

The British Government has contributed more than £5 million to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' special programme for South-East Asia, and the UK has supported UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's appeal last month for governments to take urgent and co-ordinated action. On May 31, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, proposed a UN Special Conference on the question of Indo-China refugees. She maintained that the international community must be brought to a proper realisation of its responsibilities, pointing out that many countries with the capacity to resettle the refugees were doing little to help.

Dr. Waldheim has warmly accepted Mrs. Thatcher's proposal. A UN special conference would require preparation in order to be effective, but the critical and daily worsening situation means that it should be held as quickly as possible. The international community was at first slow to appreciate the true scale of the tragedy, but in the last few weeks world attention has begun to focus more sharply and this could provide the stimulus needed to ensure effective action in the future.

WORLD NEWS

Africa's Endless Strife

There have been an estimated 125 wars since 1945. These wars were fought on the territory of 71 states; and 82 countries, most of them in the third World, participated. Forty of the 125 wars were fought in Africa. Twenty-five (out of the total of 52) African countries were involved. Three quarters of the African wars were civil wars aimed at overthrowing the ruling regime or fought for tribal, religious, national-minority, or similar reasons. The remainder were classical wars in which opposing armies confronted each other across their own borders.

Military expenditures are increasing faster in Africa than in any other region except the Middle East. Between 1968 and 1978 total African military expenditure increased about three times, even when measured in constant prices to take inflation into account. In each of the other two Third World regions — Asia (excluding China and Japan) and Latin America — military expenditure increased 1.7 times over this same period and in the Near East (excluding Egypt) the increase was 4.2 times. For the Third World as a whole, it was 2.5 times and for the entire world it was 1.12 times.

African per capita military spending is high relative to most Third World levels, at about \$ 30. Per-capita spending in Asia (excluding China and Japan) is \$ 10 and in Latin America about \$ 20. The figure for the Near East (excluding Egypt) is extraordinarily high at about \$ 350 per capita. The European figure is about \$ 240.

If the Near East and China are excluded Africa accounts for about 35 per cent of Third World military spending although it has only about 20 per cent of the population.

The former major colonial powers the UK and France, the USA the USSR, and China are all, to a greater or lesser extent striving to strengthen their influence in one part of the continent or another. To this end they do not hesitate to exploit African instabilities, even by military means.

Frank Barnaby, *The Guardian*, June 18

A Capitalist Craze in the Kremlin

After years of hesitation and reflection, the Soviet leadership has decided to yield to popular demand, and to authorise production of one of the most classless garments devised by capitalism — blue jeans.

America's three leading jeans manufacturers, Levi Strauss, Bluebell, which makes Wranglers, and the VF Corporation which sells under the Lee label, have been invited to tender to help the Russians to manufacture jeans.

That news will come as a great relief to Western tourists, who often are accosted by young Russians ready to give almost anything to be allowed to peel off and keep the jeans the visitors may be wearing.

Until now, official Soviet doctrine has held that Western jeans, being figure-hugging, are a symbol of Western decadence, and thus to be avoided in the same way as pornography. The idea of spending precious hard currency on acquiring the know-how to make them, and the secret of the cut, must have seemed to Soviet planners almost like toying with original sin.

None of this stopped the young, and even the middle-aged, from coveting jeans almost more than any other Western product. The East Germans hoped to satisfy some of this yearning by producing their own, without outside help. But any discerning East European recognises the imitation for what it is, and dismisses the GDR product with disdain.

The Hungarians, who have greater economic licence than any other Communist block countries, were the first to break the jeans curtain by going into partnership with Levi Strauss. The factory in Hungary opened last year, and could sell infinitely more than it is able to produce. Part of its output is reserved for export, and less than half is sold in Hungary itself. Hungarians with their jeans have become the focus of great envy elsewhere in the Communist block.

Now that the Soviet Union has decided to change its mind about jeans, no doubt the rest of the comrades will ask to follow.

