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# OPINION

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## TEA FOR TWO

TWO very well-dressed men were having tea on a side-lawn of the President's residence at Islamabad. "I disagree, I disagree," exclaimed the younger in a loud voice, "The political situation just won't permit it. We can't leave the prisoners with India, we must get them back. Somehow, anyhow we must." The older man looked coldly at his companion and continued to sip his tea. "Well," said the other "Why are you silent? Just looking superior doesn't help, you know. Damn this tea in any case. What I want is a whisky-soda. Yes, I'll ring for it." "Alcohol at 4.30 in the afternoon doesn't make for clarity of thought, Mr. President. I submit you might defer your drinking until we've examined our situation thoroughly" said the serious-looking, serious-minded Secretary-General. "Oh well, I suppose I had better" remarked the President and then "you've never been exactly popular, have you? I can quite see why, and let me tell you in my own frank Upper Sind fashion, if it weren't for the very parlous state in which we are, I'd much rather you were several thousand miles away."

Shiling sardonically, the Secretary-General said, "That I take for granted, Sir. But to recapitulate, in order to get the prisoners back immediately or very shortly, we would have to recognise Bangladesh, accept the Indian view on Kashmir and the international boundary there very much as the Indians want it—at best as the cease-fire line was before the December war—and sign peace treaties with India and Bangladesh. Even then, there is no certainty that we could get them to hand over all the prisoners and not keep back a thousand and more for trial on war-crime charges. All the persuasive powers you so amply possess, all your charming bonhomie, are not going to get you better terms than that from Mrs. Gandhi, however many your summit meetings and the accompanying mutual hospitality. Why do I say this? Because she just can't afford to settle on anything less. We will be able to get the Russians to take a hand, but even their pressure is unlikely to make her weaken on these points. You'll see why if you put yourself in her place. Most of her people hold that for the first time in a thousand years, they have defeated decisively the ancestral enemy. Are they then likely to let her deprive them of what they are bound to feel is not even their full pound of flesh, nay is much less? And again, if you look at it from their and her point of view, you've got to admit there's nothing unreasonable about their terms. Think of what we would have insisted on having if we'd won, the whole of Assam and of Kashmir and Jammu at least. There'd have been no lack of pressure on you to get the

corridor across India to East Pakistan that so many of our visionaries have always yearned for. And Delhi, that creation of the Moghuls, who would have had a better right to an enclave covering that, than we, the victorious heirs of those great monarchs ? So if, like Clive, most of the Indians, especially the stauncher Hindus, stand appalled at their own moderation, we oughtn't to be surprised. You say, the prisoners back anyhow and at once ! Good, then agree to their three or rather, four points—not unreasonable we may conclude, strictly between ourselves—and within a month at most all the ninety-three thousand will be home. But think first, Do you want to agree, and second, Can you, even if you want to?"

"Of course I don't want to. How can you even ask such a question ? I hate the accursed pigs from the bottom of the heart ; didn't I publicly call them dogs and sons of bitches ? I'd have them grovelling at my feet, if it was in the least possible. Do you know, if by entering into a compact with Iblis himself, I could bring that about, I'd willingly spend eternity in Hell. I won't say that all our people think like me, but I'm sure many do and in any case, at least eighty per cent would be wholly opposed to any settlement of Kashmir on the terms they suggest or to signing the peace-treaties they want. Recognising Bangladesh ? Yes, perhaps, after a couple of years, if they meanwhile let all the prisoners come back—no trials or nonsense like that—and continually stress our common Islamic heritage. But the prisoners we must have back, I insist, yes, I insist."

