

L'INDIADE
OU
L'INDE DE LEURS REVES
(The Indiad or The India of Their Dreams)
by Hélène Cixous

This play tells the History of India from 1937 to 1948 : the final stage in the struggle for Independence against the British Empire and in particular the terrible fratricidal war which tore this vast country apart and bloodied the birth of two nations, India and Pakistan.

The characters, the heroes and knights of this story are our contemporaries, notably : Pandit Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mrs. Sarojini Naïdu, together with all those "nameless ones", Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, whose bodies, lives and possessions were threatened by Partition.

(Introductory text to "The Indiad or the India of Their Dreams")

"If I may, I'm going to speak to you about love ..."

Triumph and mourning

On August 15, 1947, the Indian nation was born. For thirty proud years the Indian people have fought to bring about this day of their hearts' desire. Thirty years through bondage, prisons, great waves of non-violence.

A long passion. Thirty years of anger and of dream "When we are free, from the old India will be reborn a young India who..."

There comes at last the blessed day, comes freedom, up goes the saffron, white and green flag. But the sky is black and behold, the day of joy is a day of mourning. Now the smile has dried on the lips and bitterness inflames the eyelids.

For fate has played one of its tragic tricks on India. The day of birth is also a day of wrench and farewell.

On August 14, 1947, Pakistan was born. Carved out of the great Indian body, pulled out of the continent's breast by a ruthless operation, this new country surges from India in a torrent of blood. Everything is separated, villages, rivers, families communities. The Punjab in the west and Bengal in the east are severed alive down the middle.

And the Indian soul writhes with sorrow and rage.

For a long long time, knives have flown. Never has History ever lived such a great exodus. In one day, ten million people are uprooted. Death is innumerable.

So, was this celebration you were preparing for us? This Partition? And yet, through the tears, a sad joy nevertheless, since we are independent.

Why, how, through what error, madness or necessity did this division come about?

Everything had begun with one sole hope that united and carried 400 million Indians of all religions and of all castes towards the same goal.

Then little by little the ark cracks, division strains the immense body, breaks open the joints.

An adverse dream arises and opposes union. And the dreamer of this dream of division is a haunted, powerful, inflexible man. A man chiselled out of will power, Mohamed Ali Jinnah. And now here he is gathering a part of the Indian Muslim community around him, here is Jinnah the atheist calling Indian Islam towards a Promised Land, Jinnah, the one who doesn't believe in Allah. Fate juggles with sincere hearts.

A second story stands in the path to Independance. The fighters stumble forward. Their own brothers attack them. It is a serum breathlessly making for the goal.

If at first the dream didn't quite believe in itself, it soon gained self-assurance. In

The knights of the absolute

The unheard of trait of this story is that right in the middle of the twentieth century, there were human beings living near us who belonged to spiritual eras which have been over for us for hundreds and thousands of years.

Men like Gandhi and Abdul Ghaffar Khan are biblical and comparable to Abraham who had both men and their Gods as interlocutors. And as in their earthly lives they comply with heavenly law, they are sometimes as incomprehensible as the stars.

And Jawaharlal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad, Sarojini Naïdu, Vallabhbhai Patel, live in a high region of honor. Following their adventures is like finding ourselves in front of an Indian Round Table. Not one is (smaller) nor greater than the other. O, Golden Age of loyalty and respect !

But when these characters with their souls formed from mythical makings encounter reality, what is the outcome ? Gandhi's saintliness meeting up political motives ? Nehru's idealism with historical contradiction, what is the outcome ?

India gave birth to this play. This play is not India, it is only an Indian molecule, a footprint.

This is a play about human beings, about the hero and the dust, about the combat of the angel and of the beast inside each of us.

Here there are all kinds of human creatures, angels, saints, women, men, small ones, great ones. And their souls change sizes according to trials and tribulations.

But I'll never finish saying everything this play couldn't carry on its human back.

There are not
the camels that pass by like dreams
the cow asleep in the middle of the road
the little baby goats of Durgapur that caper about right in the heart of highway inferno
the vultures on the dome of the tomb of Lhodi Garden
the sleepers like countless dead on the pavement in front of the Calcutta train station
and some of them are dead
the three hundred famished bergers flocking like birds around the soup pot in
Nizamuddin and who show us what human hunger is.

The rats that pass through the exalting cadence of the Kawali.

The legless child who runs like the wind on his crutches on the esplanade of the Red Fort.

The miserable royal women who carry pyramids of bricks on their little heads up there on the trembling top of the bamboo scaffolding

The mysteriously beautiful children who are like tears dropped from the eyes of the miserable gods up there.

The ravens as numerous as the Indians

The passenger in the train from Bhalpur who asks : say you, tell me, where do you think God resides ?

The guru of the Bauls in the ashram planted in the Bengali rice fields who has really understood Gandhi's thought.

Théâtre du Soleil

Cartoucherie. 75012 Paris. Tél. 43.74.88.50

Hélène Cixous

Born in 1937 in Oran, Algeria.

"Docteur es lettres" : *"L'Exil de James Joyce ou l'art du remplacement"*, 1968.

Since 1968, Professor at the Université de Paris VIII, which she contributed in founding.

In charge of the "Etudes Féminines" Research Center at Université de Paris VIII.

Seminars at the Collège International de Philosophie.

