

Rededication

M. R. Masani

IN June 1952, some of us established *Freedom First* as a little journal that would "work for an open society" and "keep the windows of mind and heart open". On the front page of our first issue we had observed that "all choices are tentative and therefore the frame-work of free debate is the only condition that assures that wrong choices will be set right. . . . Against the strident voices of regimentation, the forces of freedom have to rally not for the success of some sect or a cause, but for retaining for the people freedom to choose and to *change*."

Elsewhere in our first issue we had described the new threat founded on the theory and practice of totalitarianism as "the gravest challenge man has faced in civilised history. Indifference or neutrality towards this totalitarian tyranny amounts to a renunciation of the Indian tradition and our human heritage and a betrayal of all spiritual values." Two hundred and thirty-five months have passed since then and that threat is far more acute today. The fundamental freedoms of our citizens are under direct attack from those in authority and their followers.

A veritable Marxist counter-revolution is in progress taking away from the Indian people a great deal of the freedom they achieved in 1947. On December 2, 1971, Jayaprakash Narayan, whose passion to combat poverty and whose love of the poor shines in comparison with that of anyone in New Delhi, described the 25th Amendment to the Constitution as a "reactionary and totalitarian step". "The Prime Minister and her colleagues", Mr. Narayan said, "seem bent on destroying the foundations of democracy so clearly laid down by the fathers of the Constitution, including Jawaharlal Nehru. . . . It should be a matter of shame that even such fundamental freedoms as those of speech and association and movement are going to be subjected to the whims of the State on the plea of demands of socialist policy."

The freedom of the Press in India is also in peril.

Whether through legislation or by the mere threat of legislation, there is grave danger of the larger and better organised newspapers being made to conform more and more and the voice of dissent being stilled in so far as they are concerned. It may well be that in the next few years it will be only small "rags" like *Freedom First* that will be able to keep the torch burning.

Impelled by these considerations, I have agreed, with the encouragement of our young Associate Editor, to the plea of my old friend and colleague, Mr. V. B. Karnik, the veteran trade unionist, to relieve him of the burden of editorship which he has carried with such dedication for six years. In order to equip *Freedom First* for the more strenuous challenges that lie ahead we are, to start with, making a small increase in the number of pages as from this issue.

Freedom First brings greetings to its readers, many of whom are scattered in remote parts of the country and who, as we happen to know, look forward to its arrival to bring them not only information and comment but also the inspiration and courage to keep up their own efforts in the cause of freedom. We carry to our readers our pledge to rededicate ourselves to the task for which this journal has stood for nearly two decades.

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Between You & Me and The Lamp Post

Cat out of the Bag

STUDENTS of communist tactics and strategy connected with agriculture have always known that ceilings on land are nothing but a device intended to destroy peasant proprietorship and to create the conditions for collective farming and the slavery of the peasant which that system must involve and has involved in all communist countries. That is why the communists who took over power under the protection of the Russian Red army when it occupied the countries of Eastern Europe first parcelled out the land in small, uneconomical farms which they knew were viable and later in due course, proceeded to collectivise the land on the plea that family farming had proved uneconomic.

Those who imagine that the drive for lowering land ceilings on the part of the new Congress Party is motivated by other considerations will be sadly disillusioned by reading the frank and honest statement of Mr. A. R. Antulay, Maharashtra's Minister for Law, in the *Indian Express* on November 29. Mr. Antulay was reported as having said in Poona that lowering of ceilings on land "is not an ultimate solution. It is only a stopgap arrangement. We do not have sufficient land for distribution to all the landless persons. Therefore, ultimately, the whole land will have to be nationalised in order to provide social justice to all."

So at last the cat is out of the bag. We have an indication from an authoritative spokesman of the new Congress Party of the diabolical design which underlines the innocent sounding talk of "land reform" which emanates from those quarters.

As it happens, however, peasants have a peculiar habit of fighting for their land and even laying down their lives for it. Stalin had to liquidate three million landed peasants *Kulaks* and their families before he could perform the operation in Russia. The number of Indian peasants happens to be even larger. The first stirrings of revolt have already manifested themselves from within the ranks of the ruling party itself. History testifies that the path to collective farming lies through rivers of blood.

Chou En-lai—Then and Now

THE fantastic limit to which history can be rewritten, even in the free world, in the light of changes in State policy has been brought to mind recently by the tergiversations indulged in by *Life* magazine with regard to Chou En-lai. In a recent issue, the American weekly shows Chou as a fascinating bearded Chinese gentleman on a magnificent horse resplendent in Western dress. He is described as "one

of the world's ablest negotiators... handsome and exuding charisma... and tireless", a man who has "taken only one vacation in ten years." Chou En-lai, we learn, "is a master of policy implementation with an infinite capacity for detail... an administrative efficiency hard to reconcile with his ubiquity." He possesses "self-effacing dedication... he is practical and capable of great patience in achieving a goal by stages." He is finally declared by *Life* as one of "China's two great men". This is *Life* on July 13, 1971.

Now let us see what *Life* had to say in its issue of June 28, 1954. There we have Chou described as a wily Chinese whose "urbane facade has been fooling people for some twenty years," whose "charm beguiled many Americans," but about whom the rumours that he had "killed men with his own hands" were true. *Life* in 1954 told us that this Chinese gangster was responsible for a "spectacularly gruesome mass murder which in 1931 wiped out the entire family of a political enemy" named Koo Cheng-chang; only after a lot of digging the bodies of Koo, his wife, eight relatives and the family cook were found. *Life* concluded that this evil Chinaman was safe now in Shanghai, and "in Shanghai he does not have to worry about the law; he is the law."

IN THIS ISSUE

... we feature stimulating articles on a variety of contemporary subjects. A. G. Noorani, leading commentator on politics and the constitution, deplores the decline in the art of pamphleteering and its implications of intellectual degeneration. But all is not lost. Crusading journalist and former Indian Civil Service officer, A. D. Gorwala, at 71 is still vigorously trying to stem the mental rot. Associate Editor J. R. Patel has that story. Elphinstone College junior N. L. Panjwani in his article "Education Should Invade Politics," writes of frustrations within the educational system. Brigadier J. P. Dalvi, author of *Himalayan Blunder*, shows a way out by telling the story of the Leslie Sawhny Programme which trains youth in leadership and active citizenship. Young, attractive theatre critic Geeta Doctor reviews "Silence! The Court Is In Session!" Lt. Col. M. R. Chandvadkar reviews Nari Rustomji's *Enchanted Frontiers* and V. B. Karnik reviews *Gentle Anarchists*.

