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EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

FREEDOM IS INDIVISIBLE

M. R. Masani

SEVERAL hundred columns of newspapers and journals have been filled and reams of paper used over the controversy raised by the supersession of three senior judges of the Supreme Court in the course of the nomination of the Chief Justice. This act of political skulduggery has rightly outraged public opinion in this country, as also the vast majority of the legal profession. The reaction of the Bar, which resulted for the first time in Indian history in members of the profession going on strike, has been heartening. For the first time since Independence, members of the legal profession have been shaken out of their passivity in public affairs. The three judges who asserted their self-respect and dignity by their immediate resignation deserve both sympathy and felicitations.

But—this too is significant—singularly little has been said or written about the *realpolitik* behind this development. One would imagine that this particular act of interference with the freedom of the judiciary is an isolated act and has no relation to what has been happening elsewhere in the national life of this country. There has been almost a conspiracy of silence on this point. It thus becomes necessary to put this particular development in proper perspective.

Part of Pattern

The blow that has been struck at the integrity of the Supreme Judiciary is part of a general pattern. Quite simply, it is one step in the attempt at the Communist take over of India which started in 1969 with the alliance between the ruling Congress Party and the Communist Party of India to get their "rubber stamp" candidate elected as President of the Republic. Since then, this process has escalated step by step. The Indo-Soviet Treaty on the international plane, the take over of the banks, general insurance, mines and the foodgrains trade in succession on the economic plane and the vandalistic attacks on motor cars by a C.P.I. led procession in the streets of Bombay on May 15 are other facets of the same conspiracy.

Even the hole and corner manner of the announcement of the nomination of the new Chief Justice made after the Supreme Court had closed for the day on April 25 is reminiscent of the outrageous promulgation of the Ordinance for the nationalisation of the banks late on a Saturday afternoon in July 1969 when Parliament was due to meet on Monday morning and the manner in which letters to Congress President Nijalingappa and the press were delivered around midnight. The method of the *coup d'état* is to be found in each such move.

It is not an accident that the authoritative defence of this step in the Lok Sabha was entrusted to a

IN THIS ISSUE

The scandal about the Union Government's assault on the Supreme Court has disclosed a lamentable inability on the part of the Indian press to call a spade a spade. The Editor fills the lacuna by saying on this page a few things that need to be said. On page 2 will be found Khrushchev's description of *How Beria Died*, which provides an ironic footnote to the Editor's article.

Our former editor, Mr. V. B. Karnik, analyses sensational disclosures made by a former secretary of two Communist fronts about how Moscow finances its Indian stooges and in the process manages to corrupt them.

Commenting on the latest volume of Sardar Patel's correspondence to be published, Mr. A. G. Noorani makes a plea for a fair and objective assessment of the record of both Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel.

Geeta Doctor writes about the *Road to Matheran*.

Vasudeva Rao and A. Chatterjee contribute book reviews.

Communist. Comrade Kumaramangalam's speech let the cat conspicuously and almost arrogantly out of the bag. His earlier resignation from the Communist Party of India, like those of some of his Cabinet colleagues and one of the Secretaries of the All India Congress Committee, was purely "tactical"—and every student of Communist affairs knows what that word means.

India is today ruled, for all practical purposes, by a Congress-Communist coalition and so long as this regime lasts not only can there not be any reversal of this trend but further moves in the same direction must be expected.

The independence of the Judiciary enjoined by our Constitution is sought to be subverted and replaced by the Soviet concept of justice. It is true that Comrade Kumaramangalam conveniently forgot to cite the USSR on his side, but has this legal luminary ever denounced throughout his entire career the monstrous Moscow "Trials" and purges of Stalin or the prostitution of the law courts and lawyers in the USSR? Mr. Kumaramangalam can hardly be blamed if, as a result of his Communist convictions, he seeks to subvert the Constitution of the Republic and the independence of the Judiciary. It is those who place Communists in power and tolerate their presence in the Government who are the really guilty men and women.

Just as the attack on the judiciary is the result of the placing of a Congress-Communist clique in power, so too the restoration of an independent Judiciary cannot be achieved without a change of Government. This is

the hard fact that not only lawyers but all lovers of freedom in India have to face.

Freedom, like peace, is indivisible. The freedom of the Judiciary will stand or fall with the freedom of

REALLY?

Extract from the text of the agreement between the Government of India, the Chogyal of Sikkim and the leaders of the political parties of Sikkim signed at Gangtok on May 8th:

"Whereas the Chogyal and the people of Sikkim are convinced that their interest and the long-term interest of Sikkim as a whole call for:

- (i) The establishment of a fully responsible government in Sikkim with a more democratic constitution, *the guarantee of fundamental rights, the rule of law, an independent judiciary...*"
- (Italics ours)

the universities, of the Press, the farmer, the trader, the worker and the businessman, all of which are threatened from the same quarter.

Our lawyers will have to learn once again to act as citizens. For this bit of education provided by Comrade Kumaramangalam, who has evidently taken over the educative role played earlier by Mr. Krishna Menon during Prime Minister Nehru's regime, we should all be grateful.

HOW BERIA DIED

(As narrated by Nikita Khrushchev to Senator Pierre Commin, a leader of the French Socialist Delegation that visited Moscow in May, 1956. Extracted from *Khrushchev and Stalin's Ghost* by Bertram D. Wolfe and translated from *Sotsiolisticheskii Vestnik*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 7-8, July-August, 1956, p. 146).

VERY soon after the death of Stalin we in the Presidium began to get reports of some double game which Beria was playing. We began to have him followed and in a few weeks we established the fact that our suspicions were justified. He was clearly preparing a conspiracy against the Presidium. After waiting for a favourable moment, we designated a special session of the Presidium, to which, of course, Beria was invited, too. He appeared, apparently not suspecting that we knew anything. And right there we began to cross question him, to adduce facts, data, to put questions to him, in other words, we put him through a cross examination which lasted four hours.

For all of us it was clear that he was really guilty,

and that this man could be dangerous to the party and the country.

We left him alone in the room, in this very room in which we are now conversing, with him sitting on the very chair on which you are sitting now. And we went into another room and there had a discussion of what should be done with him.