But in any case, it is a long way from the ultimate in Western jeans fashions: jeans below, with above a pure, preferably Chinese, silk shirt.

Hella Pick, *The Guardian*, July 11

Raymond's suitings

A GUIDE TO THE WELL-DRESSED MALE



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Book Review

THE MEN WHO KILLED GANDHI by Manohar Malgonkar, Macmillan 1978, 184 pp. Rs. 30.

So suspicious have we grown in India about political literature that is directed to a foreign readership (as this book evidently is) that the first question that *The Men Who Killed Gandhi* in its competent and readable narrative provokes is: "Why did he write it?" And this is not unnatural. For the facts of Gandhi's assassination are as well known as the facts of another comparable piece of recent political journalism: *Freedom At Midnight*. Why, then, 30 years later do we go over the same ground in a day-by-day and sometimes hour-by-hour account of how the crime came to be committed and what the nature of the *dramatis personae* was?

Malgonkar may well have written his book as a collective answer to several questions that he has been asked over the years in many parts of the world, for he claims to have been in Delhi, close to Birla House, when Gandhiji was assassinated, and to recall the circumstances and the atmosphere of those troubled days. The foreign student of Indian affairs is constantly stumped even 30 years later by why any person or conspiracy of persons should have set out to assassinate a man as patently civilised, constructive, fearless and patriotic as Gandhi. The question is one that demands a well-reasoned reply. Malgonkar succeeds fairly well in analysing the Hindu Sanghathan attitude to Gandhiji, as he does the protective stance that the latter took towards Muslims in India as well as to the newly created state of Pakistan. In this, he undoubtedly provided the Hindu fanatic in Maharashtra with provocation. Malgonkar's interviews with the surviving members of the conspiracy appear to have been thorough, and the fact that they are recent, adds something to the perspective with which these men see their acts. Questioned as to whether they thought that Gandhi's murder had served the national interest, "Karkare, Gopal Godse and Madanlal were unanimous in insisting that it had" (121).

Malgonkar's portraiture of all seven leading characters and, indeed, of the peripheral persons involved is vivid, sometimes ironical, sometimes amused but always pre-eminently readable. There is, one feels throughout, a conscious effort to be fair to everyone. The author takes his responsibilities as biographer and narrator seriously. He records history in the journalistic manner, preferring action to analysis and maintaining a tempo in narrative that ensures readability through suspense. His facts would appear to have been carefully ascertained, checked and re-checked and in the final report, to be rationally selected. Yet the book leaves this reviewer with a three-fold impression that does not establish his total historic objectivity.

First, Malgonkar would appear to have a deep respect for Nathuram Godse who emerges as a young man of high idealism, total self-abnegation and, towards the end, unquestioned heroism. Second, Malgonkar's understanding of, and sympathy with Gandhiji is plainly more imperfect than it is of, and