Publication of over thirty works (essays and Fiction), among which :

- *Dedans*, Prix Médicis 1969 (Des Femmes, 1986) ;
- *Limonade tout était si infini* (Des Femmes, 1983) ;
- *Le Livre de Prométhée* (Gallimard, 1983) ;
- *Entre l'Ecriture* (Des Femmes, 1986) ;

Theater

- *Portrait de Dora*, Théâtre d'Orsay, 1975, directed by Simone Benmussa.
- *Le Nom d'Œdipe*, opera libretto. Music by Boucourechliev. Performed at Cour du Palais in Avignon, 1977. Directed by Claude Régy.
- *La Prise de l'Ecole de Madhubai*, Odéon, Théâtre de l'Europe, 1984. Directed by Michèle Marquais.
- *L'Histoire terrible mais inachevée de Norodom Sihanouk, Roi du Cambodge*, Théâtre du Soleil, 1985. Directed by Ariane Mnouchkine.
- *L'Indiade ou l'Inde de leurs rêves*, Théâtre du Soleil, September 1987. Directed by Ariane Mnouchkine.

Théâtre du Soleil

LANDMARKS

- 1964 Birth of the company created by Ariane Mnouchkine and a group of actors and technicians coming from university theater.
- 1964-65 **Les Petits Bourgeois** by Maxime Gorki, adapted by Arthur Adamov, directed by Ariane Mnouchkine, scenography by Roberto Moscoso.
Performed at the M.J.C. de la Porte de Montreuil (Paris) and later at the Théâtre Mouffetard (Paris).
Attendance : 2,900.
- 1965-66 **Capitaine Fracasse** by Philippe Léotard, based on a novel by Théophile Gautier, directed by Ariane Mnouchkine, scenography by Roberto Moscoso, costumes by Françoise Tournafond.
Performed at the Théâtre Récamier (Paris).
Attendance : 4,000.
- 1967 **The Kitchen** by Arnold Wesker, adapted by Philippe Léotard, directed by Ariane Mnouchkine, scenography by Roberto Moscoso.
Performed at the Cirque de Montmartre (Paris).
Attendance : 63,400.
- 1968 **A Midsummer Night's Dream** by William Shakespeare, adapted by Philippe Léotard, directed by Ariane Mnouchkine, music by Jacques Lasry, choreography by Ursula Kubler, scenography by Roberto Moscoso, costumes by Françoise Tournafond.
Performed at the Cirque de Montmartre (Paris).
- L'Arbre Sorcier, Jérôme et la Tortue** by Catherine Dasté, based on a story written by school-children from Sartrouville (suburb of Paris), directed by Catherine Dasté, music by Jacques Lasry, scenography by Jean-Baptiste Manessier, costumes by Marie-Hélène Dasté.
Performed at the Cirque de Montmartre (Paris).
Attendance : 47,000.
- 1969 **Les Clowns**, collective creation of the Théâtre du Soleil, directed by Ariane Mnouchkine, music by Teddy Lasry, scenography by Roberto Moscoso, costumes by Christiane Candries.
Performed at the Théâtre de la Commune d'Aubervilliers (suburb of Paris), the Avignon Festival and the Elysée Montmartre (Paris).
Attendance : 40,000
- 1970 End of August : the company settles at the Cartoucherie de Vincennes.
- 1970-71 **1789**, collective creation of the Théâtre du Soleil, directed by Ariane Mnouchkine, scenography by Roberto Moscoso, costumes by Françoise Tournafond.
Performed at the Piccolo Teatro in Milano (Italy) and at the Cartoucherie.
Toured in 1971 : France, Martinique, Lausanne, Berlin, London, Belgrade.
Attendance : 281,370.
- 1972-73 **1793**, collective creation of the Théâtre du Soleil, directed by Ariane Mnouchkine, scenography by Roberto Moscoso, costumes by Françoise Tournafond.
Performed at the Cartoucherie.
Attendance : 102,100.
- 1974 **1789**, film based on the play by the Théâtre du Soleil, directed by Ariane Mnouchkine with the Théâtre du Soleil.

PROGRAM

THE CONGRESS PARTY AND THEIR ENTOURAGE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Maulana A.K. Azad
Sarojini Naidü
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mahatma Gandhi
Abdul Ghaffar Khan (named Badshah Khan)
Ghani Khan, his son
Hermann Kallenbach
Kastourbaï Gandhi, Gandhi's wife
Aruna Asaf Ali
Sushila Nayar
Manu, great-niece of Gandhi

Georges Bigot
Maurice Durozier
Myriam Azencot
Serge Poncelet
Andrés Perez Araya
Simon Abkarian
Henri Bonnithon
Bernard Martin
Clémentine Yelnik
Sophie Piollet
Silvia Bellei
Catherine Schaub

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

Muhammad Ali Jinnah
Liaquat Ali Khan
Sir Mohamed A. Iqbal
Fatima Jinnah, Jinnah's sister
Dina Jinnah, Jinnah's daughter
A messenger

Jean-François Dusigne
Paul Golub
Asil Rais
Catherine Schaub
Nirupama Nityanandan
Asil Rais

THE PROVINCES

A.K. Fazlul Haq, Chief Minister of the Bengali Unionist Party. Muslim.
Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Chief Minister of
the Punjab Unionist Party. Muslim.
Tara Singh, Sikh Minister of Punjab
A minister of Congress next to the Provincial Government of Bihar
Another minister of Congress next to the Provincial
Government of Bihar

Maurice Durozier

Simon Abkarian
Mario Chiapuzzo
Simon Abkarian

Zinedine Soualem

ENGLAND

Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, from 1936 to 1943
Sir Archibald Wavell, Viceroy of India, from 1943 to march 1947
Lord Mountbatten, Earl of Burma, last Viceroy of India,
from March to August 1947
Lord Mountbatten's aide-de-camp

Mario Chiapuzzo
Christian Dupont

Asil Rais
Mahmoud Shahali

ROADS AND STREETS

Haridasi, wandering hermit. Bengali.