Our inner conviction of his guilt was unshakable. But at that time we did not have at our disposal a sufficient amount of juridical evidence of his guilt. And we found ourselves in a difficult position. Evidence for his consignment to a court we still did not have, yet to leave him at liberty was impossible.

We came to the unanimous decision that the only correct measure for the defense of the Revolution was to shoot him immediately. This decision was adopted by us, and carried out on the spot.

But we felt much easier when, some time after his condemnation, we received sufficient and irrefutable evidence of his guilt.

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Some Lessons of Watergate

IT is amusing that the Indian Press, which has found so little time to investigate and expatiate on skeletons in the New Delhi cupboard, have really let themselves go about the Watergate scandal. It would have been much more useful if they had chosen to draw some lessons of use to us in this country that emerge from the Watergate disclosures.

The outstanding moral of this unfortunate development has been the vital role played by a free press in a free society. This is something that could not have happened in Moscow or Peking or, for that matter, in Cairo or Islamabad or Rangoon. Says *US News & World Report*: "Bugging of the 'outs' by the 'ins', political espionage, the official covering up of wrongdoing in Government, these are not sins under Communism, but a way of life. Communists in power are not about to tell their people that such acts are considered evil in capitalist America."

The second lesson relates to the dangers that result from too much aggregation of power in the hands of one person, whether he is the President of the United

States or the Prime Minister in London or New Delhi. Arrogance rises as power accumulates. Watergate has re-established the fundamental truth that the President of the United States is not the Government but "the head of only one of its three branches", as is the Prime Minister under the Indian Constitution.

The third lesson is the importance of judges who can act without fear of the President. Where the courts are strong, the citizens' right to dissent is fortified.

Waterloo?

Finally, there is the moral that the politician in power, who acts on a cynical view of human nature, finds that sooner or later the chickens of political smartness and skullduggery come home to roost.

"The ordinary politician," Walter Lippmann wrote long ago, "has a very low estimate of human nature. In his daily life, he comes into contact chiefly with persons who want to get something or avoid something."

"Beyond this circle of seekers after privileges, individuals and organised minorities, he is aware of



Courtesy: Times of India

a large, unorganised, indifferent mass of citizens who ask nothing in particular and rarely complain.

"The politician comes after a while to think that the art of politics is to satisfy the seekers after favours and to mollify the inchoate mass with noble sentiments and patriotic phrases. In easy times, the politician is probably about right....

"But in really hard times, the rules of the game are altered. The inchoate mass begins to stir. It becomes potent and when it strikes, it strikes with incredible emphasis."

In other words, every unscrupulous politician in power, and not only Richard Nixon, may expect to meet a Waterloo around the corner.

The Tide Turns

THE truth of Walter Lippman's analysis appears to be borne out by the results of the latest poll of public opinion carried out by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion in Delhi, which shows a fall of 10 points in the Congress vote since the State Assembly elections of March 1972. What is more striking is that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's popularity score has declined from the peak of 260 in 1972 to 161 in the latest survey, which is where she was in July 1969 when she set out on her take over bid.

Is this why there is a shrill note in her recent pronouncements in Delhi? When addressing the local PCC on April 15 she said: "The time has come when the people should not tolerate political parties that are misleading them."

A few days later on April 21, while addressing a public meeting in Gorakhpur in U.P., she said, according to a PTI report, "that she was determined, even at the cost of being branded a dictator, to ensure that the teeming millions, rather than the affluent few, enjoy the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution."

Once again on May 4, in Mysore the Prime Minister alleged that "certain disruptive elements within and outside the country were attempting to impede the nation's progress for which the people had to unite."

It is good to know therefore that, by May 10, addressing students in Delhi belonging to the Jawaharlal Nehru Youth Centre, the Prime Minister expressed the hope that "things would ease in about two months".

On balance, one prefers the Prime Minister to act as a tranquiliser rather than as a trumpeter of surgery.

Cult of Personality

MEANWHILE, the cult of personality continues to thrive. Perhaps the most abject example of this has recently come from none other than the Minister

of State for Information and Broadcasting. Meeting in Delhi in the middle of April, the two day convention on broadcasting sponsored by the Programme Staff Association of AIR demanded sensibly that AIR should be converted into an autonomous public Corporation so that "AIR's expansion is not thwarted and its effectiveness not diluted by the system of bureaucratic controls." Even Mr. K. Chandrasekhar, the Congress MP, announced that he had always been of the view that AIR should be run by an autonomous corporation.

But not so Mr. I. K. Gujral, who described on April 15 the Government's decision to turn down the Chanda Committee's report as "irrevocable". The reason he gave touched bottom: "I do not think you and I are competent to question the decision taken by the highest authority in the country and in whom the people have full confidence."

One Step Backward

IN case any good folk have been quietly rejoicing over the dissolution of the Congress Forum for Socialist Action we suggest that they do not hallo till they are out of the woods. The recent elections to the Executive of the Congress Parliamentary Party shows that the Communist fellow travellers, who have been allowed successfully to infiltrate the Congress Party, are still rampant. Indeed, as one of their members candidly confessed, "It is like a shop whose signboard alone has been removed."

"One step backward, two steps forward" was one of Lenin's favourite strategems. The Communist journal *Mainstream*, far from being daunted by this set back, gleefully predicts another split in the Congress Party and declares: "Compared to what is coming up tomorrow, the expulsion of the Syndicate in 1969 may in retrospect seem to be a comparatively easy affair."

Not a Howler

IT would appear that in an Economics paper, at a recently held Higher Secondary Examination in the Punjab, students were asked to comment on the merits and demerits of "Joint co-operative farming." As it happens, the printer in the Punjabi version of the question paper used the words "Sarkari kheti" instead of the words "Sahkari kheti", which was taken by the authorities concerned to be a howler on the printer's part.

Actually, the printer seems to be more politically sophisticated than the examiners. Joint co-operative farming of the notorious Nagpur Resolution pattern is, in fact, nothing but Government farming of the Soviet pattern. And, whether the printer knew it or not, he was describing it accurately.

WHAT PRICE AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY?

V. B. Karnik

COMMUNISTS build from time to time many front organisations in order to draw unsuspecting students, youths and various groups of citizens into their trap and make them work unknowingly for communist causes. On every occasion they take particular care to see that the real character of the organisation remains hidden from public view. But it is not always that they succeed.