with Gandhi's young assassin. Finally, he seeks insistently to establish Savarkar's innocence of the crime — and in this he may be entirely correct — but he gives little space or, it seems, thought to Savarkar's indirect long-term responsibility for fostering by his teachings the sort of blind fanaticism that was bound in young, confused minds to issue in murder. Savarkar is made to seem a national hero (161). The net result of all this is that the record, that was once strongly tilted against the men who killed Gandhi is, with the advent of this book, tilted in their favour, with an unspoken plea (so it seems to me) for wider understanding of their motives and deeper appreciation of their intrinsic heroism. Thirty years after the event, when the event, when the hatreds and the hysteria have died down, perhaps this is not unfair. But though *The Men Who Killed Gandhi* may add to the raw material of history, it does not by itself constitute history, because it does nothing to enlarge our understanding of the forces that make history what it is. The book lacks depth; it lacks the scholarship that should precede historical analysis. Lacking this important element, what does Malgonkar add to our knowledge of these times? He achieves a convincing picture of the sickness and muddle in and with which young fanatics think and act in India. The ineptitude with which the conspirators went about their monumental business is illustrated again and again: "To accomplish the death of Gandhi they zestfully set out to kill or maim scores of men and women who, they knew for certain, would be crowding around Gandhi at the time. It was something that only sick minds could have conjured up, something that even the most brutal of commandos operating within enemy territory might have thought too callous. . . As it finally crystallised on the afternoon of 20 January, . . . the scenario was a horrifying mixture that was part-farce, and part *Marat-Sade*. If it did not show up Apte and Nathuram as cowards, equally so it did not show them up as men of courage either, for they had managed to farm out all the dangerous roles to their subordinates and themselves intended to remain in the background. They had even put a pistol into the hands of that most inoffensive of men, Badge's servant, Shankar Kishtayya. Poor Shankar didn't even know who Gandhi was or what he had done, or why he was to fire the pistol at him" (71). Again: "Madanlal who . . . had made and thrown bombs, had no knowledge of the proper way to handle a military-type hand grenade" (11). And yet again "That Apte and Nathuram should have thought that this slaughter was justified in their bid to kill one man shows how sick their minds were. Their victims would have been mainly Hindus, and thus their act would have been every bit as callous as the worst of the Muslim atrocities they were seeking to avenge (109).

These extracts make it clear that Malgonkar has the full measure of the young men's state of mind and that he does not attempt to excuse it. The contrast that he provides in Gandhiji's mature reaction to Madanlal's bomb on 20 January, is consciously fair-minded: "He (Gandhi) was full of

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praise for Madanlal. The boy is a Bahadur, he declared and compared him to Bhagat Singh, the leader of a terrorist gang whom the British had executed and who had become something of a national hero. Gandhi went on: "They're like children. They don't understand. After I'm gone, they'll realise that what the old man used to say was right" (111).

Better still, the book throws fresh light on the workings of the Bombay and Delhi police forces, whose rivalry, bureaucratic rigidity and ineptitude is less easy to excuse. Unlike the conspirators, the policemen were not amateurs. Yet they would seem to have been guilty of criminal errors of omission, and though Gandhiji was undoubtedly one of the most difficult people to protect, it is possible that with more professional policing, the conspiracy might have been discovered and his life saved.

And then, there is this statement on Gandhiji to convince us that Malgonkar does recognise his special stature: "Gandhi has been called a saint, a villain, a politician, a statesman, a fool, a knave, a charlatan, an astute tradesman, a naked fakir and many other things, but the few words he now said at the urging of the Muslims of the Mehrauli shrine are enough to show that, whatever else he might have been, he was above all a truly civilised man: 'I have never known what it is to be communal. To unite all sections and all communities that people this vast land of ours has been my dream ever since my childhood, and till that dream is realised, my spirit can know no rest' " (142).

Nevertheless from page 114 of the book to page 180 (a substantial part) the protagonist and the hero is undoubtedly Nathuram Godse. He may still make mistakes that Malgonkar records. He may omit to cover his tracks, inadequately and amateurishly provide people with evidence against him and his associates, but he becomes an unquestioned leader overnight after the fiasco of 20th January. He takes on the entire responsibility for the assassination; he does all he can to shield his associates and even makes provision for their dependants. Against his own contemplative nature he practices shooting and acquires a certain skill at it. Above all, he attracts the total dedication of Karkare and Apte who choose to be with him when he commits the crime. He plans his action with a serenity and a single-mindedness that the reader can hardly fail to admire. And when the deed is done, Malgonkar's Godse conducts himself with admirable consideration for others. He pleads guilty, makes an uncompromising statement, endures imprisonment for months and finally on the fateful 15th November, goes splendidly to his death. I quote:

"At dawn... Nathuram and Apte had their baths. Gopal asked his brother: 'Anna, are you going to shave?' Nathuram rubbed his hand over his chin. 'I shaved last night. It's not as though I'm going to a party'. Nathuram and Apte came out of their cells wearing black and each carrying in his hands a map of undivided India, the saffron flag of the Hindu movement, and a copy of the Gita. This was the first time they had been allowed out of their maximum security cells so early in the morning

and Apte drew Nathuram's attention to the clear cold morning sunlight of the Punjab winter. "Yes, like the sun in Simla", Nathuram commented... As they walked towards the hanging shed, they both shouted: "Akhand Bharat Amar Rahe". They were guided towards the single gallows that had been erected for them... They went towards it singing a Sanskrit verse in unison, which had the refrain: "Even as we die we salute you, our land of birth". None of this would seem to be a record of the last hours of a murderer or assassin. It has rather the resonance of untrammelled heroism. But this is not history's last word. That word is more likely to be what it was in a cartoon published by *Time* when Martin Luther King was assassinated. King is pictured in front of a phantom Gandhi and the phantom speaks: "Isn't it strange, Dr. King? They think they have disposed of us once they have assassinated us!"

MURIEL WASI

NILAKANTHA by Colonel Narinder Kumar AVSM, Vision Books; first published 1965, this edition April 1970, pp. including index 116; illustrations 31. Rs. 45.

OF GODS AND GLACIERS by Lt. Col. M. M. Sharma FRGS, Vision Books, 1979. pp. 143 including glossary, bibliography and index, illustrations 30 Rs. 58.

Both these books purport to pertain to mountaineering in the Garhwal Himalayas near the holy shrine of Badrinath but only Nilakantha can claim a place in the impressive array of books on the subject written by one of our most experienced mountaineers Colonel "Bull" Narinder Kumar of the Kumaoun Regiment, an old and valued friend now Commandant of the Army's prestigious High Altitude Warfare School, Gulmarg. This tough and intrepid mountaineer has climbed a number of formidable peaks. I would rate his growing achievement the ascent of the formidable and rarely climbed Kanchenjunga (28000 ft.) in the Sikkim Himalayas. Nilakantha must surely have contributed to Bull Kumar's success. Lt. Col. M. M. Sharma a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, describes himself as a trekker with an impressive record of the sport in the Garhwal and Western Himalayas.

Comparing Sharma's *Of Gods and Glaciers* with Kumar's *Nilakantha* would be doing a great injustice to the latter. *Nilakantha* is a graphic and down to earth description of a challenge to climb a peak scaled only twice before. Sharma's book devotes precisely one chapter (XV) of 9 pages to the ascent of Mount Rataban by NCC Girls! The blurb on the dust cover is misleading as Sharma describes Gods and Gurus *ad infinitum* rather than the attempts of a girls' team in this otherwise male dominated sport. Not a page passes by without some reference to gods, goddesses, gurus, temples, gurudwaras, shrines and pujas. One is led to brand a fellow Army Officer and an infantry man at that, as a leading authority on Hindu religion and mythology—

but certainly not on mountaineering; being the officer-in-charge of a mountaineering expedition and that too of the NCC Girls' Wing, one would have expected a more balanced account. What is more, the expression leaves much to be desired as does the editing. Some of the spellings can best be described as "Himalayan" blunders: *Phillip* of Macedon; *Moute* Blanc; *Mcindley*; *Machintyre*; Mount Goodwyn Austin; *et al.* Nor are the illustrations very good or graphic. Admittedly the narrative covers the area between Rishikesh and Hemkunt well but the constant references to gods and goddesses and religion are an irritant to the reader seeking adventure and pure mountaineering and surely detracts from the value of this book. One would have expected to read more about the girl mountaineers and their problems and achievements but their efforts appear to have missed the pen of the author who has consigned their efforts to one measly chapter. Without wishing to be parochial, one is at a loss to determine why "an irrepressible tomboy Maureen D'Souza of Bombay" was included in the team! One cannot agree with the hopes expressed by Major General M. Thomas in his foreword that the book will be widely read by young cadets and the youth of the country (unless they are religiously inclined!). Sharma dedicates this book to his parents rather than to Umeshwari the successful NCC Girl Summiteer of Rataban Peak; this, in itself, is a pointer to the contents of the book.

