



## Ashoka Archives of Contemporary India





## Overview

Ashoka University with its focus on Liberal Arts and Sciences has, in a short span of time, established itself as a premier university in the country by providing every student a rare intellectual experience. Taking a step further in this direction, the **Ashoka Archives of Contemporary India was set up in 2017** for archiving and preserving primary source material for the study of modern and contemporary history of India.

## Mission

To create a leading centre for historical and social sciences research in India

### Record Contemporary History

- o Focus on segments of contemporary Indian history
- o Archive documents of **India's economic reforms initiated in the 1990s**, new social and cultural movements, **wildlife, environment and climate change, women's histories**, and the rise of new business groups

### Enable Research

- o Archives to enable research by **faculty and students at Ashoka University**
- o Archival documents and catalogues of collections to be made **available to scholars worldwide on Ashoka website**

### Academic Engagement

- o Facilitate engagement with academics based on content and research
- o Encourage students **to appreciate primary source material** through innovative use in curriculum



HIGHGROVE HOUSE

11th December 1995

Dear Mr. Singhai,

It was so good of you to remember my birthday recently. I was enormously touched by your very kind birthday wishes which I only received after my return from a rather hectic official visit to Germany where I spent my birthday - hence the reason for the awful delay in responding!

I was enormously touched by the generous things you said in your letter. Perhaps, as you say, there is some inner reason for the strong feelings I have for India... Bless you for your thoughtfulness. Yours ever Charles

My dear Mr. Singhai  
I was very sad to read your letter. It is a pity that the order was a day too late. But who knows, it may be as you say, a good thing. At any rate you are saved a lot of wasteful expenditure. Really, between the lines I see you are not happy. You are taking your rest rather enforcedly. How I wish I could be of any

help to you!  
Our mother Kamraj had not spent his head doubtless I believed I more than scouted the others had right. It was a blessing in disguise. Yours affectionately  
C. Rajagopalachari

प्रतिष्ठित विभागा  
केंद्र प्रमुख,  
राज्यपाल -  
६/१२/७६

प्रिय चण्डी प्रसाद जी,  
जरा खाना आशा है कि आप  
परिवार सहित अब तक अच्छी तरह  
कीजिए। मैं आपकी चर्चा के बारे में सुनने में  
की बातें हैं, मैं आपकी बातें सुनने में  
की बातें हैं, मैं आपकी बातें सुनने में  
अब आपसे मिलने का सुकल वाला जो कि  
हम यहाँ मिलने का सुकल वाला जो कि  
मैं आपकी चर्चा के बारे में सुनने में  
मैं आपकी चर्चा के बारे में सुनने में  
मैं आपकी चर्चा के बारे में सुनने में



9, KENSINGTON PALACE GARDENS,  
LONDON, W.8.  
1-5-91.

आदरणीय मित्र चण्डी प्रसाद जी,  
मैं आपकी चर्चा के बारे में सुनने में  
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मैं आपकी चर्चा के बारे में सुनने में



राष्ट्रपति  
भारत गणराज्य  
PRESIDENT  
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

New Delhi,  
May 30, 1991.

Dear Dr. Singhai,  
Your letter dated May 9 reached me only on May 29. You are aware of the trauma which the country is passing through. We are practically immobilised and praying for a stable government.

I had a good talk with Mr. Kinnock, the leader of opposition when he called on me. I explained to him the lawless acts of terrorists against innocent citizens and the absence of condemnation of such atrocities by the Human Rights Organisations. The plea for human rights on behalf of these monsters serves only to encourage them to indulge in more dastardly crimes. For once Kinnock was on the defensive.

You may call for the minutes of the meeting from the External Affairs Ministry.

Despite the void created by the death of all of us progressive and I have confidence in the pull through the democracy in the Movement.

TIRUCHENGODU GANDHI ASHRAM,

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI,  
(DIRECTOR-FOUNDER)  
GANDHI SEVA SANGA SOUTH  
INDIAN BRANCH

RY. STN.  
SANKARIDRUG,  
S.I.RY.