That the All India Peace Council and the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, recently merged into one organisation called All India Peace and Solidarity Organisation, are communist front organisations was not altogether unknown in India. And yet there were and still are hundreds of well-meaning persons who did not see the obvious thing and were misled into believing that they were genuine organisations working for peace and solidarity amongst the nations of the world. It is to be hoped that the latest disclosures about the real character of the organisations will now disabuse their minds.

The disclosures are made by Mr. I. S. Dewan who for sixteen long years served the two organisations as Secretary and was recently thrown out as he knew a bit too much. In March 1970, Mr. Dewan was unanimously elected Secretary of the new joint organisation. A week later, he asked for revision of his salary as other members of the staff had been already granted revision of their salaries. A committee consisting of Mr. K. D. Malaviya, the President, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, the Vice-President and the General Secretary was appointed to consider Mr. Dewan's application. Then, it seems, something happened and it was decided to terminate his services. His services were terminated from May 1, 1971, but he was informed of it only on the previous day, that is, on April 30, 1971. This sudden termination of his services naturally shocked and angered Mr. Dewan and he began disclosing the secrets of the organisations. This alarmed the General Secretary and a week later he sent Mr. Dewan a cheque for Rs. 5600 as "ex-gratia payment" with a hope that he would "kindly appreciate this gesture of the Secretariat". Mr. Dewan regarded it as a "bribe to keep my mouth shut". It did not have that effect and he continued his disclosures of the workings of the two organisations.

The most important disclosure made by Mr. Dewan is that "These organisations are run and controlled by the Group called the PHQ Group of the Communist Party of India, whose leader is Chitta Biswas, the General Secretary of the AIPSO". He alleged that "since the last few years ... these organisations have been run as a racket under the leadership of Chitta

Biswas, making lakhs of rupees fraudulently cheating the Government, the people and misusing these funds for their group members enjoyment."

Another equally important disclosure:

"The Soviet Union has been helping these movements by way of granting free air-tickets and other help for sending delegations abroad, and the leaders of these organisations collect money worth lakhs of rupees every year from the people for their air-ticket and donation, for sending them in their delegations, running these movements like Travel Agencies, against the free facilities from the Soviet Union. Sending people abroad on bogus invitations, involving the Soviet Peace Committee, Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity and the World Peace Council (the international organisation run by the Soviet Union) are the main activities of these organisations, thus amassing huge amounts which are not even accounted for in their account books, hence the profits untaxable."

"Cheating"

In his letter of September 11, 1972, Mr. Dewan has mentioned a number of small incidents of "cheating". After mentioning them, he has described three incidents to show "how bulk amounts are granted from the people in sending big delegations abroad". They are as follows:

"1. A 65-strong delegation attended the Berlin Peace Congress in June 1969. The delegates were asked to buy air-tickets Delhi/Tashkent/Delhi only and the further responsibility was of the Soviets. The delegation went from here by Air India up to Tashkent, but on return about 42 persons came back straight from Moscow to Delhi by Aeroflot. The return air-tickets Tashkent/Delhi for these 42 persons were not used at all. This refund which comes to Rs. 42,048/- has neither been paid back to the delegates, nor has it come to the credit of the organisations, but has gone underground as their share through their Travel agents. This practice has regularly been used in 1962 and 1965 also when World Peace Congresses were held in Moscow and Helsinki and 130 and 100 delegates were sent respectively.

"2. In May 1971, a strong delegation of about 40 people attended the Budapest Peace Assembly (May 13 - 16, 1971). Although the delegation travelled by Aeroflot from Delhi to Moscow (free arrangement with Soviets), most of the people paid for their air-tickets and donation, which has been swallowed by the Group leaders. Although some party comrades were unable to pay their air-fares and went free of

charge, their ticket was also collected from their State delegates who could afford to pay for them. There is an instance where they collected Rs. 7,000/- from one delegate of Bihar for 2 tickets (one for himself and the other for party leader from his state, who helped him to go in this delegation). It is now proved beyond doubt that they have made about Rs. 50,000/- in sending this delegation.

"3. Between May 1971 and March 1972 the organisations have paid over a lakh of rupees to their Travel Agents, M/s. Saha & Rai Travels (P) Ltd., New Delhi—to be accurate it is Rs. 1,08,521/- for the air-tickets for their office-bearers and other leaders, who never pay their ticket money. Who pays them for these air tickets, other than those used on the Aeroflot?"

Mr. Dewan has further alleged that amounts collected in the name of various visiting delegations were not paid to them but were swallowed by the group controlling the organisations.

The organisations could not remain silent when Mr. Dewan made these disclosures. One Mr. M. Kalimullah on behalf of the Secretariat circulated a note in the first week of May denying the charges levelled by Mr. Dewan. The note stated: "The allegations made against the AIPC and the AAAS by Dewan in his letter of April 10, 1972 are utterly and completely false." No reasons are, however, given as to why and how the allegations are false. The note merely contents itself with making the following bland assertion:

"Neither of the organisation have ever received by (any) financial assistance from the Soviet Union or any Soviet organisation or any other foreign source. The entire income of these organisations is collected through donations in India. Neither of these organisations has ever sent out a tourist group, though there are plans to do so in accordance with rules laid down by the Government of India and for the specific and stated aim of raising funds for the organisation."

Admission

It is admitted however, that "on certain occasions, pre-paid tickets are received from international organisations" and that "besides the fare, the organisations have been collecting certain donations from the delegations or the organisations which they represent." Incidentally, these are the two main charges made by Mr. Dewan. They are admitted in fact, though the admission is sought to be toned down by stating: "The accounts of both organisations are annually audited and placed before the committees concerned."

The note then levels a charge against Mr. Dewan that the entire phraseology of his letter "indicates its CIA origin".

The allegations made by Mr. Dewan are very serious and it is necessary that they should be investi-

gated in a proper manner. A mere denial by the accused, the two organisations, cannot satisfy anybody.