Baya Belal

The North-East Frontier

Goulam, a Pathan
Tughlak, a Pathan
Masud Khan, a Pathan Schoolteacher

Zinedine Soualem
Jean-Louis Lorente
Mahmoud Saïd

Light	Jean-Noël Cordier	and	Laurence Aucouturier Carlos Obregon
Wood	Claude Forget	and	Thierry Meunier Jean-Louis Lacarra
Stone, plaster, ciment, bricks and marble	Victor Costa	and	Joaquim Pinto Serra José Vasconcelos Eugênio Sampaio Ricardo Vasconcelos Fernando dos Anjos José Pais Patrice Andreopa
Metal	José Vasconcelos	and	Antonio Ferreira
Construction of musical instruments	Jean-Jacques Lemêtre	and	Corinne Hache Daniel Lefebvre Claude Forget Selahattin Oter
Bhârata-nâtyam	Maîtreyi		
Physical preparation	Marc Pujo		
Linguistical and phonetical work	Françoise Berge		
Stage manager	Christian Dupont		

With, for all this work, the unqualified but indispensable help of :

Simon Abkarian, Myriam Azencot, Baya Belal, Silvia Bellei, Duccio Bellugi, Georges Bigot, Beate Blasius, Mauricio Celedon, Pedro Celedon, Mario Chiapuzzo, Christian Dupont, Maurice Durozier, Pascal Durozier, Jean-François Dusigne, Fabien Gargiulo, Paul Golub, Pedro Guimarães, Eric Leconte, Jean-Louis Lorente, Ly Nissay, Maîtreyi, Bernard Martin, Nirupama Nityanandan, Andrés Pérez Araya, Sophie Piollet, Serge Poncelet, Bernard Poysat, Asil Raïs, Mahmoud Saïd, Mahmoud Shahali, Catherine Schaub, Zinedine Soualem, Clémentine Yelnik.

Administration	Jean-Pierre Henin
Public relations	Liliana Andreone Naruna de Andrade
Maecenas campaign	Claire Duhamel
Press relations	Sarah Cornell
Poster and program	Tatoo : Laure Prédine Cécile Rusterholtz

L'Indiade ou l'Inde de leurs rêves

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ACT I

Scene 1 - Bombay, 1937-1938.

After a lengthy stay in London, the leader of the Muslim League, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, returns to India. He is warmly greeted by the leaders of the Congress Party (Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Sarojini Na  du, and Maulana Azad), who see in the Muslim League and in Jinnah a powerful ally in the struggle for independence from the British. But Jinnah quickly makes his hesitations known : taking into account the Muslim's minority status in the primarily Hindu India and in the face of the overwhelming electoral defeat of the Muslim League by the Congress Party in the 1937 provincial elections, Jinnah demands that the League be recognized as the sole representative of the Muslim people. The Congress leaders strenuously object, arguing that the Muslims themselves in great majority voted for the Congress and that the Congress Party espouses a secular politics with both Hindu and Muslim followers and leaders, such as the Maulana Azad here present. Mrs. Sarojini Na  du tries to reason with her old friend : "You know very well, Jinnah Saheb, that the Congress is not a Hindu Party. The Congress is Indian. It asks no-one what his caste is, what rites he practices. That is its strength and its pride."

At this point, Mohammed Iqbal, the great Muslim poet rises to speak and in his impassioned speech expresses the bitterness of exile for the Muslim people who, once ruled the subcontinent, but now stooped "to pick up from the dust the trampled Koran." He leaves : for Iqbal, there can be no hope for union or conciliation. Nehru, his anger tempered by the sight of the great man leaving, offers to compromise. But when Jinnah asks, as proof of the Congress' good faith, for two ministerial posts in the provincial government of Uttar Pradesh, the tensions flare up again. Nehru invokes the danger of sectarian violence : "It would create a precedent. First it will be the Sikhs, one day the Tamils and after that the Bengalis."

Jinnah leaves and with him go the hopes for the union. Haridasi, the wandering Bengali, closes the scene : "Two sons, one mother, each is prouder than the other. It's war."

Scene 2 - 1939. In the Himalayas. The Indo-Afghan frontier.

The Pathan leader and Gandhian disciple, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, enters surrounded by his followers. He will try to legislate the blood feud of two of his tribesmen : don't they understand the uselessness of their fraternal struggle ?

