

JANUARY 1973

EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

HIGH TIDE AT BANDRA BEACH

J. R. Patel

WITH clenched fists and loud applause we rallied round the cause. Our mission was to stem the tide of urban blight by peacefully demonstrating against the proposed construction of a one crore bank management training institute at Bandra Beach (with banks being nationalized one had no compunction about decrying their action). The controversy has been 'raging' in the media and crystallized in our moral minds as a classic confrontation of the good (*us*, the people) vs. the bad and the ugly (*they*, the government). We read about the meeting and the formidable list of speakers and the time: late Sunday afternoon, which by definition means there is nothing to do because everybody else is doing it. But now armed with a cause we needed little urging to emerge.

I selected for the occasion my faded olive green cotton trousers, a much worn striped white shirt and black leather shoes of two years vintage (a record). Appearances are very important at these kinds of get-togethers. You must look the part. Revolutions never have been won in bell-bottoms, see-through silk shirts and suede shoes. Thus it was with a pained expression I met some of my associates in the endeavour. One woman had bright yellow flares with a multicolored top, very neatly turned out; others were in more subdued colours but chic. The procession of braless, placard-carrying emancipated women and leather jacketed, molotov tossing men has still to see the light of day in India. But nevertheless we descended in our uninitiated hordes on Bandra Beach.

The name is somewhat of a misnomer. There is no glittering sand, only black rocks jutting up between pools of polluted water and beyond the polluted waters covering everything. About a hundred yards from the makeshift speaker's platform stands the Otter's Club, which is still under construction. This was the object of public wrath when it first appeared on the landscape but by then it was too late to do anything about it. One or two people commented it was a pleasant looking structure, much to the annoyance of those who felt it should never have been there in the first place.

After the clothes and the unwanted compliments to the building, a further embarrassment was in store at the gathering. Of all those present, only one or two must have been in favour of the banking center and one of them happened to be a friend and the other, a friend of the friend. The friend of the friend, furthermore, was one of the men responsible for the Otter's Club. Hints of their leanings surfaced when they refused to sign the resolution urging the Union and State governments and the National Institute of Bank Management to abandon their venture and select a "cheaper and less disrupting site elsewhere." Then they argued the club was for the middle-class and quoted a number in the four figure mark, causing a young woman to comment "I'm middle-class but I can't afford that." Even those who could afford it, can't get in. Membership is closed, the friend informed us. They had filled the quota. 'Middle-class' non-members would have to swim in the sea. What is left of it.

Darryl D'Monte, the bearded editor of the *Times Weekly* and a prime organizer of the Save Bandra Beach Committee bid us welcome and briefed us on

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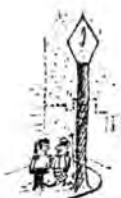
A CANDLE SNUFFED OUT

A candle exuding light in the encircling gloom was snuffed out by the death on Xmas Day of India's veteran statesman, C. Rajagopalachari. The darkness deepened as I saw him breathe his last that day in Madras.

Rajaji was an institution, indeed a phenomenon. But he was also a warm and loveable man. I was privileged to work closely with him for over a decade and to enjoy a little of his affection and confidence.

M. R. MASANI

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Peace—But Not A Graveyard

FREEDOM FIRST (December 1972) was perhaps the only journal in India, in the midst of the prevalent euphoria about "peace" in Vietnam, to condemn the hasty and disastrous commitments made by Henry Kissinger and to express confidence that President Nixon would refuse to sell out his allies in the Republic of Vietnam in this manner.

This is precisely what has happened and we are glad our confidence has been justified.

President Thieu has reason to be gratified at the result of his courageous back-to-the-wall stand in refusing to go along with a patch-up truce which could not have led to real peace. Asia needs more such men.

It is to be hoped that there will now be no further efforts at appeasing the Communist aggressors who have failed and cannot be given at the conference table what they have failed to win on the battlefield.

Everyone wants peace in Vietnam but not what Mahatma Gandhi called the "peace of the graveyard."

Infantile Leftism?

SINCE India and Chile are among the few countries in the free world to enjoy the blessings of a government led by Marxists, developments in one of these countries cannot but have implications and lessons for the people in the other. While India is entering a period of famine and suffers from accelerating inflation and unemployment, the latest reports from Chile reveal that Chileans are now allowed to eat meat only on weekends, while inflation gallops and President Allende announces a war economy.

Significant comments on the situation in Chile, which are by no means irrelevant to the current position in India, have recently been made by Monsieur Charles Exbrayat, writing in the Swiss daily *Nouvelles Du Valais*. According to the writer, Allende's trouble is lack of practical sense. His main mistake, according to Exbrayat, is that he tried to bring about a really radical change in Chile at a time when he had the support of only 38 per cent of the population. For the first few months, Allende seemed to be carried away on a wave of enthusiasm, and he read into this more than it meant. Even Chileans who profoundly suspected a Marxist at the helm were prepared to give Allende the benefit of any doubt for the first few months.

"To undertake the ambitious programme that he had in mind, Allende would have needed the support

of the whole country," continues Exbrayat, "or at least a very large majority." The result is chaos.

The only point in this analysis which needs modification if it is to be made applicable to India is to recall that, while President Allende and his party got 38 per cent of the popular vote, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's party got 43 per cent of those who voted. Not a very sensational difference, is it?

Queer Birthday Greetings

IN our November issue we had commented in these columns on the way in which Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Defence Minister, had laid about at Mr. K. D. Malaviya and other communist fellow travellers at a meeting of Congress Working Committee on October 6 and called upon them "not to trade in the name of the weaker sections of society."

Jagjivan Ram has now improved on these plain

IN THIS ISSUE

With the myopia that he says characterizes his insight, Associate Editor J. R. Patel writes on a demonstration to protest against indiscriminate encroachment on the few remaining open spots in Bombay by government, greed and indifference.

Following a trip to the Asia '72 Trade Fair in Delhi, Farok Contractor, who specializes in exports, questions the relevance of what he terms the "Super Mela" to international trade.

A. G. Noorani looks back to 1947 and a reported offer to barter Kashmir for Hyderabad and Junagadh.

Theatre critic Geeta Doctor assesses playwright Girish Karnad in light of his acclaimed *Tughlaq*.

James Burnham, one of America's finest political commentators and author of *The Managerial Revolution* and several other books, reflects on the one billion dollar grain trade deal between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Kamla Chowdhry and A. Chatterjee contribute book reviews.

words which were greatly overdue by confessing at a rally at the AICC headquarters in New Delhi on November 19 the closely guarded secret that he was no Marxist. "That", he observed, "is the prerogative of the elite to which class I do not belong". Warming up, the Defence Minister went on to claim that he was one "whom Mr. Shashi Bhushan (one of the radicals in the parliamentary party, who was sitting in the front row) would call a reactionary. Take it from this reactionary that, along with the ceiling on land holdings and urban property, there must be a ceiling on ostentatious consumption."