On the other hand, the less expensive book of the two *Nilakantha* is sheer unadulterated mountaineering at its best solid as "Bull" Kumar himself. It is a down-to-earth narrative of a tough, formidable and challenging climb. The claim of success was not accepted on face value and, as stated by Sarin in his foreword, had to be examined by a panel of mountaineering experts (Jaswal, Dias and Dutta) who came to the conclusion that the highest point of the Nilakantha Peak was reached by O.P. Sharma, Phurba Lobsang and Lhakpa Lama. "Bull" Kumar literally "led" his team by personal example and this cost him dearly the loss of two toes due to frost bite though this disability has certainly not daunted his spirit of adventure and love of mountaineering. It is a gripping tale indeed of the challenge thrown by an immortal mountain to mortal man. It portrays vividly, yet simply, how individuals react to cold, snow, ice, rock, altitude, fickle weather and the all pervading threat to life and limb. That is why one would like to congratulate the author for dedicating this excellent book to Sherpa Phurba and deservedly so. One cannot but take vicarious pleasure in following "Bull" Kumar and his team to the summit and down to Base Camp.

Unlike Sharma, Colonel Kumar has been sensible enough to include two sketch maps on pages 18 and 22 to better follow his narrative. There are three excellent appendices on equipment, food and frost bite. The acknowledgement on pages 112, 113 and 114 indicate how much our country has progressed in this sphere and how one may expect to get assistance. Of the 55 firms mentioned, 34 are located in Bombay. Sharma's glossary and bibliography per-

tain more to gods and goddesses than to mountaineering or trekking, which is a shame.

Both books highlight the delights of trekking in the Garhwal Himalayas. Those of us for whom high altitude mountaineering is beyond our reach but whose interest in the pure delights of nature exist, would benefit from reading the descriptions of the "Valley of Flowers" and the holy shrine of Hemkunt, as these two places are well within the reach of most of us. The time frame, route, facilities available and flora and fauna encountered are described in detail in Sharma's *Gods and Glaciers* (chapter X). Gobindghat on the Joshinath — Badrinath road is the start point and Gagaria (10,000 ft.) the base for Hemkunt (14,000 ft.) and the Valley of Flowers. A.J.S. Grewal of the Nilakantha Team who visited Hemkunt says: "the whole atmosphere transported me to a region of heavenly repose and peace that I shall never forget." Is it any wonder then that the tenth and last guru of the Sikhs Guru Gobind Singh meditated there and received inspiration to form the Khalsa Panth?

One fondly hopes that Kumar's book on the Saga of Nilakantha will spur many of our younger generation to take to the exhilarating and challenging sport of mountaineering whereas Sharma's book (*sans* his religious platitudes) encourage plainmen and women to trek in these wonderful areas and in so doing savour the riches of nature and the sanity and peace available there, so far removed from the pressures and problems of this mad, mad, world. Oh for a world of mountaineers and nature buffs!

Without doubt Kumar's book is worth Rs. 58 — the cost of Sharma's!

Maj. Gen. E. D'SOUZA (Retd.)

JIM CORBETT'S INDIA Stories selected by R. E. Hawkins, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 250, Rs. 50.

Jim Corbett's India is the India of forests and streams; of tigers and other wild animals; of villages and hamlets dotting the foothills of the Himalayas; of unsophisticated, simple yet intelligent village folk with all their joys and tears. It is alas, an India that is fast disappearing. The lush green of the forests a mere reminder with stumps where majestic trees once stood and perhaps afforded shelter to the fauna including the much feared man-eater. The man-eater is no longer the tiger but man himself. But all this was a long way off when Jim Corbett hunted the man-eating tiger or leopard and communed with nature during the interminable periods when he waited for his prey to be lured to the bait.

