

Jayaprakash Naraya

He has been the unofficial conscience-keeper of the nation. He has once again been propelled into the headlines with his movement to stem the rot in our national life with the establishment of "Citizens for Democracy".

What are the forces which have influenced JP? What accounts for his incredible popularity with the masses?

by MINOO MASANI

"I WANT to be left absolutely alone so that I can take rest, do some thinking, writing and reading," said Jayaprakash Narayan in the statement on October 28, 1972, in which he announced that he had retired from public life for a full year which would end on his next birthday on October 11, 1973. Jayaprakash went as far as to say that he should be left alone and would not even reply to any letters.

Then, on April 8, 1974, Jayaprakash was found at the head of an impressive and dignified "silent march" in Patna and, a few days later, he presided over a convention in Delhi which brought into existence a new organisation called "Citizens for Democracy". As I write, Jayaprakash is today one of the most discussed people in the country.

Destined Role

There are those who are glad that, at long last, Jayaprakash has emerged to play the role for which they had always believed he had been cast by destiny. On the other hand, there are those who are angry and are to be seen gnashing their teeth. That their ranks should include Communists and courtiers keen to please was perhaps only to be expected, but it is indeed a pity that the Prime Minister should also have been found amongst the ranks of Jayaprakash's denigrators. Jayaprakash, who is hard and slow to move to anger, found it necessary to react by saying: "My humble submission to Indiraji is not to teach me and other Sarvodaya workers where our duty lies and not to use her proven skill in trying to create a wedge between me and Vinobaji and thus split the Sarvodaya movement."

Be that as it may, the more important question is why and how the pendulum should have swung all the way from complete retirement to complete commitment. How come this change, all within a period of eighteen months?

Perhaps the answer is that there is today in India nobody else with the record

ENEMY OF INJUSTICE. Spiralling prices, shortage of essential commodities, exploitation of the poor, corruption—these are the evils "Citizens for Democracy" hopes to combat.



BLINDING CHARISMA. The word of JP has always been regarded as the truth—and heeded. He has never sought the glare of publicity but is still one of our most enduring public figures. He is seen here with President V. V. Giri. JP has strongly denied rumours that he intends run for President.



and the credibility that make people rally round Jayaprakash as they have done. Not for nothing is he widely regarded as democracy's best—and last—hope.

Into this image have merged various strands which make the man. There is a story that Winston Churchill after World War II, while referring to the two parts of his life that made up his past, told an amused French audience in his inadequate French: "Quand je regarde mon derriere, je vois qu'il est divise en deux parties." Unlike Churchill, one can say that Jayaprakash's past is made up not of two but of four facets. These can be labelled: love of freedom, love of the country, a passion for social justice and a deep religious and spiritual side. These four strands run through his public life—which now extends over four decades and a half—sometimes intertwining, at other times running parallel and at yet others crossing one another.

Jayaprakash's passion for social justice led him into the ranks of the Communists while he was a student in the USA in the twenties.

On his return to India, however, Jayaprakash found a peculiar situation in which the Communist Party here was opposed to Mahatma Gandhi's campaign for Civil Disobedience against British imperial rule. Jayaprakash's patriotism revolted against this. Deviating from the party line, he became by 1932 one of the Secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee.

Cementing A Friendship

My first meeting with him was in that capacity. The Indian National Congress had been declared unlawful. I was then practising as a Barrister in the Bombay High Court but was also operating "underground" on behalf of the then illegal Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. One day a quiet, thoughtful young man came to the Bar Library and introduced himself as Jayaprakash, Acting General Secretary of the AICC. I remember we stood on the verandah, looking at the wide ocean which was then visible but is now obscured by a great many buildings. We discussed various matters of common concern which had brought him to see me.

The next time I met Jayaprakash was in January 1933 in the "B" Yard of Nasik Road Central Prison where he had already preceded me. Since we both had a sentence of a year's rigorous imprisonment, we spent the whole of 1933 together. One could not have had a more charming and considerate fellow prisoner. Though a stranger to the prisoners from Bombay, Maharashtra and Gujarat, he soon won all hearts.

Though we were both socialists of a kind, our backgrounds were very different, with Jayaprakash a staunch Marxist and I a Social Democrat of the British Labour pattern. We argued long and furiously about the relative merits of Democracy vs the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. We decided to push this "theoretical" difference of opinion under the carpet and came out of prison at the end of 1933 to establish the Congress Socialist Party. This was an act of opportunism—though like most opportunism undertaken with good intentions—for which we all had to pay a price for many years to come.

Working with Jayaprakash is, with one exception, a joy. That exception is the pro-



THEY COMPLEMENTED EACH OTHER. Prabhavati Devi, JP's wife who died in April last year, was also a social worker. She was the daughter of a Bihar politician and was a disciple of Gandhiji. She had stayed in Bapu's ashram when JP went for studies to the USA.

blem of securing a reply to one's letters and telegrams! But the issue that had been swept under the carpet kept peering out and at last, in 1939, we parted company over the issue of the United Front with the Communists.

It speaks volumes for Jayaprakash's un-failing generosity that, when I took my letter of resignation to him before publication and asked him to remove from it anything he might feel unfair to himself, Jayaprakash not only said that it was all right but that he would not reply to my criticism even after it was published. Though he felt strongly enough to part company with me rather than with the Communists, he was generous enough to leave my criticism uncontradicted. It is difficult to quarrel with Jayaprakash and I always wonder when some others find it possible to get into a controversy with him.