Political Defections

THE Report of the Committee of Governors appointed by President Giri to study various provisions of the Constitution relating to the appointment of Councils of Ministers and other matters, discusses *inter alia*, what it calls the "most disturbing feature in the political life of our country", viz., political defections. Regarding the demand for legislation banning defections, the Committee states that such legislation "would offend against the provisions of Articles 19(1)(c), 102, and 191 of the Constitution and would interfere with the right of dissent." On the other hand, they say that "there is room for insisting, whether by law or by convention, that a member changing his party... should go to his constituency... and seek fresh election and the approval of the electorate." Nevertheless, they feel that the issue should be left to the "development of healthy conventions among the political parties... and the impact of an awakened public opinion."

It is perhaps surprising that the Committee should think that the Constitution stands in the way of such legislation. The Articles cited by the Committee refer to the fundamental right of association (Art. 19-1-c) and disqualification of membership (Arts. 102 and 191). However, Art. 19(4) specifically states that "nothing in sub-clause (c) shall... prevent the State from making *any law* imposing in the interests of *public order and morality* reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause." (Italics ours). Also Art. 102(1)(e) permits the imposition of any "additional grounds of disqualification" by Law of Parliament, apart from those mentioned in sub-clauses (a) (b) (c) and (d). Similar power relating to disqualification of membership of State legislatures also belongs to Parliament under Art. 191(1)(e). In fact, using these powers, various new grounds of disqualification were later included in the Representation of the People Act (XLIII of 1951), sections 7-8.

Is there any doubt that political defections as distinct from *bona fide* change of party due to Convictions have militated both against the ordinary principles of democracy and those of public morality, in view of the elements of corruption and unscrupulous manoeuvring involved in them? It is rather naive to expect the political parties, which themselves are the worst offenders, to develop "healthy conventions" at this late stage. As regards public opinion, it has been sufficiently roused against the "Ayarams" and "Gayarams" of legislatures, who faithlessly break their party pledges to the electorate. But the public is helpless against them. Therefore, nothing short of legislation, e.g., by way of some additional clauses in the Repre-

sentation of the People Act of 1951, is likely to help in the eradication of this ugly practice. Such legislation should immediately disqualify the offending member and require him, if he so desires, to seek re-election on another party platform.

Broadminded Galbraith

PROFESSOR John Kenneth Galbraith has a refreshing habit of admitting his errors. In his *New Industrial State* his denunciation of "post office" socialism and planning in India, Ceylon and similar underdeveloped countries was in marked contrast to the starry-eyed welcome he had given to the same policies when he was earlier America's Ambassador to India. Now in the recently published, revised edition of the *New Industrial State*, he admits that the original version was itself an error in regard to his understanding of planning within the market and planning that supersedes the market. "It's not hard to admit errors that are cosmetically wrong", writes Professor Galbraith. "You can get a great deal of psychological pleasure in saying 'God, what a broadminded man Galbraith is'."

Excellent. Now there is one bloomer among the many Galbraith has perpetrated over the years with regard to which he has yet to admit that he is wrong. Four years ago Prof. Galbraith informed the world that the South Vietnamese Government in Saigon would fall within a week. Some 200 weeks have passed since then! When will Professor Galbraith own up to this egregious bloomer?

D. P. SETHNA

We pay our homage to the memory of Mr. Darab Sethna who died in Bombay on December 14, 1971. Mr. Sethna was very closely associated with the Democratic Research Service from its inception. He used to take keen interest in its activities in spite of his heavy legal work and poor health in later years. A solicitor by profession, Mr. Sethna was the senior partner of the well-known firm of solicitors, Mulla & Mulla & Craigie & Blunt & Caroe. Mr. Sethna's dedication to the values of liberalism and freedom was something the young may well emulate.

ON PAMPHLETEERING

A. G. Noorani

THE decline in the quality of India's public life is commonly acknowledged. A very striking proof of this decline is the state of Indian pamphleteering today. The two phenomena are intimately related. A man puts pen to paper to write on public affairs when he feels strongly and is confident of being able to express himself. Lack of a feeling of involvement, as we know, does not necessarily inhibit people from writing on or participating in public life, but they assuredly lower the quality of the writing as well as the standards of public life. "For most of our publicists", Mr. Nirad C. Chaudhuri notes, "writing is only an exhibition of virtuosity, and no great communication ever came from virtuosity. Such writing is always exhibitionism." It ignores what he characterises as the "fundamental principle of writing on public affairs which is to feel and have something to say". The study, the thought, and the involvement produce pamphleteers; men of commitment who are anxious to affect the course of events by persuading their fellow men. Public life is the poorer without these qualities. But it is also true to say that a public life of quality, in turn, inspires good writing.

Time there was when this virtuous circle operated in this country. What Aurobindo Ghosh wrote about *Bande Mataram*, which he edited, was true of most writing on public affairs then. "It came into being in answer to an imperative public need and not to satisfy any private ambition or personal whim; it was born in a great and critical hour for the whole nation and has a message to deliver, which nothing on earth can prevent it from delivering".

In their own ways Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, Tilak and Surendranath Banerji were great pamphleteers. They followed the British tradition and it was, truly, a great tradition to emulate. Men like Junius, Burke, and Jeremy Bentham were institutions in themselves. But with the founding of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 a new era had begun. It has been well said by Sir Denis Brogan that with the *Review* "an identifiable group of educated men, with a common political bias, tried to appeal to an educated public whom they wished to convert to their faith or, in some instances, to restore the faith of waverers. The polemical magazine was the beginning of the organised intellectuals as a force in British politics". The journal, in the pamphleteering tradition, had come to stay. The *Tory Quarterly Review* and the utilitarian *Westminster Review* came thereafter.

The Fabian society followed the tradition. Patient, persistent persuasion was its technique. Its hero was

Fabius Cunctator who saved Rome from Hannibal—by delay. The society's organ was the *New Statesman*. It produced tracts of outstanding merit.

In India, Gandhiji brought politics to the masses but he did not neglect the intelligentsia. In his own manner, he became a very effective pamphleteer as the pages of *Young India* and *Harijan* bear out. Nehru, Rajaji and Subhas Bose were prolific writers.