The most amusing part of the incident was the purpose for which the meeting had been convened. It was to celebrate Mrs. Gandhi's birthday. Babuji evidently has his own way of expressing himself when he wishes to say: "A Happy Birthday".

No More Chappals

THE manner in which members of Parliament and State Assemblies have by their behaviour brought contempt to the institutions of democracy has been eclipsed by the latest incident, namely, the behaviour of some people who threw chappals when certain persons were leaving the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Hall in early March. The City Commissioner of Police in Madras has, as a result, ordered that visitors to the Legislative Assembly will not be allowed to wear chappals or other footwear from now on.

Only one thing now remains to take that farce to its logical conclusion and that is for members of Legislative Assemblies to be obliged to enter the Chamber barefoot in case they lose their shirts and decide to emulate the example set by the late lamented Khrushchev at the General Assembly of the United Nations some years back.

A Bitter Drink

IT is announced that the Soviet Union has decided to raise capital, for the first time in its history, from private investors in the West. This will be done through an issue of Government bonds on which the foreign investor will receive interest. It is to be hoped that the misguided gentry in our country who have been allergic to the entry into India of the foreign equity capital this country so desperately needs will be shocked into sanity by this action of the Kremlin.

Communists and friends of the Soviet Union are these days having to swallow many a bitter pill as a result of the manner in which the Kremlin is shedding one inhibition after another while entering into close economic relations with the United States and the Capitalist West. The need to import one billion U.S.

dollars worth of grain to feed the starving Russian people has been quite a mouthful to gulp down.

But now comes the most bitter dose of all. The Soviet Government has entered into an agreement with Pepsi Cola in the U.S. for the manufacture and sale in the Soviet Union of that hated symbol, along with Coca Cola, of American capitalism and decadence. Have a Pepsi Cola, comrade, or since you can't get it in India, try a coke. There are worse things to come.

Who Next?

THE craze for removing the names of historic figures in Indian history like Canning, Wellesly, Curzon, Clive and Hastings on the road signs and renaming the roads after contemporary nincompoops has now reached its climax. In Rae Bareilly, the Prime Minister's constituency, a road has been named after Yash Kapoor—no, not the well-known film star—but a member of the Prime Minister's personal staff. Two U.P. ministers, recognising the national importance of the occasion, actually travelled down to Rae Bareilly—presumably at the tax-payers' expense—to be present on the historic occasion.

In case any of our readers find themselves at a loss to express their feelings at this development, may we suggest they clear their throats and shout "Jai Hind"?

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A KASHMIR-HYDERABAD BARTER?

A. G. Noorani

ON November 27, 1972, President Bhutto told a tribal jirga at Landikotal that India's first Home Minister and Minister of State, Sardar Patel had, at one stage, offered Kashmir to Pakistan in exchange for Junagadh and Hyderabad. But, he added, Pakistan "unfortunately" did not accept this offer with the result that it not only lost all the three native States but East Pakistan as well.

This is probably the first time that the founder of Pakistan, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, has been criticised by a Pakistani leader of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's standing who happens, also, to be his successor as Head of State. This is all to the good. It is high time that the present generation of Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis review objectively the policies of their leaders in the crucial period of the sub-continent's first partition in August 1947. It will not only enable them the better to understand the genesis of the second partition in December 1971 but, hopefully, yield conclusions which would serve well in moulding their relationship in the future.

'Foreign' Exchange?

Is the President factually correct, in the first place? Junagadh, a Hindu majority State with a Muslim ruler, acceded to Pakistan in August 1947 while Kashmir, a Muslim majority State with a Hindu ruler, acceded to India in October 1947. Did India, indeed, offer to give Kashmir to Pakistan in exchange for Junagadh and Hyderabad? Hyderabad, a Hindu majority State with a Muslim ruler, "signed a stand-still agreement" with India in November 1947 and acceded to India in September 1948. It had no constitutional links with Pakistan during this period but had close relations, otherwise. In such a situation did India suggest a barter deal as President Bhutto avers? President Bhutto is wrong in describing India's offer in the terms he does. However, in November 1947, India did offer an over-all settlement of all these three States whose accession was in question and this settlement was based on the democratic principle.

The first hint of such an offer was made publicly by Sardar Patel at Junagadh on November 13, 1947. He said: "Pakistan attempted to set-off Kashmir against Junagadh. When we raised the question of settlement of this problem in a democratic way, Pakistan at once told us they could consider this matter if we applied that policy to Kashmir State. Our reply was that we would agree to Kashmir if they agreed to Hyderabad. Pakistan, however, pointed out that they had no say in the matter. Nevertheless, whenever

Hyderabad has been in difficulties, there is always a trek of the leaders of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemin to Mr. Jinnah."

It is presumably this speech which Mr. Bhutto had in mind when he mentioned the offer and ascribed it to Sardar Patel. However, the first Volume of *Sardar Patel's Correspondence* published a year ago, contained the text of the offer which Lord Mountbatten, India's Governor-General, made to his counter-part in Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah, in Lahore on November 1, 1947. It read thus:—

"The Governments of India and Pakistan agree that, where the ruler of a State does not belong to the community to which the majority of his subjects belong, and where the State has not acceded to that Dominion whose majority community is the same as the State's, the question of whether the State should finally accede to one or the other of the Dominions should in all cases be decided by an impartial reference to the will of the people."

The Note of the discussion that ensued prepared by Lord Mountbatten is most revealing:

"Mr. Jinnah's first observation was that it was redundant and undesirable to have a plebiscite when it was quite clear that States should go according to their majority population, and if we would give him the accession of Kashmir he would offer to urge the accession of Junagadh *direct* to India.

"I told him that my Government would never agree to changing the accession of a State *against the wishes of the ruler or the Government that made the accession unless a plebiscite showed that the particular accession was not favoured by the people.*

"Mr. Jinnah then went on to say that he could not accept a formula if it was so drafted as to include Hyderabad, since he pointed out that Hyderabad did not wish to accede to either Dominion and he could not be a party to coercing them to accession."

'Careful Consideration'

"I offered to put in some reference to States whose accession was in dispute 'to try and get round the Hyderabad difficulty' and he said that he would give that his *careful consideration if it was put to him.*" (italics mine throughout).

One finds hint to this formula, again, in the telegram which Prime Minister Nehru sent to Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan on November 8, 1947, as a follow up of the Lahore talks in which he said:

"It will thus be seen that our proposals which we

repeatedly stated are: (1) that the Government of Pakistan should publicly undertake to do their utmost to compel the raiders to withdraw from Kashmir; (2) that the Government of India should repeat their declaration that they will withdraw their troops from Kashmir soil as soon as raiders have withdrawn and law and order are restored; (3) that the Government of India and Pakistan should make a joint request to UNO to undertake a plebiscite in Kashmir at the earliest possible date.

