

JUNE 1975

EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

PNOM PENH DEPOPULATED

In view of the conspiracy of silence in the Indian press, with a few honourable exceptions, to prevent the people of India from knowing the truth about what is going on after the communist takeover in Indo-China, we give below extracts from an eyewitness' account by Jon Swain, the Sunday Times (London) correspondent in Pnom-Penh.

SWAIN describes "the brutal depopulation of Pnom-Penh, a city which, only a few weeks ago could hold two million people. But the sheer scale of the disaster has not been understood in the West."

"The mind gropes" at the "enormity and horror" of what has happened not only in Pnom-Penh but "virtually every city, town, village and hamlet that resisted the communists has been ruthlessly emptied."

"The greater part of this nation of seven million people... has been uprooted."

"An enormous number of people are dying and will die because of the Khmer Rouge policy of forcing all the inhabitants of towns to march virtually at random into the countryside devastated by war."

"Pnom-Penh, once a beautiful city of half a million people, swollen during the war to two million, is now 'a sinister wasteland inhabited only by Khmer Rouge soldiers and abandoned starving animals.... Virtually

every building has been ransacked by soldiers looking for food and booty.... On April 20, in Kompong Chhnang, Khmer Rouge loaded all the town's hospital's patients into trucks, drove them 18 miles into the forest and left them without food and water."

Jon Swain's Diary

Friday April 18, 7 a.m. "The Khmer Rouge army is emptying the city and its hospitals — tipping out patients like garbage into the streets. Bandaged men and women hobble by the French Embassy, wives push wounded soldier husbands on hospital beds on wheels, some with serum drips still attached."

"In five years of war this is the greatest caravan of human misery I have seen. The Khmer Rouge must know that few of the 20,000 wounded still survive. One can only conclude they have no humanitarian instincts

(Continued on page 2)

MASSACRE OF WOMEN & CHILDREN

That racism and communism go arm in arm together is evidenced by the massacre by North Vietnamese "liberators" of 185 Vietnamese children and women whose crime—shades of Hitler—was that of polluting the race by fraternising with American, Negro and Korean soldiers. The story of this massacre, as told by the Daily Telegraph correspondent in the issue of April 21, 1975, is abridged here:

THE North Vietnamese have added a new and shocking dimension to the orphan problem in South Vietnam. According to several eyewitnesses from the coastal town of Nha Trang, they have executed 185 women and their children of mixed blood.

The women, who included wives and de facto wives of Americans and Koreans, were publicly denounced by cadres for poisoning the Vietnamese blood. Some, who had married Vietnamese, had children of both mixed blood and pure Vietnamese.

Then, while the parents of the women and their Vietnamese children cried in anguish all 185 women and mixed-blood children were executed by firing squads.

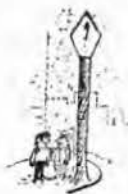
The Nha Trang reports are the first accounts of

reprisals against women for cohabitating with allied servicemen, and they suggest a terrifying future for the orphans. But they are only part of a flood of accusations from refugees who have fled as the Communists started a savage campaign of organised and impromptu executions after taking over.

Senior defectors from the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese believe that about 1,000,000 people—or about 3 per cent. of the population—will be liquidated by the North Vietnamese, either as a reprisal for collaborating with the Americans, or to eliminate any attempt to organise resistance against Communist control.

Relatives of the dead were trying to identify the bodies and carry them away for burial.

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



David vs Goliath

THOSE who have watched with growing disgust the methods by which the independence of Sikkim has been destroyed and that country annexed in all but name can hardly quarrel with the *New York Times* editorial when it writes: "India's cynical absorption of the tiny Himalayan kingdom of Sikkim is a betrayal of the values that gained India worldwide respect through the teachings of such men as Dr Radhakrishnan and Mahatma Gandhi. Imperial India is a diminished India". In England, Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, the Liberal leader, forwarded the appeal made by the Chogyal's son to the British Government to persuade India to agree to an honest referendum on his country's freedom.

Perhaps nothing has done India's image and credibility so much harm as the way in which it connived at the bogus referendum staged by its stooges in Sikkim. Even the Indian Press has found it hard to stomach this development. "The hurry in which the operation was conducted," writes Ajit Bhattacharjee in the *Indian Express*, "has created suspicion instead of satisfaction. Dramatised reports about arms and an amateur wireless transmitter being found in the Chogyal's palace did not strengthen the case. An alleged confession from an aide of the Chogyal concerning plans to assassinate Kazi Lhendup Dorji and other ministers made it appear that the scenario was being written by a Bombay film-director."

The Indian journalist who deserves the greatest praise, however, for an honest-to-God report after a

visit to Gangtok is Sunanda K Datta-Ray of the *Statesman*. In two articles on April 26 and 27, he has torn the mask from the pretensions under which the ugly realities were sought to be covered.

Describing the incipient fascism of India's stooges in Gangtok, he writes: "Details of Gangtok's unsettled daily life suggest the extent of this erosion of law and order. Telephone lines have selectively been disconnected. Private vehicles dare not venture in the streets where they are promptly commandeered by young Sikkim Congress activists who insist on speaking with the authority of the people. That same sacred mandate entitles a dozen swaggering young men to muscle their way into the Nor-Khill Hotel late one night demanding to be served without further ado; told that the dining room did not cater to casual customers, they peremptorily called upon the manager to telephone the Party general secretary 'for orders.'"

"There was, apparently no official intervention when Youth Congress zealots stormed the houses of several National Party leaders, including Mr. Harka Bahadur Basnet, dragged them into the streets, partially stripped them and paraded them round the bazaar with ropes tied round their necks and filth from the gutters splattered on their faces. Only the heroic resistance from the Chief Minister's British wife, Kazini Elisa-Maria Dorji, saved Sikkim's most respected elder statesman, the 74-year-old Rai Bahadur Kazi Tashi Dahdul Densapa of Barmiak, who also had been dragged out, while four policemen watched placidly, from similar ignominy.

"There was next day, and similarly unchecked, a procession yelling 'Death to Kazini'. This aging woman, who has given twenty years of her life to the cause of democratic rights in Sikkim and who has fully used her extensive influence in New Delhi, as well as her considerable powers of writing, organisation and persuasion to build up her husband's party from almost scratch into a credible political alternative, is today the most tortured person in the country.

"All this the Kazini explains in what should have been her hour of triumph, but is instead a time of bitter defeat. 'This is not what I fought for' is her broken response to the confusion beyond the armed guards surrounding her bungalow."

Perhaps the most distasteful aspect is the pettiness and meanness with which the Chogyal has been treated. The attempt to involve him in the usual "conspiracies", the disarming of his palace guards and the creation of a situation where even his attempt to meet the Press had to be under conditions of house arrest are surely not worthy of a country of continental proportions such as ours. One is reminded of the heavy-handed

PNOM PENH — Continued from page 1

... Murray Carmichael, the anaesthetist of the Scottish Medical Team, says: "Three quarters of our work has been wasted. The Khmer Rouge ... have no compassion, no humanity."

"Fernand Scheller, Chief of the UN Development Project, nearly weeps as he says: 'What the Khmer Rouge are doing is pure and simple genocide. They will kill more people this way than if there had been fighting in the city. There is no food outside.'