Dr. L.M. Singhai  
High Commissioner  
India House,  
Aldwych,  
LONDON W.C. 2

Date  
July 27. 10. 92

by death...  
I read the concluding part of your speech at Lucknow Exhibition in Bangalore with amazement and unbounded pleasure at your unexpected frankness, & his Ganga Standy must be rubbing his eyes.

When the question of your untouchability resolution comes, you should secure the consent of Shree and

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI 6 1 2 58

60, BAZLULLAH ROAD  
TYAGARAYANAGAR  
MADRAS 17

My dear Subbarayan, Thank you for your  
generous letter. I am recovering slowly  
very slowly. I hope your wife's health  
is at least fairly good. Once more thank  
you both  
hope there will be a good  
arrival to me tomorrow  
Yours truly  
C. Rajagopalachari

POST CARD

ADDRESS ONLY  
4 JULY 42  
9 15 A.M.



S. P. Subbarayan  
Nanga Parbat  
Ahrappet  
Madras

New Delhi  
3. 4. 1957



My dear Ratha Krishnan,  
Thank you for your letter of  
this morning. I have met Maulana Azad also  
and he has told me of his talk with you,  
and that finally you agreed to our request.  
I am very happy and grateful to you for this.

In view of the public interest and  
speculations being made, it would be desirable  
for us to issue a brief statement of our request  
and your acceptance - A similar statement  
will be made about the President. I hope  
you agree -

Thanking you again,  
Yours truly  
Jawahar

SEVAGRAM  
WARDHA (M.P.)

सेवाग्राम  
वर्धा होकर (मध्य प्रांत)

1 7 42  
1957

Dear Subbarayan - I rejoice to  
find that no harm is done. I  
hope he is not the worse for his  
experience. I can understand  
what the release must mean  
to Ratha Bai. Rajaji is here.  
I fear the differences persist.  
But they don't matter so long  
as the hearts are true. With  
Bapu



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### Private Papers (2017-2019)



#### **Dr. S. Radhakrishnan**

(1888 -1975)

*Philosopher-Statesman*

*Vice President of India (1952-1962)*

*President of India (1962-1967)*

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan papers, a huge treasure trove of historical material dating back to almost a hundred years with very rare and original documents have been donated by Smt. Indira Gopal. These mainly relate to his stint as King George V Chair of Mental and Moral Science at Calcutta University, 1921-32, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics and Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford University, 1936-1952; Vice Chancellor of Andhra University, 1931-36, and Banaras Hindu University, 1939-48; Indian representative at UNESCO, 1946-52, Ambassador to USSR, 1949-52; and his tenure as Vice President (1952-62) and President (1962-67) of India. Besides correspondence with his contemporaries, the collection also contains his handwritten notes, articles, lectures and speeches on religion and philosophy. Also, rare books, journals, pamphlets and photo albums. The papers cover the tenure of three Prime Ministers and open up new avenues of study and research.



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**Dr. Manmohan Singh**

*Distinguished Economist*

*Prime Minister of India (2004-2014)*

The collection consists of soft copies of speeches, articles, audios, videos and photos of Dr. Manmohan Singh's academic and political career. These were compiled by his daughter Daman Singh and donated to Ashoka Archives by Dr. Manmohan Singh himself. The papers are an important source material for the study of economic reforms initiated in the 1990's and the subsequent political, social, economic and foreign policy changes that took place in the country.

Gopalkrishna Gandhi has donated papers related to his tenure as High Commissioner in South Africa and Sri Lanka, and as Governor of West Bengal. Besides, he has also given a most valuable collection of the papers of Mahatma Gandhi and P. Subbarayan; C. Rajagopalachari, Devadas Gandhi and Harilal Gandhi; also material collected for his books namely, *Dara Shikoh*, *My Dear Bapu*, *A Suitable Boy* (translation), *Gandhi is Gone: Who will guide us now?* A rare collection of the papers of Mahatma Gandhi, H.S.L. Polak and his associates received from E.S. Reddy too form a part of the papers.