When Mahatma Gandhi arrives on his first visit to this high province of India, Badshah Khan explains the problem. Gandhi reveals his vision of non-violence : "Do you think it is enough to change your shirt when you want to change the Universe ? You have to change your heart." But when the Mahatma makes clear his ambition to spread his mission of peace to a Europe in upheaval, his old friend from South Africa, Hermann Kallenbach, a Jew of German origin objects. Gandhi offers a startling proposal : only if the Jews make a collective self-sacrifice and commit a mass suicide by leaping off a cliff will the world's attention be shifted unto their plight. Kallenbach cannot accept this idea. He leaves but returns almost immediately with the Congress leaders. The English have declared war against the Germans. As part of the British Empire, India is also at war.

Nehru makes an eloquent plea to willingly join the English, for, after all, the fight against Nazism is just and necessary. But, he continues, only if the English grant India immediate independence will they become allies. If the English refuse, the Congress Party will resign from their governmental posts and obstruct the war effort.

Gandhi cannot accept this plan : to fight in any circumstance is for him inconceivable, a violation of his sacred principle of non-violent resistance. But when Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad indicate their support for Nehru's policy, Gandhi is left alone with Badshah Khan to consider the future. He is joined by his wife, Kasturba  , who counsels him to accept defeat gracefully. Gandhi agrees, but what if both he and Nehru were wrong ? "A third person comes and he reaches the summit first."

Then, a Punjabi peasant Rajkumar arrives and asks Gandhi for help. His neighbor is stealing his grain. What should he do ? Kill the neighbor ? The Mahatma counsels patience : when the war is over he will come and help Rajkumar with his problems.

Scene 3 - 1940-1942. New Delhi.

The Congress leaders return from their meeting with the British envoy Sir Stafford Cripps. Instead of Independence, Cripps has proposed that a federation of Indian states be established after the war. The Congress leaders cannot accept this proposition : a federation will be a dangerous step towards a violent partition of India into separate ethnic and religious nations. Furthermore, their resignation from their government posts has made them powerless and has set the stage for Jinnah's rise in influence. The English Viceroy Marquis Linlithgow enters and threatens that if the Congress dares any further acts of civil disobedience, they will be considered Nazi collaborators and be thrown into jail. Gandhi's arrival electrifies the Congress leaders into action. He explains his plan for massive non-violent action against the British : "The hour has struck for us to part company... I proclaim the end of the British Empire and the birth of the Kingdom of India.... Quit India." The leaders leave knowing that their revolt will send them to prison. Alone, the Viceroy exposes his hate for Gandhi and his support for Jinnah.

ACT III

Scene 1 - Bombay, 1946. At Jinnah's House.

Jinnah disclaims all responsibility for the massacre of 5,000 Hindus by Muslim rioters in Calcutta. His call for Direct Action was taken too far by Suharwardy. Haunted by visions of his impending death and by memories of the loss of his wife Rani, he worries that his dream of Pakistan is slipping away from his fingers. Fatima counsels him to take the course of apparent legality, to enter into the Provisional Government and, from the inside, to disrupt it.

Jinnah's daughter, Dinah, informs her father that she is in love with a Parsi, Ruston Waddiah. But Jinnah will never accept her marriage to a non-Muslim. How can he, who does not believe in God and who was himself married to a Parsi, say that, she asks ?

Hardened by his scene with his daughter, Jinnah decides to enter the Provisional Government and to sow his poisonous crop from the inside.

Scene 2 - New Delhi, Banghi Colony.

Gandhi arrives in the untouchables' slum quarters. He will heal the wounds of division between Hindu and Muslim.

Three rickshaw drivers, the Hindu Lala and the Muslim brothers enter fighting : the massacres in Calcutta have infected their friendship. Ganga Singh informs them that if the Muslims dare touch the Sikhs, they will react violently. Two Hindu brothers, Hathibaï and Rajiv Sen, announce that the storm of violence has already reached Noakhali in the Bengal. They will revenge all the dead Hindus. Gandhi intervenes : where will all this violence lead ? He departs for Noakhali as Rajkumar just misses him. Rajkumar invites the bear trainer, Bahadur, to his home in Punjab.

Scene 3 - New Delhi, 1946.

The Congress leaders accuse the Muslim Leaguer, Liaquat Ali Khan, of sabotaging the Provisional Government. Liaquat warns that if the Congress calls for a Constitutional Assembly, the result will be civil war. A messenger enters and, in Urdu, announces that ten thousand Muslims were massacred in the Province of Bihar.

Scene 4 - Bihar, 1946.

Nehru blames the Bihar Congress ministers for not protecting their Muslim population. They protest and, in turn, blame the League for starting it all : an eye for an eye, if the League lies, so will they. Nehru angrily kicks them out. Gandhi and Patel enter, as Patel announces that Lord Mountbatten has been named the new Viceroy and that he will oversee the transfer of power within a year's time. Gandhi warns that they must strengthen their resolve against Partition, fighting both the English and Jinnah.

ACT IV

Scene 1 - New Delhi, 1947.

Lord Mountbatten, the night before Partition, reflects on his role in the drama of Partition. He is at once "the executioner and the mid-wife" of this history. Tomorrow, he too will unwillingly contribute to Gandhi's defeat.

The Congress leaders enter : what will the day hold for them ? For Patel, Partition is a *fait accompli*. Azad hopes against hope ; a miracle is still possible. But it is with Nehru, as head of the Party, that the responsibility rests. He admits to Sarojini his fear of making a mistake and his ambivalence over Partition : "Is it the remedy ? Or is it the poison ?" She answers that whatever he decides, she will accept it with good grace.