With the advent of the "left" in the thirties, pamphleteering rose to new heights. The leaders of the Congress Socialist Party were as articulate as they were knowledgeable. Their impact particularly on the youth was quite out of proportion to their numbers. The writings of J. P., Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. Asoka Mehta, Dr. Lohia and Mr. Achyut Patwardhan moulded a certain intellectual climate in the country.

With the Communists, pamphleteering has an importance all its own. There are pamphlets for public consumption and there are the "inner-Party" pamphlets designed to influence the Party's cadre. The CPI produced some able pamphleteers like Mr. P. C. Joshi and Mr. S. Mohan-Kumaramangalam. The latter's 64-page essay "A Review of Communist Party Policy from 1947" written in 1964 foreshadowed the CPI's present tactical line.

But the student of the politics of recent years will work in vain for any significant writing. A few intrepid periodicals there are, doubtless. But, in the main, the great issues of India's foreign and domestic policies have not inspired the intellectual effort towards their analyses which the country has a right to expect of its intellectuals.

Mr. Nirad C. Chaudhuri's angry verdict is that the "moral make-up" of Indian writers is such that "they are interested in nothing but themselves, in nothing but their own welfare and prosperity; their position and fame, their pleasures and diversions. They are therefore without the primary requisite for writing effectively and convincingly—which is to be involved in the march of events and the human situation around them. They do not write because the happenings around them call forth what they have to say, but only because the position they have established for themselves requires that they should be writing on public affairs as a matter of routine. Their anger is never roused, because in their non-involvement in the fate of their people they can console themselves for any catastrophe, for any beastly cruelty to a people, so long as their comforts remain untouched." In a

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That Irrepressible Gadfly—A. D. Gorwala

J. R. Patel

ONCE upon a time there was an assistant collector who meted out justice with the wisdom of Solomon, the alacrity of James Bond and the humility of Socrates. His licence to do good covered the arid desert of Sind with its proud people and "their harsh yet loved hills, their accustomed icy air, their lovely tongue, their old friends and usually kindly kinsmen, their lives of danger and delight." No case, no man found him wanting. Whether it was a matter of copy-right between two bearded bards, family feuds over the love life of their off-springs, disputes over who owned what piece of land, the assistant collector saw to it "that within my boundaries none kills, none fights, without instant retribution."

For instance, take the Queen of Beauty.* She, lovely creature, was betrothed to the son of a powerful elder of her tribe, but, alas, loved another. All hell threatened to break loose. And then the assistant collector stepped in. He placed the young couple in protective custody at the local jail and turned his powers of persuasion on the wrathful parents.

"Your guns!", he barked, and when they were reluctant to respond; "Many are my bad qualities, I have been told, but the worst they say is that when I go berserk, rarely of course, I grip men by their throats and however much they beat me or wound me, they die."

Through sabre-rattling and cajoling, the young officer brings about a compromise, a reconciliation and that most essential element of a well-rounded tale—a happy ending.

Though the omnipotent assistant collector remains nameless throughout the stories, he bears a strong resemblance to the author, A. D. Gorwala, a former



Indian Civil Service officer. Gorwala was assigned to Sind in 1924 with the quip he was "more sinned against than sinning." It could hardly have occurred to him then that one day he would be writing tales of "that dry desert," as it was commonly known, for his political weekly, *Opinion*. Nor could he have guessed that the same fearlessness, veracity and dedication that propelled him to power in the government would one day compel him to resign.

We see it coming in the lament of "An Independence Day Tale." Here the assistant collector, now a Secretary, is confronted with a Chief Minister whose decisions are not always based on the collective good. When this is pointed out to him on two occasions—one concerning promotions and the other price decontrol—the Chief Minister is recalcitrant. The Secretary acquiesces, noting "the helplessness of good sense in the face of determined power."

Many of the other tales focus on Gorwala's *causes célèbres*. The moral of "Being Prepared" is a plea for India to manufacture nuclear weapons.

PAMPHLETEERING—Continued from page 4

memorable phrase, "they can never forget themselves in their subjects."

The decline in the quality of India's public life is, thus, due to no small extent to the failure of its intellectuals. The great issues of policy are there; more pressing, more fateful and more complex than ever before. But our politics seems less and less concerned with policies and far more with personalities and with the acquisition of power for its own sake. The pursuit of power without any real effort at the definition of the purpose cannot but harm the body politic. The moral and the intellectual failures are all of one piece. The absence of pamphleteering is a symptom of these failures.

* The Queen of Beauty and Other Tales by A. D. Gorwala, Bombay, 1950, 9/-.

"His Majesty's Neighbour versus His Majesty" concerns the recent tussle between the princes and the politicians over privy purses. In the story an elderly woman whose abode is adjacent to the royal palace is asked to pack up and go because the smoke from her chimney blows over the palace wall and "disturbs the delicate who disported themselves in the garden." In today's circumstances, say the palace guards, she is "a nuisance and an anachronism." The woman pleads her case before the king, noting his father had promised her the site for the duration of her life. The matter is turned over to a third party who rules a promise is a promise.

The eleven tales in the book are gripping and well-told. There are some extraneous, obvious or repetitious passages that would benefit from an editor's blue pencil. But these are minor irritants. The tales themselves are a valuable document to a time, people and place. Coupled with their glimpses into administration and homely preachings—Gorwala's gospel—the book is ideal reading for all.

* * * *

Astad D. Gorwala is not far removed from the main character or his exploits. When Nehru was in power, Gorwala once suggested the Prime Minister and his entire Cabinet go on a one year round-the-world cruise and turn the country over to him. Within the year Gorwala promised to have India shipshape. Though inclined to hyperbole, this was no empty boast. At 71, the avuncular, oftentimes, vitriolic editor of *Opinion*, does not hesitate to advise prime ministers, presidents, ministers, statesmen and their ilk exactly how to run the country, conduct foreign policy, defend the borders and lead exemplary lives. We can picture Gorwala as the Socrates of our troubled times; the intellectual gadfly with the verbal sting. When his venom proves too strong, the repercussions are swift. In the 1950's newspapers refused his articles.