To a reader in the concrete jungle, Jim Corbett's India is so refreshing, so nostalgic that the 250-page selection of anecdotes from Corbett's longer yarns of his confrontation with man-eaters, not only throws a tantalizing glimpse of the glory of India's flora and fauna but of the man who became a legend in his lifetime and is remembered to this day with affection and even awe by the simple folk of Kumaon in northern Uttar Pradesh.

Of Irish blood Jim Corbett was born in India in 1857, the year of the Great Indian Mutiny, to a

family of 15 children. The only family member who featured in his life was his sister Maggie. He received his first lesson in hunting at Naini Tal at the age of ten and shot his first man-eater at thirty one. He lived to the ripe old age of ninety eight and died in Kenya in 1955. It is unbelievable but true, that at the age of 70, when most men are going through their second childhood, Corbett shot a man-eater which leaves little room for doubt about his skills as a great hunter. Everyone of the anecdotes is as thrilling as the other and to contemplate writing about one in a nutshell would be to deprive the reader the pleasure of stalking the tiger with Corbett. His thrilling encounters while hunting the Muktesar man-eater, stalking the Pipal Pani tiger, the Chowgarh tigers and later the Bachelor of Powalgarh and many others (all names given after the place where the man-eater prowled and was later killed) makes very good reading his style being simple and unaffected.

Today when the World Wildlife Fund has mounted a campaign to educate the educated illiterates of the need to preserve wildlife to restore the ecological balance if not from a love of animals, Mr. Hakkins' selection serves as a timely reminder and an excellent plea for the preservation of wildlife. And there is nothing paradoxical in talking of Corbett the hunter in the context of the preservation of wildlife. Jim Corbett did not kill like many big game hunters do for the pleasures of the hunt. He destroyed only those predators who posed a threat to human life and after convincing evidence that the enemy was indeed a man-eater.

Man eaters are made, not born. It is reassuring to know that human beings are not the natural prey of tigers. And that a tiger becomes a man-eater when compelled through circumstances beyond its control, which in nine cases out of ten is caused by wounds and in the tenth by old age which makes the tiger lose his fear of the human and discovers in him an easy victim.

Corbett's love of nature is brought out so well in the following passage:

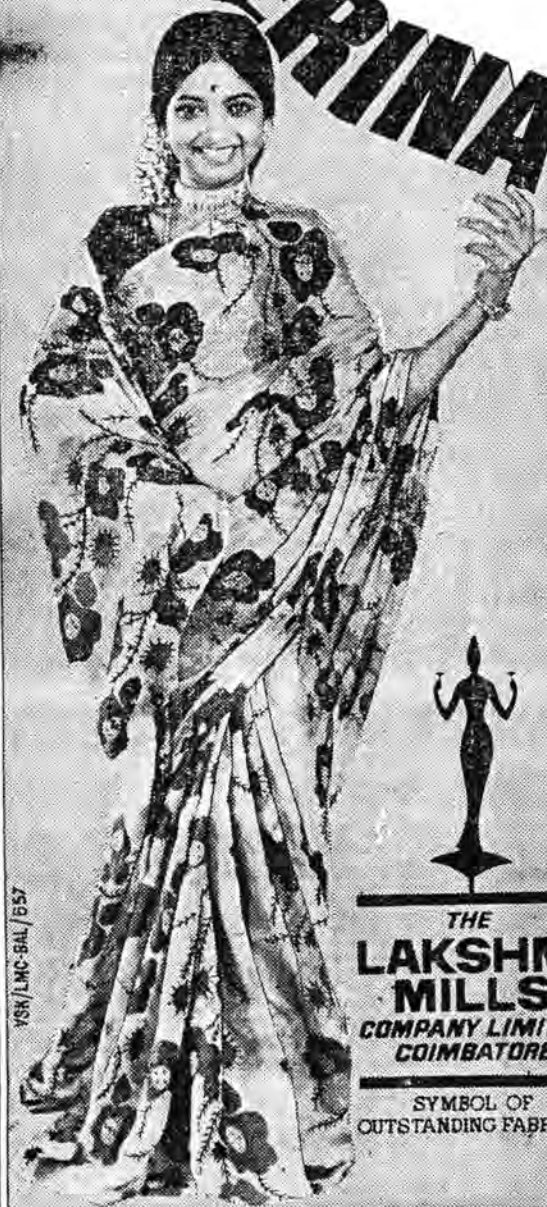
"The knowledge you absorb today", he wrote, "will be added to the knowledge you will absorb tomorrow, and on your capacity for absorption, will depend the amount of knowledge you will ultimately accumulate. And at the end of the accumulating period — be that period one year or fifty — you will find that you are only at the beginning and that the whole field of nature lies before you waiting to be explored and absorbed. And if you have no desire to acquire knowledge and assume you can learn in a fortnight what cannot be learnt in a lifetime you will remain ignorant to the end."