"The above conditions relate only to Kashmir, but it is essential, in order to restore good relations between the two Dominions, that there should be acceptance of the principle that, where Ruler of a State does not belong to the community to which the majority of his subjects belong, and where the State has not acceded to that Dominion whose majority community is same as State's, the question whether the State has finally acceded to one or other Dominion should be ascertained by reference to the will of the people."

Unfortunately, the differences on the Kashmir proposals regarding the modalities of a plebiscite were so wide that the larger formula regarding a plebiscite in all the three States went by the board. The then Secretary-General of Pakistan, Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, records in his memoirs:

"On November 8, I accompanied Abdur Rab Nishtar to Delhi for a meeting of the Joint Defence Council. After the meeting, Nishtar had an exchange of views with Nehru about Kashmir and returned to Pakistan. Mountbatten asked me to stay on for further discussions. I worked with Ismay and V. P. Menon to find a solution for States whose accession was in dispute. In each of them the ruler of the state did not belong to the community to which the majority of his subjects belonged. The only manner in which the dispute over accession could be resolved was by a reference to the will of the people under conditions guaranteeing a free vote. In Kashmir it was essential that the tribal lashkar and the Indian troops should both withdraw. In the evening I was told that Mountbatten and Sardar Patel agreed to such a plan, but not Nehru, and I was advised to see him." They met and disagreed—on Kashmir.

Impossible Terms

Initially Mr. Jinnah's terms on Kashmir were—cease fire, withdrawal from Kashmir of both the tribesmen and the Indian forces, and joint administration of the State by India and Pakistan as a preliminary to a plebiscite. These were clearly impossible terms.

In November and December further talks were held but they were deadlocked on the crucial questions of the States' administration during a plebiscite and the forces India could station there. Pakistan wanted a neutral administrator to be appointed in place of Sheikh Abdulla.

These two major points of discord proved insuperable in all the subsequent negotiations. The general formula was one thing. Its implementation by agreement on the modalities of plebiscite another. India rejected every proposal on the demilitarization of the State made by a UN mediator or Commission.

In the first week of December the Pak Premier Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan came to Delhi for a meeting of the Joint Defence Council and discussed Kashmir with Mr. Nehru. This time the talks progressed so far that Mr. V. P. Menon, the States' Secretary and Mr. Mohammed Ali, with Lord Ismay's help, "produced a draft as a basis for discussion". Under it, India had to withdraw only the "bulk" of her troops, the Kashmir Government could continue with the plebiscite being arranged by a UN agency. It was a fair compromise. On December 8, at Lahore, the Nehru-Liaquat talks were resumed but were hopelessly deadlocked, again, on the procedures of a Kashmir plebiscite.

Referring to the earlier talks at New Delhi Mr. Mohammed Ali records—

"Sardar Patel, although a bitter enemy of Pakistan, was a greater realist than Nehru. In one of the discussions between the two Prime Ministers, at which Patel and I were also present, Liaquat Ali Khan dwelt at length on the inconsistency of the Indian stand with regard to Junagadh and Kashmir. . . . When Liaquat Ali Khan made these incontrovertible points, Patel could not contain himself and burst out: "Why do you compare Junagadh with Kashmir? Talk of Hyderabad and Kashmir, and we could reach an agreement."

If instead of confining the negotiations to the modalities of a plebiscite in Kashmir, had the parties discussed this in regard to all the three States, may not have the Sardar persuaded Mr. Nehru to be more reasonable? Also, since Pakistan failed to accept Sardar Patel's very reasonable suggestion, did it not contribute to the deadlock as well?

Cynicism

The record of the times reveals cynicism on the part of both India and Pakistan. Both relied, at some time or the other, on communal considerations, on the rulers' right to accede, on the peoples' right to decide and, finally, both used force under false pretexes. Neither was consistent.

It is interesting to note that in contrast to India's terms on Kashmir, in regard to Junagadh it wanted a plebiscite "under joint supervision of India and Junagadh Governments." This was in September 1947. Also, as Sir Chimanlal Setalwad pointed out in a letter to *The Times of India* (November 3, 1947)

"Undoubtedly, Junagadh's action in acceding to Pakistan is unwise from all points of view and deserves condemnation, but that cannot justify the action that has been taken against it. The Indian Dominion may

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ASIA '72: SUPER MELA

Farok Contractor

ASIA '72 officially died December 17. It lives on now in another *avatar* as India '72, the foreign participants, few to start with, having gone. A visit to the fair in those last days of its official existence saw precious little signs of international trade. The foreign pavilions were unmanned and neglected. Their few weary representatives sat languidly by, all signs of resistance gone out of them. The mobs and the dust swept in, triumphant.

Obviously it was not a case of sudden death. *Rigor mortis* had set in early, some said, with official ineptness, inclement weather and always the inevitable hordes. The foreign pavilions had that desecrated look about them, their displays tattered and grimed. Some did not even bother to open their doors on time, and at least one wound up before the official end. The newspapers have deemed the fair a triumph for India's exports. Perhaps, but the other countries appeared to have sold little except what exhibits they could squeeze in to sell under the prescribed limit of imports.

To a lay observer, however, the passing of December 17 made no difference to the principal beneficiaries of the fair. To the citizens of Delhi and surrounding states, it continued to be the *Super Mela*, an almost inexhaustible reservoir of cheap entertainment. And they threw themselves into it with ill-disguised abandon. It mattered not which pavilion it was. From one to the next it was a riot of excitement. And as for trade and negotiation, they continued unabated between scooter cab men and hapless travellers; between

the food vendors and the hungry fair-goer. Truly, it continues to be a field day for all. Except perhaps, for the financial controllers of companies and states who must grimly weigh the vast expenditures against the paltry returns on their investment.

From the point of view of taste, the money appeared to be well spent. Thank heavens! Most structures were a departure from the boxy monstrosities that have blighted the face of urban India. The sloping plane, the parabolic curve, the truncated cone and other new shapes were woven gracefully into the architecture. The interior design had an equally uplifting dash to it almost everywhere. There were notable exceptions, however. Bihar, as the poorest state in the nation, can perhaps be forgiven for the gaucheness of its displays, which consisted of nothing more than the haphazard allotment of cubicles to various industries, who put up whatever and wherever they liked.

But Goa took the cake as far as living up to the old image of poor and shoddy Indian exhibits at international exhibitions. One was amazed to see empty shelves behind grimy glass. The exhibits included memorables such as a pile of mud labelled "Iron Ore", agricultural products in cracked jars and tinned food with labels partially torn off. And, at least when I was there the entire staff appeared to consist of a single decrepit looking individual in a comatose state of disregard.