"Do you think I keep this paper to annoy the Prime Minister?" demanded one publisher. Another sent word. "Tell Gorwala you can't tell the truth all the time." The editor of one large daily tried to soften the blow by adding if Gorwala chose "to write on the butterflies of the Western Ghats or cricket or some poetry, I'd be glad to publish it." But politics was taboo.

"I tried to sneak an article in under somebody else's name," Gorwala said with a grin. But it was a losing battle.

In May 1960, a four page weekly named *Opinion* came into being. Today its circulation is about 5,000 and the number of pages has increased but the subscription is still the same, uneconomical, Rs. 2. Gorwala insists that for once the price should remain what it was eleven years ago. Noting his financial losses a friend once commented: "This is the kind of work some trust does." Explains Gorwala: "If I kept a car

it would cost me over Rs. 500 a month. *Opinion* is the equivalent of keeping a car."

Gorwala lives without car or servant in his Ridge Road apartment which doubles as *Opinion's* office. He gave up full-time domestic help after one employee turned the servant's quarters into a boarding house and another started a distillery. He prepares his meals by himself, occasionally going out to buy provisions or have a niece drop them by. Tea is poured from a pot whose top long ago had a shattering experience. The decor and motif of his "bachelor pad" is at best functional. Failing eyesight has curtailed his night time excursions except for an occasional concert. Unable to type, he writes his articles in capital letters so the printers have no trouble deciphering his handwriting.

Gorwala's spartan existence is from choice. He was born in a family of moderate but independent means in Quetta, Baluchistan, the youngest of five. His father, who was in government service, died when Astad was eleven. After a short stay in Mhow and Poona, he was sent to Bombay to prepare for the matric examination at the New High School—now named Bharda School for Boys and Girls—on Waudby Road. After completing his B.A. in English and Persian from St. Xavier's College, he joined Government Law College when his attention was drawn to a notice in the papers: the exam for the ICS was to be held in India for the first time. With encouragement from his mother and Rs. 1,800 contribution from an aunt, he engaged a tutor and nine months later appeared for the exam in January 1922, in Allahabad. He was among nine chosen and shipped off to Cambridge for two years. Here the fiery temper that characterised his youth became subservient to the developed intellect and made him the ideal choice to handle the "fierce, rough Northerners" of Sind. After 13 years in Sind, he went on to Delhi, Bombay and back to Delhi before resigning in 1948 in protest over food price decontrol.

He joined Bombay Dyeing, one of the largest and well-reputed textile mills in India, as a director but did not renew his two-year contract when during a strike he found that "after looking after the poor man and saving him from hardship all these years, here I was on the side of the rich." He forfeited a lucrative proposition but having no taste for "slow horses and fast women," did not grudge the loss. He then took to the low-paying vocation of journalism.

Now in the September years, when most people curtail their activities and bask in the glow of their last hurrah, Gorwala regrets he is just a "voice.... there's such a feeling of helplessness about it all." He ponders, as does a character in his tales: "May there not be humiliations still in store for this aged person?" Rumours abound. But he shrugs these off with a Socratic maxim: No evil can befall a good man. And then proceeds to write another caustic editorial.

EDUCATION SHOULD INVADE POLITICS

N. L. Panjwani

"What is your major?" the fat student asked Gopi.

"Natural Science" said Gopi.

"Lucky chap," said Rajan.

"Why don't you like your major?" Gopi asked.

"You can't even get a clerk's job after studying History, Economics, and Logic. H.E.L. Add one more 'L' and it is hell", Rajan said.

"You could have taken up Science," said Gopi.

"No, I'm not that intelligent. I think I will study Law and get into politics."

This conversation between two characters in K. Bhaskara Rao's novel of Indian student politics, *Candle Against the Wind*, is fictional, but the relationship it suggests between faculty and social values is not. And these values, as we know, are always determined by the structure—the political, economic and social structure—of society.

India's industrialists needed technicians and scientists in large number. This need, until quite recently, ensured that science and engineering graduates got the best paid jobs. These salaries were projected as being dependent on merit. Not long after that, merit came to be associated with intelligence and young men like Gopi were unanimously being dubbed "lucky chaps". This example shows how economic needs affect educational organization. And economic needs are necessarily the product of political decisions.

Mr. V. B. Kulkarni has claimed in an article in the *Indian Express* (September 19, 1971) that politics has "invaded education" and thus brought about student unrest and deterioration in educational standards. I question this analysis.

In feudal times, education consisted, barring the sons of zamindars, in training young men in certain crafts like farming, pottery, weaving and so on. This helped maintain the zamindar-peasant pattern of feudal society. Formal education, as we understand it, made its appearance after the advent of British colonialism. The British needed some Indians to fill certain clerical and administrative posts. So India's education system was organized to produce clerks. These decile brown sahibs did exactly what any servant does: maintained the master-servant *status quo*.

The story is not very different today. Parents and the government are getting hysterical over the possibility that sections of students might become revolutionaries if things are allowed to go on as they are. But it is only natural that students all over the country should revolt. They have more than ample reason to do so. It is politics which is responsible for the lack of jobs, politics which is responsible for inade-

quately trained staff, poor facilities and so on *ad nauseum*.

How? The above ills can be traced to our politicians' decision to have mass education even up to the university level. It is politics and politicians who are responsible for the miserable state of the nation. It is also the nature of the political system to perpetuate these absurdities. It is politics which is responsible for the fact that the university lecturer gets only Rs. 700 a month while a hotel head waiter gets Rs. 1,500, that a professor gets Rs. 1,500 a month while a hotel manager gets Rs. 5,000! And it is politics which is to be held responsible for the fact that the cities are bulging with doctors, engineers and other skilled personnel to the extent of thousands of them being unemployed while each batch of 600 villages have only one doctor to them. One might argue that there are no industries in rural areas to absorb these unemployed engineers of ours. The answer to that argument is that it is the business of the politicians to ensure that industry is not spread so haphazardly as to cause clogging in some parts and acute scarcity in others.

A student welfare official who visited the University of Calcutta in 1951 reported that more than 5,000 had no accommodation at all. These students—many of whom slept on railway station platforms and studied by the light of street lamps—were among those the welfare official saw making up half the length of a Communist protest march four miles long. Today, the situation is much worse and the successors of those students are no more content with protest marches. The new generation in Bengal seems to have made up their mind that Naxalism is the only answer. And why have they done so? Because they feel that a total change in the form of government is the only way to make a significant improvement to their lot. They feel so for the simple reason that the *educational system is an integral part of the broader political system*.