The matter was raised in Parliament on March 20, 1973. It was raised in the Rajya Sabha by Mr. Loknath Mishra who read extracts from Mr. Dewan's letter and requested "a thorough enquiry" into all the charges levelled by him. He drew particular attention to the "contribution of Rs. 18,000 given to the NLF Government of South Vietnam." He asked: "Did they obtain permission to convert this into foreign exchange or how did they carry the money? Or did they carry it in Indian rupees, in Indian currency?" He called the politicians joining the delegations sent by the two organisations to international conferences "subsidised politicians" who enjoyed "free hospitality including free passage" and advocated "the case of a foreign Government." He charged: "Money comes from Soviet Russia, from Soviet agencies, from the USSR Government into this country in day-light and nothing is being done."

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta M.P., the communist spokesman, did not like this publicity given in Parliament to Mr. Dewan's letter. He tried several times to stop Mr. Misra from reading the letter but did not succeed. The Government did not make any statement on Mr. Dewan's allegations brought to Parliament's notice by Mr. Misra nor did it institute any inquiry. A week later thirteen members of Parliament belonging to various parties addressed a letter to the Prime Minister requesting her "in the interest of the dignity of the country" to conduct "investigations at your level and take such action which you feel is called for". A copy was also sent to the Minister for External Affairs. So far there has been no response.

It is just possible that there is no substance in Mr. Dewan's charges. But is it not better, when charges are made about the offer of free passages by a foreign agency and misappropriation of large amounts by the office-bearers of a political organisation, that they are investigated and the truth made available to the public? The need for an investigation becomes all the more urgent when the charges are made by a person who by reason of the office that he held was well acquainted with all the affairs of the organisations. The investigation cannot be stopped by labelling the person who made the disclosures a CIA man or an intelligence agent. If necessary, that charge can be also investigated. The Government may also consider one more point: how long will they tolerate the attempt of a foreign Government to influence the thinking of large numbers of persons by providing them hospitality and free passages? The two organisations have on their own admission acted as agents of the foreign Government in procuring for it the right type of human material. If that is the way of establishing solidarity with Afro-Asian countries, we are, indeed, paying a heavy price for it.

NEHRU AND PATEL

A. G. Noorani

THE Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, deserves to be congratulated for so willingly associating herself in the function held on the death anniversary of Sardar Patel in the capital and for paying, in very well chosen words, tributes to his memory. For long, the Establishment had neglected Sardar Patel. The Prime Minister has made handsome amends for it.

In their lifetime, the followers of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel tried to be "more royalist than the Kings" and fed their leaders with stories about the other's doings in order to keep them apart. Even after their deaths, the followers do not spare them such unworthy services.

If the opposition Parties like Swatantra, the Jan Sangh and the Congress (O) extol Sardar Patel's services to the nation, it is more often than not at the expense of Mr. Nehru's contribution. Likewise, the Ruling Party hitherto and, of course, the Communists, would applaud the Nehruian heritage and grossly minimise, if not denigrate, Sardar Patel's record. Stereotypes were thus built and stereotypes never fully correspond to the reality.

The truth is that both were truly great men cast in the heroic mould and modern India is what it is today very largely because of the impression they left on its policies, political, economic, administrative and others. They, both, had their blind spots. If the truth must be told, Sardar Patel was blind to Hindu communalism and Nehru to the Communist danger. Now and then each would denounce the forces representing the peril he otherwise would minimise. Nehru often condemned the Communists and Sardar Patel had no hesitation in telling Mr. B. M. Birla in a letter, June 10, 1947, "I do not think it will be possible to consider Hindustan as a Hindu State with Hinduism as the State religion. We must not forget that there are other minorities whose protection is our primary responsibility. The State must exist for all, irrespective of caste or creed."

However, the record as revealed in Volume IV of *Sardar Patel's Correspondence* (edited by Durga Das; Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14; Rs. 25) makes it very clear that the Sardar's solicitude for the Muslim minority in India was minimal, in remarkable contrast to his concern for the Hindus in Pakistan. His policies showed a marked bias against the Muslims. This is often slurred over by his admirers.

Double Rejection

The course before the liberal is clear. He must reject both evils, communalism and communism. If the liberal cause has suffered in India, it is because liberals

have, at various times, joined hands with either and sometimes even with both these forces.

As one goes through the pages of the Volume, one cannot help asking oneself, "What kind of India would the Sardar have built?" The question is not an irrelevant one; for, there are some people who still reflect the same attitude. Respectably anti-communist, devoted nationalist, their vision of the country's future is a narrow one. For all Mr. Nehru's failings, be it said to his credit that the democratic and secular system in India today owes much to his vision and to his concern for the rights of the minorities and the norms of the democratic system. Those who profess to be his followers ill-serve his memory by the talk of a committed judiciary, a committed bureaucracy and a committed press.

On the other hand, there are many who protest against such constraints but who see nothing wrong in treating the minorities with less than justice. An instance will suffice. Whenever a minority claims representation in the services in proportion to population, it is told off unceremoniously that appointment to the services must be strictly on the basis of merit. One wonders what they would think of Sardar Patel's views "on the adjustment of over representation of Muslims in the Police force in Delhi with a view to restoring proportion more in accord with population"? Be it noted, that the Sardar made these remarkable proposals *months before the partition*, at the latest by January, 1947, when it was highly debatable whether the country would be partitioned or not and when the Cabinet Mission's scheme was very much on the table. The Sardar's ire, which he later expressed in a letter to Lord Mountbatten, dated May 15, 1947, was due to the fact that someone had, without any authority from him communicated his views to the Government of Punjab, and also made "a gratuitous reference to the absence of Muslim Officers at the head of the main branches of the district administration".

The Volume shows how rapidly Sardar shot off telegrams to the authorities in the Muslim majority areas enquiring about the well-being of the minorities there. The concern was more than justified, for their lot was an unhappy one. But the concern was lacking in regard to the minorities in India whose safety was the Sardar's direct concern. The correspondence between Sardar Patel and Mr. Nehru on the conduct of Mr. M. S. Randhawa, Delhi's Chief Commissioner, in those days, deserves to be read today. Mr. Randhawa had early in the office won the confidence of all but, as Maulana Azad records in his memoirs, he was overwhelmed by events and was swayed by the passions

of the times. On September 30, 1947, Mr. Nehru wrote to Sardar Patel:

"It is a mystery to me why Randhawa, who had functioned so effectively previously, should have slackened at such a moment of crisis. From his talk it would appear that his sympathies lay in a certain direction and this perhaps prevented strong action. But I cannot be sure of this and would not like to come to a conclusion without further evidence."