But such instances were much the exceptions. The

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well be asked the self-same questions that Pandit Nehru has put to Pakistan. Was the Government of India too weak to prevent the armies of the 'Provisional Government' from invading Junagadh territory, or was it willing that this should happen?"

As for Pakistan, its founder, having so confidently based his stand, *right at the beginning*, on the States rulers' right to decide on accession, found himself hoist on his own legalistic petard when the Maharaja of Kashmir signed the Instrument of Accession to India. Before long India was to reverse its stand and base its case on the rulers' signature. The farcical elections in Kashmir were but the tributes which its cynicism paid to its earlier position. Pakistan thought of plebiscite only when it found Kashmir gone.

President Bhutto's history errs in one important respect, however. In moaning the loss of the three States he adds in the same sequence loss of the former East Pakistan. This was not inevitable. It became so because Mr. Bhutto successfully sabotaged the Yahya-

Mujib negotiations in March 1971. And as one perceptive correspondent covering the talks, Mr. Peter Hazelhurst, pointed out, one of Mr. Bhutto's principal motivations was that a settlement with East Pakistan would have spelt the end of his policy of confrontation with India over the Kashmir issue.

While Mr. Jinnah's short-sighted policies harmed Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto's intrigues were responsible for its break-up. With superior military strength India was able to meet Pakistan's challenge in all the three native states successfully. But, in the process, it paid a price few care to remember. Thanks to Pakistan's crime in 1965 the dimensions of the Kashmir issue became severely circumscribed. It is not too late now in 1973 to give the people of Kashmir the rights and privileges so clearly their due within the Union and thus fulfil in some measure the democratic purpose we so loudly proclaimed in 1947 and so consistently ignored in Kashmir.

FEEDING THOSE THAT BITE

James Burnham

NOW that he has sewn up the Nobel Prize, it looks as if Mr. Nixon is out after a Lenin Medal, or at least a Hero of Soviet Labour citation, for Stakhanovite performance in socialist construction. He is going to snup a billion dollars' worth of the grain that the Communist regime is unable to produce to feed its subjects. He has authorized U.S. firms to erect a huge factory complex to turn out the thousands of trucks they desperately need. He is arranging to supply advanced computers, chemical and synthetic fabrics plants, computerized machine tools, and many other means of production that the Communists have not got around to providing for themselves. Plans are afoot for a multibillion-dollar application of U.S. techniques and equipment to development of Siberian oil and gas fields.

After 55 years of freedom from the shackles of capitalist exploitation, the Soviet regime achieves the biggest grain deficit in the history of any country ever, and the President of the United States will bail it out. Experience has shown that in general Communist regimes cannot produce enough food. Russia itself and most of its East European satellites were grain surplus nations in their pre-Communist days. But year after year the Communist spokesmen denounce the frightful weather—drought one year, floods the next; too cold this winter and too hot that; epidemics, pests, plagues. And the record does prove that in Communized countries the weather is almost always very bad for agriculture: the political weather, that is. Under a Communist regime, farmers and farm workers do not have interest, incentive or the suitable infrastructure to lead them to grow enough food. The Soviet Union needs such a pile of wheat this year, we are

told, because the crop in the Ukraine (the Soviet breadbasket) and the northern Caucasus was ruined by too open a winter. As it happens, the Ukraine and northern Caucasus have been prominent scenes of nationalist dissent during this past year.

Selling the Rope To Hang Us?

If these plans and projects are carried through, we may be certain of at least one consequence: The Soviet state and its Communist regime will thereby be much strengthened. How much net benefit, if any, will accrue to the Soviet peoples is obscure. But about the strengthening of the regime—the Communist regime—there can be no doubt.

The inability of Communist regimes to feed their subjects, by now notorious, is a significant source of discontent on the part of the subjects and of resultant weakness in the regime. If the food situation is improved, the discontent is lessened, and the regime gets the primary credit in the eyes of the masses. Transport, especially road transport, has always been a major Soviet weakness. Without U.S. trucks Hitler would have won the Nazi-Soviet war. A modernized, functioning truck industry will become "a proof of the superiority of Communism."

Is it really to the American interest to strengthen the Soviet state and its Communist regime?

What can we expect to get in return? That has not been made clear by the negotiations so far. There isn't much in the way of raw materials and even less in manufactured goods that we need from the Soviet Union. There is talk about oil and gas, but that is in a future both distant and problematic. To make the projects possible we will be extending massive, easy

ASIA '72: SUPER MELA — Continued from page 6

private companies and even the public sector's exhibits were meticulously kept, considering the daily assault they were subjected to. In particular the State Trading Corporation's pavillion was a representative selection of the best in India's production, ranging from handicrafts to heavy industry. After all, they are eventually the main beneficiaries of what international transactions took place.

Put together, the fair did assemble in one area a stupendous variety of goods, reflecting microcosmically the state of India's technological condition. They ranged from jet aircraft to a cowdung gas producing device, at the Khadi pavillion complete with a stove and vessel to illustrate its use in cooking. Fascinated, I probed for details. Was this a practicable scheme?

How much cowdung was required to cook daily meals for one person? The answer is a approximately 0.8 cows per head. Six thousand such units were already operational all over India. And the residue could be used as manure. Yes, the purveyors of cowdung gas were no less proud than the exhibitors of jet aircraft. My only regret was that in my extreme fascination, I forgot to ask what relevance cowdung gas has to International Trade.

That, indeed, was the Key question about the fair. What relevance did it have to Asian Trade. As you stood by and beheld the masses eating *ragda* or the specially created bazaars selling local consumer goods to local people, you suddenly wondered whether the entire idea had not been hatched in the mind of a mischievious bureaucrat in the Ministry of Tourism.

and long-term credits. How will those credits be repaid? By shipment of fifty thousand or so Jews as the Kremlin's new price range of \$10,000 to \$35,000 a head?

These deals will make our farmers happy by ridding them of a lot of surplus grain so that they can continue the subsidized production of more surpluses. And the deals will provide profitable contracts, guaranteed in effect by the U.S. Treasury, for truck and machinery and chemical and engineering and other U.S. businesses.

It would be silly to suppose that the U.S. farmers and businessmen who are or hope to be concerned will shy away from such seductions. Our business and political leaders will rationalize their behaviour with the belly-Communism theory that a well-fed Communist is a friendly Communist and a more prosperous Soviet Union, a gentler Soviet Union, and they will not bother reviewing the history of Persia, Athens, Rome, Germany, Japan or the Soviet Union to test their comforting assumption. From a monetary point of view the twentieth-century U.S. economy in any case seems to require recurrent giveaways to keep going. Moreover, there is something to the argument that if we don't supply the Soviets, someone else will.

From the point of view of American national interest, the economics of this operation are dubious, the strategy is dangerous, and the morality is suspect. As the deal stands we are on the short end. There is a

way, however, by which it might be brought closer to balance.