Mr. Kulkarni has himself provided several illustrations in his article to prove this point. Consider, for example: "As far back as 1944, the Sargent Committee noted the 'general lack of planning in university education' and pointed out that 'both Central and Provincial governments have yielded to popular pressure in bringing universities into existence without providing the necessary resources to enable them to function on sound lines.'" So we see that politics had been 'invading' education 27 years ago too!

Talking of Indian students slightly further on in his article, Mr. Kulkarni says, "they attend institutions which lack in everything, for the concept of education

as a means for preparing its recipients for life and living exists only in theory and has never been put into practice since the introduction of the present system by the British rulers."

The last part of this statement is a point to be noted. Systems of education are *created* by rulers and politicians. This may seem like labouring the obvious, but the obvious has a notorious tendency to escape notice. Knowing that systems of education are created by politicians (whichever group happens to be in power at the time) does it not sound rather absurd to say that politics has invaded education in recent years?

Another passage from Mr. Kulkarni's article deserves notice: "The sterility of the system became obvious soon after its inception, but the Indian leaders did not ask for its reform with the same zeal as they demanded political freedom." Again we see that Mr. Kulkarni expects the politicians to carry out educational reform, but when they do so in their bungling, short-sighted fashion, he calls them invaders! Again, like many others before him, he concludes that, "overpopulation, appalling poverty, economic stagnation, mounting unemployment and corrupt and incompetent political leadership drive the rising generation to despair and desperation." Here he himself admits the intimate connection between these national problems and education. And these are the very same issues which form the subject of every election manifesto of every political party worth the name. In other words, politicians regard themselves as capable of solving these problems. They are therefore political problems.

It is consequently logical to conclude that educational problems cannot be resolved unless these wider ills are first cured. So it is as ridiculous to say that politics invades 'economic stagnation' as it is to say that politics invades education.

Having realized the real relation between education and politics, let us now examine our country's restless youth afresh. A new political class is beginning to emerge, not only in our country but all over the world. The class is largely comprised of students. The emergence of youth as a political class is the result of the creation and prolongation of a distinctive life-stage with its attendant cultures and social arrangements. This has been made possible by the relatively rapid build-up of the educational system. And this, as mentioned earlier, has been supported mainly by the requirements and rewards of industrial economies for a literate, knowledgeable and skilled labour force *working away from home and family*. This class is particularly political because the economy has not developed as fast as educational institutions have increased in size and number. The creation of this political class in India has been parallel with the emergence of other modern political classes such as the middle and working classes.

Given the special significance of students in the politics of India, certain questions assume importance and interest. Whether or not student politics are like national politics? Whether student politics are separate from, opposed to, or ahead of national politics? What conditions promote one or other of these tendencies? Only very brief answers to these and such other questions can be given here.

National politics in India are primarily those of programme, interests and issues in that order. Student politics in India are primarily those of interests, issues, and Party programmes in that order. Concern for ideological politics has so far only been shown by the CP(ML) and Naxalite youths. In this respect, Indian student politics are more like those of the U.S.A. and W. Europe *before the mid-sixties* than they are like those of Korea, Turkey, Indonesia, and Ceylon where students played a key role in changing or attempting to change regimes, or like those of Japan and some Latin American countries, where important sections of organised student politics are heavily ideological.

Each type of politics tends to be associated with its particular methods. These move from the pole of violence to that of persuasion, with various shades of coercion linking the two poles. Secondly, whatever student political activity one witnesses in our country has taken a relatively long time to develop. The chart below from the *Economic and Political Weekly* illustrates both these points:

*Rates of Student Indiscipline with
Degrees of violence: 1958-67*

Year	No. of cases	Degree of violence				Per cent violence
		1	2	3	4	
1958	93	90	2	1	—	4%
1963	395	280	81	29	5	29%
1966	607	257	261	60	29	42%

KEY:

- 1 — Peaceful Protest
- 2 — Some violence but not enough to occasion the use of lathi-charge or tear gas by police.
- 3 — Lathi-charge or tear gas used.
- 4 — Police Firing.

After 1967, Naxalite students, particularly in Bengal, resorted increasingly to political murders of "class enemies" including teachers, professors, and principals. This new dimension of violence is *not* reflected in these figures.

In conclusion then, education should invade politics if we wish to understand better the problem of student unrest.

OUTWARD BOUND

The Challenge of Adventure

Brigadier J. P. Dalvi

THE Leslie Sawhny Programme of Training for Democracy was launched on 1st April 1968 for a period of five years as a tribute to the memory of the late Col. Leslie Sawhny. The aim of the programme is to train political workers, social workers, youth leaders, trade union workers and others in citizenship, political organisation and the principles of liberal democracy. Courses are tailored to the needs of different groups.

The need for such a non-partisan programme became increasingly evident over the years since Independence. While totalitarian groups and parties have well-trained and disciplined cadres of workers to further their objectives, such cadres are lacking in the case of democratic political parties and non-political organisations in this country.

It was equally evident that student and other youth groups were getting disillusioned and cynical. Many tended to withdraw from active citizenship. It was therefore necessary to make a start and bring home to such people their responsibility as potential leaders and moulders of opinion.

The project has met with encouraging response. Many groups and associations have come forward to avail themselves of the training facilities offered by the Programme.

By 31st March, 1973, the Programme will have organised over 100 training courses and over 15 seminars. Its alumni and participants in various courses and seminars will number over 2,500 and will include top industrialists, professionals, public men, trade union leaders, women social workers, school and college teachers and students.

The syllabus of these training courses, which last anything from a weekend to a fortnight, covers three main heads: the principles of liberal democracy as developed and practiced throughout the world; methods and techniques of organisation and physical training.

Courses have been conducted in over 11 States and have attracted eminent discussion leaders drawn from among public workers, academicians, journalists, writers, trade union functionaries and business executives.

In May 1970 it was decided that some features of the 'Outward Bound' training programme of UK should be incorporated into training courses organised for students and youth groups. These facilities include

obstacle and agility courses, mountaineering, hiking, swimming, map reading and other outdoor activities. The aim is to enable young people to discover their true potentialities. The exercises are designed to challenge the qualities of the participants in adventure; an adventure of coming together as complete strangers and building a purposeful team; the adventure of conquering ordeals and difficulties.