He also wrote: "I felt that the instigators of the disturbances should be traced and arrested. Randhawa seemed to think that the whole affair had been a spontaneous one and he couldn't think of any person who could be called an organiser or instigator. This rather surprised me because it seemed pretty evident that there was plenty of organisation behind the thing."

The Sardar's reply seemed more concerned to defend Randhawa by citing the Muslims' earlier confidence in him than to probe into his colleague's complaint. This concern for public official was nowhere in evidence when the Sardar had to deal with General Rees of the Boundary Force.

One gets some fine glimpses of the Sardar's whole approach in these matters from the letters which this volume reproduces. "You know the mass psychology; they all now feel that it is due to our 'conciliatory and weak-kneed policy' in dealing with the whole refugee and communal problem which is responsible for the present difficulties and that the only answer to atrocities in West Punjab is a flare-up in the rest of India. People are openly clamouring as to why Muslims are allowed to go about in peace openly in the streets of Delhi and other towns, why there are any Muslims at all in the police and the civil administration, and are indulging in similar other demands." The Sardar wrote to Mr. Nehru on September 2, 1947.

His thesis was that it was all due to the disturbances in Pakistan. The attitude was very natural for a politician to adopt but wholly unworthy of a statesman of Sardar's stature and certainly of anyone with a concern for human life regardless of creed and colour. The same day Mr. Nehru replied from Lahore regarding the situation in Pakistan and one has only to compare the two documents to realise the great difference between the two. Mr. Nehru wanted a statement to be issued on the following lines regarding the situation in *both* parts of Punjab. "Conditions almost everywhere have been terribly bad. Even now lawlessness exists in several areas but every effort is being made to deal effectively and to help refugees. We have every hope of succeeding in the near future." He also reported: "Am convinced of earnest desire of Pakistan and West Punjab Governments to put an end rapidly to lawlessness and help us in evacuating our refugees. Everywhere Liaquat Ali Khan and Nishtar have delivered strong and good speeches."

The Sardar was quick to point to the mote in the other man's eyes, but he had an enormous beam in his own. He simply would not or could not restrain Mr. Randhawa from delivering speeches. As late as October 11, 1947, Mr. Nehru complained: "I drew your attention the other day to a speech by Randhawa. Apart from the speech, his general view appears to be not at all in conformity with the policy we have laid down and he is continually saying this to people. In his meetings he is accompanied by others who are well known for their opposition to our present policy."

"It seems to be that much of the trouble is not due to the Delhi citizens, but rather to a certain official element which is bent on carrying out a policy not in conformity with ours. Where any attempt is being made to further our policy, it succeeds, such as in Narela recently where Choudhary Sher Jung has brought about a very amicable arrangement among the people."

"I suggest to you to consider that a change in officials in Delhi might be made. This would bring fresh minds to bear on these problems and there will be a greater chance of our solving them in conformity with our policy."

The services, alas, were badly involved. Wrote the Sardar on November 5, 1947: "I entirely agree with you that the administration of the East Punjab requires tightening up. The whole point is that the Services there are so deeply affected, both personally and intimately, by recent events in the Punjab that efficient and impartial administration seems to be most difficult to secure. The outlook of the general public, be it Hindu or Sikh, finds a responsive echo among the Services." But he was also emphatic: "I do not think we can accept the principle that persons belonging to one community should be appointed to deal with members of that community nor would it be desirable to concede that a non-Muslim Government servant is less friendly disposed to a Muslim evacuee."

When Mr. Nehru asked him to allow the Muslims to settle in predominantly Muslim localities, the Sardar strongly opposed him. Such was the gulf in the outlook of the two men in regard to the treatment of minorities. Interestingly the volume also reproduces the *Nehru-Patel* Correspondence regarding Mr. Krishna Menon and Mr. Sudhir Ghosh, and we find Mr. Nehru rallying to the defence of Krishna Menon and the Sardar to that of his protege Sudhir Ghosh. Mr. Nehru's partiality for Krishna Menon had tragic consequences for the country, as we all know.

The documents which the volume reveals are welcome in that they provide authoritative material regarding those tragic days. The men who moulded the events come to life in these letters and we begin to understand them as they were beneath the fog of propaganda which their devotees and their detractors, alike, created.

THE ROAD TO MATHERAN

Geeta Doctor

HUGH Pointz Mallet may have had a nagging wife. One imagines a female with a name such as Florence or Fortitude and a bosom like a road-roller driving the poor man up the hills which were eventually to make him famous. Or she may have been a gentle creature with a name like Charlotte or Caroline who would have followed him into the wilderness carrying lavender scented bedsheets and Citronella oil. Whatever the truth, local history does not concern itself with it but placidly remarks that a Mr. Mallet arrived one day at Matheran, was pleased to observe that the place had a lake and several interesting "points" and proceeded to convert it into a holiday resort.

No gossip, no romance, no description as to how in the 1850s, when the countryside must have been a dense jungle bristling with tigers on the prowl for juicy Englishmen, a person would have chanced upon a place such as Matheran whose charm even today lies in its relative inaccessibility. Did Mr. Mallet back his way up with a band of trusty natives or did he follow a lonely track on horseback? Was he filled with opportunistic greed when he reached the top and realized the possibilities that it offered or was he suffused with a feeling of peace and a sense of detachment from the inconsequential plain and the dust of human intercourse?

Though almost 125 years have passed since Mr. Mallet made his discovery, until now a visitor could still hope to relive some part of his experience. There are some who insist that half the thrill lies in trekking up the hill to the top, but for others who like us belong to a family habitually inclined to create mountains out of molehills, the train journey is an adventure by itself.

Siege

First there are the preparations. What begins as a routine holiday takes on the appearance of an extended siege as we begin to realize that we are going to be stranded on a mountain top for seven days. Several extra layers of clothing to combat all variations of climatic behaviour are included, then there are numerous pairs of shoes for tramping up and down the mountainside, cameras to record the event, riding boots, hats, fishing tackle, books and assorted items of entertainment to cater to individual idiosyncrasies, flasks of boiled water and fresh fruit to prevent dehydration and scurvy during the journey, and since there are no chemists, a portable dispensary of medicines which are sufficient for the setting up of a small hospital.