To Even the Balance

The Kremlin badly wants these economic assists, and wants also the various concessions on the armament and political fronts. If we can't translate all the sums into dollars and rubles, why not demand part of the payment in political acts by the Kremlin that would be of solid, undeniable benefit to us, to the peace we seek in the world, and, for a bonus, to the peoples of the Soviet Union and its satellite nations?

For example, our representatives from the President down could in every negotiation ask specific measures to *open up* Soviet society. Steps toward unrestricted entry and exit to and from the Soviet Union and the other East European nations of persons, books, periodicals, radio and TV would be a good and powerful starter. The closedness of Communist society—spiritual, intellectual, political, economic—is a principal reason why the Soviet Union is a threat to a non-Communist nation and a horror to its subjects. Opening it up would be the most promising of auguries for both peace and decency. Why shouldn't the President put proposals along these opening-up lines into his negotiating pot? In the longer run it could even prove good for business.



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TUGHLAQ AND ITS CREATOR

Geeta Doctor

RECENTLY a leading women's magazine placed Girish Karnad among the ten most interesting men in India today. Oddly enough one of the main reasons they appeared to find him so fascinating was that Karnad spoke with an impeccable Oxford accent. Now, while it is true that Karnad has a very pleasant accent, it is not, despite the fact that he has been to Oxford, a typical Oxford accent and it does therefore seem somewhat unfair to condemn him to fame merely on account of this.

Surely from the prismatic range of Karnad's achievements one could find a better reason. And yet it is not easy. There is an elusive quality about him which becomes more apparent when one tries to track him down. He cannot be contacted. Nobody knows where he is. "You will have to write to his home in Dharwar" somebody says. "I do not know his address but I can tell you that he is a very nice person," someone else volunteers, and all the while there are eulogic write-ups of Karnad's achievements. Some of these represent him speaking in a quaint pidgin English (Sample—Since I am given Bhabha Fellowship I can study theater) which would have us believe that Karnad's grammar is still at an experimental stage.

Man for all Seasons

Most of them however do manage to enumerate the highlights of Karnad's career. We are told of the brilliant student who won a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford, of the popular playwright of the Kannada stage, of the actor-cum-director-cum-experimenter in art nouveau films, of the innovator and iconoclast whose themes invariably provoke the wrath of some section of the community. At times we catch a glimpse of Karnad as the shaven headed Brahmin in his sombre film 'Samskara' and other times we see him frisking inexplicably through an inane advertisement for suiting material. Karnad certainly appears to be his own man for all seasons.

However it is undoubtedly as a playwright that he has established his mark, and here again it is the Theater Group's 1970 production of *Tughlaq* which brought him popular fame. The triple combination of Karnad's play in English along with the Theater Group's exotic handling of it, plus the charismatic personality of Kabir Bedi in the title role, proved to be quite irresistible to the public at large. Karnad became an instant celebrity in Bombay, the only difference being that unlike such overnight wonders he seemed quite unaffected by all the fuss. When asked to speak of his success he was articulate about his work but modest in his estimation of himself. He was

excited by the possibility of initiating a new era in the dramatic arts and yet unpretentious about his role in it. It is in this context that we must consider the impact of *Tughlaq* and thereby assess the importance of Karnad.

Those who saw *Tughlaq* on the stage in Bombay will readily admit that there are two versions of it, one the popular version with all the frills and flair the Theatre Group could provide and one the carefully wrought, meticulously constructed play written by Karnad which has recently come out in book form, the first in a new series on drama published by the Oxford University Press. Of course Kannada audiences might claim that there is yet another one, the original version of *Tughlaq* which is coming to be regarded as a classic in Kannada literature.

The Theater Group's production was a visual delight re-inforced by superb lighting and sound effects. Each of the thirteen scenes was conceived as a separate unit, each with its own rising and falling action. The result was a series of animated paintings, perfect perhaps like a Persian miniature, but static. Karnad's play on the other hand evolves in a series of concentric movements around the central figure of Tughlaq, the dramatic tension springing from the clever use of sub-plots that repeat with minor variations the conflict of the main theme.

Divergent

A single comparison may illustrate how widely divergent are the attitudes in the two interpretations. In the Theater Group version everyone will remember the startling manner in which the play opens with the naked torso of Kabir Bedi pinpointed on the dark stage, flexing his powerful muscles. He is supposed to represent Tughlaq—The Man and the Myth. It is most impressive and quite meaningless. Karnad's play on the other hand has a traditional opening with a few citizens gathering on the stage to discuss the situation. It is a stock dramatic device as old as the Greek chorus. Yet it is singularly effective with its very first line "God, what's this country coming to!" setting the tone for a theme which coming after the high expectations and eventual disillusionments of the Nehru era, has a peculiar topicality about it. Besides it ensures that the audience is in a proper state of expectation before Tughlaq makes his first appearance on the stage. In the Theater Group version Kabir Bedi's first speech is a complete anti-climax after all the excitement in the prologue.

The play begins with Tughlaq's decision to shift the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad. This in fact

forms the background of the play's action. The last scene being the moment of reckoning for Tughlaq who realises that he has failed and must now make the long march back to Delhi. In between we witness the tragedy of a man trapped by his own idealism, of a man who does not consider the means so that he may attain his ends till finally the end itself becomes meaningless.

Opposing Forces

History has found it hard to reconcile the senseless cruelty of Tughlaq with the breadth of his vision but in his characterization Karnad has been able to synthesize the opposing forces in Tughlaq's character and transform him into a tragic figure. He does not mitigate the cold inhumanity of the man, but he does provide him with the soul of a poet. Whenever Tughlaq speaks there are burning images of light and darkness, when he dreams the whole universe seems to be in his grasp and when he wakes the world seems too small a place for him.

Scene six is the turning point of the play. Until then Tughlaq had believed that he could control events, but now he finds events controlling him. The whole scene is superbly conceived. Tughlaq is waiting for his courtiers to come in led by Shihab-ud-din whom he has trusted until then. He knows that they will try to kill him. Everyone is tense waiting for the muezzin's call to prayer which is to be the signal for murder. Only Tughlaq appears to be calm. But as the minutes slip by even he cannot stand the suspense and he turns abruptly to Shihab-ud-din almost begging him to swear his allegiance to him. But it is already too late. The inevitable happens and the conspirators are caught in their own trap. Only Shihab-ud-din is left. It is a double betrayal. Tughlaq by Shihab-ud-din and Shihab-ud-din by his step brother. It is at this point that Tughlaq asks Shihab-ud-din the eternal question of all tragedy, "What is my crime?" Only there is no answer. Tughlaq stabs Shihab-ud-din in a frenzy as though tearing away some part of himself that he once held dear but now considers to be useless to him in his purpose. From this moment all pity and trace of human feeling leave him entirely.