"Sunday April 20 — The Khmer Rouge has split up whole families. French husbands can stay (in the Embassy) but Cambodian wives and women must go (in to the jungle). The feeling of helplessness and rage is overwhelming. Is nothing sacred? ... Suddenly it rains, it usually does at funerals.

"Tuesday April 29 — To try and probe the Khmer Rouge mind is fruitless. To apply Western logic to it is an irrelevance.

"The Khmer Rouge, once more showing an amazing ability to turn nasty at any time, suddenly announced: 'Asian without papers can leave.'"

manner with which the Soviet Occupation troops treated that other 'little man', Dubcek.

The Chogyal, on his part, has managed to stay calm and dignified in contrast to the meanness of his tormentors. Sunanda Datta-Ray reports that when "twice in the course of one day, Mr. Gurbachan Singh asked the Chogyal to move to Thaksi, two miles north of Gangtok, 'for personal safety', he replied: 'I was born in this house, and will die here.'"

It is easy to see imperialism indulged in by other people's countries but difficult to discern it when indulged in by one's own government. It is good therefore that there are still a few Indians who are not prepared to go along with the events in Sikkim.

Hope Still for Portugal?

WAS *Freedom First* perhaps wrong after all to have carried the caption "Portugal Goes Under" in its April issue? The manner in which the people of Portugal carried through a peaceful and free election, in which 92 per cent of them voted, to choose the members of the Constituent Assembly, and even more the results of the election, make one wonder whether after all the people will not be able to defeat the Communist attempt to take over the country through their allies in the army.

The Socialist Party of Mario Soares has polled 38.08 per cent of the votes and got 74 deputies elected. The centrist Popular Democratic Party polled 25 per cent of the votes and secured 45 seats. Thus, along with the votes cast for the small Christian Democratic Party, the moderate and anti-communist parties polled 71.44 per cent of the vote. The Communist Party of Portugal polled only 12 per cent of the vote and elected 20 deputies. Even including its satellites, the Communist bloc polled only about 17.01 per cent of the vote.

Equally significant was the refusal of more than 7 per cent of the voters to cast blank ballots as the electorate had been advised to do by the "leftist" elements in the Armed Forces in an attempt to cheat the anti-communists of their victory and hide the fact that "the silent majority" for which President Spínola spoke before he was ousted by a Communist conspiracy was still intact. Equally welcome is the latest news from Portugal that Luis Arouca of the Independent Social Democratic Party, against whose arrest *Freedom First* had protested, has been released.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the battle for freedom has been won. Anticipating the shape of events to come, the Communists and their allies in the Armed Forces had already got the moderate parties, under the threat of proscription, to agree to a Constitution under which the Army junta would remain in power for a period of three to five years whatever the results of the election. Under that extorted agreement the powers of the Constituent Assembly have

been limited. Even so, it is just possible that, now that the Portuguese people have declared their choice, the patriotic elements in the Junta may assert themselves and the attempt at a communist takeover may be frustrated.

In Russia, the Constituent Assembly was first elected and then Lenin dissolved it at the point of his soldiers' bayonets. In Portugal, significantly enough, the Communists first seized power, and then the people elected the Constituent Assembly in defiance of the dictators. Now what?

"Firm Rock" Till the End

THE man whose name in Chinese means "firm rock" lived up to that description right up to the end when it came on April 5, 1975. President Chiang Kai Shek of the Republic of China was one of the world's great figures. He was one of India's biggest and best friends when our country was struggling for freedom. All he got from Nehru's India was betrayal and base ingratitude.

His major achievement came, however, after he had lost control over the Mainland. Unlike the Bourbons and others on whom the lessons of history are lost, President Chiang and the Kuomintang drew the right lessons from their defeats with the result that the record of the Republic of China in Taiwan has been a glorious one. Through the acceptance of liberal economic policies, Taiwan under President Chiang's leadership has been one of the countries in Asia which, since the end of World War II, has made the fastest progress in giving its people a richer and better life. Its record in this respect is comparable to that of Japan, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong.

According to FAO figures, the yield of rice per acre in the ROC has been the highest in the world, with Japan coming second. Its land reform and land ceilings, accompanied by full compensation, have turned its countryside into the most prosperous in Asia. This has given Taiwan a higher standard of life in Asia than any other country except Japan.

Under President Chiang, a great deal of progress has been made to associate the local Taiwanese, who make up 85 per cent of the total of 16 million population,

IN THIS ISSUE

This might be called an Indo-China issue since it brings news of the horrors of the Communist takeover which is hard to come by in the columns of the Indian Press.

A. G. Noorani analyses important studies on the military balance with a table that highlights the tremendous lead India has over Pakistan in all kinds of armaments.



"OOOPS!"

with the Kuomintang and the Government of Free China. Under Prime Minister Chiang Ching Kuo, Chiang's son, this policy will be accelerated in order to widen the popular base of the regime.

Those who imagine that, with the removal from the scene of President Chiang Kai Shek, the ROC will succumb to the blandishments of Peking and its "table tennis" diplomacy are asking to be disappointed. The abusive manner in which Peking announced the Nationalist leader's death shows that Mao-tse Tung, who has managed to outlive his rival, can have few illusions on this score.

Taiwan's care and concern for its people and their needs provides a glorious contrast to the miserable failure of the Communist regime on the Mainland and provides a parallel to the similar contrast between the free way of life and the totalitarian one offered by West and East Berlin. So long as Free China thrives under the very nose of the brutal Peking dictatorship, it provides a model and a hope to the oppressed people of the Mainland.

Dubcek Speaks Again

THE world had forgotten all about Alexander Dubcek, the Czechoslovak champion of "communism with a human face", when suddenly he has reappeared on the international scene. After a silence lasting five years, Dubcek has addressed a letter to the puppet Czechoslovak Federal Assembly. This hard-hitting document, which was penned last October, was only recently smuggled out of the country.

According to Dubcek, the suppression of Czechoslovakia after the Soviet occupation has been a miserable failure. The Czechs may have been bludgeoned into submission but they are by no means reconciled and the nation is more deeply anti-Soviet than ever.

In his letter, Dubcek again protests that he has always been, and still is, a communist. That is undoubtedly true. One can recall his pathetic statement on the night of August 20, 1968, when he was told that the troops of his Warsaw Pact Allies had invaded Czechoslovakia: "I who have devoted my whole life to cooperation with the Soviet Union, now they do this to me. This is the great tragedy of my life."

In Moscow's eyes being a good communist is not enough. You have to be a stooge to survive. Dubcek's letter is a badly needed reminder to certain naive people in Delhi.

Another open letter has followed in the form of a letter to Husak from Vaclav Havel, one of the country's best dramatists. In a reproach which might well have been addressed by Jayaprakash Narayan to Indira Gandhi, Havel writes: "So far, you and your Government have chosen the easy way out to yourselves, and the most dangerous road to society: the path of inner decay for the sake of outward appearances; of deadening life for the sake of increasing conformity; of

deepening the spiritual and moral crisis in our society and ceaselessly degrading human dignity for the puny sake of protecting your power."

US Congress Betrays Viet Nam

FOR the horrors to which the unfortunate people of South Viet Nam and Cambodia are being subject (see page 1), the Congress of the US must bear a heavy responsibility. That President Thieu should have accused the USA of betraying South Viet Nam in violation of solemn pledges and refused to seek shelter in the US is only natural. What is much more damning is the fact that the President of the US and the Secretary of State have pleaded guilty to the charge.

