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EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

ESCAPE FROM ISOLATIONISM

M. R. Masani

PRESIDENT Nixon's victory, with 62 per cent of the popular vote, has been welcomed less because of his own virtues—which are not inconsiderable—than because of the relief caused by the rejection of Senator McGovern and his policies. The U.S. has pulled itself together and escaped the nightmare of McGovernism and the world the perils of American isolationism.

Lovers of freedom in Asia have special reason to be pleased and relieved. Whatever his other shortcomings, Nixon is not a "Europe First" who would leave Asia to its fate. Given the rise of the ugly phenomenon of neo-isolationism with which he has been faced, perhaps no President could have done better than he has for the freedom of the peoples of Indo-China. Hence the chorus of relief and satisfaction that has been heard from Asian capitals as far flung as Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Manila, Tokyo and Seoul.

Kissinger Slips

It is too early to say, however, whether or not this record is going to be badly blotched by the hasty and thoughtless draft agreement into which Dr. Kissinger appears to have allowed himself to be trapped during his secret negotiations with the North Vietnamese Communists behind the back of his South Vietnamese allies. If indeed it is true that the draft agreement allows the 150,000 North Vietnamese troops in the South as a result of the treacherous aggression earlier this year to remain in South Vietnam even after a cease fire, President Nixon will—for his own sake and the good name of the U.S.—do well to get out of this disgraceful deal.

The London *Economist*, which has welcomed President Nixon's re-election, has something pertinent to say on this point:

"Even as a matter of international law, quite apart from political commonsense, it is wrong that they should be allowed to stay there. North Vietnam has

recognised the existence of South Vietnam as a separate state, by agreeing that the political future of the South is something for the two South Vietnamese parties to settle. So it has no business to keep an army in South Vietnam. It is no reply to this to say that North Vietnam cannot be expected to agree to the withdrawal of these troops because it has never publicly admitted that they are there. They are, and everybody knows it... The same communist directive which told the Vietcong guerillas that they would have to do without the help of North Vietnam's army also instructed them to organise a campaign of 'tyrant elimination, abduction and assassination' after the cease-fire... Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger should be generous with everything except principle."

The trouble with many clever-clever gentlemen scattered all over the globe is that they are likely to have engraved on their graves the sad epitaph: "I knew how to handle the Communists!" Dr. Kissinger

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Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Hats Off To The Judges

THE Supreme Court on October 30 once again vindicated its position as being—by default of an Opposition—the last remaining bastion of freedom in India. By striking down the Union Government's newsprint policy and the ten page ceiling as violating freedom of speech and expression and the right to equality before the law guaranteed by the Constitution, the Court has once again come to the rescue of hard pressed citizens. Mr. N. A. Palkhivala has similarly added one more feather to his cap as the Tribune of the People.

The Supreme Court has obviously treated with the contempt it deserved the effort made by Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam, communist Minister for Steel, and Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray, Chief Minister of Bengal, only a few days earlier at a meeting in Ahmedabad to seek to intimidate the judges by denigrating the role of the Judiciary.

This judgement should, if a modicum of wisdom survives in New Delhi, serve as a warning to the Union Government to desist from pursuing its vendetta against press freedom under cover of a law to "diffuse ownership" which in reality would concentrate control of the press in its own hands.

The Odd Swallow

ONE swallow does not, it is said, make a summer. Does the defeat of the Congress Party in the Parliamentary by-election in Ahmedabad City mark the turning of the tide? The victory of Acharya Kripalani, Dr. Lohia and Minoo Masani in the by-elections in 1963 certainly set a trend that resulted in the wiping out in 1967 of Congress majorities in many

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would appear to have qualified for membership in that club.

Only one man has come out of these developments with increased prestige and credibility, and that is President Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam. A strange 'puppet' this—to resist bravely as he has done the pressure of his American allies. President Thieu would appear to be cast in the heroic mould of his predecessor, President Diem. We find it difficult to believe that President Nixon would be party to a second betrayal like the one that destroyed President Diem. Friends of freedom in Asia will, however, keep their fingers crossed.

State capitals and cutting it down to size in the Lok Sabha. The victory of Prof. P. G. Mavalankar, the worthy son of a great father, Speaker G. V. Mavalankar, may well be a harbinger of hope to those who had all too readily abandoned it, particularly as it followed so quickly on the heels of the Congress losing one of its Assembly seats in Mysore.

Disgrace Abounding

EVERY month brings its quota of disgrace emanating from the Marxist Establishment in New Delhi. The resolutions adopted at the Biennial General meeting of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom (see page 9) provide three new items to be added to the list of attacks on liberty and of satellitism to the Soviets. The ICCF and its prestigious journal *Quest* have an honourable record of service to freedom of culture lasting two decades. It is to be hoped the

IN THIS ISSUE

The Editor greets, with a sigh of relief, President Nixon's re-election and hopes he will use his mandate to pursue peace with honour in Vietnam, a peace in which the South will not be betrayed.

A. G. Noorani writes of the need to improve relations with China and the obstacle which blocks the way: Our lawning dependence on the Russians.

The latest and most pathetic gesture of Mrs. Gandhi's government towards their Soviet mentors is the banning of the export of Peter Sagar's *Moscow's Hand in India*, five years after its publication in this country. Read about it and weep.

And then shed a few more tears for the curtailment of individual liberties as listed by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom in the resolutions on Threats to Cultural Freedom.

On the lighter side, with all due respect to the clowns in New Delhi, Geeta Doctor and Deepa Awal relate timely and amusing articles on the world of students and education.

Hardayal Singh contributes a book review.