Said the Secretary-General, "I have often noted, and not without a certain amount of amusement, our magnificent capacity for wanting the cake, the whole cake and not a crumb less, after having eaten it up thoroughly ourselves. My general view of Indians is not less unfavourable than yours. They are by and large just skunks, often with the added disqualification of sliminess. Ugh, that disgusting Dhar ! Truly, Allah is merciful to us, who causes the Empress—you know that's what the Economist calls her—to surround herself with the Kashmiri Mafia she has so carefully gathered. She, of course, knows them and very probably watches them carefully, but with such Mafiosi, once even slightly disaffected, much can be wrought by an enemy. However that apart. The Indian terms are for us quite out of the question, so let us recognise at least among ourselves, that there is as little chance of the return of the prisoners as of a snowball's continued existence in Hell. We've slowly got to educate our people to that, while naturally we make all the fuss we can at the U.N. and elsewhere about the Geneva conventions, Indian tyranny, etc., etc. I need scarcely detail that aspect to such a PR expert as yourself." "I'm afraid you're right," said the President, "But I won't give up hope. I'll work through the Russians. She'll have to do what Kosygin, Brezhnev and Podgorny, all individually and unitedly, tell her, won't she ? She's far too much under their thumbs to be able to just shrug her shoulders at them. And they'll keep on pressing and pressing. You look sceptical ? Why should they for me, you think ? Ah, I have some secrets of which even your usually well-informed sources may not be aware. You'll see." "I wish you the best of luck, Sir," said the Secretary-General, and then with difficulty suppressing a laugh, "I've heard

of course that the study of Russian has become quite a rage in some very exclusive, sophisticated and charming circles, not altogether unknown to you. Well, the best of luck, again I say. But for your personal reassurance in case nothing works, let me point out that the prisoners not being returned means no very great loss to us as a nation. True, fifty thousand of them are fighting soldiers, well-trained. But we've made up for their absence by fresh recruitment, and some officers I trust are certain the divisions we've raised now are probably more formidable than the ones we lost to India. Between ourselves, most of those fellows could have fought a lot better than they did. Thoroughly disgraceful their conduct was too in many parts of Bengal. No, their detention in comfortable prisoner-of-war camps is not something we need sit weeping about at nights. If we can get them back without giving anything, well and good. If not, it may be hard on their families, but it's better that way."

"That's all very well, but life's not just logic and reason, you know. And we've lost Bengal too, Bengal with its jute and foreign exchange and all the resources we got from it, yes, golden Bengal as they rightly call it. I'm sad, very sad about that; Bengal lost, our greatness gone, I often find myself thinking," sighed the President. "Well, since we're talking frankly, let me say that no one played a greater part in our losing it than yourself. If it hadn't been for your opposition after the elections, Yahya Khan would have installed Mujib, the leader of the largest party, as Prime Minister of Pakistan, and no question of a separate Bengal would have arisen. And even later, in Dacca, when Yahya Khan and Mujib were talking, it was you who urged Yahya to break up and adopt strong measures. I think after the military had taken over you left Dacca saying Pakistan had been saved." "Really, really, you go too far," said the President. "You don't seem to realise that if I hadn't opposed Mujib's being made Prime Minister, the Bengalis would have been on top of all of us, those black men, those half-Hindus with their semi-Sanskrit language and wholly Indian songs lording it over us, the true Muslims! None of us could have stood that, so rightly I didn't let it happen. And if as Mujib wanted in Dacca, East Pakistan was to be practically autonomous and manage its own revenue, exchange and trade, where was the benefit to us from it? Not our sonar Bangla it would have been any more. We would have lost, not gained from it. I was prepared to allow the far inferior Bengali types some power, but they wanted to alter the whole balance that had prevailed from Independence. I couldn't let them do that. As for what happened after the soldiers took over, don't blame me. I never asked them to burn, loot, rape and murder, or to fill India with refugees. I wasn't near power even all that time. If I had been, at least I would have said 'This pouring of millions of refugees into India is bound to have a startling reaction. If you want to get rid of these Hindus and troublesome Bengali Muslims, kill them here. Then it is an internal matter; no other country can raise a real row.' After all, the Nigerians wiped off a million or more of their own people, the Ibos, and the Sudanese several million of their own people, the Animists and Christians, for years and those countries still continue one, with the old rulers still in power."