Admitting that the US was committed to "provide adequate economic and military assistance to South Viet Nam" and that if necessary the US would help sustain the terms of the Paris Accord of 1973, President Ford flatly condemned the US Congress for tying his hands and preventing him from fulfilling his obligations to an ally. Recalling the 1973 Accord, the US had promised to supply arms to Saigon while Peking and Moscow were pledged to supply Hanoi, the President admitted that "unfortunately the US did not" carry out its obligation, while the other two powers had armed North Viet Nam to the teeth. Mr. Henry Kissinger, the man who actually sold out Viet Nam at the Paris Accord in 1973 in order to get American prisoners back from Hanoi, also blamed the Congress and is reported by *Time* magazine to have said that if he had any inkling at all that the US promises to South Viet Nam would be violated, "I could not in good conscience have negotiated" the Paris Accord of 1973.

General William Westmoreland, former commander of the US forces in Viet Nam, had this comment to make: "It is a sad day in the glorious history of our country. But elements in this country have been working for this end. We failed. We let an ally down."

Dominos

FOR this betrayal of an ally fighting for its freedom against the Communists, not only the US but the whole world will have to pay some day. Those who scoffed at the domino theory, if they were not so blind, would see it at work today. Laos has already been swallowed by the Communists. Thailand, a loyal and dependable ally if ever there was one, is already hedging its bets and sitting on the fence. The Philippine Government has already shown the USA its teeth. Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia can now be expected to make their peace with the aggressors. The countries now in the danger line will be South Korea and Taiwan.

It is not only in Asia that the loss of credibility will harm the US and the cause of freedom, but even in

Western Europe doubts about the reliability of the US as an ally are beginning to surface.

Lessons of Viet Nam

THERE are several lessons that the debacle in South Viet Nam can teach. The first is that any country reaching an agreement with the Communists is bound to suffer its dire consequences and perhaps destruction for those who enter into such agreements and profess not to understand the nature of the beast. The second lesson is that no one in this world — when the people are given a choice — wishes to live under Communism. One million refugees in Viet Nam, as also the Cambodians who have fled to Thailand have once again proved this by “voting with their feet”. The third lesson is that even nations who wish to shape their own destiny, such as Tibet, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, South Viet Nam and Cambodia can be overpowered by the military might which finally decides the issue.

That brings one to the final conclusion that the debacle is the consequence of the initial refusal of the US to fight the war to win by invading North Viet Nam and liberating its people. This proves that one cannot fight a war and win it too with one's hands tied behind one's back. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri understood this when, in 1965, he ordered the Indian Army to cross the border and invade Pakistan in retaliation against the Pak attack on Kashmir. The refusal to attack the aggressor on its own territory has in Viet Nam resulted in the destruction of South Viet Nam.

On page 1 we carry an eyewitness account of the genocide of their own people indulged in by the meniacs of the Khmer Rouge. The *Daily Telegraph* (London), in its editorial on May 12, does not exaggerate when it calls this “one of the most appalling and deliberate crimes in recorded history” and goes on to accuse the Khmer Rouge of indulging in a “stupefying scale of brutality.” “How much pride”, asks the *Daily Telegraph*, “do those who cheered the military success of the Khmer Rouge now feel?” Among those to whom this question needs to be addressed are the guilty men and women in New Delhi.

Delhi Disgusts

NOTHING in this whole chapter has been more obscene than the Delhi reaction to the destruction of freedom in Indo China. “Amidst thunderous cheers and thumping of desks, both Houses of Parliament today hailed the surrender of the Saigon regime to the National Liberation Front,” reported the *Indian Express* on May 1. The Speaker, who should have known better, joined in this charade. Within hours of the conquest of Saigon, the Government of India rushed forward to recognise the aggressor regime and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi went so far as to urge the Commonwealth Conference in Kingston to send greetings

to the aggressors on their victory which, of course, the Conference refused to do. According to the *Times* (London), this exhibition of the Indian Prime Minister's ideological affinities was met by “expressions in her audience ranging from restraint to total hostility.”

These manifestations, disgusting as they may be, are the logical culmination of India's diplomacy over the last decade which has given aid and comfort to the enemies of Asian freedom. If it wasn't for the refusal of India and Pakistan — possessing the two largest land forces in Asia — to send their troops to fight alongside those from New Zealand, Australia, Korea, the Philippines and America in defence of freedom in Asia, there would not now be isolationism in the US and the countries of Indo China would still be free.

For these crimes of their government, the people of India may have to pay along with the rest of the world. Every act of appeasement of totalitarian aggression leads to further aggression until one day the fight that has been postponed will have to be undertaken under much more difficult circumstances. The people of the US will no doubt pay for the isolationism of their Congress and the press, but those who have provoked that isolationism are not likely to escape the consequences either.

No Amnesty for Them!

QUICK on the heels of the article on Amnesty International in our last issue comes the news of the arrest of Amnesty International's man in Moscow, Mr. Andrei Tvedokhlbov, who has been charged with “spreading deliberate falsehoods and maligning the Soviet political and social system”. Two other Amnesty functionaries have also been arrested on similar charges. The Chairman of the Soviet Chapter, Mr. Valentin Turchin, who has not so far been arrested feels these things would not have happened if the pressure of the Western public opinion had not slackened in recent months, thanks to the phoney detente. According to him, one of the Secret Service men who had come to search his flat told him: “You can no longer trust the West to be concerned with your activities. They have problems of their own these days.”

The Soviet group of Amnesty was set up last year and had announced that the branch in Russia would concern itself only with the fate of political prisoners in other countries. That this repression of its activities should nonetheless come is a tribute to the good work that Amnesty International is doing. So far, the Soviet dictatorship was happy to praise Amnesty's exposure of non-communist governments. But it is another thing altogether when Amnesty has decided to republish the *Chronicle of Current Events*—the Soviet samizdat magazine—and has decided to set up an international commission to investigate the Soviet abuse of psychiatry for political purposes.

THE MILITARY BALANCE

A. G. Noorani

READ two-recently-published volumes* and then read the 1974-75 Report of the Union Ministry of Defence and you will find that the official document hardly tells the Indian citizen anything of significance about his country's defence policy. For such information he has to turn to two international organizations of proven impartiality, neither of which suffers any governmental patronage, IISS and SIPRI.

Incidentally, the Ministry's Report mentions in the Introductory Chapter entitled "National Security in Perspective" only two sources of danger — Pakistan and China, as did the Defence Minister in the Lok Sabha on April 21, 1975. The Prime Minister added a third one—the sea—and the Defence Minister dutifully added it to the other two when he spoke in the Rajya Sabha a week later. Either, the Ministry of Defence has been sorely remiss or, as is more likely, the P.M. is "politicking", with the belated and grudging support of the Defence Minister.

The Military Balance is an annual, quantitative assessment of the military and defence expenditure of countries throughout the world. The latest report examines the facts of military power as of July 1974.