Jayaprakash's exploits as a revolutionary during the "Quit India" campaign made him a hero of Indian youth. He had been held incommunicado for such a long time that, when I got elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly from Bombay City in 1945, the first speech I made in the Assembly was to demand Jayaprakash's release. I described Jayaprakash as a great patriot and as a gentle person who would not hurt a fly. While complimenting me on my maiden speech, JP sent me a raspberry from Agra Prison by asking the question: "Do you think it right to concede that only those who are too gentle to kill flies should be at liberty?"

When India achieved independence, Jayaprakash, always slow to move, found it somewhat difficult to adapt himself intellectually to the realities of Indian freedom. He was enough of a Marxist to be suspicious about a transfer of power that had not been preceded by a holocaust of bloodshed. One of the casualties of this attitude was that Jayaprakash, along with other Socialists, declined to join the Constituent Assembly of India, where people like me missed him greatly.

JP And Gandhi

Jayaprakash's relationship with Gandhiji and the changes that it underwent make a fascinating study. In the thirties, Jayaprakash was much more critical of and angry with Gandhiji than I was. On the other hand, while I shook hands with the old man, Jayaprakash would bend and touch Gandhiji's feet. I remember I used to tease him about this, but it reflected a combination of two of the four strands to which I have referred earlier and which made Jayaprakash something of a "Hindu Marxist".

Gandhiji on his part was most generous to his critics and both of us had an opportunity to be grateful to him—I when my passport was taken away by the British Government in 1935, Jayaprakash when I tried unsuccessfully to smuggle out a letter to his wife Prabhavati Devi during an interview at Deolali Detention Camp in the early forties.

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Jayaprakash, having ceased to be a practising Hindu, clung all the more tenaciously to the substitute religion of Marxism. When I tried at a summer school we had organised in Sonapat, Bihar, in March 1938 to make him read Eugene Lyon's *Assignment in Utopia* telling the story of his disillusionment as a Communist in the Soviet Union, Jayaprakash refused to read it on the ground that he did not wish to be derailed from his new faith. If he gave up this creed which had replaced his Hindu orthodoxy he was not sure where he would end up.

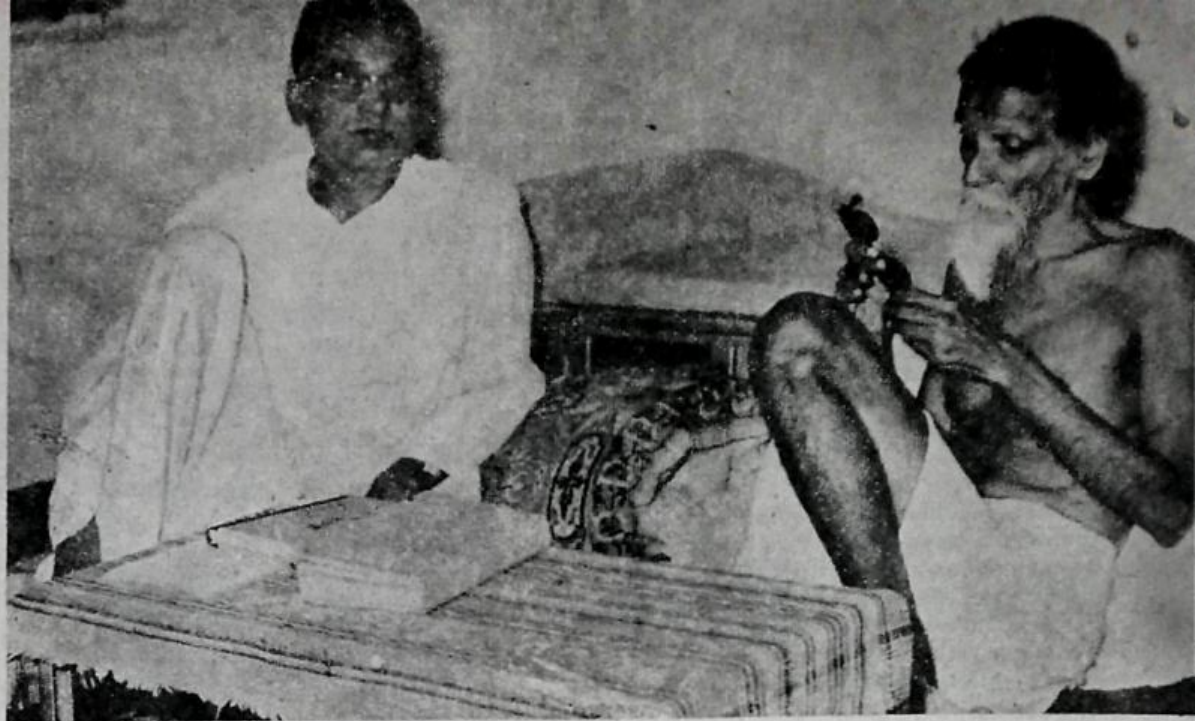
Though greatly shaken by the Communist treachery during World War II embodied in the "People's War" line of the CPI, JP was still reluctant to discard Marxism or to commit himself to non-violence as a creed.