It is not the aim of these exercises to test their physical abilities but to train them to get over their low spirits and natural defects and to prepare them to strive and achieve. In other words, it is character building through adventure.

Social service is another important feature. In addition to academic discussions, participants are required to perform some kind of community work. In spite of all the talk about social service, we find that there is no really responsible involvement and commitment by young people and able-bodied citizens in social work. The basic aim of including social work is to sensitize young people about social service opportunities and make them aware of the prevailing social blindness and guide them about the fields available to them.

The first course to incorporate some features of Outward Bound training was organized at Nagarjunasagar in Andhra Pradesh in March/April 1971. The camp was held near the renowned dam site, reported to be the biggest earthen dam in the world. Apart from having discussions on some of the subjects of the standard Leslie Sawhny Programme, the course included a two-day visit to a village for community service and two days devoted to mountaineering and cross-country hiking.

The village selected was appalling even by Indian standards. The stench and filth of decades seemed to present an insoluble problem. The poverty of the inhabitants was staggering.

The participants in that particular course were young students; politically conscious due to the Telengana agitation and the 1971 General Elections with the 'garibi hatao' slogan. The enormity of the problem of removing poverty in our villages (80% of our population) was vividly brought home to them. It was heartening to see them sweat and labour for two days under a hot sun. It was equally heartening to see over 200 young and old villagers helping our students build paths in places which were fetid

quagmires. The response of the young participants to this exposure of hard physical labour, strict discipline and public service was encouraging.

In July 1970 the experiment was repeated in the Ranchi course where the majority of the participants were young Adivasi girls and boys. The girls responded to the back-breaking toil and filthy conditions with even greater vigour and enthusiasm! There was now no longer any doubt in the minds of the organisers of the Leslie Sawhny Programme that Community service should become an integral part of the Programme and that our young people thoroughly benefited from these experiences.

The Nasik Course, held in November 1971, marked a notable step forward in recasting courses for youth groups, with an increasing bias towards Outward Bound activities.

A group of twenty-one assorted young men, drawn from the Universities and Industry, with an urban background, was selected. They were alert, intelligent and articulate but had never really been submitted to a searching test of their physical stamina or mental robustness.

They were put through agility tests, an obstacle course, intelligence and initiative tests, rock climbing, map reading, and a gruelling 20 mile hike.

The organisers of the Camp were understandably apprehensive about the reaction of the participants. There was hardly any time to condition the boys to their tasks or gradually to lead them from one achievement to the next. They were virtually thrown in to tackle the various hideous-looking and seemingly dangerous obstacles. But soon it was obvious that our young men are ready to overcome the fear of the unknown. It was heartening to see these urbanised young tackle difficult physical obstacles cheerfully and courageously.

One of the students almost refused to tackle the awesome looking and fragile ropes, dangling 30 feet above the ground. He confessed that the highest feat he had hitherto achieved was climbing the footboard of a Bombay bus! By the end of the fortnight he was negotiating the obstacles with the dash and aplomb of a monkey.

Rock climbing is a test of nerves, guts and team work. With the minimum training, the participants manfully tackled the sheer cliff face of the famed Trimbal Hill in Nasik.

It was fascinating to witness the adventure of twenty-one strangers transforming themselves into a harmonious, purposeful team; to see them conquering ordeals and difficulties; to watch them endeavour, strive and achieve.

After completing the outdoor portion of the course (which was supplemented by a few intellectual sub-

jects), students were moved to the Tata Institute of Social Services at Deonar in Bombay. Here they were given talks by acknowledged experts in various fields of social work. They were also taken on field visits to orphanages, schools for the blind and similar institutions. This certainly sparked off a healthy desire to undertake some useful social work.

So much for the past—what of the future? Outward Bound activities have proved their worth and it would be a pity if the schemes were to be abandoned for lack of patronage and funds. The first Leslie Sawhny Programme is due to end in April 1973. If it is to continue and grow from strength to strength, it will need the support and patronage of industry. There is need for a permanent site where suitable obstacles can be built and where outdoor activities can be organised. There is need for a permanent staff.

This writer has been associated with Outward Bound activities from its inception. It is clear that a good proportion of future participants will have to come from industry, as is the case in the UK. In the UK, industrialists have understood and appreciated the purposes and effects of Outward Bound activities. They contribute toward the cost of training to the extent of about £ 55 per participant.

It is obvious that industrial workers and supervisory staff need the spirit of determination, initiative, self-help and spontaneous team-work. The more complex the activities become in an industry, the less confident do we become and the greater is the need for leadership and constructive attitudes.

Carried forward to its logical end, Outward Bound courses could be used for staff evaluation in the form of a report which can be made to the sponsors. Industrial organisations have testified to the validity of these reports as part of staff selection and development techniques. Reports are made impartially and objectively by people who are not directly involved in the trainee's line of business.

Some of the qualities which can be developed and assessed are will-power, determination, mental stamina, leadership and discipline. A group selected from among workers, management trainees and employees' sons: youths from different states with different social backgrounds and from different trades would benefit immensely from living and training together.

The writer, for one, has no doubt that our young people are ready to face any challenge. It is only necessary to provide them with the required training opportunities. Outward Bound activities provide just the right type of training to supplement and fill the void in our educational system.

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TREADING A NEW PATH

Geeta Doctor

AVANT-GARDE" appears to be the favourite epithet for Marathi playwright Vijay Tendulkar, whose play "Shantata! Court Chalu Ahe!" won the 1970 Sangeet Natak Akademi prize for playwriting. Even those critics who prefer to sniff in high minded disdain at his work can only complain that he is "not so avant-garde" after all.

It is not surprising therefore that when the Elphinstone College English Dramatic Society chose to stage his play, faithfully rendered in English as, "Silence! The Court is in Session!" they should somewhat self-consciously proclaim that they were providing a "new theatre experience". What, one may ask at this point, like one of the characters in the play, is this "Modern Theatre"? Essentially it is no different from any other form of drama, which has always been a means of exploring the human situation by projecting a particular character on the stage as a case study. Only the methods have changed. Modern theatre has sought to free itself from the shackles of convention and seek new methods of expression so that it could examine the very core of reality. "The marrow... that's what you've got to get," says one of Albee's characters. Tendulkar is more modest in his intentions. "I do what seems right to me", he says in the play, "whether its modern or old-fashioned doesn't matter."