Of China, IISS' assessment is that its "defence policy operates at the two extremes of nuclear deterrence and People's War. The former aims to deter strategic attack and the latter, by mass-mobilization of the country's population, to deter or repel any conventional land invasion. The build-up of Chinese nuclear force continued slowly but steadily during the year. One nuclear test, of about 1MT range, took place in June 1974, the first for a year and the sixteenth since tests started in 1964. A substantial expansion of nuclear production facilities is taking place, and the stockpile of nuclear weapons (which probably now stands at two to three hundred, both fission and fusion) could grow rapidly. A variety of delivery systems, aircraft and missiles, are available. . . . All the present missiles are liquid-fuelled. Work has been going forward on the development of solid fuel missiles, but these are unlikely to be available for deployment before 1975.

"China's 3 million regular forces, the PLA, are generally equipped and trained for the environment of People's War, but increasing effort is being made to arm a proportion of the formations with modern weapons, now becoming available from the growing armament industry. Infantry units account for most of the manpower and 119 of the 156 divisions; there are only 7 armoured divisions. The naval and air elements

of the PLA have only about one-seventh of the total manpower, compared with over a third for their counterparts in the Soviet Union, but their equipment, notably that of the navy, is steadily being modernized. The PLA is essentially a defensive force and lacks the facilities and logistic support for protracted large-scale military operations outside China. It is, however, gradually acquiring greater logistic capacity."

The figures for India and Pakistan given in the Report are set out in the table on page 8.

Both India and Pakistan depend on arms supplies from foreign sources; India far less so, though. Indeed, India has become an arms exporter as Mr V. M. Nair reported in *The Statesman* of April 5, 1974, from London. "Over the past 12 months India has sold about £5 million (about Rs. 10 crores) worth of arms and ammunition to several countries, some through London-based agents and some on Government-to-Government account. These arms are stated to be surplus to India's normal peacetime requirements. The ordnance factories' capacity is well in excess of peacetime needs and defence production authorities have found themselves saddled with idle capacity which has been utilized to produce weapons for export to selected and politically acceptable countries." The correspondent cites India's "self-imposed restraint." It still remains to be seen whether this is a reflection of capacity or of intent, as he suggests.

The arms race between the U.S. and the Soviet Union has not slackened as is clear from the IISS Report and from *Jane's Weapons Systems 1974-75* edited by R. T. Pretty and Mr D. H. R. Archer published on April 15. Mr Pretty, in the foreword, argued that a major outcome of the strategic arms agreements between the USA and the Soviet Union had been a considerable increase in the effort devoted to weapon development programmes aimed at circumventing the agreements.

He says there is an all-out effort by Russia to make the greatest and most rapid gains permitted to it under the agreed terms. The USA sees itself starting from behind in the nuclear "throw weight" race and is doing all it can to restore its position through the best use of the nation's enormous technical capability. The total military sales contracted by foreign consumers during 1974 is said to be twice the sales made in 1973 and about eight times the average level of the 1960s.

The U.S. according to available estimates is the biggest exporter of arms accounting for 54.4 per cent of the total in 1973, and the Soviet Union for 27.5 per cent. France and Britain follow.

The effect and the extent of the arms trade with the third world are spelt out lucidly in SIPRI's superb study. The present volume covers the period 1950 to 1972. To follow it up the reader might usefully consult

* *The Military Balance 1974-1975*. The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London; £ 1.

* *The Arms Trade With The Third World*. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Penguin Books; £ 1.

INDIA Vs PAKISTAN

INDIA

Population: 588,560,000.
 Military service: voluntary.
 Total armed forces: 956,000.
 Estimated GNP 1973: \$78.6 billion.
 Defence budget 1974-75: 19,150 million rupees (\$2,443 million).
 \$1 = 7.84 rupees (1974), 7.25 rupees (1973).

ARMY: 826,000.
 2 armoured divisions.
 14 infantry divisions.
 10 mountain divisions.
 5 independent armoured brigades.
 7 independent infantry brigades.
 1 parachute brigade.
 About 20 AA artillery units.
 190 Centurion Mk 5/7, 1,000 T-54 and T-55 and some 500 Vijayanta med tks; 140 PT-76 and 100 AMX-13 lt tks; OT-62, OT-64 (2A) and Mk 2/4A APC; about incl Model 56 105mm pack how, Abbott 105mm and about 350 100mm and 350 130mm guns; 500 120mm mor; RL; SS-11 and Entac ATGW; AA guns; 40 Tigercat SAM; 60 Krishak, 15 Auster AOP-9 lt ac.
 RESERVES: 180,000. Territorial Army 50,000.

NAVY: 30,000 (including naval air).
 1 16,000-ton aircraft carrier (ex-British).
 6 submarines (ex-Soviet F-class).
 2 cruisers.
 2 destroyers.
 22 frigates (3 GP with Seacat SAM, 3 AA, 7 ASW; 9 ex-Soviet Petya-class; 3 more GP building; 1 more Petya-class on order).
 8 Osa-class FPB with Styx SSM.
 9 patrol boats (5 ex-Soviet Poluchat-class).
 9 Seaward defence boats (6 less than 100 tons).
 8 minesweepers (4 inshore).
 3 landing ships.
 3 landing craft (2 ex-Soviet Polocny-class).
 NAVAL AIR FORCE: 1,500.
 33 Sea Hawk attack, 10 Alize MR ac; 6 Sea King, 14 Alouette III hel (6 Sea King on order).
 (10 Sea Hawk, 5 Alize and 2 Alouette can be carried in the aircraft carrier.)

AIR FORCE: 100,000; 731 combat aircraft.
 3 light bomber squadrons with 60 Canberra.
 6 FGA sqns with 77 Su-7BKL.
 3 fighter-bomber sqns with 50 IFF-24 Marut IA.
 6 fighter-bomber squadrons with 130 Hunter F-56.
 9 interceptor squadrons with 220 MiG-21FL/M with Atoll AAM.
 8 interceptor squadrons with 180 Gnat F-1.
 1 reconnaissance squadron with 8 Canberra PR-57.
 1 MR squadron with 6 L-1049 Super Constellation.
 11 tp1 sqns with 45 HS-748, 50 C-47, 52 C-119G, 18 H-14, 34 Al-12, 30 Otter and 15 Caribou.
 About 12 sqns with 80 Mi-4, 80 Alouette III, 30 Mi-8 and Sioux hel.
 22 IIT-Kita trainers.
 20 SA-2 SAM sites.
 117 HS-748 on order.

PARA-SQUADRON: 1,000 (1974) (1973) 100,000 (1974) 100,000 (1973)

PAKISTAN

Population: 58,760,000.
 Military service: 2 years selective.
 Total armed forces: 392,000.
 Estimated GNP 1973: \$8.6 billion.
 Defence budget 1974-75: 5,580 million rupees (\$575 million).
 \$1 = 9.70 rupees (1974), 9.77 (1973).

ARMY: 365,000 (including 25,000 Azad Kashmir troops).
 2 armoured divisions.
 13 infantry divisions.
 2 independent armoured brigades.
 1 air defence brigade.
 3 sqns army aviation.
 Some M-4, 300 M-47/48: 50 T-55 and 600 T-59 med tks; 140 M-24, 50 M-41 and 20 PT-76 lt tks; 350 M-113 APC; about 900 25-pounder, 100mm, 105mm, 122mm and 155mm how and 130mm guns; 120mm mor; Cobra ATGW; 23mm and 57mm AA guns; Cessna 0-1E lt ac; 12 Mi-8, 15 Sioux and 20 Alouette III hel.
 RESERVES: 500,000.