Gandhiji, who looked to him as a future leader of the Indian people, told me once about his sadness at Jayaprakash's indecision in regard to fundamentals. Even so, Gandhiji wished Jayaprakash to be the Congress President in 1947 on the eve of the transfer of power. I felt then that Gandhiji was thinking of Jayaprakash as a countervailing force and a check on Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel who were to head the new government and were in the process of turning their backs on Gandhiji and what he stood for. Gandhiji tried the idea out on Nehru who turned a cold shoulder to it and suggested Acharya Narendra Deva instead. But Narendra Deva's name was vetoed in turn by Sardar Patel and finally Dr Rajendra Prasad was nominated Congress President.

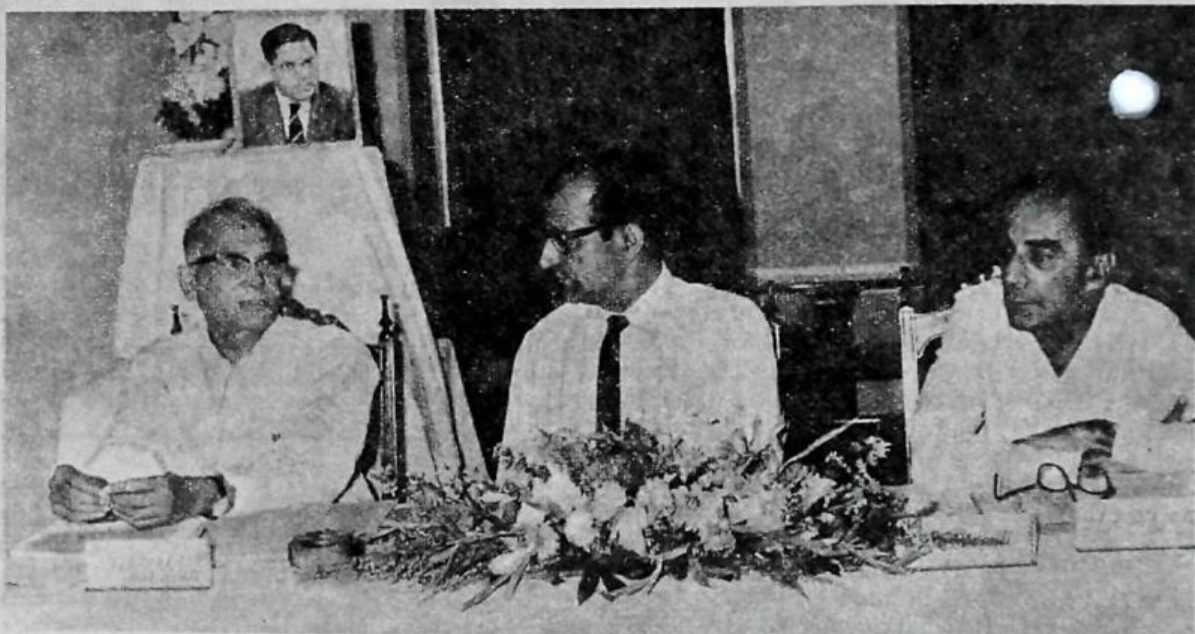
Gandhiji died without witnessing Jayaprakash's conversion to Sarvodaya, though

THEY BOTH HAD THE SAME MENTOR. During his student days, Jayaprakash Narayan was strongly attracted to Marxism. But he condemned the Naxalites (below) for their lack of patriotism in asserting that "Chairman Mao is our Chairman too". In 1970 he went to Bihar to try and neutralise the Naxalite movement there and offer them an alternative to their programme for the landless. He also reprimanded the Government for trying to "punish the family of an alleged, or even proven offender"—in this case the absconding Satyanarayan Singh of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist).

—Mona Chowdhury



THEIR SHRAMDAN IS HARD TO MATCH. The two pillars of Sarvodaya—JP and Acharya Vinoba Bhave. JP has spent the last 20 years of his life in the villages propagating the doctrine of Trusteeship as manifested in bhoodan, sampattidan and shramdan.



"TRUSTEES" OF DEMOCRACY. The author Mino Masani (right) seen with JP and Constitution expert N. A. Palkhivala. Mr Palkhivala is also one of the leaders of the "Citizens for Democracy" movement which aims, among other things, to restore civic rights to the people including a foolproof electoral system and a truly independent press.

the ferment had already set in within. It was not till his fast in 1953 in Poona that Jayaprakash publicly renounced Marxism.

When I interviewed Jayaprakash for *The Illustrated Weekly of India* in June 1972 and asked him whether I was right in holding the view that it was during the 1953 fast that he finally jettisoned Marxism, Jayaprakash's reply was: "I had three weeks to think it over and, as you correctly say, I came to reject the philosophical basis of Marxism—dialectical materialism—because it did not offer me an answer to the question: 'Why should a man be good?' or 'Why should anyone be good?'" It is clear that the spiritual element in Jayaprakash had won out in the end.

Sarvodaya is, in a way, Jayaprakash's third religion. In March 1938, he could not see to what he could turn if he discarded Marxism. In 1953, he found the answer. It was in a way a step back to Hinduism also, though only a partial one.

In a letter to *The Indian Express* of September 20, 1972, Jayaprakash surprised his friends by joining in a controversy over

Hinduism between Dr Karan Singh and Mr Frank Moraes. "What marks a Hindu," he wrote, "are not caste and untouchability alone, but customs, ceremonies, rituals, our worship of stones, trees, animals and the veritable jungle of karma-kand. It is that terribly tangled net which binds and constricts Hindu society and blocks its moral and material development... We Hindus have been prone to take shelter behind the loftiest structures of thought built by some of our distinguished forefathers, and behind that screen we continue to practise a form of religion and rituals that are millions of miles away from the spiritual insights of the Upanishadic rishis. It is this self-deception, that self-patting of our backs, that stands between the Hindu society of today and enlightenment and progress. Let us be frank with ourselves and confess that ours is a decadent society which perhaps needs a new Buddha to cleanse it and release it from the cobwebs in which it is caught."