The core of Tendulkar's play centers in the figure of a young schoolteacher, Miss Leela Benare. Miss Benare is everything we could wish a schoolteacher to be, vivacious, confident of herself and full of zest for her profession. By a strange turn of events, Miss Benare is trapped in a village schoolroom with a group consisting of some stock characters such as a Lawyer, an Actor, a Social Worker and his Shrewish Wife, who have all come to enact "The Living Courtroom" for the benefit of the villagers. On the pretext that they might as well rehearse for the evening's performance, the others persuade Miss Benare to take the part of the "Accused" merely as a diversion.

At first it is all fun and games. But gradually the games become more sinister as the pseudo witnesses who testify against the "Accused" begin to weave fantasy with fact and mercilessly indict Miss Benare for her "crimes" against society which only consist in her refusal to conform to its hypocritical standards. It is with a thrill of malicious delight that the Court discovers that the unmarried Miss Benare is pregnant. Her accusers clamour for an explanation. Miss Benare

has nothing to say, she is numbed by the stunning revelation that she will lose her job. As the wolf pack crowds closer to her, seeking as it were to tear off every vestige of her dignity, the stage blacks out and Miss Benare left in a bright spot of light cries out in despair, "For what sin are they robbing me of my job, my only comfort?"

For an Indian play the theme is an unusual one. Not only is Miss Benare totally different from the Bharat Mata idealizations who masquerade on the stage as women, but the psychological tension that the playwright is able to create out of her ordeal is reminiscent of the traumatic night in Edward Albee's "Whose afraid of Virginia Woolf?" As in Albee's play, the unities of time, place and action are all carefully observed, so that just as the first rays of the morning light put an end to the sado-masochistic ravages of George and Martha without solving them, the arrival of the real spectators abruptly finishes the mock trial without resolving the crisis in Miss Benare's life. She

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is left sobbing in a broken heap on the floor while the others file past unconcerned, saying: "She's taking it all too much to heart. After all it was just a game."

The translation from Marathi into English by Priya Adarkar has been done so successfully that one is hardly aware of the difficulties which are generally regarded as insurmountable in translating the Indian idiom into English. The sentences are short and structured in a manner that seems natural to the Indian usage. In the play this effect was further emphasized by allowing the actors to use their natural and in some cases pronounced, Indian accents.

Directed by Miss Zarine Minocher-Homji, the young cast performed their parts with conviction. Sukhatme (Azeez) as the Lawyer who leads the attack against Miss Benare was both vindictive and deferential in his dual roles as The Prosecution and The Defence. Mrs. Kashikar (Priti) was no less effective in a smaller role, as the virtuous woman who hisses her very special brand of female venom at Miss Benare, only too glad in joining the men in denouncing her own kind. Miss Benare's (Manjula) deeply felt performance in the latter part won the sympathy of the audience, though in the earlier portions of the play she was inclined to

be inaudible. Perhaps this was the result of staging the play in the Elphinstone College Hall and using it as the natural setting for a village schoolroom. Though this method of presentation may have had its charms, one must admit that it gave a definitely amateurish touch to an otherwise excellent production.

The play is not without its defects. Quite often the playwright takes pot shots at society by putting clever witticisms in the mouths of his characters. He appears to take an inordinate amount of time in building up the situation in the first act which can only be described as dreary. And yet in the final assessment he has managed to create a certain poignancy in his presentation of the eternal conflict between society and the individual who refuses to conform to it. In the gradual transformation of the lighthearted Miss Benare to the tragic creature who lies sobbing in the dust, at the end, the playwright has shown a sensitive perception for those brave ones whose fate it is, as in the lines of Miss Benare's song:

.... to tread out upon unknown
And dangerous pathways evermore
.... where
Defeat is destined as the end.

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Reviews

Enchanted Frontiers

by Nari Rustomji,
Oxford University Press 1971, Price: Rs. 45.

ENCHANTMENT" is a word which could appropriately be used on reading *Enchanted Frontiers* written by Nari Rustomji on the tribal areas of the North-Eastern Borders of our country, Sikkim and Bhutan. There cannot be a better qualified person than Rustomji, who was not only the chief executive of this sensitive area, but also the Prime Minister of Sikkim and an Advisor to the Himalayan Kingdom of Bhutan.

As a young and fresh ICS recruit, relatively a stranger in his own country, influenced by Plato and Beethoven, a violinist, athlete and an acrobat, the young officer was posted to the north-east of our country following the British withdrawal and served over two decades till the Chinese invasion in 1962. During this critical period, he not only visited the unusual, rugged and remotest places in the tribal areas but also came in intimate contact with a variety of important and interesting personalities like the Naga politician, Phizo; "Rani Gaidilieu"; the Two Living Gods, Dalai and Panchen Lamas; Jawaharlal Nehru; Indira Gandhi; Father Verrier Elwin; the Royal families of Sikkim and Bhutan; the Governors, the political officials of the government and a galaxy of citizens from various societies.

Rustomji became a part and parcel of the area and its people as he identified himself in thought, spirit and action with the tribesmen and worked for their welfare with missionary zeal. He conveys a fascinating picture of our N.E. Frontiers and unfolds delicate problems of the colourful tribal people dispassionately and objectively.

The basic problem of administration in NEFA was the problem of change, "a new conception of administration in the hilly areas, giving new life to the people and opening up horizons of a wider and richer world." Rustomji's initial observation on his first posting to this tribal area was that there was no electricity, telephone, taps, good roads, communication, transport and air services. Touring was entirely on foot and every ounce of food and supplies was carried into the hills by porters. When he left the tribal area after decades, he was proud to recall the numerous schools, hospitals, roads, air-strips and other facilities that had transformed the life of NEFA and her people into a new and enchanted world of their own. His success as an administrator came from his respect for the

tribal people and tribal institutions, their feeling, values, language, culture and their way of life. He was mainly instrumental in helping them in their adjustment to new and unfamiliar ideas.