In front of the tomb of the Muslim Saint, a family is ripped apart. Rahman will leave for Pakistan, but his mother Ima and his brother will stay in India. The tomb's guardian witnesses the scene : "Every human being must be happy wherever he goes, or life is not fit to be lived."

Scene 2 - New Delhi, 1947.

Mountbatten moderates the final conference : there will be Partition but the League will not receive the whole of the Punjab or of the Bengal states. Jinnah accepts.

Gandhi interrupts the meeting and pleads to keep India whole. Better to give it entirely to Jinnah than let it be torn apart. Jinnah violently refuses : he is near death and lives only to see the birth of his new nation. Gandhi predicts the horror that awaits them. But Nehru is forced to accept Partition. The fault is not Jinnah's, he says. It is that "we don't love one another enough."

The other Congress leaders arrive and the two Muslim leaders are thunderstruck by the news. Abdul Ghaffar Khan has been abandoned by his brothers. To Nehru's assertion that the North-West Frontier will remain a part of India if the population votes to stay in the Union, Ghaffar Khan proudly replies : "No. No referendum. I won't buy my love with votes. I won't have Pakistan ! Nor Hindustan now either ! I want Pashtunistan."

L'INDIADE OU L'INDE DE LEURS REVES

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Biographical Summary of the Play's Historical Characters

Asaf Ali, Aruna (?) - Hindu patriot of Brahmin origins, wife of Asaf Ali (1888-1953, Muslim lawyer and Congress Party member, minister in the Interim Government of 1946, Indian Ambassador to Washington in 1947), Aruna Asaf Ali has had and continues to pursue a career of militant Socialist activism. During the fight for Independence, she worked as a member of the underground and armed resistance. She has become a national hero. Continues to run the Communist journal *The Patriot*.

Azad, Abul Kalam (Maulana) (1888-1958) - Eminent Muslim thinker, theologian and exegete. Born at Mecca of an Arab mother and an Indian father, he received a strictly orthodox education. In 1898, his family returns to India, to Calcutta. At the age of 16, he visits all the Arab countries whose languages (Persian, Urdu, Arabic) he speaks fluently. Under the name of Azad (= Liberty), he begins to write, founding his first journal *Al Hilal* in 1932. Two years later, the British authorities ban its publication and exile him to the Bihar Province where he will remain until 1920. It is that Azad's thought links his reading of the Koran and the traditions of Islam with the believer's obligation to fight against all forms of oppression. His meeting with Gandhi in 1920 is a turning point. From that day on, his life will be inextricably linked to the Congress Party. He will be at different times its President, the last tenure dating from 1939 to 1946. His activism will put him in prison repeatedly, his final stay lasting from August 1942 to June 1945. While he was a longstanding opponent of the Muslim League, Azad nevertheless continued to search for the means for a reconciliation, most notably by defending the thesis of a weakened central government, a reassuring idea to the Muslim population. He was unable to prevent Partition, however. After Independence, became Minister of Education.

Fazlul Haq, A.K. (1873-1962) - Muslim personality who dominated Bengal political life for more than a half century. Of a wealthy upper-class family, he was, like his lawyer father before him, a philanthropist concerned with improving the educational system of his province. After having been successively a member of the Muslim League and then of the Congress (principally for political ends) he definitively rejoined the League after the war and, at the moment of Independence, choose Pakistan.

Ghaffar Khan, Abdul (1891 -) - Pathan leader who placed his entire support and who rallied his Province (the North-West frontier) behind the Congress Party. His absolute fidelity to the Mahatma earned him the nickname "the Gandhi of the frontier". In 1929, he founds the "Red Shirts", an organization composed of volunteers, converts to non-violence, fighting for an indivisible India. At the moment of Partition, he refused to submit to the Pakistani government and demanded the constitution of an independant Pashtunistan; he later ceded but was always suspected of disloyalty and was persecuted. The government held him in prison until 1955; he would be reimprisoned a number of times in the years ahead. Abdul Ghaffar Khan has passed some forty years of his long life in prison. He remains today a pure Gandhian.

Gandhi, Mohandas, Karamchand (Mahatma) (1869-1948) - Born the 2nd of October in Lorbardar, a small coastal state in Gujarat (the west of India) where his father, of the merchant caste of the Banyas, was an important dignitary. Gandhi was at first raised in the strictest Hindou tradition. Read for the bar in England and, returning to India, set up his law practice in Bombay. Not long after, goes to South Africa where he devotes himself

Liaquat Ali Khan (1895-1951) - Muslim politician, Oxford-educated lawyer, Jinnah's right hand man, and Secretary General of the Muslim League until 1946, at which date he enters the Interim Government as Minister of Finance. Wealthy nawab from Uttar Pradesh, he is one of the few Moslem leaders who never was a member of the Congress Party. Advocate from the first of a Pakistani nation, he was its first Prime Minister under Jinnah's presidency, and his successor to that position after Jinnah's death. Assassinated in 1951.

Mountbatten, Louis, Earl of Burma (1900-1979) - British admiral, member of the English Royal family. Chief of staff of the Allied Forces in South-East Asia (1942-43). Last Viceroy of India, from March to August 1947. He then became the last Governor General of India until 1948. A mutual trust and personal friendship tied him to Nehru. Died in 1979 when a bomb placed by the I.R.A. exploded on his yacht.