Jayaprakash has devoted the last two decades of his life in the villages spreading the Gandhian doctrine of Trusteeship which



takes the form of *bhoodan*, *sampattidan* and *shramdan*. Since 1965, he has been the spearhead of the campaign to make Business aware of its social obligations. In 1965 he called an International Conference in Delhi which issued a Declaration on the Social Responsibilities of Business which still holds the fort. The response, except for pioneering by one or two industrialists in Bombay, has been disappointing. When I asked JP while interviewing him on the Chambal-ghati dacoits, about who he found the more intractable, dacoits or businessmen, Jayaprakash replied: "I think it is the businessmen who are the more intractable. That is why we have this creeping disease of Statism in India today."

His disillusionment with politicians was however just as complete because, when I referred to him a suggestion made by a pressman that Madho Singh should stand for Parliament and asked whether in that event he would not be in good company, Jayaprakash demurred and said: "He would probably not be in good company, Minoo, because he would be a *reformed* dacoit!"

Jayaprakash came to judge a man or a group by whether they were sincere in their acceptance of the doctrine of Trusteeship. When the Swatantra Party was formed in 1959, with an acceptance of Trusteeship among its basic principles, he welcomed the birth of the party. He was later to express disappointment at the lack of sincerity on the part of many of its members, and who can blame him?

In 1970 Jayaprakash went to Muzaffarpur in Bihar to use his influence to wean the area away from the Naxalites and to offer a peaceful alternative to their programme for the landless. He tried to argue with the Naxalites: "The central issue of all revolutions is that of power and, though they are all made in the name of people's power, power comes invariably to be usurped by a handful of the most ruthless among the erstwhile revolutionaries. Nor can it be otherwise when power comes out of the barrel of the gun and the gun is not in the hands of the common people but in those of the organised instruments of violence that a successful revolution always throws up—the 'revolutionary' army and its auxiliaries."

BUT ANGER CANNOT BE SILENCED. Thousands took part in a silent march through Patna, led by JP, to protest against the oppressive economic and moral climate in the State. The students' action committee under JP has launched a five-week agitation calling for the dissolution of both the Ministry and the Assembly, the eradication of corruption and a complete overhaul of the education system.



His other objection to Naxalism stemmed from his patriotism. He objected to their anti-nationalism and went on to observe that "certain forms of nationalism may be objectionable such as the aggressive expansionist and neo-colonialist. But Indian nationalism certainly does not belong to that category. Chinese Han nationalism, on the other hand, particularly as expressed in the claim that any territory that at any time was a part or under the influence of Imperial Peking is forever China, is certainly a variety of not only objectionable but dangerous nationalism. All brands of Communists suffer in some measure—the least perhaps the Marxists—from extra-territorial patriotism but the slogan, 'Chairman Mao is our Chairman too', beats them all in anti-nationalism and in toadying to foreign masters."

No Opportunist

A similar concern for fundamentals came to the surface when Biju Patnaik approached Jayaprakash in February 1973 to lead an All-India Front which would provide an alternative to the Congress Party. Jayaprakash promptly pricked the bubble. While expressing his view that no sensible person who had a feeling for human liberties and democracy could be happy about the political situation in India, he turned down Mr Patnaik's invitation and suggested that no such Opposition Front would succeed unless it was "principled and not opportunistic" and that "it must not be consumed by mere negative aims such as 'Indira Hatao' but place before the people a positive policy and programme".

Unlike most "anti-imperialists" in India, Jayaprakash's anti-imperialism begins at home. While a great patriot, he evidently seems to share Edith Cavell's thought that "patriotism is not enough". Jayaprakash has been India's unofficial ombudsman and its conscience whenever our Government has erred. When Pandit Nehru could not make out who was aggressing against whom in Budapest in 1956, Jayaprakash stood up for the freedom of the Hungarians against the Soviet tanks. In 1959 he championed the cause of Tibet against the Chinese Communist invasion. In 1964 he was instrumen-



SERVICE IS HIS CREED. JP served his country selflessly during the freedom movement. In 1952 Jayaprakash abandoned politics and dedicated himself to Sarvodaya. Frail health has not deterred him—he was recently operated on for prostate gland; he is a diabetic and has a weak heart.

tal in bringing about a ceasefire between the Indian Army on the one hand and the Naga National Army on the other. He has never weakened in his advocacy of the right of the people of Kashmir to justice and freedom and, as founder of the Indo-Pak Conciliation Committee, he has worked for friendship between the two neighbouring countries in the subcontinent for many years.

It is only during the last six months that Jayaprakash has got embroiled once again in political controversy. It was in December 1973 that Jayaprakash published some correspondence he had been carrying on with Mrs Indira Gandhi earlier that year. It ended with Jayaprakash confessing to "a sense of utter disappointment and distress" at the lack of response from the Prime Minister. Jayaprakash followed this up by publishing an Open Letter to the Members of Parliament which was published in *Everyman's*, his new journal, on December 29, 1973.