"I follow," said the Secretary-General "what you wanted was democratic government but with East Pakistan a semi-colony; a few places in the Cabinet, some jobs, etc., for the Bengalis, but largely hewers of wood and drawers of water for us. Yes, quite understandable. You know I served there for many years in the old India, and after Partition I remember warning some Prime Ministers, Liaquat, Mahomed Ali I think and at least two Presidents, Ghulam Mahomed and Ayub, that our attitude to Bengal and the Bengalis must change if we did not want very serious trouble there. However, it didn't, and so Bangladesh. Anyhow now that it has happened, it is just as well to realise that it isn't the end of the world. In fact, it may be very much to our advantage, this disappearance of an unnatural appendage. It makes us a more homogeneous, a more truly Islamic nation, all our people with the same ideals and the same culture, and so strengthens us. We'll be able to work better, to fight better, find greater unity and wiser leadership, because we've shed the emotional, rhetorical, egotistic, miserable Bengalis. Wealth, well that is largely a matter of work, proper use of such resources as we have and right policies. We've lost jute, so what? We've still got cotton, we've still got wheat, we've still got rice, we've still got natural gas, and we've got marvellous human resources, men and women and children of whom we can be proud. No if we're sensible, we'll do so well that in five years if the Bengalis want to come back, we'll say to them "Keep well away. Go and join the Burmese instead."

"You know, when you talk like that, I almost begin to believe you're warm-hearted, human, not just a cold, stern, inflexible intellect, assessing problems and coming up with solutions," said the President. "But what about India, that great octopus, as sometimes I see it in my dreams, with its many tentacles gripping every part of our whole small struggling country and just slowly strangling it to death? It hates us, I tell you, it hates us, it longs to put an end to us. Vastly richer, vastly stronger, twice it fought us and twice with our far smaller resources and far weaker forces, we kept it at bay. And now, on the third occasion, with the treachery of some of our own people, the damnable Bengalis, it beat us and dismembered us. I don't think I'll be really happy again, I don't think any of us will be really happy again, until we beat it, beat it thoroughly and properly, annex large areas of it and set up puppet principalities in the remainder. Tell me what do you think about it all?" "Well," said the Secretary-General "in the first place I don't think I agree that India hates us so much as to want to destroy us. Frankly, the Indians haven't character enough even to be good haters over a period. An intriguing, malicious, mischievous lot certainly, but nothing to be really alarmed about. However that the present India must be defeated and destroyed is a proposition I heartily endorse. To whom does India really belong? To us, the present Pakistanis. We are the only legitimate heirs of the last indigenous rulers of all-India, the Moghuls. The Hindus, their subjects, usurped our authority, when the foreign rulers, the British left. And they have in addition had the colossal impudence to beat a section of our Army and hand over a portion of our territory to a rebellious group

from among us. You are quite right when you say this just cannot be borne. No honest Pakistani can be easy in mind until India is humbled and hacked to pieces." "Oh good, very good," exclaimed the beaming President.

"Nor do I think," continued the Secretary-General, "This is going to be impossible or even utterly improbable in the world-situation that is developing. We can justly claim I think that in the field of foreign policy, a field with which I have been connected for many years and in which you have distinguished yourself within a very short time, Pakistan has made rings round India. We have more friends and firmer friends among the countries of the world than India, and we have no enemies. Of the super powers, the stronger, USA, is our very good friend and helper, while the other, the USSR, is not our enemy but continues on good terms with us. The super-power-to-be, China, is positively devoted to us. The Muslim States of the world support and assist us, the non-Muslim States are cordial to us. We are friendly with all, satellite to none. India on the other hand, having become a Soviet satellite, can look to it for assistance, but not to the extent of Soviet antagonism towards us. China it has made its implacable enemy, and the US it has so exasperated, often by pressing the Russian view even more than the Russians themselves do, that the President detests it, the Pentagon and the CIA distrust it, the State Department is very cold to it, even the academic world questions its bona fides. It lies down on the floor to let Iran, the Arab and African States walk over it. All they do is to brush their boots upon it while moving forward to shake hands with us. Its immediate neighbours Ceylon, Burma, its near-neighbours Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Cambodia, Laos, South Vietnam would be glad to see disaster come on it. Even North Vietnam, whom, following the Russian lead, it supports through thick and thin, has been very cold to it and backed our point of view on Kashmir. Britain, our former ruler, takes a more kindly view of it but is far from likely to be a friend in need to it with us on the other side. I think we can fairly hold that India has with loud talk and little else, so mismanaged its foreign relations that no state except the Soviet Union will put itself out for it, however great the peril in which it finds itself." "Quite correct," said the President.