**Prof. Gopalkrishna Gandhi**

*Diplomat and Academic*

*Governor of West Bengal (2004-2009)*

*Distinguished Professor of History and Politics,  
Ashoka University*



Sir Radhakrishnan  
 356A Woodstock Rd  
 Oxford  
 England

Uttarayan  
 Santiniketan, Bengal  
 March 18th, 1955.

My dear Radhakrishnan,  
 Kindly excuse the delay in replying to your letter of 11.5.55. Mr. Kripalani had misunderstood me; all I wanted him to do was to ascertain from you if you were going to use my article in your collection. I said he could use it for the Quarterly if you did not require it for the book. But your letter has settled the matter.

I have to take permission from Millans for a portion of the article on my and have already written to them on the matter by air mail. There will be no trouble about it, I am sure.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Rabindranath Tagore

- I am sending you under separate cover, a copy of "East and West", being an exchange of letters between Gilbert Murray and myself.

Letter is also duly returned  
 with appropriate regards  
 Madras



VICE-PRESIDENT  
 INDIA  
 NEW DELHI  
 1/4/57

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 1st. I have no doubt that you have taken steps into account in reaching your decision to abstain from standing any propaganda machine campaign, and I deservedly no conviction. The prospects of a party of honor like the Bharat Ratna should be held for more than a few years to help you to set up your own...

Dear Sir Radhakrishnan,  
 many thanks for your letter, pamphlet and the volume with essays. I have given them a careful perusal and I like the way you have written the book. My expectations were more than met. I have no more to say to the

left over by our ancestors. We have been too lazy to understand its value for us & the world. I am glad therefore that you are successfully trying to interpret Indian ancient wisdom to the West.

As a  
 sign  
 wardha.  
 Yours truly,  
 Mahatma Gandhi  
 13/5/57

My dear Radhakrishnan,

Thank you for your letter of this morning. I have met Mr. Madhava Govind and he has told me of his talk with you and that finally you agreed to our request. I am very happy and grateful to you for this. In view of the public interest and speculation being made, it would be desirable for us to issue a brief statement of our request and your acceptance. A similar statement would be made about the Bharat Ratna. I hope you agree - Thanking you again,  
 Yours truly,  
 Jawaharlal

10/9/57

Dear Sir  
 attached by the  
 her objection to the appointment  
 of Mr. Adams and I have  
 to be accepted





Dear Mr. President

On the occasion of your election as President of India I send my greetings and congratulations. You take with you to this great Office a world-wide reputation as a philosopher and statesman and the high regard of many people in many lands. I remember your journeys to Britain and mine to India with sincere pleasure, and greatly value the friendship which springs from them.

I hope that the coming years may be rich in achievement and happiness for you, and in prosperity and peace for the people of India.

Your sincere friend  
Elizabeth R

11th May, 1962.

*Doctor Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan*





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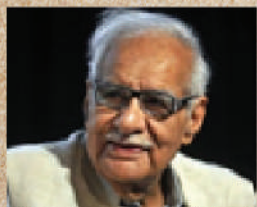
The papers give a glimpse of Girish Karnad's literary and cultural activities and his constant endeavour to forge a link of past with the present in his writings. Besides correspondence with A.K. Ramanujan and many film and theatre personalities, there are papers of the Nehru Centre in London and Guthrie Theatre, Minneapolis, USA; personal diaries, manuscripts/typescripts/drafts and translation of plays such as *Tughlak*, *Rakshak Tagdi* and *Tipu Sultan*; and photo albums/DVDs. Correspondence with his parents and personal family photographs also form a part of the collection. The collection is valuable source material for a critical study of contemporary Indian literature, art and culture.