By the beginning of 1974, Jayaprakash had come round to the view that it was time for a change and, on February 3, he was able to look ahead and see that "there is another 1942 movement in sight to change the course of history". Gujarat and then Bihar were soon to prove that he was not a bad diagnostician.

Jayaprakash Narayan is seventy now and has given generously of himself in the service of the Indian people, with considerable damage to his health. The passing away of his wife, Prabhavati Devi, a wonderful little woman, in April 1973 has left him bereft of the affection and care which she bestowed on him.

Will the body keep pace with the mind and conscience in what he has set out to do? Will he be spared to serve India at a time when the country needs him most? One puts these questions to oneself with a tremulous heart—but also with intense hope.

J.P. Is Wrong

—J. B. KRIPALANI

Chaos cannot produce a revolution. At most it will lead to a series of street brawls and riots which will be put down by the police. The reason: there is no "intellectually alive" leadership to divert the masses in the right direction—that is why J.P. is wrong.

SOME time back, the Sarvodaya leader, Jayaprakash Narayan, said, at a public meeting in Kanpur, that conditions in the country are so "disturbed" that there will soon be a "second revolution". I am afraid Jayaprakash is mistaken. Real political and social revolutions have never come about simply because conditions of life have become difficult: there is rioting and the anti-social elements in the population feel free to carry on their depredations unchecked. Revolutions are brought about by a compact intellectual elite, who are united not only as men of letters, but have a distinct and clear social purpose, for the success of which the members of the elite are prepared to suffer and sacrifice. They leave everything else and work for the success of their ideas, principles and plans.

Let us look at some historical examples of successful revolutions. Take our own freedom movement. The British had the largest empire in world history. Some of those who inspired and headed the struggle for the independence of the country were men of great learning, scholars, lawyers, doctors, teachers, etc. They held high positions in their respective professions. They enjoyed large incomes. They lived in aristocratic ease and comfort, in palatial houses, tastefully furnished and decorated. They kept a sumptuous table. Their hospitality was well known.

They left their lucrative professions, renounced their ease and comfort, dispensed with the pomp and show of their previous

mode of living and became virtual beggars, in the service of the country they loved so dearly! They cast off their costly and fashionable foreign garments and donned the clothes of the poor, made of thick and coarse khadi. They even plied the charkha. They travelled third class. They left their homes and families to take care of themselves and went to jail. They never cared for the jail officials. It is the latter who were afraid of their prisoners. The only ambition of the patriots was to dislodge the mighty British empire.

Their love of the Motherland was so great that they made light of their sacrifices and sufferings. It was a great yajna in which they were called upon to participate. They never considered themselves 'political sufferers'.

Jail for them was a pilgrimage or, as the younger among them used to say a 'Sasural', the father-in-law's house. Following their distinguished example and lead, many brilliant students, fresh from Indian and foreign universities, instead of following their careers, made the service of the country their chief and sole occupation. It was then that the masses were stirred to work for the freedom of the country.

Not Borne Out By History

It is true that favourable international circumstances played their part in bringing about the final result. But international forces have helped every successful revolution in history. It was so in America, France, Italy, Russia and China.

At the head were men like Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Adams, Benjamin Franklin, in the US; Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot and the Encyclopedists in France; Mazzini and Garibaldi in Italy; Lenin, Plekhanov, Trotsky and Bukharin in Russia; Mao and Chou En-lai in China. The list is not exhaustive.

It is wrong to think, as do some Marxists, that revolutions are brought about by the sufferings of the proletariat and that, as economic conditions worsen, the chances of a successful revolution become brighter! I am afraid, this view of the Marxists is not borne out by history. Material and social conditions could not be worse than those under which the untouchables lived in India. Yet they produced no social upheaval or revolution! These have never been the creation of the suffering masses. They are too poor and ignorant to see anything beyond their everyday needs and difficulties.

The proletariat cannot lift themselves by the shoestring. But they can and do rise and give an excellent account of themselves,



THE AUTHOR FEELS the country will soon be reduced to a state of confusion where nothing will matter except living. Unless the intellectual elite take a hand the future is very bleak.

when inspired, guided and led by leaders, who themselves stand in the forefront and are prepared to take the risks incidental to a high adventure. With such leadership, the Bhils, the tribals of Rajasthan under Rana Pratap of Mewar, fought as well as any brave and impetuous Rajput.

Could they have fought as well and bravely without the leader, even for their own rights? Under Shivaji, the Mavlas, the Shudra class in Maharashtra, fought as well as any Moghul or Pathan soldiers from the North. Could they have done so on their own? Under Guru Govind Singh every Sikh Sardar was, as the saying went, equal to a lakh and a quarter of Moghul soldiers. Under Napoleon, every subaltern was a commander. Bereft of proper leadership, the masses appear to be an inert and lifeless mass. Paint and paper cannot produce great art. It is the master's brush that produces "the beauty that is joy for ever"!

Peasants' Uprisings

I have given examples of military geniuses in history. Their place in social revolutions is often taken by an intellectual elite, inspired by an idea and an ideal for which they live and breathe and are prepared to lay down their lives. In the absence of such a dedicated elite, it is vain to expect a real revolution, which is the movement of the spirit and not merely a physical event.

Lacking inspiration and guidance from such an intellectually alive elite, with a high social purpose, the masses in their misery, when they suffer from more than usual tyranny and cruelty to which they are used, can produce only a series of street brawls and riots but not a revolution!