Naidu, Sarojini (1879-1949) - Poetess and politician, born the 13th of February 1879 in Hyderabad into a Brahmin family. From 1895 until 1898 she studies in England (where she meets Jinnah) and begins to write. Travels extensively in Europe. Marries out of her caste with Doctor Naidu (1898) with whom she will have four children. In spite of her real literary talent, very early on she abandons her career to enter into politics, fighting against British oppression and for Hindu-Moslem unity, a cause which she championed indefatigably. From 1900 on, active with the Congress Party. Was its president in 1925 and above all, its most gifted speaker. In spite of her wealth and her silk saris which she always refused to relinquish, she fought at Gandhi's side through all his civil disobedience campaigns, (The Salt March), non-cooperation movements...After Independence, became the Governor of Uttar Pradesh.

Nayar, Sushila (1910 ?) - Sister of Pyarelal Nayar, last secretary to Gandhi, to whom she attaches herself in 1937. Studied to be a doctor; her training permits her to watch over Gandhi's health (in spite of the Mahatma's opposition to modern medicine), to accompany him on such dangerous trips as the one to Noakhali, to oversee the camps for refugees... After Independence, she becomes the Minister of Health in the state of Delhi, as well as deputy. She remains to this day an energetic activist, faithful to Gandhism.

Nehru, Jawaharlal (Pandit) (1889-1964) - Born the 14th of November at Allahabad into a family of Kashmiri Brahmins. His father Motilal, a wealthy lawyer, was active as a politician and as a moderate nationalist. Studies in England, first at Harrow, then at Cambridge where he earns his Law Degree (1912). Meets Gandhi in 1920, and from that day on dedicates himself to politics : that is to say, to the struggle for Independence, essentially through the agency of the Congress Party. He was its president repeatedly and the architect of the principle lines of its political action (national union, the breaking down of religious and linguistic sectarianism, socialism and state planning.) His numerous voyages around the world would help him to realize his dream of an India active at last in the congress of the great powers. Nine times jailed, he used his years of incarceration (thirteen in all) to the writing of his now classic works: An Autobiography, The Discovery of India, and to keeping up an extensive correspondence, most notably with his daughter Indira. He remained the Prime Minister of India until his death, on the 27th of May, 1964.

Patel, Vallabhbhai (Sardar) (1875-1950) - From Gujarat. Law studies in England. Sets up practice in Ahmedabad, where he first meets Gandhi in 1915 and joins the Congress Party, becoming its president in 1931. Imprisoned a number of times, most notably from 1942 until 1945, at the same time as all the executive members of the Congress Party, during the "Quit India" movement. Becomes the Vice-Prime Minister at Independence. With strength and ability, he managed to integrate into the Indian Union the some 600 princely states, holdovers from the British administration.

GLOSSARY

Allah u Akbar : Litt.: "God is great."

Badshah : (*word of Persian origin*) emperor, king.

Banghi Colony : Untouchable neighborhood of New Delhi where the street sweepers live.

Brahma : One of the three principal Gods of Hinduism. The "creator" or rather the "organizer" of the Universe, he is considered to be one of the aspects of the Supreme Being (Brahman). Forms with Vishnu and Shiva, the Brahmanic Trinity. He is considered to be the creator of the Vedas (The Book of Knowledge).

Ba : Mother, in Gujarati. Familiar appellation of Kasturbaï Gandhi.

Bapu : Father.

Caste : Hindu society is divided into four principal hierarchies or castes :

- the **Brahmans** or priestly caste, guardians of the Vedic books, maintain the rituals and are authorised to interpret the Dharma (the Dharma being the cosmic order which engenders a social order and set of obligations/duties which each individual must fulfill so as to maintain his position within the harmony of the Universe).

- the **Kshatriyas** or warrior caste. They have the responsibility for protecting the kingdom and the world, as well as the obligation to make sacrifices to assure the Earth's prosperity.

- The **Vaisyas** or merchant caste. The producers of material goods.

- The **Sudras** or servant caste for the three superior castes.

Each caste is divided into a multitude of sub-castes and membership in a caste is hereditary.

- The **Untouchables** or parias are excluded from this hierarchy. Outcasts, they are rigorously defended from any contact with other Hindus. The orthodox Brahmin will not touch food handled by an untouchable. Until recently, even an untouchable's shadow was considered a source of pollution. They are restricted to jobs which are thought to be impure : waste disposal, the slaughter and skinning of animals, leather work... So as to lift them from this opprobrium, Gandhi named them : "God's Children" (Harijan). While legally abolished since Independence, untouchability has remained a persistent institution. A series of measures have been instituted to protect and advance the parias : for example, a quota system by which the untouchables are assured representation at all levels of daily life, from school to Parliament.

Darshan : at its origin, the visual perception of a God in his temple ; by extension, that of a political leader who shows himself to the crowd. It is considered as beneficial to the believer and follower.

Ji : suffix which expresses affectionate respect : for example, Bapuji, Panditji.

Kâli : Goddess, representing the destructive power of Time. Especially venerated in Bengal, she is usually represented in a standing position, colored in black with her tongue sticking out, with a garland of skulls and holding weapons. Animals are sacrificed to her.