"Be it further noted," continued the Secretary-General, "that India is not a nuclear-weapon power and even recently has contemptuously declined to become one. Its only defence reliance is on conventional weapons. For defence against nuclear weapons, its sole hope would be Russia, with which it has a treaty to consult in case of need. Now we hate India, and we also have only conventional weapons and are weaker in strength than India. But China, who, it is not going too far to say, loves us, also hates India, and China has operational nuclear weapons from atom bombs to middle-range ballistic missile hydrogen bombs. It has developed inter-continental ballistic missiles, and will have a stock-pile fully operational by 1975. Today it could lend us atom bombs to destroy every large city and military installation in India, rendering the country leaderless and unable to resist an invasion in force by us from the West

and the Chinese from the North. We would have to drop the bombs from our planes. Since in December these were able to reach Agra time and again, clearly there would be no difficulty about that. But if today this happened, Russia would immediately pour on China its own hydrogen bombs, destroying utterly its entire nuclear capacity, making it in fact defenceless and helpless. So China cannot take action against India, either through us or directly. The whole position will change by the end of 1975, for China will then be able to present to Russia almost as great a threat as Russia can to China. In other words, Russia's nuclear power in its capacity to aid India will be completely neutralised. America, the other super-power, now China's friend, would also scarcely come to the aid of a Russian satellite India, which had shown itself totally unfriendly to it, more especially since China would then be able to reach with its nuclear missiles American cities as easily as Russian. God willing then Mr. President, revenge will not elude us for long. Three or four or five years, what after all are they in the life of a nation? I am over sixty now, but you are still young, and even if I should not see it, you I am sure will still see the happy outcome of our efforts, India on its knees to us." "May your mouth be filled with sugar! What a hap-hap-happy day it will be. No, God will not be so unkind as not to let either of us not see it. We shall both see it together, God willing" said the President. "And meanwhile?"

"Temporise, appear to compromise, postpone, delay, something today, another tomorrow, while Tikka nibbles away in Kashmir, and objections are raised at the United Nations, in every capital, etc. Never come to the point, though really it wouldn't matter even if we signed their treaty, since when the time came we could act all the same. However our people would feel very defeated and disturbed and that we must avoid by every means we can. Here's a real challenge to your diplomatic skill, Sir, keeping all the balls in the air all the time," said the Secretary-General. "And we must continue strengthening our ties with all our friends, especially China and the U.S. Japan too we must cultivate assiduously and of course Russia. We must make it feel we are truly close to it, so that the Russian chiefs begin to wonder if they haven't after all put their money on the wrong horse." "Quite" said the President, "you must arrange all this".