NAVY: 10,000.
 3 submarines (French Daphne-class).
 1 light cruiser/training ship.
 4 destroyers.
 2 frigates (2 more on order).
 7 coastal minesweepers.
 9 patrol boats (6 Chinese Shanghai-class).
 2 UH-19 SAR hel (6 Sea King on order).
 RESERVES: 5,000.

AIR FORCE: 17,000; 283 combat aircraft.
 1 light bomber squadrons with 10 B-57B.
 2 fighter-interceptor sqns with 21 Mirage III EP.
 1 fighter-bomber squadron with 28 Mirage V.
 5 fighter-bomber/interceptor sqns with 75 F-86.
 7 FGA sqns with 140 MiG-19/F6.
 1 recce squadron with 4 RT-33A, 2 RB-57 and 3 Mirage III RP.
 Transports include 6 C-130B, 1 Falcon and 1 F-27.
 6 HH-43B, 2 Alouette III and 2 UH-19 hel.
 RESERVES: 8,000.

PARA-SQUADRON: 10,000 (1974) 10,000 (1973)

the SIPRI Yearbooks. The SIPRI's study shows that as an arms exporter to the Third World, Russia breaks even with America.

Diversification is of the utmost importance, it points out. "Diversification—the spreading of military dependence over a number of supplying countries—enhances the freedom of action of the recipient countries in a number of ways. First, the recipient country need not fear the actions of any one supplying country. Secondly, the competition between the supplying countries in itself increases the independence of the recipient nation. Competition has a dual effect: on the one hand it limits the ability of the supplying country to exert conditions in return for supplying weapons, because recipient countries can threaten to go elsewhere; on the other hand, the threat of going elsewhere limits the ability of the supplying country to withdraw the supply of weapons for fear of losing influence. Thirdly, diversification prevents the development of any army elite trained together in a foreign country, which might increase the risk of a military takeover."

The role of the Great Powers as rival suppliers to countries in conflict is of crucial importance. "When competing supplying countries support opposing sides in a conflict and the local conflict is subsumed into their own conflict, the conflict is said to become polarized. In other words, a local conflict is distorted into a conflict between the supplying countries themselves, and, more often than not, the interests of the local opponents become secondary to those of their respective supporters."

But it is not the "external powers", it is the countries directly involved who should be blamed for allowing the Great Powers to meddle. If they resolve their disputes, as Iran and Iraq did recently, for instance, the Great Powers' capacity for mischief is lessened. The SIPRI study mentions the distressing fact that "the gross national products of all developing countries have grown at an average rate of 5 per cent a year since 1950, while their military expenditures have grown at a yearly rate of 7 per cent and their major weapon imports at a rate of 8 per cent."

The volume contains the best account of the involvement of the Super-Powers as arms suppliers in the sub-continent. Russia's role began from the early sixties. For 1965-69 it accounts for 67.9 per cent of arms deliveries to the subcontinent and 58.9 per cent for 1970-72. For the same periods, the American contribution was 0.7 per cent and 0.5 per cent, respectively. For the entire period 1950-1972 Russia accounts for 36.5 per cent of arms supplies to the sub-continent to America's 11.4.

"During the (1971) war the Soviet Union extended considerable verbal and material support to India. Soviet aid has later been extended to India's ally, Bangladesh, which was promised a squadron of MiG-21s. The bulk of India's front-line air force and naval

equipment will be from Soviet sources for at least the next few years. In the short run, therefore, India has become fairly heavily reliant on one of the two Great Powers, a policy which goes against that followed in the 1950s.

"In the long run it is working towards greater independence through the expansion of its domestic defence industry. Some diversification exists in the choice of sources for the licensed production of arms, where both France and Britain are increasing their participation from 1970. However, the most important projects is still the production of the MiG-21."

The SIPRI's study ends with an analysis of the proposals to check the arms traffic with the Third World, including an agreement among the Great Powers. The study is as realistic as it is thorough. "The build-up of stocks of weapons in Third World countries is one of the new and disturbing features of the post-war world. It is doubtful, however, whether proposals concerning the regulation of the arms trade alone are the most appropriate instrument for limiting them — mainly because such proposals inevitably discriminate against non-production countries.

"Any registration proposal, therefore, would certainly have to cover production as well as trade if it were to have any chance of acceptance by Third World countries. The most fruitful approach to actual regulation or limitation of weapons would seem to be through regional recipient-country agreements which would also cover production as well as trade. In the regions where the competing military commitments of the great powers are important, there is no prospect of any such agreement being reached until there is more progress in settlement between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is in the regions where the links with the major arms race are weakest that the possibility of agreement is greatest—for instance, Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa.

"One of the important characteristics of the arms trade is that, along with other factors, it links arms races in the Third World to the major East-West confrontation; one object of any proposal should be to weaken this link and reduce the military dependence of non-producing countries.

"On the supply side, there is the possibility that some countries might adopt more restrictive policies, though this does not seem very likely at the moment. The key question concerns the policies of the United States and the Soviet Union. If for any reason (and such reasons can be imagined) their interest in the competitive arming of Third World countries diminished, this would be the most important single development moderating the build-up of weapon stocks in the Third World, though, of course, it would increase world military inequality." The best way that interest can be diminished is by accord among the countries of the region.

THE YOUNG MEN AND THE SEA

Farok Contractor

... or how two, otherwise stable, city youths despite the entreaties of wives and fiancés, sailed away in the dead of night in frail canoes with a bunch of lungi-clad Karwari Muslims to hunt sharks. It had begun as a regular holiday to Goa...

The third day of our vacation found us lying in the sand at Baga beach, trying to catch the tiny crabs that crept up our bodies. Nearby, under a pathetic thatch shelter lay a group of silent, morose men, their *lungis* tucked between their legs. "What do you people do here?" my friend asked hesitantly. The group was most taciturn, but finally one of them spoke in a broken Hindi, that put even our broken Hindi to shame. "We are shark fishers from Karwar." Our ears pricked up. Here was something interesting, something, to relieve the monotony. Establishing a kinship, based on mutual ineptitude in the language, we struck up an elaborate conversation with them. They were strangers to Goa they said. Six months of the year they spent wandering up and down the west coast hunting only sharks and coming ashore wherever they could.

"Can I come with you on a trip," my friend asked. The men glanced malevolently at each other. "Sure, come along" said one, patronizingly. They were certain that once this awkward landlubber from Bombay learnt the details, he would scamper away. With grim relish they unfolded the details. They have to go deep sea fishing, perhaps twenty or thirty miles. They would start at 2 a.m. next morning and may not return for 24 hours. Sometimes they are on the high seas for days. The monsoon was still on and the sea was choppy. He would have to vomit outside.

Scratch the exterior of any city male, however, and you find "machismo" straining at the leash. My friend irritatingly refused to scamper away, planted his feet deeper into the sand and announced his intention to come. There was confusion in the ranks of the fishermen now. They hastily summoned their leader from his thatch shelter. We turned diplomatic now. "I have gone sailing all over the world" my friend claimed, "In Sydney, in Europe, where the seas are much rougher." The leader tried his best to paint a picture of threatening monsoon clouds and leaky boats, but we stood firm. In twenty minutes of furious haggling it was all over. They agreed to take this pestilential fellow along next morning. It would teach him a lesson. Men of few words, the extended arguments left them so weakened that when I said "*hum bhi ahiyege, please*", they capitulated almost immediately.