Beautifully produced with a jacket that almost tempts you to open the book only amidst sylvan surroundings, this anthology is only an appetizer offered by Mr. Hawkins to the fascinating world of Jim Corbett. Delicious fare indeed!

LORRAINE D'SOUZA

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

—Tennyson

A million men of straw do not make one person of substance.

A. R. Antulay, *Indian Express*, July 4

The ordinary British bloke is outstanding in every way.

Daily Telegraph, June 21

It might be said that any Budget which manages to plunge the TUC and the stock market together into gloom cannot be all bad.

Daily Telegraph, June 18

We wanted to make Mrs. Gandhi the mother of the nation but she prefers just to remain Sanjay's mother.

Priyaranjan Das Munshi, *Indian Express*, July 5

The only way to ensure the success of a summit is to go with the final communique already written in your pocket.

Harold Macmillan, *The Observer*, July 1

The abbreviation "C" stood not only for "communal" as intended by Raj Narain, but it also signified that the ruling party was "casteist", "corrupt" "capitalist", "cowardly", "confused", "crisis-ridden", "counterprogressive" and "criminal" too.

C. M. Stephen, *Indian Express*, July 12

The President of the United States cares what I think.

Rosalynn Carter, *Time*, May 7

Mr. Morarji Desai was a bigger dictator than Mrs. Gandhi.

Raj Narain, *Indian Express*, July 24

A big success in a small theater is better than a small success in a big theater and much better than a small success in a small theater.

Eugene Ionesco, *Herald Tribune*, July 14/15

The wide range of powers exercised by a Prime Minister (in the U.K.) are now so great that they threaten Cabinet Government, undermine the role of Parliament and encroach upon party democracy.

Adam Raphael, *The Observer*, July 15

The game of minuses is over with the resignation of Mr. Morarji Desai as Prime Minister. The more difficult one of pluses has started for the formation of a new government.

Neerja Chowdhury, *Himmat*, July 20

Policemen in India have traditionally been underpaid, and have traditionally made up for it with sundry forms of corruption and extortion.

The Economist, July 7

If you give the Government a target to shoot at, it's bound to miss. That is our greatest protection.

Skylab Self-Defense Society, Spokane, U.S.A.
Time, July 16

The measure of achievement



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- The Government of Maharashtra Directorate of Industries Prize for best export performance for 1973-74.
- The Texprocit Award for outstanding export performance in 1976-77.

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BOMBAY DYEING

TO OUR READERS

The monsoon has been kind. The lakes are almost overflowing. Maharashtrians may not have to go thirsty after all. But power — electrical not political — shortages continue. A case of God proposes and man disposes! The problem is coal. It is there (in abundance in the collieries) but between the state-owned collieries and the state-owned railways coal does not reach the state-owned power stations in adequate quantities. In the process the people suffer, industry suffers and the economy suffers — and *Freedom First* gets delayed!