Khadi : Hand-woven cotton cloth, the khadi became, thanks to Gandhi, the symbol of the struggle against the British. The followers and sympathisers of the Congress Party were dressed in khadi. The Gandhi cap, a small white cap, made famous by Nehru was of khadi.

Ki Jaï : Hindi exclamation: "Long live !"

Khuda-Haafiz : In Urdu, literally : "May god keep you."

Kirpan : Dagger traditionally worn by the Sikhs, one of the five emblems of the Sikh religion. The other four are : the kes or beard, the kanga or comb, the short pants, and the Kara or steel bracelet. The five "Ks" are the symbols of the purity of the Sikh religion and were instituted by the last of the ten founding Gurus of Sikhism : Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1706).

The languages of India : In 1971, the year of the last census, India had a population of 548 million people speaking a total of 190 languages. Out of this total, 33 languages or major dialects counted a million speakers or more. India is a crossroads of linguistic families :

The **Indo-aryan language** group, of Sanskrit origin, in the North and center of the country, comprises 74% of the population. The principal tongues are :

- Hindi : 162 million speakers;
- Bengali : 45 million speakers ;
- Marathi : 42 million speakers;
- Gujarati : 26 million speakers.

DATE	INDIA	DATE	REST OF THE WORLD
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B.C.

3300 First hymns of the Rig Veda.

3000

First Egyptian Empire, construction of the pyramids, cult of the Pharaoh.

2300

First Babylonian Empire.

2000

Knossos Palace in Crete.

1600

Mycenean Civilization.

1500 Aryan (Indo-European) invasions of the Indus Valley.

1010/970

David, King of Israel.

1000/800 Aryan penetration and domination of the Ganges Valley.

970/933

Salomon. He makes commercial contact with South India. Construction of the First Temple, Jerusalem.

900

Homer.

800/600 Compilation of the Vedic books.
The Vedic language develops and will become Sanskrit, the sacred language of Brahmanism.

551

Confucius in China.

543 (?) Birth of Prince Siddhartha Gautama, later known as Buddha.

530

Pythagoras.

518 Annexation of the Indus Valley by the Persians.

486 (?) Death of Buddha.

479/338

The Classical Period in Greece.

400 Development of the two great epic poems : The Ramayana and the Mahabharata, completed by the 4th Century A.D.

347

Death of Plato.

DATE	INDIA	DATE	REST OF THE WORLD
740	Thrown out of Persia by the Arabs, the Parsis settle in India.	800	Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the West.
900	The rise of the Chola Empire, overwhelming the Pallavas in South India. Temple of Tangore.	802	The Khmer Empire is established at Angkor.
1001/1027	Occupation of Punjab and Sind by the Turks (Mahmoud de Ghazni).	1065	<i>The Song of Roland.</i>
		1066	The Battle of Hastings.
		1095	First Crusade.
		1100	Temple of Angkor Vat.
		1163	Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris.
1192	Delhi taken by the Turks. Beginning of the Muslim conquest of the Ganges Valley.		
1221	North India invaded by Genghis Khan and the Mongol.		
1288/1293	Marco Polo visits India.	1307/1321	<i>"The Divine Comedy" by Dante</i>
		1393	End of the Khmer Kingdom.
1399	Tamerlaine, Mongol king and Genghis Khan's descendant, takes over Delhi.	1427/1521	The High Period of the Aztec civilization in Mexico.
		1448	<i>Gutenberg's Bible.</i>
		1453	Constantinople taken by the Turks.
1469	The guru Nanak establishes the Sikh religion, a syncretic mixture of the Hindu and Muslim faiths. It is monotheist and rejects the caste system.		

DATE	INDIA	DATE	REST OF THE WORLD
1757	The English dominate Bengal.		
1772/1785	Warren Hastings becomes 1st Governor of British India (Bengal, the Valley of the Ganges, the Dekkan). From this day on, the British occupation of India will continue to spread.	1789	The French Revolution.
		1804	Napoleon crowned Emperor.
1857	Revolt of the Cipayes, Indian troops commanded by British officers, which extends throughout North India. The India Act (1858) makes India a British colony. Beginnings of Indian nationalism.	1837/1901	Victoria, Queen of England.
1860	Birth of Motilal Nehru, Nehru's father, and of Rabindranath Tagore.	1861/1865	American Civil War : Lincoln fights against the Southern secession.
1869	Birth of Gandhi (2nd of October), in Porbandar, Gujarat, in a family of the merchant caste (Baniya).	1869	Tolstoy's "War and Peace".
1875	Birth of Vallabhbai Patel, in Gujarat.		
1876	Birth of Mohammd Ali Jinnah (25th of December), in a family of merchants from Porbandar.		
1877	Victoria, Empress of India.		
1879	Birth of Sarojini Naidu, in Hyderabad.		
1885	Gandhi marries Kasturbai. Creation of the Indian National Congress.		
1888	Birth of Abul Kalam Azad in Mecca. Birth of Harilal, Gandhi's first son.		
1889	Birth of Jawaharlal Nehru in Allahabad the 14th of November.	1889	Birth of Charlie Chaplin.