Stormy Encounter

Back at the hotel it was a stormy encounter. But the women folk soon realised it was too late to offer resistance and so offered advice instead. "Take two Avomins every six hours" and "sharks bite even in their dying gasps, so keep your toes out of the way!"

Thus fortified, we found ourselves at 2 a.m. next morning at Baga, equipped with shorts and a water flask each. We were assigned to separate boats, for a very valid reason which we understood soon enough. I waved a hearty farewell to my friend, my high spirits dampened only by the breakers crashing over our heads as we struggled to get the boats free.

The men had rowed for four hours now, their laboured breath in unison with the creak of the oarlocks. We had left the polluted air of India behind. The stars and the full band of the Milky Way were echoed by millions of phosphorescent plankton drifting by. I sat next to the bait, a mass of small fish on eight inch hooks. The whole heap pulsed with an evil green light like a luminous monster from outer space. A faint glow on the horizon was the only tenuous reminder that fourteen miles to the east lay Panjim, where only yesterday we were ordinary Bombaywalas having a normal holiday.

I sat huddled in the bottom of the canoe, a flimsy patchwork affair around twenty feet long and eighteen inches out of the water. The crew, at rest now, sucked at their bidis and eyed me uncomprehendingly across the cultural chasm that separated us.

The sea was calm, the swells coming no more than three or four feet tall. The last molecules of smoke extracted from their bidis, four of the men started rowing again, while another began the slow but precise operation of laying out the lines. The large steel hooks were spaced at forty foot intervals and were razor sharp. Picking them up gingerly, each was thrown deftly over the side, every few seconds as the line played out, periodically, buoyed up by old Dalda tins. I asked how many hooks there were. "Four hundred". That meant they were laying out miles of line!

It was almost dawn by the time the last hook was flung over and the canoe secured by a huge steel sea anchor. Muhammedkaka explained that now we could only wait for the fish to bite and so we may as well get some sleep. I looked on incredulously. There was barely room to sit and the bottom slopped with the most revolting slime with bits of bait floating in it. Sensing my hesitation, perhaps, they produced four empty gunny sacks for me to lie down on. By then, with a queasy stomach and a wakeful night behind me, I would perhaps have accepted anything and lay down

thankfully with the crew in a fatal position, gunny bags, slime and all.

Breakfasting at Sea

Early morning breakfast on the open sea against the backdrop of monsoon clouds was a peaceful and beautiful experience, marred only by the sight of modern man's refuse floating by. There, fourteen miles from shore drifted an incredible collection of polythene bags, biscuit wrappers, and plastic chappals.

Breakfast consisted of dried fish and rice extracted from old Dalda tins again! For the natural functions, the men would grasp the cross beams firmly and cantilever their posteriors carefully over the side of the boat. It is a simple life.

They began pulling in the line at eight. Muham-madkaka warned me that I should remain alert since even in their dying gasps, sharks can bite off legs and limbs. Hastily I scurried forward to the bow. But, I need not have bothered. For as hook after hook came over empty, it soon became apparent that it had not been a good trip. Only my friend's boat as he later told me, caught a shark that day and even then there was none of the drama we had envisaged, scenes of monumental tussles à la 'Old Man and the Sea'. One deft blow of the machete on the skull and the already dead creature was flung uncomplainingly into the canoe. It was only the arduous task of pulling in miles of line, hand

over hand, motion repeated after motion, while another stood behind and coiled the rope for tomorrow's throw.

I had nothing to occupy my mind now, except my own miseries, and allowed myself to concentrate on messages emanating from my stomach, which I had so far resolutely ignored. Muhammedkaka sensing my discomfort, drew upon reservoirs of knowledge learnt from his grandmother and recommended a dose of sea water. I promptly threw up. It made me abjectly miserable for the next few hours, a misery so mind-numbing that I could eventually even think to myself that the bile I ejected was such a fascinating chromatic yellow.

Only one man operated the boat on the trip back, the rest of the crew, having erected a little sail sunk back into slumber. I was left alone, brooding and muttering at my cramped condition.

It was only when a speck on the horizon became land, and land became Calangute beach, that I allowed myself to think of the hotel bed. A few yards offshore, I pulled myself up and sat on the edge. Startled by this unexpected display of motion, Muhammedkaka beckoned me to sit down again. But I refused. Such defiance was unexpected and furrows creased his weathered brow. Only when he espied the girls waving at me from the shore, did he understand and express his empathy in that universal of body language, a wink. Barely able to support my own weight, I even helped pull the boat ashore.

M

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Reviews

HIGHWIRE ARTIST

United Nations Journal, Delegate's Odyssey: by William Buckley Jr., (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; \$7.95)

ANYONE less likely as a member of the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations than Bill Buckley is hard to imagine. Yet in September 1973 Buckley was taken aback to receive an invitation to join the United Nations Delegation in New York. After some hesitation he decided that he would take a shot at it in the hope that he might get an occasional opportunity for self-expression.

This Journal is the story of his effort and its almost complete failure and frustration. It is Buckley's sweet revenge for the irritations and discontents he had to endure during his term of office.

All the same, as the *New York Times* puts it, the book is not altogether "a misadventure." The paper describes Buckley as "a rare acrobat who can pass through the United Nations and keep his wits and moral priorities about him. Like a highwire artist attempting to cross Niagra Falls on his fingertips, Buckley has astonished by surviving."

The book abounds in gems such as one has got accustomed to expect from Mr. Buckley. To start with, Buckley describes the United Nations, not unfairly, as "the densest collection of oratorical bores in the history of the world." He also found it "the most concentrated assault on moral reality in the history of free institutions."

The countries of the Third World do not escape his notice. Thus he writes, "there are too many states to whom independence is experienced only by voting against the United States." We in India are happy not to miss Mr. Buckley's attention altogether. "The Indians", he writes, "fancy themselves as great compromisers. They are never so happy as when there is a major dispute so that they can quickly draft a compromise resolution, at which time you can see them buzzing about the chambers getting co-sponsors even as the debate rages."

There is one United Nations joke which took shape during the first day or so during the Yom Kippur war between Egypt and Israel which one cannot desist from quoting. As Egypt started hostilities, Golda Meir cabled Sadat saying 'let's make love not war', whereupon having weighed the alternatives Sadat made war — the Yom Yum Kipper war as the anti-Israelis jocosely put it. If for nothing else, the book is valuable because it reveals a highly confidential cable sent by Daniel Patrick Moynihan while he was Ambassador in Delhi to the Secretary of State by way of tribute to Mr. John Scali for his stand when Cuba had presumed to join doubts in a United Nations Committee about

the reality of Puerto Rican independence. Now that it is announced that Mr. Moynihan has been appointed to succeed Mr. Scali as the Leader of the United States Delegation to the United Nations, this delightfully frank and undiplomatic cable becomes even more relevant and we shall publish it next month.