While these extensive preparations ensure a perfect

holiday they do not make for comfortable travelling conditions, for by the time we have assembled on the platform there are at an average five pieces of luggage per person, which makes about twenty five pieces in all. We have hardly time to arrange these items into all the available crannies when a solicitous porter informs us that we will have only two minutes to unload ourselves and our luggage at Neral, where the train has to be changed. This keeps us all in a state of suspense in tense readiness to jump out at every station like centre-forwards straining to lunge in for a penalty kick. When Neral is finally reached we are all so worn out by the strain that it requires the combined efforts of the porters and the other passengers to eject us from the train with all our belongings.

From then on, matters take on a more leisurely course. The toy train that will pull us up does not seem to be in any hurry to leave. Another kindly individual who later confesses to being a mild alcoholic, badly in need of some contribution from our side, takes the trouble of distributing our luggage in the dainty little parlour on wheels in such a way as to prevent it from rolling down the hillside. The chances of this happening are not altogether remote for even as we start to climb, the train stops on an incline and all the passengers crane out. Bright red kumkum is being copiously springled on a jutting rock on the hillside and as the puja progresses little urchins clinging to the side of the train inform us that it is in memory of a railway employee who got his brains dashed out during a train accident at that very spot. As we pass, the puja has been so realistically performed that his blood still seems to be flowing down the rock.

Elasticized Limbs

Despite a cheerful determination, the little train pants up the hill at a very slow pace, carefully winding round the corners and stopping now and then to regain its breath. It does not really matter for there are diversions to keep us entertained. Black faced monkeys with elasticized limbs leap in graceful arcs through the treetops. Ordinary Rhesus monkeys, who like the rest of the local population depend on summer visitors for their livelihood, eye us with studied indifference. Bright winged, bright voiced birds flit through the leaves, bulbuls with cocky crests and red cravats, restless tailor birds and tree pies with green coats exchange high pitched insults on a difference of opinion over some sartorial matter.

There are two official stops along the way when all the passengers jump out of the train for no good

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reason except to taste the air and remark that it's getting cooler.

We are on the last lap when again there is a halt. "Shooting! Shooting;" everyone shouts excitedly and we clutch our twenty-five items of luggage and peer out anxiously wondering whether some hitherto unnoticed tribe has decided to stage a Wild West raid on the train. The shooting is in keeping with the Hollywood tradition alright, for as we lean out we realize that we are looking straight into the unfathomable eyes of super-hero Dharmendra, who under a thick coating of make-up that emphasizes his slightly puffy face and an unbelievable mop of a wig looks like a plaster cast of himself. We are terribly disappointed, until as though sensing this, he turns deliberately towards us, narrows his eyes and gives us a silky smile. The effect is electrifying. This is the Dharmendra who can turn on a million hearts and give credibility to the most absurd of antics. The rest of the crew keep milling around like cockroaches at a tea party, at the middle of which stands the director who seems to be doing an impersonation of what an ideal director should be. He is impeccably dressed in a pale green shirt with innumerable pockets and a straw hat tilted à la Bogart. He leans on a cane and does not appear to be conscious of anything that is going on around him and it is only then that we notice that he is deaf. It is no doubt a useful handicap in a director of Hindi movies.

Faint Stirrings

With a final puff of self importance the train at last arrives. The town appears to be just the same as ever covered in a mantle of red dust. We are unexpected visitors, for the Season is not yet on and there are only faint stirrings of activity. Among these we notice crude signs pasted along the main street. "No tar road in Matheran wanted. Do not destroy the beauty of Matheran," and we realize that there is some controversy on the subject.

Having a keen interest in all things controversial we asked the *ghoda-wallah* about it the next morning. It was not perhaps the best time to choose for discussions of this nature for I was most precariously perched on what was guaranteed to be a race horse of the finest mettle. Whether this was the reason why the horse had a habit of nervously jerking up his head unless the *ghoda-wallah* held on to his bit, or whether he was doing so expressly to display his animosity towards me, I could not decide. Meanwhile the *ghoda-wallah* had launched into a long description of the hardships he would have to bear once the road had been built. Every now and then, when there was need for further emphasis he would throw up his hands in despair and immediately the horse too would rear up and displace me a few degrees closer to the ground.

"Do you know what they mean to do?" asked the *ghoda-wallah*. "They will allow the cars to come up

only to the town limits." I thought this was reasonable since it showed a faint understanding on the part of the authorities that the main attraction of Matheran lay in its pristine isolation. It was the lack of cars which gave it a gently somnolent air and an extraordinary sense of complete silence. The road would destroy all this. There would no doubt be a file of elephantine Ambassadors trumpeting their way up the hill, followed by snaky tourist buses disgorging their content into concrete nesting boxes which go under the name of holiday homes. The road would transform Matheran into another one of those third rate over-crowded resorts with the atmosphere of an all the year round *mela*.

Silken Tassels

But why this should perturb the *ghoda-wallah*, I could not understand until he explained that the horses too would have to move out of town and park themselves alongside the cars. Until then their main source of revenue had been in carrying indolent visitors to and from the hotels in and about town. "Don't worry," I consoled him, "there will be ten times as many people who will be wanting to see all the 'points'". Whereupon he threw up his hands saying that it was all the will of God. In that same instant the horse finally deciding to assert his will, reared up and sent me slithering in a graceful movement right under his neck to which I clung by hanging on to the silken tassels of his mane. It did not take an instant for the *ghoda-wallah* to extricate me and pacify his horse from the bad shock I had given him.

From a *ghoda-wallah's* point of view one would have expected that a road would in simple terms mean more people-more rides-more money, and yet he was opposing the project with all his might. Perhaps he felt in his bones the ineffable change the road would bring to Matheran and to his life. No doubt people will dismiss these notions as obscurantist fantasy, for decisions have to be made in the brain and not in the bone. It is even likely that these very same arguments may have been made when electricity was first introduced into the place or a proper water system was established. And yet when evening with its thick glitter of stars descends and the toy train hoots mournfully in the darkness for the last time, who will deny that a small fragment of romance is passing from their lives?