Historically speaking, these occasional riots have always been suppressed and drowned in blood. Such were the peasants' uprisings in European countries in the middle ages. In our own country, such riots took place several times even under the British. Every time they were suppressed with unusual cruelty. Today the smallest of governments can suppress such riots without much difficulty. They possess instruments of mass destruction that no amount of rioting can dislodge a tyrannical government from power and bring about a revolution. No more can there be revolutions on the hustings. These were possible when the people and their rulers had the same kind of weapons to fight with.



CAN ALL OF IT BE SWALLOWED BY GANDHIAN LEADERS? Badshah Khan became a forgotten man after Independence. Jayaprakash Narayan (right) has devoted his life to getting a better deal for the common man.

What is happening in India today is a series of riots. They may sometimes oblige the authorities to remedy a minor local grievance of the people, but they cannot usher in a revolution. All the strikes, the lock-outs, the gheraos, the go-slow tactics, the pen-down strikes, etc., are activities of this nature. They can at best set right a local wrong, but usually play a negative and destructive role. They can redress a particular grievance. But they cannot bring about a revolution. There is nothing which is positive, purposeful, inspiring, constructive and dynamic about them to be classed as revolutionary activities.

Those who condemn these violent or apparently non-violent activities are right. The only flaw is that generally those who condemn offer no remedy for the grievances, or they are those whose vested interests are adversely affected by these demonstrations,

whether they are in the administration, commerce or industry. The ones who condemn are not disinterested critics. Often they themselves are the exploiters. As such their wise words have little value!

When such rioting becomes common, the people of goodwill, those who have no axe to grind, but look only to the public good, may raise no voice of protest. They realise that repeated refusal to give relief to the people has created such psychological conditions that words of reason afford no satisfaction to the suffering people. Wise and reasonable words merely add to their anger.

The fact is that the men of goodwill are unorganised individuals. They are silent not because they are averse to change and reform but find themselves helpless to relieve the misery of the people. They see no morally awakened elite which can bring

about a revolution. What the situation in India today demands is a total revolution, which can change fundamental values and which can revalue values.

The question is: "Are there in the India of today intellectuals who can constitute a consolidated elite and initiate a revolutionary movement?"

The answer is: "Yes, there are."

Listening to the many lectures organised by public and private associations, the many seminars which are often held on a variety of subjects, listening to the speeches of the learned professors and teachers and reading the writings of the journalists and specialists on a wide range of topics, hearing about the talk of 'brain-drain', I believe that our country has its fair share of intellectuals at the present time. Some of them are so clever that they can demonstrate the wrong to be the right reason, especially when they justify the official policies and activities. They then display great learning and ingenuity. They can use technical words which the ordinary listener can scarcely understand. He, therefore, concludes that their knowledge is profound!

However, there are some who analyse the present situation in the country fairly correctly and suggest appropriate measures of reform. What these few lack is the necessary inspiration, enthusiasm, the urge and the drive for their cause. They also lack the capacity to unite and organise themselves for a high purpose. They too, like the rest of the intellectuals, are today busy improving their material prospects. They too, so far as the public service is concerned, play a passive role. They are not prepared to make a sacrifice for the uplift of the country and the poor in this land. Their love of the country is exhausted by delivering learned lectures and writing and discussing theses which would benefit the country. They never think in terms of purposeful action. The need of the hour is not to know but to transform.

Dictatorship In Sight?

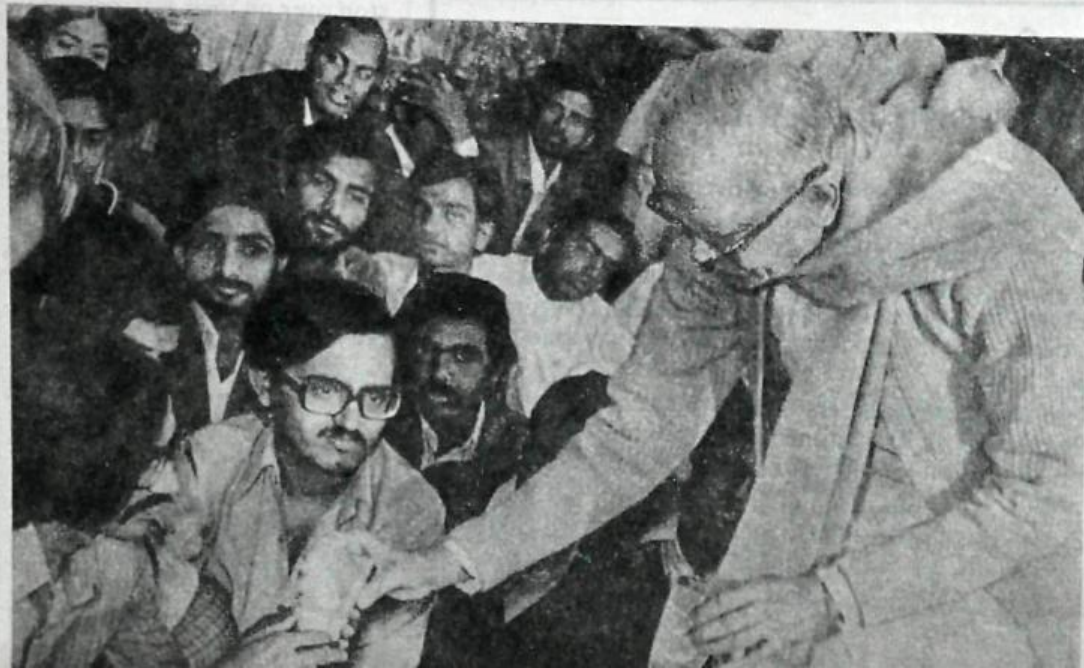
If this state of our intellectuals continues, all their learning and originality will result in sheer indifference, which may lead to cynicism. The fact is that our intellectuals today are isolated individuals. Each one is a law unto himself. They do not cooperate even for original research! Each one seems to think that he is self-sufficient. They are smug and satisfied. They have no other ambition in life but to live well and comfortably. They cannot put in jeopardy the facilities they already enjoy. Are they not having the good things of life—which millions and millions of their unfortunate countrymen lack? Moreover, do they not write often enough about the hardships of the poor! Do they not know and write about the economic, political and social ills from which the country suffers? Do they not give learned discourses, describing the miseries of the masses? Do they not suggest remedies to be worked out, of course, by others?