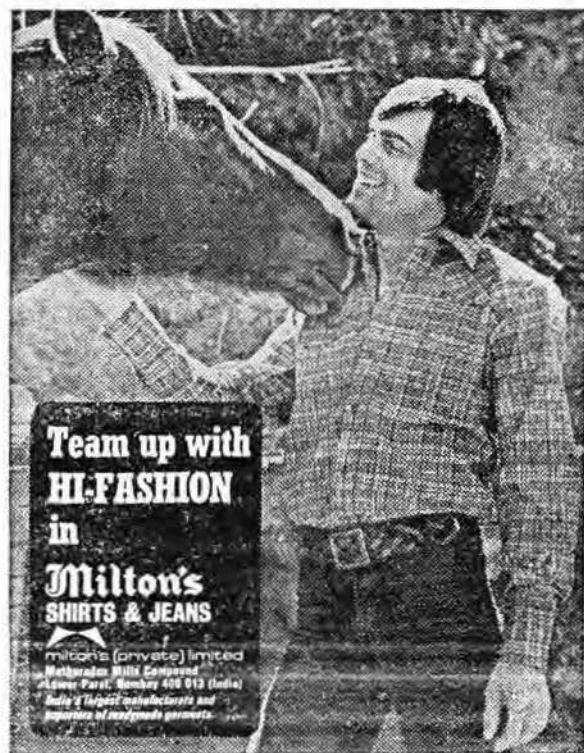
M. R. MASANI

THE BIRTH OF BANGLADESH

Pakistan: Failure in National Integration, Rounaq Jahan, (Columbia University Press, New York and London. Price Rs. 60/-)

MODERN political scientists make a distinction between state-building and nation-building. Many of the former European colonies, after independence, embarked on state building without adequately emphasising nation-building. Pakistan is a classic example of such a nation. After democracy was discarded and Ayub came to power, Pakistani statesmen seemed to believe that state building, that is, creating well-established, centralised political institutions should be given top priority and should precede nation-building which required effective participation by the majority "Bengali" community in national policy decision-making. The heavy price that that unfortunate country had to pay for this is now part of history.

Rounaq Jahan's book which details the history of



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Pakistan's break-up has many lessons to offer to new nation-states constituted of highly plural societies. She traces the structure of the Pakistani power elite during the periods 1947-58, the Ayub decade, and the Yahya era and highlights the east-west imbalance. Ayub's "basic democracies" failed to integrate East and West Pakistan because, while it did provide for mass participation at the grass roots level, it did nothing to satiate the East Pakistan "vernacular" elite's desire for effective participation and control over national policy and affairs. The latter continued to be the monopoly of the West-Pakistani military-bureaucracy elite. The basic democrats were recruited equally from East and West Pakistan but failed to form the grand national assembly that Ayub had hoped for. In the first place there were no horizontal links between the basic democracies in the eastern and western wings and there was no built-in mechanism to develop a consensus on national issues or to train and promote national leaders. The distrust of the politician and political parties by both Ayub and Yahya Khan made the task of the emergence of national parties extremely difficult.

The Pakistani ruling elite blundered not only on the politico-administrative front but also on the economic front. The lack of state initiated planning resulted in the continual lagging behind by East Pakistan which at the time of independence was far behind West Pakistan in economic development. There were no significant state sponsored plans to reduce the economic disparities between the eastern and western wings and private capital did not find East Pakistan attractive.

The lessons to be learnt by developing nations from recent Pakistani history are: nation building must precede state building (that is, institutional centralization); secondly, it is suicidal to choke and hinder the growth of national parties; and thirdly, deliberate planning must be undertaken for the removal of regional economic disparities.

Rounaq Jahan's book is very richly documented. Though a "Bangla deshi" (she is Associate Professor of Political Science at Dacca University) her historical study reveals no prejudices and hatred towards her erstwhile countrymen. Her concluding paragraph is worth re-producing here for it reveals the spirit in which the book has been written. Rounaq Jahan writes, "With the birth of Bangla Desh, the major problem of Pakistan's integration is removed from the scene. The two successor states, Pakistan and Bangladesh, however still face their own problems of national integration. For Pakistan it is the task of building a national community out of the four remaining subnational groups; for Bangladesh it is the task of building a national political system. One hopes that the policy-makers in both states have learnt from the mistakes

of the sixties; and that in the seventies, they will give priority to the task of nation building through participation."

A. H. DOCTOR

A CRITICAL STUDY OF A TREASURED MANUSCRIPT

An Illustrated Aranyaka Parvan in the Asiatic Society of Bombay by Karl Khandalawala and Moti Chandra. (Published by The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Price Rs. 100/-.)

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay Vols. 45-46/1970-71 (New Series) edited by Dr. S. N. Gajendragadkar. (Published by the Asiatic Society of Bombay, 288 pp. Price Rs. 50/-.)

THE illustrated Aranyaka Parvan Manuscript of the Mahabharata is one of the two thousand odd treasured manuscripts in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

Founded in 1804 by Sir James Mackintosh as the Literary Society of Bombay, "for the purpose of promoting useful knowledge, particularly such as is more immediately connected with India", the Asiatic Society of Bombay, as it is known today, has made a remarkable contribution to oriental research and scholarship. The Aranyaka Parvan manuscript was probably first acquired by Dr. Bhau Daji, the eminent Indologist and archaeologist and one time Vice-President of the Society. About 2000 manuscripts collected by Dr. Bhau Daji were purchased from his heirs by a special Dr. Bhau Daji Memorial Committee in 1882 to be present-

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The Aranyaka Parvan manuscript was written in the Agra region in A.D. 1516 during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi at Delhi. According to the colophon folio of the manuscript there were originally 362 folios in all but a large number of the folios (nearly one-third) are now missing.

The authors describe it as "one of the most outstanding discoveries of recent times for the study of sixteenth century Indian miniature paintings of the pre-Mughal school." It confirms, according to them, the existence of a Lodi school of painting and the continuance of the Lodi style till the beginning of the Mughal school. The value of the manuscript as a document for the study of evolutionary styles in Indian painting is enhanced by its having an intact colophon which reads as follows:

"May there be the well-being of all people, may the multitude of spirits protect those who are engaged in doing good to others; may the evil perish; may the world be happy in every respect.

"In the Samvat year 1573 on Monday, the 9 (or 8) day of the dark fortnight of the month of Sravana. At that time, in the city of Yoginipura, during the victorious reign of Sultan Sikandar.... At that time in the water (river) fort of Kachchhauva, inhabitants of Chandrapuri were residing there. Chaudhari Kalha, the reputed son of Chaudhari Vinaya. His (of Chaudhari Kalha) son, a Vaishnavite, Chaudhari Bhanadasa. (By him) this Aranyaparva of Mahabharata was got written for his own hearing. It was written by

the Kayastha called Gauda (or belonging to the race of Gauda) Bhavanidasa, the son of Lakhanasi, so it has been heard."

The Aranyaka Parvan's workmanship is crude and it is obviously a bourgeois production. A large number of folios are divided into three compartments. Khanda-lavala and Moti Chandra writing on the manuscript in Vol. 38/1963 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay point out some of the interesting features, "we find various animals in the mountainous forests through which the Pandavas passed during their journey and the foliated rocks which are seen also in Western Indian or Gujarati painting. Another very interesting feature of the manuscript is the depiction of a large number of tirthas whose representations are simplified by the introduction of a river, a lotus — lake or a tree as the case may be. Another feature is the treatment of the human figures, where the survival of the Western Indian or Gujarati tradition is more pronounced than in the 1540 Mahapurana, as in the exaggerated chest, the sharp nose, the indifferent treatment of the hands and feet and very large eyes."