**Girish Karnad**

(1938-2019)

*Kannad Playwright and Author  
Actor and Film Director*



**Kuldip Nayar**

(1923-2018)

*Veteran Journalist  
Diplomat and Parliamentarian*

The papers of Kuldip Nayar comprise 67 bound volumes containing articles contributed by him between 1968 and 2016 to almost all leading newspapers including the *Deccan Herald*, *Daily Star*, *Sunday Guardian*, *Statesman*, *Indian Express*, *Tribune*, *Dawn*, etc. The articles contain comments on all the major figures and events in Indian and world politics.

Rakshasa-Tangada  
Play Marathi  
Feb 2018

०२५५ - ५०५३

(०२५५)

१०८५ ५१०५६

१०८५ २०१८

Sarsh

विक्रम रॉय जी. ११०५६

# THE MAHABHARATA

## FOR S4C

(Draft III)

By Girish Karnad

21

1988  
202 Days  
29th Week  
FRIDAY  
JULY

6 am Start with the Durga Nyasa...  
Anita Kuma + Haren Ganga...  
Khangar of Nyasa...  
Then go to...  
3:30 Start of Khanga...  
Then...  
at coffee...  
I want to...  
Then the...  
was...  
OK...  
india...



Writer = Padma Bhusan Girish Karnad  
Translator = Prof. Suresh Kumar Panda

January

1988

29

Friday

I take the kids by bus to school.  
11:30 Pritimina Conference into Navin & Manta about the play. Then go to the theatre with Manta & Haren & Refusien to meet Sri Suresh and other people. Sri is supposed to help get me published. Sri seems totally lost - confused too. Marked for me.  
2:30 Pick up by Suresh on the way go to Sri's place for my glasses. Went to the Kalai's. Then home. The Zurich human plays tough about paying for fixing the car. Suresh totally spoiled Suresh's mood. She is brought up as usual departs the whole down.  
5:45 Prashant's nap. Suresh is our shopping party tomorrow.  
Suresh, Shefi + Anje ring to ask me to speak to the Chief Minister about Rajiv's made Committee of Forests at DWR.

1988

January

30

Saturday

Today is the party for Refusien's friends for his birthday. The day starts very tensely - Suresh is still ripped about the Unmanned & the Car. I've told her not to worry - it's only the money, actually nothing and has lived by money, so will manage. I start off by cutting discussion for the well hangings - Suresh has decided it is the theme for the party. But soon she gets into the car - as the day takes off. She wants balloons filled with helium - discover a shop on the 5th - rings me - asks me to ring Anita to take her to the balloon shop. I buy a good 28 helium-filled balloons. 2:30 - 6:30 Refusien's party. It starts off as a success because the balloons at the the act we had. A husband + wife team - Ajay. With bleached hair. They do Geoffrey Gove - have a josses - sjet + box. He says they have about 15 shows a week - as the 9th day Xmas. At 6:00 + tips a tidy ending.

January	February	March	April	May	June
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31

July	August	September	October	November	December
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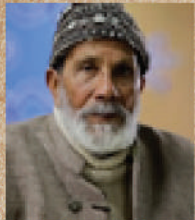


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**Chandi Prasad Bhatt**

*Gandhian and Social Activist  
Environmentalist*

The papers of Chandi Prasad Bhatt provide a deep insight into the history of Chipko movement in Reni, Valley of Flowers and other regions of Uttarakhand. The collection (1966-2018) includes correspondence, reports, articles, press clippings relating to various activities of Dasholi Gram Swarajya Mandal, Lok Soचना and Sahayta Kendra, forest conservation movement, Uttarakhand Andolan, Birla Mandir controversy, and environmental impact of hydro-electric and big dam projects in Himalayan regions.

The papers of Dr. M.K. Ranjitsinh, the prime architect of the Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972, are a valuable source material for the study of the awareness of conserving wildlife in India and policy formation in the early 1970s and 80s. The papers (1967-2017) reflect his passion for saving the endangered species and mainly relate to saving from extinction the Kashmiri stag, Indian bustard and Manipur brow-antlered deer; Tiger conservation programme; wildlife and forest management; conservation of national parks and wildlife sanctuaries of India; and the activities of National and State Boards for Wildlife.