Romance however is an old fashioned world, as unnecessary perhaps as imaginary speculation as to the kind of wife Hugh Pointz Mallet may have had. I cannot but recall the astonishment registered on the faces of a young couple who were discussing where to spend their honeymoon. When Matheran was suggested they both exclaimed: "Matheran in March? Oh, no! It's out of Season. Nobody will be there." It is to these prosaic souls that the road to Matheran will be dedicated.



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Reviews

POVERTY OF POLITICAL COMMENT

India and the World

Ed. A. P. Jain, D. K. Publishing House, Delhi
pp. 392, Rs. 40/-.

ONCE upon a time there was a Society for Parliamentary Studies which decided to organise a seminar on "India and the World Today". The seminar topic was deliberately left wide and vague to accommodate everybody and everything. Within the short space of two days in the comfortable Vigyan Bhavan, a multi-craft union of politicians (past and present), diplomats, journalists, political scientists, defence analysts etc. evolved a foreign policy for India.

Sounds a fairy tale? Mr. A. P. Jain presents *India and the World* to embalm the deliberations for posterity. This reviewer spent a baffling and bewildering week trying to forcibly extract some coherence, some cogency from the book. Seminars are tricky things to record and this book is a tangle of leading papers, discussions and interjections.

The seminar directed itself towards the following broad sub-divisions: the USA-USSR-China triangle, South-east Asia, South Asia and the European Common Market. There was a tendency, on the part of the participants presenting the leading papers, to forget that the seminar topic referred to the interaction between India and the world. They concentrated instead on reporting world events, asking unanswered questions and leaving to the listener's imagination the ramifications of a particular set of events.

Take the first topic. The new alignments among the major powers *vis-a-vis* India was probed as a peripheral issue by the leading speaker, who concerned himself more about the US missile gap, Viet Nam and West Asia. India's interaction with the new power triangle is explained in terms of the failure of non-alignment, and ends with an exhortation to "recognise our economic weakness, to look at the rising prices, the huge deposits lying unused with the commercial banks and industrial stagnation."

The session on South-east Asia revealed little fresh thinking on the Viet Nam problem. Dead horses like the "domino theory", the 1954 Geneva Agreement and the ICC were flogged and several speakers were still attempting to pinpoint the blame for the sordid mess. Considering the ideological inclinations, there were some differences on this. India's involvement or interest in the area were not made clear. During the next session on South Asia, it was agreed that India was the dominant power in the area. Regional co-operation was espoused as a desirable economic step, but no useful ideas were presented about the pattern of

relationships with Pakistan, Bangladesh and the other contiguous states. The session on the European Economic Community dealt more with the problems and achievements of the EEC and India's stagnating economy. No projections were made regarding the enlarged Common Market and India's relations with Britain.

The irrelevance of some of the topics of discussion is highlighted by Part II of the book with papers on "The Agony of Czechoslovakia" and "Laos—A Victim of Aggression". This reviewer could establish no connection between Part I and II; it seems as if much of Part II is merely a spillover from Part I. Any attempt to link these articles with India would be purely coincidental.

The next group of five papers impressed me with their technical approach and sophisticated analysis. For some peculiar reason (background reading? seminar guidelines?), Mr. Jain has taken these papers from scholarly periodicals and included them in the book. He does not mention if the papers were presented at the seminar, or merely added to the book in an attempt at scholarly window-dressing.

The last eighty pages of the book are taken up by 13 Appendices including such diverse curiosities as extracts from *Jane's Fighting Ships*, the Simla Agreement, SALT Agreement, Indo-Soviet Treaty and a list of Indo-Pak summit meeting from the *Illustrated Weekly of India*. These presumably formed part of the handouts at the seminar.



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The best indictment of the seminar's intellectual content comes from Dr. Charles Heimsath, who summarised the discussion on South-east Asia:

"Like the ... discussion on non-alignment, there was no agreement, or even a definition ... on the matter of India's role in world affairs, either in structure or policy.

In the lengthy series of speeches, interventions or questions ... a tendency was exposed to make major comments on external political issues, rather than come to grips with India's policies towards these issues ..."

These comments are valid for all the other sessions as well.

The poverty of genuine political comment in India became quite evident after reading this book. Indian political scientists and commentators have yet to develop a suitable framework for analysis. Most of their comments and surmises were postmortems and there was little attempt at formulating an overall plan or generalised scheme. Here, perhaps, persons far removed from the corridors of power are at a genuine disadvantage. Official foreign policy utterances are always couched in general terms: peace towards all, befriend every nation, cultural and economic exchanges. Much of actual foreign policy is shaped during secret discussions and brief communiques are filled with phrases like "one-time exception", "ex-

tenuating circumstances", "pragmatic assessment" and "inoperative statements" (the latest Nixonspeak for an earlier statement now revealed as false).

In the face of such formidable obstacles, political analysts have to study the number of times Mr. Chou En-lai smiled at Mr Nixon during the official banquet, or the number of people commandeered to line the streets from Moscow airport to the Kremlin to greet a dignitary. This is the stuff of foreign policy.

A. CHATTERJEE

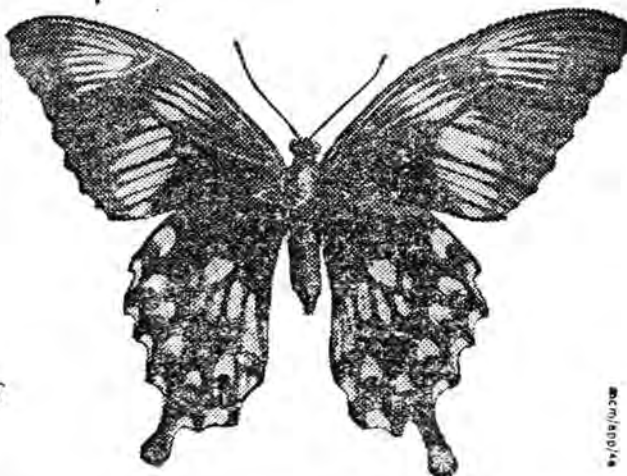
THE DISEASE OF CHANGE

Future Shock by Alvin Toffler, Bantam Books, 561 pages, \$ 1.25, New York.