"And at home, if I may be permitted, unity, justice, industry and decency. We have four main strands in this country, Panjabi, Sindhi, Pathan and Baluch, all Muslim fortunately. We must so behave that to all of them it is more important to be Pakistani, than their own particular brand. How this can be achieved depends on how the Government deals with the particular problems of each. Justice includes also honesty and speed in Government and administration, Sir, which needs a lot of effort and personal example. And decency again you cannot have without personal example. Decency in a country means a decent life by its rulers, including no drinking of alcohol, keeping of the full fast, etc., if the country is Muslim." "Ah, well," said the President, rising and shaking hands warmly, "I'm glad we've had this chat. It's cheered me up considerably, though of course the last point of your discourse one can follow only gradually. Not today in any case, nor tomorrow, you know. And just one

thing. Relax, now and again, please relax, or you may not be here to see the great day we spoke about, and that would be a real tragedy. Good bye now and God protect you." "And you too, Sir" said the Secretary-General, and as he walked out, muttered to himself, "The damned amateur! Still, he's not too bad, and after all one has to work through his like for the country's sake. Thank God, he's not corrupt personally as they say all of them are in India and most have been with us. Why in God's name is simple honesty and decision on merits so difficult for these people? Well I suppose it is family too. My father was a Superintendent of Police and he was completely honest, and so has my brother, also of the Police in his younger days, always been through his long and very distinguished career. And I? Have I always been honest? Yes, I think so, personally at least, though of course some queer work falls to a diplomat's lot, and one does things for one's country's sake which one certainly would not for one's own," and he got into his waiting car.

## VIEWS

P. Kodanda Rao: It is very desirable that the qualifications of "HINDU" in the Benares Hindu University, and "MUSLIM" in the Aligarh Muslim University should be eliminated, and they be called "Benares" University and "Aligarh" University, like the Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Allahabad Universities. It is understood that the Benares Hindu University is not exclusive to Hindus, and the Aligarh Muslim University is not exclusive to Muslims, either in the management, staff and students. Most of the curricula in the Sciences and Arts are common, as in other Universities, except that the Benares University has a Department of Hindu Religion, and the Aligarh University a Department of Muslim Religion. But both these Departments are said to be open to students of both communities.

If the object is to promote the study of Hindu and Muslim religions respectively, it will be better served if the concerned Departments are provided in as many Universities in India as possible so that all those interested need not go to Benares or Aligarh, but can go to the nearest University, thereby enabling a much larger number of students and of every community to study the subjects.

It is also desirable that these Departments should be financed by the respective Communities, and the Government should finance the study of secular subjects only.

The elimination of the qualifying terms "Hindu" and "Muslim" in the Benares and Aligarh Universities will also emphasise the secular polity of India and promote national integration.

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Shatuntala Paranjpye : Re. Dr. Adranwala's view in *Opinion* of 2-5-1972, the element of compulsion is now hardly ever enforced, mostly because such people (mentally sick) now go in for voluntary sterilisation. The main point is that they are incapable of caring for their children and therefore should not be allowed to have any.

OPINION, May 16, 1972

Again Leprosy and T.B. may not be hereditary but is it not necessary to segregate children from the parents if they are not to run the risk of congestion? Why then allow them to be born? Will it not be a greater hardship for such children to grow up than for the parents not to have them?

G. K. W.: Hurrah for the joys of the Communist paradises of our time Here are some of the latest: "The head of the Czech Association of Journalists disclosed today that 1,212 newsmen lost their jobs or were demoted in the wake of the 1968 Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The figure does not include journalists in Slovakia, as the "Czech Union of Journalists" only comprises newsmen in Bohemia and Moravia.

Josef Valenta, chairman of the association, told its congress in Prague that '225 aggressive rightwingers were expelled from the union, the memberships of 150 of their closest fellow-travellers were terminated, and 807 left the ranks of the union' after the invasion and the subsequent ouster of liberal party chief Alexander Dubcek.

Since membership in the union reflects the standing of newsmen with Communist party organisations, an expulsion or termination of membership marks the end of a journalist's career."

V. T. Sreenivasan: The report that 24 Indian troops were killed and 56 wounded by a treacherous attack by Pakistan in Kashmir does not at all augur well for the so-called "summit" between the Indian Prime Minister and Pakistan's President. Bhutto has also proclaimed again and again that he would not agree to the trial of war criminals. How, then, did Mr. Dhar return with the impression that the summit would be a success?

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