DATE	INDIA	DATE	REST OF THE WORLD
1925	Sarojini Naidu president of the Congress Party.	1925	Chiang-Kai-Shek comes to power in China.
1929	Congress meeting in Lahore : Gandhi calls for the complete independence of India.	1927	<i>Talking pictures.</i>
1930	March 12th/ april 5th : the Salt March. To fight against the British monopoly of salt, Gandhi leads an enormous march to the sea (350 Kms by foot). He is arrested, as are all the Congress Party members and a hundred thousand Indian nationalists.		
	Muhammad Iqbal president of the Muslim League.		
1932	Gandhi fasts for the abolition of untouchability.		
1933	Invention of the name Pakistan (the Nation of the Pure).	1933	Hitler Chancellor in Germany.
1934	Jinnah leads the Muslim League.		
1935	Government of India Act. The first Indian Constitution, the provinces are given autonomous governments.	1935	The Long March in China.
1936	Nehru Congress Party President.	1936	Popular Front in France. Civil War in Spain.
1937	Overwhelming success of the Congress Party in the provincial elections : winning seats reserved for Muslims and forming governments in seven of eleven provinces.	1937	<i>Picasso paints "Guernica".</i>
		1938	Munich accords. Repression of the Jews increases.
1939	The Congress Party is divided in its position towards the war. India, as part of the British Empire, is thrown into the conflict.	1939	Second World War. England and France declares war on Germany after its invasion of Poland.
1940	England refuses to grant India independence as demanded by the Congress : the Congress party ministers resign from the provincial governments. The field is open for the Muslim League which calls for Partition.	1940	The 18th of June, General de Gaulle's call for Resistance from London.
		1941	The Japanese attack Pearl Harbor. The United States enter the war on the side of the Allied Forces.

DATE	INDIA - PAKISTAN	DATE	REST OF THE WORLD
1950	24th January : India proclaimed a Republic. 15th December : Death of Vallabhbhai Patel, Vice-Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior since Independence.		
1951	Liaquat Ali Khan assassinated.		
1955	Bandung Conference. Nehru tries to make India the leader of the non-aligned nations.	1953	Death of Stalin.
1958	Death of Maulana Azad.	1957	First satellite in space (USSR)
1959	Indira Gandhi President of the Congress.	1958	Fifth Republic in France.
1961	India takes back the remaining French and Portuguese territories.	1959	Anti-Chinese rebellion in Tibet. The Dalai Lama and thousands of refugees arrive in India.
1962	War with China in the Himalayas. The Indian Army is trounced but China withdraws.	1961	First man in space (USSR). The United States become involved in Vietnam.
1964	27th May : death of Nehru. Lal Bahadur Shastri becomes Prime Minister.		
1965/1966	Indo-Pakistani war over Kashmir. Peace Treaty of Tashkent. Death of Shastri. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister.	1966	The cultural Revolution in China.
1967	In the general elections, the Congress loses 80 seats in the Parliament and majority control in 8 of 27 states. An era of instability begins.	1967	The Coup d'Etat of the Colonels in Greece.
1970	East Pakistan : the autonomous Bengali party wins an overwhelming victory in the elections. Beginning of the guerrilla. The Maharajas' privileges are abolished.		
1971	Indo-Pakistani war over Bengal. India's victory will mark the high point of Indira Gandhi's popularity and lead to the creation of new country: Bangladesh.		

*This statement was published on 15 April in the following Israeli newspapers :
Ha'aretz (Hebrew), Yediot Ahronot (Hebrew), Al-Ittihad (Arabic), Al-Fajar (Arabic) and The
Jerusalem Post (English).*

THE THEATRE DU SOLEIL IN ISRAEL

You have invited us and we have accepted your invitation. But before we enter into your house, you should know who we are and what we believe.

We, the author, actors, musicians, technicians and director of the Théâtre du Soleil, come from twenty-two different countries (France, Portugal, Chile, Belgium, Italy, Brazil, Algeria, India, Cambodia, the United States, Tunisia, Turkey, Armenia, Lebanon, Iran, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Argentina, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and Togo); we are Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu and Atheist; we are white, we are black, we are yellow; we come from countries which in the course of their history have at different times played the role of the colonizers and of the colonized, of the oppressed and the oppressors, of the occupied and of the occupying, from countries which have known and continue to know their hours of pride and of shame, of progress and of decline, of dignity and of indignity, of humanity and of inhumanity. That is who we are.

And now this is what we believe :

We believe that it is inadmissible to appropriate territory by force;

We believe that to kill children, whatever the circumstances and whether they be Israeli or Palestinian, is a monstrosity ;

We believe that the killing of unarmed civilians violates not only the Geneva Convention but above all Moral Law;

We believe that a nation that oppresses another cannot itself be entirely free;

We believe that it is madness to try to destroy by force what no force can ever destroy : the love of the native land and the spirit of freedom. The body can be broken, but the soul of a people cannot be crushed. And of all the peoples it is the Jewish people that have immemorially proved this ;

We believe that the Palestinian people are right to revolt against the Israeli occupation and that its cause is just;

We believe that the Palestinian people have an inalienable right to self-determination and to a Palestinian State;

We believe that the State of Israel has an unimpeachable right to exist here in peace and security;

We believe that there are two peoples in this Holy Land and that it should be shared and its borders negotiated. In the hope that in days to come, when Time has paved the way to forgetfulness and forgiveness, some kind of association may come to pass;