**Dr. M.K. Ranjitsinh**

*Wildlife Conservationist*



**Dr. Divyabhanusinh Chavda**

*Wildlife and Nature Conservationist*

Dr. Divyabhanusinh Chavda's multidisciplinary approach to environmental and zoological conservation based on linguistics, genetics, visual culture, art history, natural history, archaeology and zoology make his private papers a rich source of methodology in social science and humanities. The papers include his correspondence with activists, bureaucrats, technocrats, zoologists, genetic scientists, and also his handwritten notes and manuscripts.



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**Nalni D. Jayal**

*Mountaineer and Environmentalist*

The papers (1970-2008) of N.D. Jayal comprise a rich material on environmental issues of great importance. These include papers on the establishment of the Ministry of Environment in India, conservation of soil and water resources, Tehri Dam PIL, grant to environmental organizations, projects of The Himalayan Trust, IUCN, and INTACH.

The papers (soft copy) of H.K. Dua consist of 16 volumes comprising articles written by him for the *Tribune*, *Hindustan Times*, and other dailies (1981-2016) on significant national and international events and almost all the major figures in Indian and world politics including Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, Benazir Bhutto, Ronald Reagan, Yasuhiro Nakasone, Gorbachev, and others.



**Hari Krishan Dua**

*Diplomat, Parliamentarian  
Newspaper Editor*



**Prof. Vir Bharat Talwar**

*Former Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University  
An active leader of the Jharkhand Movement*

Prof. Talwar has donated papers (1954-2012) related to the Jharkhand movement and its activists. The collection comprises pamphlets of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha; handbills; printed notices for meetings/rallies; copies of various memorandums submitted to the Government on the formation of Jharkhand state; handwritten notes on Jangal Andolan in Singhbhum; and some issues of *Jharkhand Varta*, *Shalpatra* and *Social Change*.

REPORT OF TASK FORCE  
ON  
SAL BORER ATTACK IN MADHYA PRADESH



PROJECT TIGER  
1990



FLORA  
OF  
MELGHAT TIGER RESERVE

BY

An  
Annotated  
Bibliography  
On



- By -

M.G. GOGATE Conservator of Forests  
&

A.G. MAHAJAN Assistant Conservator of Forests  
Revised & Enlarged Edition  
1994.

FO NEP 72 002  
Field Document No.4

TERAI SHIKAR RESERVES  
Surveys and Management Proposals

BHAGWAN MAHAVEER WILDLIFE  
SANCTUARY



TECH. CELL FOREST DEPARTMENT GOA





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Smt. Kamala Singhvi has donated a large collection of the papers of her husband Dr. L.M. Singhvi including his correspondence as U.K. High Commissioner with eminent contemporaries. There are papers on Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, London, 125th birth anniversary celebrations of Mahatma Gandhi, Guru Tegh Bahadur Singh Foundation, Diaspora, Pravasi Bharat Divas, IGNSA, Jnanpith, etc. Also, addresses and speeches at various national and international forums, photos and press clippings of his varied public life.



**Dr. L.M. Singhvi**

(1937-2007)

*Scholar-Statesman*

*Jurist, Diplomat and Parliamentarian*



**Praful Bidwai**

(1949-2015)

*Journalist*

*Political Analyst and Peace Activist*

Praful Bidwai's papers, spanning four decades of his notable journalistic career, comprise research papers, articles, reports and documents on themes such as the environment and sustainable development, political economy, science and technology, ethnicity, politics and social conflict, communalism in India, nuclear weapons, disarmament and peace, human rights, UNDP reports, global economy, etc.

Rahul and Vijay Verghese have donated a large collection of the papers of their father B.G. Verghese. The collection consists of articles, reports and lectures related to media, environment, national and international affairs and his correspondence with the proprietors of the *Hindustan Times*. The collection also includes photographs of various events like the Teri Silver Jubilee Series and visit to Bhutan and Bangkok and some personal family photographs.