Simple

The composition of the illustrations is fairly simple and consists of only a few figures. There are explanatory labels mentioning the particular episodes and the names of the characters. This appears to have been the practice in several manuscripts of the period, the idea being to acquaint the reader with the actual explana-



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tion of the scene, leaving nothing to random individual interpretations. The background colour of the illustrations is generally red and in the basic colours, which alone are used, the red predominates.

According to Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, the Aranyaka Parvan manuscript is the forerunner of the Chaurapanchasika style which should belong to an area co-terminous with the Lodi kingdom from Delhi to Jaunpur. The illustrations of the Aranyaka Parvan indicate that they are the outcome of an earlier style and it grew out of the melting pot of diverse elements in manuscripts such as the Mahapurana of the Sri Digambara Naya Mandir, Delhi. "A characteristic," write Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "of northern Indian manuscript production during the Lodi period is that the text is illustrated with a large number of illustrations. The Aranyaka Parvan follows this method in having as many as one hundred and fifty-five folios illustrated. Another characteristic of our manuscript is that the illustrators have availed themselves, wherever the text permitted, of the opportunity to depict facets of contemporary life. So also the persons who inhabit these folios, in the process of unfolding the various events described in the Parva, are all dressed in contemporary costumes. Both these features are common to several of these northern Indian manuscripts of the Lodi school. In contrast, the Gujarati or Western Indian manuscripts rarely depict scenes of every day life and the costumes follow a set mode irrespective of the contemporary scene."

The Aranyaka Parvan of the Mahabharata narrates the events during the twelve years of exile of the Pandavas after Yudhishtira's defeat at the game of dice. These are described in the second section of the present book; the first considers the evidence for determining whether there existed any pre-Mughal atelier in India in any of the Sultanate Courts. The third part of the book is a critical examination of the illustrations of the manuscript in the light of the Gujarati or Western school of painting, the Rajasthani school and the later Mughal school. There is also a description of the plates which are both in colour and black and white.

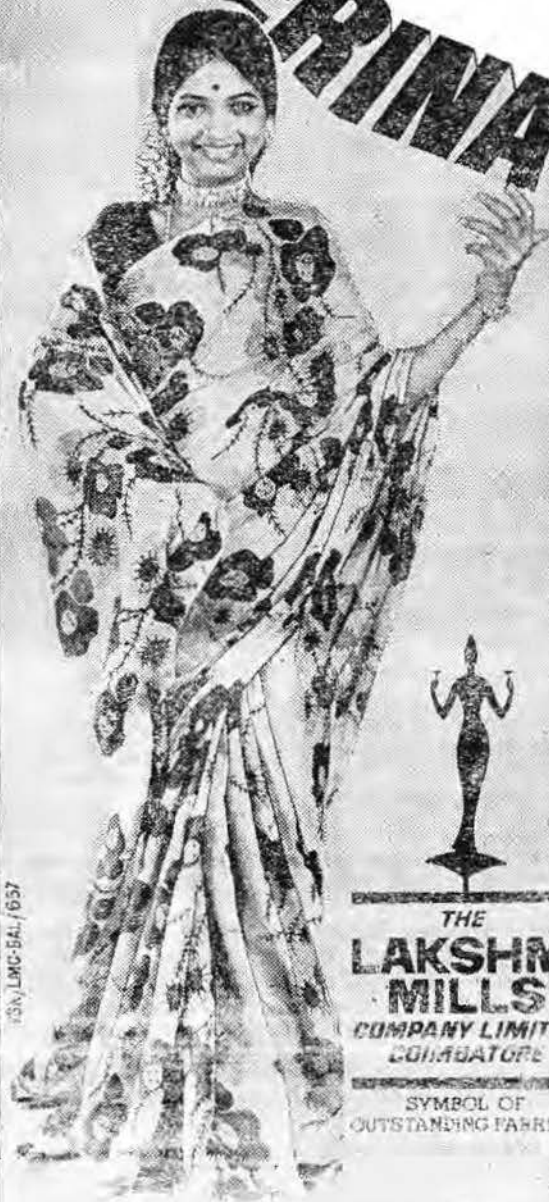
The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay has been in print now for over a hundred and thirty years. In this span of time it has contributed immensely to original research and scholarship in Orientalology. This latest issue maintains the high standards of yore. There are interesting articles by G. K. Bhat on the Vedic view of Teacher Pupil Relation, R. V. Herwadkar on Bakhtiar literature and V. D. Rao on Dadoba Pandurang, the maker of modern Maharashtra.

In a far sighted editorial, Dr. S. N. Gajendragadkar stresses the need to widen the scope of the journal by including in it different disciplines like the natural and applied sciences, humanistic and social studies etc.

RUSI J. DARWALA

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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.

When a fool spoke to Trotsky, he soon realised what a fool he was. When a fool spoke to Lenin, on the other hand, he came away thinking that Lenin was not haughty, but simply delighted to help.

—*The Economist*, February 22.

I am convinced that there are things worse than death, worse than physical death, a bondage of the spirit—one thinks of the Nazi regime.

—Donald Coggan, Archbishop of Canterbury, in *The Economist*, March 29.

The Sarvodaya Movement is led by two persons; one, a saint and the other, a politician. Vinoba is the politician and JP is the saint.

—A Close Associate of Vinoba quoted in *Everyman's*, April 20.

Friedman's Law—Anything the State does costs twice as much as the free market.

—*Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, January 1975.

If by square you mean someone who believes that family life is one of the most precious things there is, and love of a man for a woman one of the most holy things there is, if by that you mean a square I'd be delighted to be as angular as you like.

—Donald Coggan, Archbishop of Canterbury, in *The Economist*, March 29.

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No public sector undertaking is 'topless' any more.

—P. J. Fernandes, Director-General of the
Bureau of Public Enterprises, in
Hindustan Times, April 22.

Enoch Powell is the only man in the Tory party who has been consistently right on economic policy.

—Sir Keith Joseph quoted in *The Economist*, April 12.

China watchers say the Peking government has stopped herding the world into capitalist goats and socialist sheep. They say it now discerns four zones—the imperialist countries (America and Russia), the revolutionary countries (like China), the oppressed third world, and capitalist countries searching for their independence, a definition that embraces the Nine.

—*The Economist*, April 12.

The bigger the slump, the bigger the boom. This grandmother of all postwar recessions will bring in tow the grandfather of all postwar expansions.

—*The Economist*, April 12.

Gradually it began to dawn on us that every Parsi did not consider *Parsiana* to be Ahura Mazda's gift to the community.

—Editorial in *Parsiana*, January 1975.

I have noted that nearly everyone with a name like Jehangir Patel does well.

—Editorial in *Parsiana*, January 1975.

What is left now of the TUC's feeling that Mr. Shelepin was someone worth talking to?

—*The Economist*, April 19.

At 56, Shelepin is a mere stripling in the ruling Soviet gerontocracy. He was the youngest member in the Politburo, where the average age is 66, and probably the healthiest.

—*Time*, April 28.

History will record that, in the battle for the hearts and minds of the unfortunates of Southeast Asia, the US lacked guts.

—Col. Robert C. Rice in *Time*, April 21.

It is most disturbing how history teaches nothing, for when I shout 'Viet Nam' into the canyons of my mind the echo comes back: 'Munich'.

—Gar I. Platt in *Time*, April 21.