They are satisfied with the intellectual feats they perform. Some of them even, desert the life of the intellect for lucrative administrative jobs. They manage institutions of research. There they create more confusion than any practical business

—Continued



ALL FOR HALF A KILO OF COOKING OIL—in Gujarat. The scene is the same throughout the country—long queues for measly rations of rice, wheat and sugar. Below: The Sarvodaya leader offers words of cheer and nimbu-pani to students who fasted for "peace" in riot-rocked Ahmedabad.



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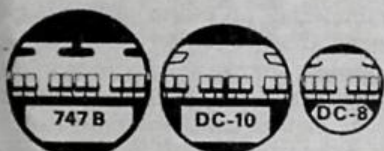
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AIRCRAFT FANS' CORNER

ONE OF THE quietest and lowest-emission wide-body aircraft, the McDonnell-Douglas DC-10, has been evolved into a special long-range version for the "KSSU group" of airlines (KLM, SAS, Swissair, UTA).

Tagged DC-10-30, it can carry 249 passengers, plus 108



Although not much smaller than the 747B, the DC-10-30 has one row less seats: elbow room for the passengers.

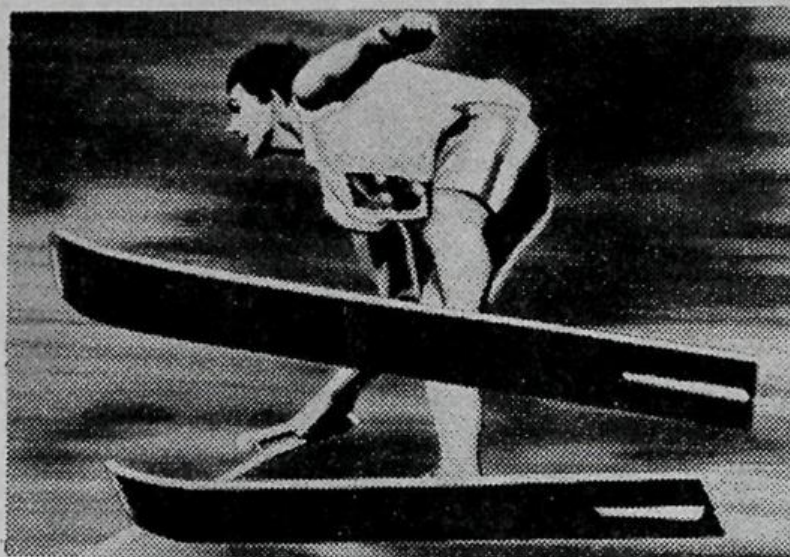
cu. m. of cargo, passenger luggage, and mail. Max. range at full load: 7150 km. Cruising speed: 895 kph. Max. payload: 35 tonnes.

Swissair is using the DC-10 on six of its 12 weekly flights from Bombay to the East and the West.

SWISS NATIONAL DOG GIVEN NAME BY BRITISH

BIRMINGHAM—St. Bernard dogs, which have saved 2000 travellers from avalanches on the Great St. Bernard since 1670, were known simply as Alpine rescue dogs until a show here in 1862, when the breed was tagged with the name it now bears in all languages.

Aptly, it was St. Bernard himself who first said: "Love me, love my dog."



LANDING SEEN AS REAL PURPOSE OF FLYING

GENEVA—Air travel is merely a preliminary to going by river-boat, sleigh, mountain railway, on muleback, foot, skis, by canoe or sailboat to some valley, peak, lake, or historic town.

This is the message of a dozen colour brochures issued by a privately owned European airline* under the collective title of "Alpine Highlife."

The publications also advocate coming to a complete stop by renting a chalet, taking courses, or spending a couple of days getting to know one of 19 cities ranging alphabetically from Basel to Zurich and geographically from Paris to Vienna and Nice to Munich.

Facts not worth knowing

DAVOS (Snowbeach)—The golf course here was laid out under the eye of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, creator of Sherlock Holmes.

Davos is also the scene of Thomas Mann's novel *The Magic Mountain*.

The Editors are sure that travellers to Europe will find these brochures a most valuable aid to wining, dining, sports, excitement, fun and culture.



LEAVING HOME WITH FOND BACKWARD GLANCES

BOMBAY—It has been almost positively established that a traveller on business or pleasure never leaves his country without a fond backward glance.

To help such a sentiment linger pleasantly on board a Swissair jet, the airline specially serves piping hot Indian vegetarian meals to those passengers from Bombay who request the same while booking.