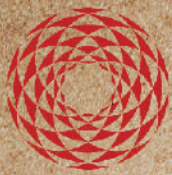


**B.G. Verghese**

(1927- 2014)

*Veteran Journalist and Author*





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**Justice A.S. Anand**

(1936-2017)

*Chief Justice of India (1998-2001)*

Justice A.S. Anand donated a large collection of his speeches delivered as Chief Justice of India, Judge, Supreme Court of India, Chief Justice, High Court of Jammu & Kashmir, and Tamil Nadu; and as Chairman of National Human Rights Commission. Photo albums containing photographs of his activities (1997-2007) also form a part of the collection.



**Rauf Ali**

(1954-2016)

*Wildlife Biologist*

The papers of Rauf Ali comprise correspondence with his contemporaries, handwritten notes, manuscripts, drafts of articles, some issues of rare journals, FERAL annual reports, and several volumes of *Journal of Bombay Natural History Society* edited by Salim Ali.



**Jagat Narain Lal**

(1894-1966)

*Freedom Fighter*

*Minister, Bihar Government*

A small collection of Jagat Narain papers comprise soft copies of his two jail diaries (1928 onwards), extracts from Tilak's *Gita Rahasya*, and photocopy of a book recounting his jail years, *Light Unto a Cell* (first edition, 1947).



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**Prof. Pramod Kumar**

*Historian*

*Pioneer in the field of Oral History*

The papers of Prof. Pramod Kumar are a rich source material for the study of freedom struggle in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The collection (1984-2017) consists of articles, seminar papers and copies of his unpublished research papers on the history of Andaman Islands. He has also donated a most valuable collection of CDs of the interviews of freedom fighters and prisoners in Andaman Islands.

Prof. Deepak Kumar has given soft copies of the primary and secondary source material (1925-1999) collected by him from various national and international research centres and archives for his research on medicine, public health, and medical history of India and the books published.



**Prof. Deepak Kumar**

*Historian and Author*



**Prof. Anita Rampal**

*Educationist and Author*

Prof. Anita Rampal has donated a set of statewise NCERT model textbooks (1960-2014) drafted for different disciplines and standards in Hindi, English, and vernacular languages. Also, includes Government of India's publications on Education, NCERT Report on National Curriculum, and sample textbooks of Biology for Higher Secondary Schools.

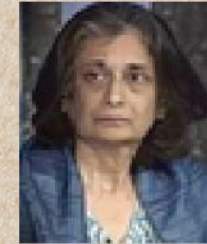


**Prof. Barbara Harriss-White**

*Economist*

*Emeritus Professor of Development Studies,  
Oxford University*

The papers of Barbara Hariss-White are valuable for the study of market economy in the South Asian subcontinent (1973-1993). These comprise mainly field surveys, data, statistics, analysis and research papers related to All India Co-ordinated Research Project on Dryland Agriculture in Tamil Nadu and West Bengal, international grain trade, Indian food markets, political economy of markets, growth centres and market regulations.



**Ritu Menon**

*Feminist Writer and Publisher*

The papers of Ritu Menon consist of articles on cartographies of nations and identities, rehabilitation of women and children, transfer of population and evacuation organization, communalism and nationalism. Her personal diaries and handwritten notes also form a part of the collection. Besides, she has donated very rare and invaluable recording of interviews conducted in India and Pakistan of the women affected by partition.



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**Profs. Devahuti**

(1929-1988)