Running parallel to Tughlaq's destiny and typical of the convoluted structure of the play is the story of Aziz the unscrupulous dhobi who not only provides the comic element in the play but who by creating a distorted mirror image of Tughlaq's actions becomes an ironic commentary of his life. While Tughlaq's every decision springs from his peculiar vision as to his role in history, Aziz's actions are only propelled by an opportunist desire to turn every situation to his advantage. The irony is that whereas Tughlaq fails, Aziz is always successful. What Tughlaq has been struggling to understand, the mechanics of power,

comes easily to Aziz. His is the role of the traditional court jester who in the end is the only one to show Tughlaq the truth, that a human being who ends up as a straw filled corpse, the ideal and the actual, the starts that Tughlaq has been groping for and the mire that he has stumbled into, are in the end one and the same. Once Tughlaq has comprehended this, a feeling of great tranquillity comes over him. He becomes clear-sighted once more and accepts the fact that they will have to return to Delhi.

Potential

The play is not without its defects. It is inclined to be episodic, as though a vast tract of history had been condensed into neat little chapters. The various strands in the story are woven together so carefully that we are made aware of the fact, just as we are sometimes uncomfortably conscious that some of the characters have been popped in just for the sake of convenience. In fact the secondary characters are all somewhat shadowy and allow themselves to be manipulated a little too deftly to make us believe that they have any life of their own. It would not be unfair to say that *Tughlaq* is more exciting for what it promises than for what it actually achieves. It has shown how eager Indian audiences are for plays with an Indian theme and what a vast potential there exists for this. By proving to be a success both in the original Kannada version and in the English translation *Tughlaq* also shows that true art can transcend language barriers.

Undoubtedly *Tughlaq* has established Girish Karnad among the front rank of playwrights today. It is devoutly to be hoped that the strain of being a Very Interesting Person will not prevent him from keeping this place in the future.

A QUESTION OF COLOUR

When, in South Africa, the plans
Envision further Bantustans,
The liberals vibrate their fans
And faint.

But when Uganda's Asians get
The boot, if not the bayonet,
You'd think they'd *really* get upset.
They ain't.

W. H. VON DREELE

Courtesy: *National Review*

Review

The Crisis in Higher Education

(Edited by G. D. Parikh) Leslie Sawhny Programme, Bombay; pp. 118, Rs. 10 & Rs. 5. (paper back)

THIS book is a collection of papers submitted for discussion at a Seminar on the Crisis in Higher Education sponsored by the Leslie Sawhny Programme of Training for Democracy and Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung in January 1971 in Bombay.

The introduction by G. D. Parikh states that the following kind of questions figured prominently in the discussions at the Seminar. "What is the nature of the crisis in education? What are its roots? Does it express itself in declining standards or through products who are misfits in society? Have we lost our moorings? etc." Whether these questions were discussed in any depth in the Seminar perhaps the participants could say, but neither the basic papers nor the Report on Discussions included convey to the reader or the book many new ideas or new ways of looking at the crisis in higher education.

Prof. V. V. Jonn's paper *The Crisis in Higher Education*, states "the present decline (in standards) constitutes a major crisis in higher education". Further, he states that the crisis is related to the failure of the teachers,—"In plain language the failure of higher education is not a failure of the student clientele but a failure of the teaching community." He also mentions the language problem, "This (language problem) has been complicated by muddleheadedness and dishonesty—if the Government were honest about the proposed language policy, there should be no difficulty about enforcing it."

Opium of the Intellectuals

But Prof. Jonn, what shall we,—and we need to define who we are—do about it. Peter Drucker in his book *The Age of Discontinuity* mentions that there is so little truth, historically in the adage, "the pen is mightier than the sword" that it can only be called the 'opium of the intellectuals'. He mentions that we may find it hard to accept that the basic decisions in education, its direction and priorities are political decisions rather than knowledge decisions and are therefore not in the hands of the academics! This is a reality difficult to accept by the academics. Perhaps, Prof. A. B. Shah's suggestion of educating the policy makers is a good one—but how is that to be done!

Prof. A. B. Shah's paper, *Universities and Politics*, is related to politics-in-universities. According to him "(thus) for fear of popular opposition and government hostility, no University has yet dared to introduce any significant reform recommended by the Education Commission". Prof. Shah, do you think it is largely politics? Or do you think the process of imple-

menting change in Universities is very cumbersome and difficult? Are the recommendations addressed to Government, University Grants Commission, or Universities? And has the Government or UGC implemented decisions of the Commission? In order to handle the situation Prof. Shah recommends firstly "a well considered programme of educating policy making groups—" and secondly "—to create at an early date a few institutions which will keep the idea of the University alive in spite of the raging storm outside". Prof. Shah would like these institutions to be outside government support and wishes business and industry to provide the necessary support. But he says "to expect them (business and industry) to show greater imagination in regard to something as remote from their daily thought as higher education would only be a mark of naive optimism". The salvation lies in "groups of concerned intellectuals coming together and acting in their own humble way." But Prof. Shah is not your own suggestion also a mark of naive optimism? Why have the groups of concerned intellectuals not come together so far?

Mr. J. P. Naik has made some concrete suggestions for Higher Education in India. His suggestions are worth considering. They were endorsed by the seminar. But Mr. Naik these decisions have to be taken somewhere in Delhi. Perhaps we need to raise the question what is the starting point and where. Could you write an action paper directed at an identified decision-maker, policy-maker?

There are other papers by Prof. G. D. Parikh, Kamla Chowdhry, K. J. Shah, S. N. Balasundaram, N. G. Thakar, and Vakil and Shah. Many interesting points have been raised in these papers and need to be read.

This is a volume certainly worth acquiring. It costs only Rs. 10. Many 'established' voices of the academic world have given their opinions about what they believe are the real causes of the crisis and what could be done about it.

KAMLA CHOWDHRY

A Survey of Indian Historiography

by A. K. Warder, Popular Prakashan, Bombay; pp. 196, Rs. 36.

HISTORY, according to popular belief, is what happened in the past and is consequently a relatively cut and dried affair. Admittedly, there might be a few unsightly gaps in time charts with a parenthetic question mark to indicate the historian's helplessness. Unfortunately, popular history consists of textbooks providing convenient capsules of information trimmed with dates and labels. This pushes under the carpet more interesting questions about interpretation of historical information and the philosophy of history.