This in no way decries the enjoyment of the other delicious meals served on board. The Editors also commend the airline's delectable Continental cuisine for those whose tastes run à la European.

The decision is indeed a difficult one to make as both types of meals are equally a gourmet's delight.

ANNOUNCING THE "BOMBAY-TOKYO EXPRESS"

Flash! Great news for Tokyo-bound travellers! Swissair now has a DC-10 flight non-stop from Bombay to Tokyo.

The flight, aptly named the "Bombay-Tokyo Express", leaves Bombay every Saturday night. Swissair is the only airline offering this express service, fastest from Bombay to Tokyo.

There is also a "Swiss Express" for those whose goal is Zurich. Every Friday night, a Swissair DC-10 whisks passengers from Bombay to Zurich non-stop.

STATISTICIAN CLAIMS THAT MANY VISITORS TO SWITZERLAND AREN'T



ZURICH—Of all the people who fly to Zurich, Geneva, and Basel airports in the course of a year, close to one million actually don't see Switzerland outside the airport, according to Emil Niggli, a transportation research specialist.

"It seems sort of a pity," Mr. Niggli said, "but on the other hand, the ones who do stop over on their way between the Far and Near East and Europe, Africa, and the Americas find things less crowded."



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Calcutta 444643
Madras 82583
Delhi 44237
Ahmedabad 20401
Bangalore 54862



AFTER AN ORGY OF VIOLENCE, SHOOTING AND DISORDER, CHIMANBHAI BOWED OUT. Students took an active part in throwing Chimanhbai Patel, Gujarat's unpopular Chief Minister, out of office. The State is still under President's rule.



"GIVE US FOOD AT PRICES WE CAN AFFORD!" The agitation was launched by the Nav Nirman Yuva Samiti.

manager would do! They are also jealous of each other's knowledge and ability. However urgent may be the nation's problems, no revolutionary action can be expected of our present-day intellectuals! As long as this attitude of theirs persists, whatever Jayaprakash may say, there is no hope for a revolution.

What then is likely to happen? What is already happening! If there is to be a change, it will only be in the same direction of confusion. This will not be followed by a revolution as the Communists and the Naxalites fondly believe. It may produce a dictatorship.

In India, even a military dictatorship is out of the question. Thanks to the British, the Indian army is divided into different fighting castes and tribes. Only a military genius like Napoleon can unite them under a single leader, and Napoleons are not born every day! As it is, the conditions created by continuous rioting will ultimately produce the dictatorship of one or a coterie of unscrupulous politicians, whose only objective is to dominate, exercise and enjoy power. But they will have one virtue which the present rulers lack. True, they will loot the country, but they will not allow the same liberty to others. They will break the necks of those who presume to copy them! It will not be as it is today 'free for all', the politicians in power, the administrators, the black-marketeers, the adulterators, the smugglers, etc. All these tribes will be put down with a heavy hand.

Are we not familiar with this phenomenon? Did not the British establish dictatorial rule in India? Having done that,

did they not thoroughly exploit the country? Did they allow anybody else to do so? Their own appetites were too keen for that! With all that, they gave us internal peace. They swept away the Thugs, the Pindaris and other anti-social elements, who were freely carrying on their depredations in the country. They kept the scales of justice even between Indian and Indian. For these reasons, our forebears welcomed their rule with open arms. Some of them went into ecstasies over the benefits showered on India by this foreign Raj! They went so far as to describe the British advent in India as a 'Divine Dispensation'.

The British Rule

Even Gandhiji, sensitive to tyranny and injustice, held, before 1919, that the sum total of British activities in India as rulers was for the benefit of India! The liberal politicians, like Gokhale, Phirozeshah Mehta, Srinivasa Sastri and others, held the same opinion about British rule. They were no less patriotic than Tilak, Aurobindo, Lajpat-rai and the Nationalists or the extremists as they were called who held that British rule was a curse on India.

The former, the liberals, knew that the British were bleeding their Motherland white. They wrote learned books about how our industries were destroyed by the British and our wealth drained out of the country. They wrote about the grinding poverty of the Indian masses brought about by this rule. They wrote about the un-British rule of the British. But they were afraid that if the strong arm of the British were unfortunately withdrawn, confusion would again prevail in the country!

Some of them openly said so, to the delight of the Englishman. They held that the country was so hopelessly divided by communal, caste, regional and other differences that it would fall to pieces, if the British Raj were removed! They were afraid of themselves, that is, of their own countrymen. They, as patriots, welcomed British rule! They did think that it was foreign rule which was draining the wealth of the country. Nevertheless, they welcomed it, because, it ensured internal peace in the country. It had followed a long period of confusion, after the break-up of the Moghul empire.

All that ordinary men and women want is some kind of peace, security and stability, so that at least the most elementary and necessary functions of life may be performed. Chaos and confusion interfere with their everyday life.

The present-day confusion, if it goes on for some time more, will make people pray for its end and welcome any dictatorship that will make at least biological existence possible. Religion, philosophy, literature, poetry, music, painting, sculpture and other fine arts are desirable. But they are not more desirable for ordinary humanity than life itself. Confusion and chaos put this in danger.

I am afraid the country will soon be reduced to such a state of confusion, where nothing will matter except mere living, at whatever level, unless the intellectual elite recognise their social responsibility and bestir themselves, leave their ease, comfort and their flesh-pots and take a hand to save the country. Will they do it in time?

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