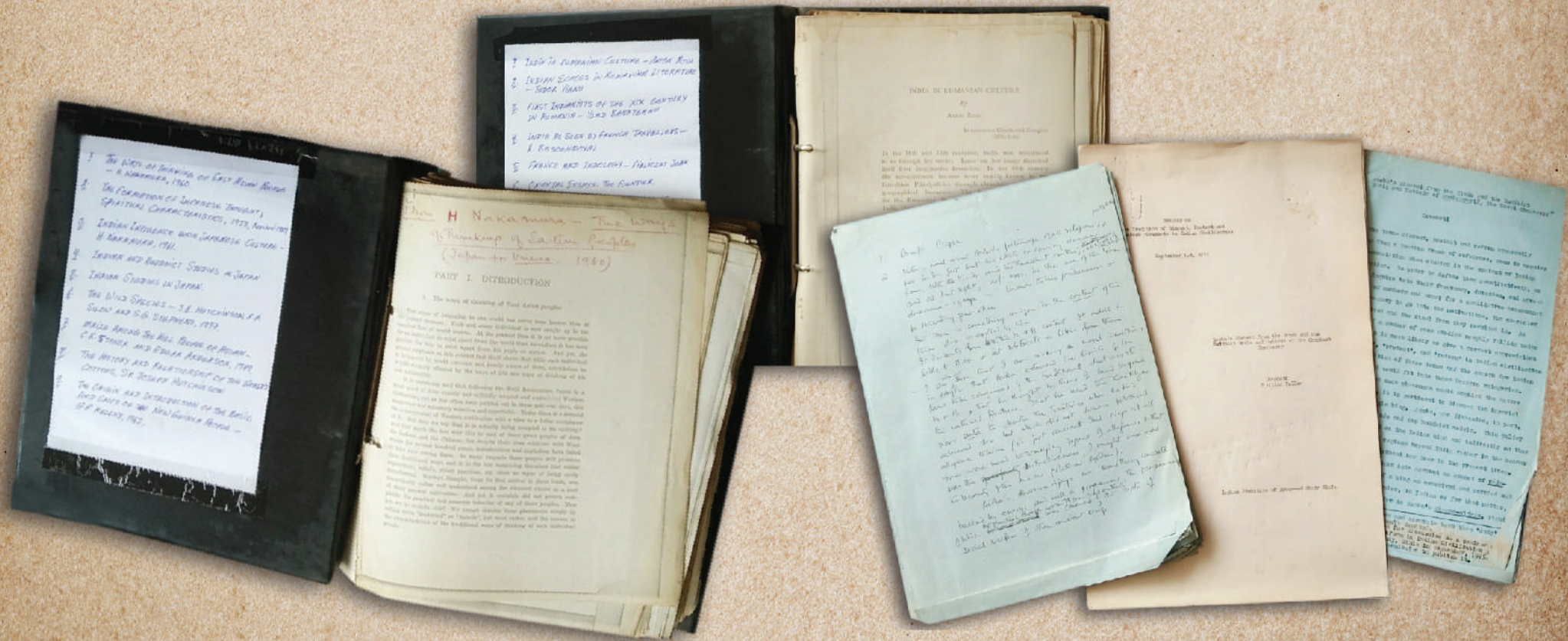
&

**Damodar P. Singhal**

(1925-1986)

*Noted Historians and Authors*

The papers of Profs. Devahuti and Damodar Singhal donated by Veena Sachdev were collected from Manana Devahuti-Damodar Library, New Delhi. The collection consists of research material on ancient Indian history and civilization. There are manuscripts of books, handwritten notes and articles on the status of women in later Vedic age, practice of sati and folk women as depicted in ancient Indian art. The collection also contains pamphlets and issues of some rare journals.





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**Hazards Centre (NGO)**

The collection (2002-2105) comprises mainly reports, booklets, and posters issued by the Hazards Centre for various environmental awareness and industrial and urban resettlement programmes. These include *An Environmental Examination of the Jaunpur Relocation Site*, *A People's Housing policy*, *A report on deaths in Bawana Resettlement Colony*, *A report on the Fields visits to Holambi Kalan Phase –II*, *Citizen's campaign for preserving Democracy*, *Health at whose cost?*, *Delhi Metro Rail, Restructuring and Efficiency*, *The case of Delhi Transport Corporation*, *Health at whose cost? A report on the status and services of RMPs in Delhi*, etc.