These are substantive methodological questions



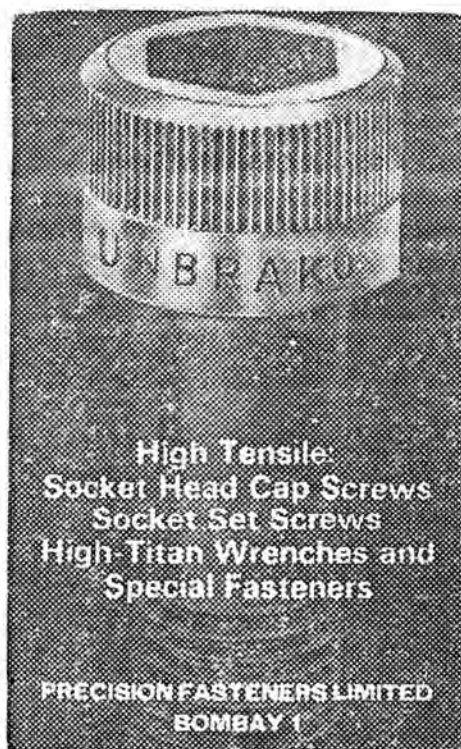
DO YOU DREAM IN COLOUR?

If you live in a world of dreams dotted with greens and golds; if you see yourself in patterns of startling beauty; if you want to stop the world for a bold, dramatic moment, come to us.

See our designs. Feel our flowing textures. And discover, that beautiful colours don't belong only in dreams.

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which should be asked when one reads a book on history, since the historian's viewpoint and attitude structure reflect on his analysis of historical events. The extreme example is the Marxist historian struggling under his ideological burden and shifting party directives.

While re-writing Indian history, most foreign and Indian historians have ignored the wealth of Indian historiography. Professor Warder in his book on Indian historiography labels them as "imperial" historians whose disregard of ancient historical writing distorts their perspective. He writes:

"To this imperialist view we here oppose the pauranika Indian view of Indian history, as the tradition of Indian civilisation."

Curiously enough, Prof. Warder singles out Comrade S. A. Dange as an "honourable exception". This reviewer has not yet read Dange's *India from Primitive Communism to Slavery*. It is lucky Prof. Warder is a Westerner. Were he an Indian, he would have been castigated by Indians and Westerners alike for his "chauvinistic" views. However, Prof. Warder's scholarly credentials are impeccable. Being a Sanskrit and Pali expert, his investigations into ancient writings bear the stamp of authority.

Historians have ignored the writings of ancient India as the mixture of fact, folklore, myth and legend proved too unwieldy. Separation of fact from this collage is not easy as Prof. Warder admits. As an example, in the puranas there are several instances of dynasties being spread out over centuries to cover gaps of republican rule. In addition, the court poet and historian were generally the same person, so eulogistic descriptions of princely activities crowd the pages of Indian historiography. Prof. Warder points out that the poet-historian combination resulted in "the substitution of aesthetic truth for historical truth in presenting history." Even Kalhana, whose *Rajtarangini* is considered a realistic and critical work, believed in the aesthetic imperative of history.

The foreign historian, trained in the Graeco-Roman school of history, shuddered at the heretical tradition of Indian historiography and instead embraced garbled versions of Megasthenes's account which made easier reading. He relied on inscriptions, official

documents, coins and excavations to restructure Indian history. Such efforts, however, produced a sterile history which cannot share a place in the historical continuum of this country.

The rejection of Indian historiography by historians because of the presence of folklore, legend and "aesthetic truth" is untenable even by modern Western yardsticks of history. The role of the historian has been challenged and the nineteenth century view of history as a string of facts has been discounted. The positivist approach resulted in the creation of a large source material. Conversely, the idealistic school of historians, led by R. G. Collingwood believed, "For history, the object to be discovered is not the mere event, but the thought expressed in it." Ancient Indian historians embellished their accounts with legends and folklore because these were integral features of the contemporary belief-structure. The sincerity of Indian historiography can be interpreted best in the light of Toynbee's remark:

"In any age of any society the study of history, like other social activities, is governed by the dominant tendencies of the time and the place."

Prof. Warder mentions that his investigations have only revealed the tip of the iceberg and there is still a large number of manuscripts awaiting the attention of historians. Prof. Warder also promises to write an Indian history incorporating this material. Indian historians, long under the spell of Western tradition, could perhaps break new ground now. In the volume under review, the author has surveyed the historiography both chronologically and geographically. It is a remarkably comprehensive survey and includes chapters on Ceylon and Nepal.

The book is not the sort a casual reader would pick up at a bookstall before a railway journey. He, in fact is strongly advised not to. It is recommended for the person interested in probing the basic assumptions of the history he has been accustomed to read and accept. The introductory and concluding chapters would help the general reader dispel the popular misconceptions about Indian historiography. These misconceptions are part of the intellectual baggage picked up in schools.

A. CHATTERJEE



Courtesy: Charles Schulz

MOSCOW'S HAND IN INDIA :

A Swiss View

THIS is the name of a book written in 1966 by a Swiss expert on Indian affairs, Dr. Peter Sager. It showed the extent of Soviet press infiltration in India, something which had never been described before.

The book was carefully documented, and all sources were mentioned. The material in it was incendiary. It contained astonishing revelations. Such blatant interference by a great power in the internal affairs of an independent country—a country still claiming a neutral status as between the power blocs—was unprecedented. The Information Department of the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi had been caught red-handed trying to control the popular media of a democratic country by all the powerful means at its disposal.

It is a story of bribery and corruption on a grand scale. One of the most effective items was a complete set of evidence—based on an analysis by the Zurich police department—that information stemming from the Communist Party of India, which claimed independence from Moscow and had a wide following very largely on the basis of this claim, was *actually typed* in the Information Department of the Soviet Embassy.

Today India is far less independent of the Soviet Union than it was in 1966. The trend towards undue reliance is now clear. The situation has not improved. Soviet information activities have followed the trend, and infiltration into the free press is greater even than in 1966. And, more dangerous by far, the Indian Gov-

ernment does not want the world to know. Which means that the Soviet Union does not want the world to know.

This can be the only reason for a recent *ban on the export from India of Sager's book*. In the customs communiqué announcing the ban, the book is described as "matter which is likely prejudicially to affect friendly relations with the USSR"—which is indeed true, for no Indian who had read it attentively could possibly remain friendly to the Soviet Union afterwards.

Why does Moscow want the book banned for export? Because the Soviet Union is doing the same thing in many other developing countries, and it does not want the techniques to be known outside India.

There is a loop-hole, however; *The book is still available outside India*. It was also published (in English) in Switzerland in 1966, and it is still in print. It can be supplied through SOI BOOKSELLERS CH 3000 Berne 6, Switzerland, at a price of 25.50 Swiss francs plus postage (or UK pounds 2.50). There are only a limited number of copies available, and we urge those aware of the dangers of Communist propaganda infiltration in the Third World to order their copies now.

The information in *Moscow's Hand in India* is relevant and important far beyond the boundaries of India. More so now, perhaps, than in 1966—for Soviet propaganda activities have greatly increased in the six years which have passed since then. India was a proving ground, and for the Soviets a highly-successful one.