FUTURE SHOCK, Alvin Toffler's life's work, is about "what happens to people when they are overwhelmed by change." It is about "the ways in which we adapt—or fail to adapt—to the future." It is concerned with the 'soft' or human side of tomorrow and the steps by which we are likely to reach tomorrow. It deals with common, everyday matters—the products we buy and discard, the places we leave behind, the corporations we inhabit, the people who pass at an ever faster clip through our lives. The future of friendship and family life is probed. Strange new subcultures and life styles are investigated, along with an array of other subjects from politics and playgrounds to skydiving and sex. What joins all these is

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the roaring current of change, a current so powerful today that it overturns institutions, shifts our values and shrivels our roots. Change is the process by which the future invades our lives, and it is important to look at it closely, not merely from the grand perspectives of history, but also from the vantage point of the living, breathing individuals who experience it." This is exactly what *Future Shock* reveals and argues that unless man quickly learns to control the rate of change in his personal affairs as well as in society at large, we are doomed to a massive adaptational breakdown.

Toffler—the creator of 'superindustrialism' and the exponent of 'Future Shock'—has been an editor of *Fortune* and has written for publications, ranging from *Life*, *Horizon* and *Playboy* to the *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Sciences*. He is the author of *The Culture Consumers* and the editor of the prize-winning volume *The Schoolhouse in the City*. He is now a visiting scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation.

The book is divided into six parts comprising 20 chapters. A look at some of the titles of the chapters serves to delineate the essence of the thesis: The Death of Permanence. The 800th lifetime, accelerative thrust, the throw-away society, the modular man, the kinetic

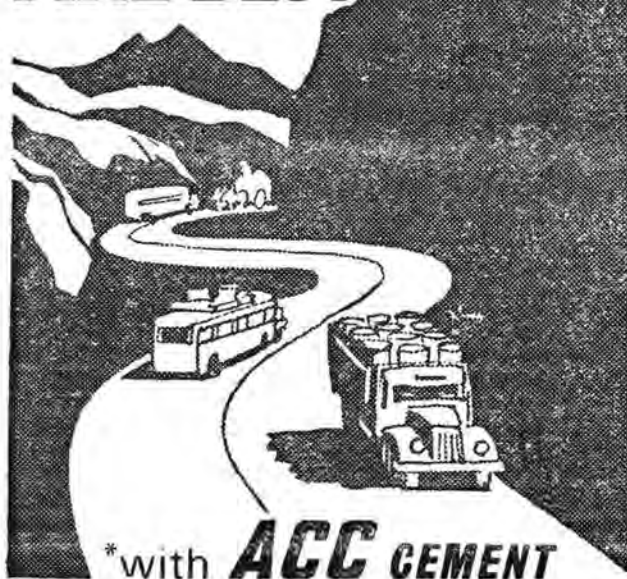
image, the experience makers, the fractured family, the origins of over choice, surfeit of subcults, coping with tomorrow and taming technology.

'Future Shock' is a sickness. In the most rapidly changing environment to which man has ever been exposed, we remain pitifully ignorant of how the human animal copes. We lack even an adequate theory of adaptation. The purpose of the book, in the words of the author, therefore, is 'to help us come in terms with the future'—to help us cope more effectively with both personal and social change by deepening our understanding of how men respond to it. Towards this end, it puts forward a broad new theory of adaptation.

The concept of *Future Shock*—coined in an article in *Horizon* in 1965 by Toffler—and the theory of adaptation that derives from William Ogburn's celebrated theory of cultural lag about how social stresses arise out of the uneven rates of change in different sectors of society—strongly suggests that there must be balance, not merely between rates of change in different sectors, but between the pace of environmental change and the limited pace of human response. "We have not yet learned to conceive, research, write and publish in 'real time'," says Toffler. "Readers, therefore, must concern themselves more and more with general themes, rather than detail, for the obsolescence of data has a special significance, however, serving as it does to verify the book's own thesis about the rapidity of change."

K. VASUDEVA RAO

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

What is horridly scandalous in Washington is familiar routine in Moscow.
—*The Economist*, May 5.

Peace in Indochina last week continued to look rather like war anywhere else.
—*Time*, May 7.

If Marx is as strong today as he has ever been, it is because of his questions, not his answers.
—Raymond Aron in *Time*, May 7.

What is at stake is whether the US shall become the second strongest nation in the world.
—President Nixon quoted in *The Economist*, April 7.

Soviet citizens continue to ask why their economy cannot soar like their spaceships.
—*Time*, April 30

No longer must you state the obvious truths that a Communist cannot be a good man, and that an Indian Communist cannot be a good Indian.
—*Opinion*, April 10

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Today it is Nagpur, tomorrow it may be Bombay, the day after Delhi and Lucknow. We are all in it, for the present crisis has an all-India character.
—*The Pioneer* quoted in *Times of India*, April 27.

While Watergate is the biggest scandal of the century, the Maruti affair is easily the biggest scandal of post-independence India.
—Jana Sangh President L. K. Advani in *Times of India*, May 7.

Only optimists make history.
—Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco in *U.S. News and World Report*, April 16.

The word 'socialism' is losing its meaning and after some time people will begin to hate it.
—Madhu Limaye, M.P., in *Indian Express*, May 2.

Despite their brave talk, men like Mr. Kosygin can no longer be wholly convinced about the superiority of the system of centralised planning over the market mechanism.
—Girilal Jain in *Times of India*, May 2.

Tear up all imported books that do not express Arabism and Islam. Destroy all curricula that do not express truth.
—President Gaddafi in *Times of India*, May 2.

The slow death of democracy in India began from the day Mr. Nehru came to power.
—Balraj Madhok in *Times of India*, April 28.

There is no doubt about it: India is not even in the dog-house. She's merely forgotten.
—Jaya Thadani in *Illustrated Weekly of India*, April 22.

I believe in the production of plenty instead of planning for scarcity.
—Maharashtra Chief Minister V. P. Naik in *Illustrated Weekly of India*, May 6.

A Spectre is haunting Communist Europe: the Spectre of hunger.
—*The Economist*, April 14.