**The Hoot Archive**



The Hoot Archive of journalism was donated by The Media Foundation. It is now hosted by Ashoka University. The digital archive comprises media-related articles, media monitoring, special reports and research studies covering watching media in the subcontinent for over 16 years.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

6 12 54

*Dear Sir, Thank you for your  
reply*

60. BAZLULLAH ROAD  
TYAGARAYANAGAR  
MADRAS 17



MOST IMMEDIATE

Dr S. Radhakrishnan,  
Vice-President,  
2, King Edward Road,  
New Delhi.

*To himself*

*Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.*

PRIME MINISTER,  
INDIA.

*9 H...  
North...  
Thank you for your letter. I will  
try to get you the information you  
want.*

18 6 59

*The...  
His...  
The...*

# A wishful thinking

Between the lines

By Kuldip Nayar

There is an element of wishful thinking in the various political assessments made after the death of Sanjay Gandhi. Some see the emergence of a national consensus. Others see the weakening of the Congress-I. Empirical evidence does not support such assumptions. But, since the country tends to prefer soft options and to remain within the contours of the prevailing system, there are obvious limits to the alternatives that are available.

What does a national consensus mean? Apparently, it means the convergence of different views at a single point. The country will benefit from such a unity of sentiment. But, is it possible?

how does one, for example, reconcile Mr Charan Singh's distaste for industrialisation with the needs of modernisation? Even if such differences are glossed over in the name of consensus, how does it help? They are bound to come up in one form or other to retard the country's progress.

There is nothing to suggest that Mrs Gandhi is anxious to reach a consensus with the Opposition parties. When Mr Mohan Dhanra, a man of compromise by any standard, met her a few days ago, he found the impression that she was obvious that she would like to have the Opposition's cooperation on selected issues, but not in the sense of a national consensus.

In fact, Mrs Gandhi may have the credentials to lead a coalition government.

precedented calumny, concerted baseless propaganda and harshness to which he was subjected." One of her lieutenants has declared that those who have attacked Sanjay Gandhi will not be admitted to the Congress-I.

The demand for a national consensus has also provoked the reply that Mrs Gandhi alone is tall enough to be an acceptable leader in the country. There are calls for rallying behind her from the most unexpected quarters. The groundswell of sympathy for her personal approach is considered an opportune time for a call to close the ranks. This approach implies that opposition to Mrs Gandhi is something personal. This is not the case. There are serious differences over her policies and functioning.

The other cry is for a national Government. V. V. Giri made the proposal a few days before Sanjay's death. It has no merit.

## Kanha National Park



Indigenous of Paddy Narm:

**Maritime Research Centre,**  
Indian Maritime Foundation,  
Pune



Contact Details:  
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## China's hardened posture

Political commentary

By H. K. DUA

KULDIP NAYAR

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China's hardened posture... Prime Minister to visit China for talks with Mr Deng Xiaoping and Mr Zhao Ziyang. The Chinese invited Mr Rajiv Gandhi even before he became Prime Minister. Another invitation was extended to him through the Vice-President, Mr Yao Yiliang, when he visited New Delhi to attend Indira Gandhi's funeral. The Chinese Prime Minister received the invitation when they were in New York recently, believing that only a major political thrust given at the summit level can resolve the boundary question.

New Delhi has not been keen on a visit by the Prime Minister to China that is a study to resolve the boundary question. Many in South Block believe that a visit that does not lead to a reasonable and just settlement of the boundary question will be counterproductive. Essentially, New Delhi Indian relations with progress on the boundary question. The Chinese, on the other hand, have always been of the view that only improved relations will lead over a time to a boundary settlement.

Whether Mr Rajiv Gandhi decides to visit China remains to be seen. He is credited with having asked some of his advisers to have another look at China policy. Much will depend on the outcome of this review. The review must unravel why the Chinese Prime Minister struck an amiable posture at the United Nations and why the delegation Beijing sent to Delhi later adopted a hard line.

To solve the latest Chinese puzzle, Delhi may be awaiting a report from Mr Shiv Shankar, a former Minister, on the visit of Mr Rajiv Gandhi to Beijing.

INTIMATE INTERTEXTUALITY: A. K. Ramanujan's Theory and Practice of Translation, and Postcolonial Cosmopolitanism

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