Courtesy: Swiss Press Review

music in his ears

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gushing out of a Jyoti pump—
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HIGH TIDE AT BANDRA BEACH — Continued from page 1

the murky goings-on: One crore rupees of public funds to cater to a population of 400 (300 students and 100 staff) at any given time; land to be obtained *free* from the Maharashtra government; of the crore, Rs. 33 lakhs for reclamation; all this in the name of *Garibi Hatao*. Then our dignified Sheriff, Mrs. Mehaboob Nasrullah, spoke about democracy and how the people's wishes had to be taken into consideration and how when government erred, it was for people to rectify the mistake. She observed that once it was mother nature who encroached on the beaches but lately it was her offsprings who were doing the damage. Till now the rhetoric had been a model of controlled sentiment. The pitch had been to reason. Then someone called for a "Demolition Squad." The mike went dead. Speakers spoke of rampant corruption and black money changing hands. One speaker charged another with vested interests and the good Sheriff had to intervene to restore law n' order.

Make Love not...

Proponents of the banking institute, according to one speaker, claim the shore area is being used as a public toilet and that "ayahs make love" there (must be uncomfortable on those rocks). What, he rightly asked, was wrong if domestic servants made love there. It only meant they had no other place to go (many journalists in same plight; IFWJ and NUJ please note).

Carrying on the zest of the earlier speakers, MLA George D'Souza said he was going directly from the meeting to Nagpur to see Chief Minister Naik for some work or the other and would take the issue up with him. "I shall take your gloves and bang them on the table," said George (an anti-climax as we had anticipated his "banging" Mr. Naik with them; also why gloves when knuckles would be far more effective). The MLA assured us he would return with good news (none so far). He related how on an earlier occasion he had spoken to Mr. Naik (on pollution, I think) and the Chief Minister "put his pipe down for fifteen minutes and listened to me."

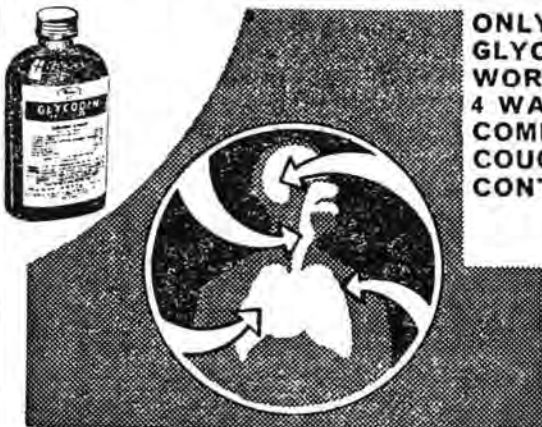
Municipal Councillor Boman-Behram told of the long vigil undertaken to prevent encroachment on Azad Maidan, Horniman Circle and the few remaining open spaces in the city. He recalled many years ago when the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee set up shop at the Cross Maidan, Chief Minister Naik assured him the office structures were "temporary." How temporary, asked the councillor? One year came the reply. To publicly confirm this deadline, Boman-Behram said he repeated the question before an official body where Mr. Naik reportedly replied: "One year by which I mean it is renewal from year to year."

The sun had set way before the last speaker. The motley crowd of young and old, rich and poor, local and out-of-Bandra residents empathized with the

speakers and the subject. A few of us weary from the verbiage squatted on the hard dirt ground. Only at the end when all those willing to fight on were required to raise their hands did we arise and add our mite. Not that it made much difference. The turnout of between three to five hundred was poor considering the number who would be affected by the 'sea' change. Perhaps the stay-at-homes prefer the short range benefits that would accrue from the institute: greater security (a one crore investment would be well policed) and clean grounds instead of a cluttered beach-cum-lavatory. By totally neglecting the upkeep of the beach, the authorities conditioned the residents to be indifferent and contemptuous of their heritage. The government knew a well-preserved beach would be impregnable, so they let the rot set in. Unless conditions improve, the threat of a take over for one purpose or another will always remain a real one.

Strolling away after the meeting, some people (my friends included) stopped to purchase *bhel* from a street-car vendor. Here we had been demonstrating against these encroachments, similar to the ones that deface Chowpatty, and these educated, socially-conscious people were patronizing the cause of such evils. Like the novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald, I had wanted the world to be at a "sort of moral attention forever," a kind of moral high tide where all life's litter is submerged. I steadfastly refused all offerings of *sev*, *puris* and *bhel*.

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WITH MANY VOICES

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

The political situation is so depressing that it compels one to turn to God as the last resort.

—Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in *Illustrated Weekly*,
November 19.

It is with men who eat bark that the revolution will be made and not with taxi-drivers who earn fifteen times what a coolie earns.

—Mao Tse-tung, quoted in *Times of India*,
November 20.

Representatives from the Third World countries of Africa often buy rubles in Zurich at 20 per cent of the official exchange rate and smuggle the money back to Moscow to buy icons at bargain prices. They then sell the images for hard currency in Western Europe, and go back to Zurich to buy more rubles.

—*Time*, November 27.

Often I feel that just as when there is no tiger in the mountains the monkey reigns as king, in this way too I have become the big king.

—Mao Tse-tung quoted in *Time*, November 27.

A government which could send S. S. Dhavan to London can also send Kaul to Washington, D.C.

—A. G. Noorani in *March of the Nation*,
November 25.

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In order to appease my light-hearted colleagues over here I am willing to accept that anybody who looks at me would not believe that there is a food problem in the country.

—Mr. Piloo Mody, quoted in *Hindustan Times*,
December 4.

I would not accept an offer to be the United States ambassador in India because I serve another Master. I am the ambassador of the King of Kings.

—Dr. Billy Graham, quoted in *Hindustan Times*,
November 26

In relation to modern Indian society I am like an aeroplane in relation to the earth.

—Nirad Chaudhuri quoted in *Illustrated Weekly*,
November 26.

Socialism in India is only middle-class capitalism... It is the expression of hatred of the poor against the rich.

—Nirad Chaudhuri quoted in *Illustrated Weekly*,
November 26.

"Under the old I.C.C., the Canadian might have observed an infraction, the Indian said, 'I don't see anything,' and the Pole suggested, 'Let's all go have a drink.'"

—*Time*, December 11.

To tell you the truth, marijuana didn't do a thing for me.

—William F. Buckley quoted in *Time*, December 11.

Soviet leaders have neither laid down their butchers' knives nor will they become Buddhas.

—Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan at U.N. in *U.S. News and World Report*,
November 27.

McGovern's candidacy is a declaration of war on the American people by America's intellectuals.

—Ayn Rand quoted in *National Review*,
September 15.

No one has to like Mr. Nixon.

—*The Economist*, November 18.

Price controls are nonsense.

—*The Economist*, November 11.