Some of Rustomji's anecdotes are marvellous, humorous and exhilarating. For example, during the historic trek of Panditji and Indira Gandhi to Bhutan on yak, he says: "Nehru could not have felt freer and more relaxed at any time than during his historic trip to Bhutan. Our brief halt at the summit of the Chele La pass before the final descent to our destination in the Paro Valley was a comedy itself. The talk had drifted to yoga and dear Apa (Pant) started off on his "OMs." Standing erect the full length of his six foot plus, with hands folded as in prayer and eyes closed in beautiful meditation, he suddenly uttered a deep throated "OM" and prostrated himself on the ground. Not to be undone, I dashed off a hand-spring, head spring, head-stand, hand-stand all in rapid succession in my most professional, acrobatic style. Before we knew where we were, what should we see, but Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of the world's largest democracy, wrong side up with toes twiddling to high heaven. Our performances must have been impressive as we were soon encircled by a bevy of Bhutanese muleters who had never seen such a thing in their life."

Rustomji is a scholar of classics, a choral exhibitor of Christ College, Cambridge, and a writer of beautiful English.

His ideal in early days was Plato, the philosopher-king, manifesting in the "good" and "the beautiful". Beethoven's choral was the author's strength and consolation and through him, Rustomji received the compassionate message of the Buddha. In dedicating this book to his mother, he gives a composition of Beethoven saying "on the heights is peace, peace to serve." Life was not always peaceful. The author witnessed the civil disobedience movement of the Mizos in 1948, the Chinese entry into Tibet in 1950 and its repercussions on NEFA; the massacre of an Assam Rifle Column by NEFA tribesmen in 1953, the Naga rebellion, the visit of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas to Sikkim in 1956, the Chinese incursion into Longju in NEFA in 1959, followed by their full-scale attack in 1962 and the tragic assassination in 1964 of his very dear and near friend, Mr. Jigmie Dorji, the Prime Minister of Bhutan.

The Chinese invasion of NEFA had a profound effect on Rustomji and was a turning point. "It created a dividing-line in my life". His narrative of the *Enchanted Frontier* ends at that event.

The author's object in writing this book is not so much to marshal facts and figures but "the study of situations in evolving not only a personal philosophy of life but a practical philosophy of work." The

author has certainly contributed to a large extent in shaping the future of the tribal people of the frontier. In the process, he himself has been shaped and reshaped. But his love of the "Enchanted Frontiers" is constant. "Governors were the birds of passage, only I was eternal. I was more possessive of the tribals than a tigress of her cubs."

Lt. Col. M. R. CHANDVADKAR

The Gentle Anarchist

G. Ostergaard and Melville Currell,
Oxford University Press, London, £ 5.50

THIS is an elaborate and scientific study of the leaders of the Sarvodaya Movement. It is based upon responses by 192 leaders of the Movement to a questionnaire administered to 400 of them. The responses are scientifically studied and a profile of a Sarvodaya leader as it emerged is presented in the last chapter of the book. The authors have taken great pains over collecting information about the Movement and its leaders and have brought to bear upon it considerable scholarship in order to analyse the motives of leaders and the aims and character of the Movement. The main aspect of the Sarvodaya Movement that has attracted the attention of the authors is Bhoodan and Gramdan.

The authors were attracted to Bhoodan and Gramdan as they regarded it as an effective means for bringing about a peaceful social revolution in India. They called the leaders of the movement "gentle anarchists" as their ideal is a Stateless society to be attained through peaceful and non-violent means. They have paid a great compliment to the leaders by the designation as well as by the time, labour and money spent over collecting information about them.

After reading the tome that the authors have produced one wonders if they would not have been better advised to apply their undoubted scholarship to examine the practical results of Bhoodan and Gramdan. The feeling that is growing in the country is that all efforts that have gone into Bhoodan and Gramdan have borne no fruit, that they have not brought about any change in the social situation and the movement may degenerate into "a fraud and a hoax" if leaders continue to talk about District-dan and State-dan when, even after Gramdan, a village remains what it was without the slightest change in the behaviour and mental outlook of the villagers. Sympathetic observers of the Movement would have welcomed such a study far more than an analysis of the thoughts and motives of a couple of hundreds of its leaders.

V. B. KARNIK

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—Tennyson.

I'm a liberal, but I try not to be a damn fool.

—Jackson, Junior Senator from the State of Washington, *Time*, November 22.

If an Indian army marched into East Pakistan and droye the West Pakistanis out, it would for ten days be the Indian army of liberation and on the eleventh day become the Hindu army of occupation.

—An Indian official quoted in *Time*, December 6.

The only revolutionary thing in the world is the truth.

—Professor Goldstucker, *Encounter*, August 1971

At least one four-letter word seems to be running into trouble in Western Europe. The word is 'smut'.

—*U.S. News & World Report*, October 18.

The Indian public needs to ensure that its attitude to the world remains right. Some of us, and rather more than is wise, have condemned in our hearts the rest of the world.

—Rajmohan Gandhi, *Himmat*, December 10.

Those who go to bed with communists are likely to get their bones broken.

—Pietro Nenni quoted in *The Economist*, October 23.

"You Americans want these Russians out of this country. I can tell you, you do not want them out half as much as I do."

—President Sadat to U.S. Senator Henry Bellmon in *U.S. News & World Report*, November 29.

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The Communists' advances are a dialogue between the shark and the sardines.

—*The Economist*, October 23.

The tragedy is not death but the degree to which cowards and subhumans will stoop.

—King Hussein of Jordan in *Time*, December 13.

Poor, poor Mr. Sato. Peking, and now tariffs. He will know what Pearl Harbour felt like.

—Wm F. Buckley in *National Review*, September 10.

In China a bicycle is not a boy's luxury but a man's means of making a living.

—An American expert on China in *U.S. News & World Report*, October 18.

The fact that Marx was a Jew still remains unmentioned in books published in the Soviet Union.

—Reuben Aiuztein in the *New Middle East*, November 1971.

It is a pity that there should be so many Rajasthanis, Punjabis, and Bengalis and so few Indians like Professor John.

—C. K. Chhangani, *Statesman*, November 18.

In the socialist Soviet Union, the ruled are in the last resort regarded as the private property of the rulers.

—Professor Goldstucker, *Encounter*, August 1971.

Apres Mao le deluge.

—*Economist* headline, November 20.

To be a replica of the Soviet Union is not to be truly Socialist and few things are so opposed to the spirit of true Socialism as state-capitalism of the Soviet type.

—*Opinion*, November 30.

Promise anything, but get power. That's Moscow's line for Western Europe.

—*U.S. News & World Report*, November 29.