Committee will continue vigorously to alert public opinion about the multiplying threats to freedom of speech, publishing, communication and movement.

Indians and Dogs

FOR once, New Delhi has had the grace to back down from a blunder and Dr. Karan Singh should be congratulated for it.

In an attempt to stop the inevitable leakage of foreign exchange resulting from the debauching of the rupee which has been caused by New Delhi's inflationary policies over the past fifteen years, the Department of Tourism had gone way beyond the needs of the case by prescribing that, like foreigners who insist on paying their hotel bills in Indian currency, Indian citizens also should, in their own country, be penalised by being made to pay 33% more for their accommodation and meals. The absurdity of the move was compounded by arguing that in a socialist society, Indians should not be encouraged to live in good, clean hotels and by allowing Soviet nationals to pay in rupees 33% less than an Indian citizen would have had to.

It is good that a move which, apart from its offensiveness, would have ruined the hotel industry has been dropped. The immunity from paying in foreign exchange given to Soviet visitors will, however, continue. The attempt to justify this discrimination by reference to the notorious "Rupee Racket" is nothing short of assinine.

G.O.M. of Far East

ON October 31, that Grand Old Man of the Far East and the only survivor of the Big Four of World War II, President Chiang Kai-Shek of the Republic of China attained the age of 86, but declined to permit any public celebrations of the day.

It is worth recalling, however, that though a year has passed since the infamous vote of the U.N. General Assembly expelling the peace loving and law abiding Republic and donating its seat to the communist dictatorship on the Mainland, the Republic of China has maintained its position and its stability.

Indeed, on the economic front its diplomatic setback appears to be accompanied by yet more rapid advance. With an area of only 13,885 square miles and a population of 15 million, Taiwan registered in 1971 a volume of international trade of U.S. \$4.1 billion, almost equal to that of Mainland China with an area of 3,700,000 square miles and more than 700 million people. In 1972, Taiwan expects to touch foreign trade of the order of U.S. \$5 billion, and surpass the Mainland. Indeed, it is estimated that Taiwan, which ranked 26th last year among free world countries, may become one of the top twenty trading nations in the free world.

Here is concrete proof, paralleling the contrast

between West Berlin and East Berlin, of the difference between freedom and serfdom. Freedom, contrary to the Marxist fallacy, alone ensures bread.

Adam's Grave

COMMENTING on the CIA bogey raised by Mrs. Gandhi and company to divert attention from their own disastrous shortcomings, Mr. J. B. Kripalani in a letter to *Swarajya* (October 28) notes the logical



Courtesy: Mario in *The Illus. Wkly*

fallacy committed by the Prime Minister and her followers in demanding the CIA prove its innocence in the absence of any specific charges or evidence against it. Writes Kripalani:

Long ago, when I was studying logic, among the fallacies that are often committed by careless thinkers was one popularly called 'The Adam's Grave.' Somebody told his friend that he would show him 'Adam's grave'. He took him to a nearby cemetery and pointed to a nameless grave and said, "This is 'Adam's grave'." The companion asked for factual evidence. He was then told: "Prove that this is not Adam's grave."

Two Tales of One City

THE way in which the reader of an Indian newspaper is provided with slanted "information" is well illustrated by the manner in which Mr. Dilip Mukherjee, formerly a well-known Communist

OURSELVES AND CHINA

A. G. Noorani

BYOND any doubt, the most conspicuous feature of India's foreign policy today is the exclusive reliance on Russia to the neglect of the country's relations with other countries. To be sure, India is not wholly to blame for its estrangement from the U.S., China and Pakistan. In each of these three cases much blame does attach to the other side—the U.S., for its purblind support to Pakistan and its opposition to the aspirations of Bangladesh; China, for its armed attack of 1962 and its refusal to negotiate thereafter on the border question on equal terms; and, Pakistan, for its attack of 1965 and for its entirely negative policy thereafter.

An examination of the record, however, will demonstrate that in each case, likewise, India has much to account for. For instance, the arbitrary closure of U.S. Cultural Centres when the Russians were caught in the wrong in Trivandrum, in 1969, and the general "tilt" towards Russia long preceded the U.S. policies of 1971, our earlier professions of friendship for the U.S. notwithstanding.

So also, with China. The well-informed Mr. Kuldip Nayar revealed recently (*The Statesman*; November

14, 1972) "India's feelers to China for reconciliation. Only a few days ago a top official of the Ministry of External Affairs drew a blank when he tried to raise the subject with Peking's *Charge d'affaires* in India."

Why is China being so cursed? Time there was when India stipulated pre-conditions for negotiations and China asked for negotiations "without pre-conditions". Apparently, the roles are reversed today. Only, China's pre-conditions, unlike ours, are not territorial. They are political and they should make us sit up and think. For, while we should not accept any dictation from China or, for that matter any other country, we would be unrealistic in the extreme in not appreciating that the premises underlying the Chinese pre-conditions are widely believed by the rest of the world and not least by our Asian neighbours—India's dependence on Russia.

We have the latest Chinese appraisal through three Austrian journalists who met several Chinese leaders and had a three-hour interview with Mr. Chou En-lai. They broke their journey in Delhi on November 12. Mr. Kuldip Nayar has reported their impressions. "According to the journalists Peking is of the opinion

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fellow-traveller in Calcutta, has been allowed to tell cock-and-bull propaganda stories tailored in Hanoi, to readers of the *Times of India* in daily doses from the North Vietnam capital which he has been visiting.

As a correction, it may be not without value to know something about the grim facts of life as known to expert observers of North Vietnam. Prof. P. J. Honey, who has for twenty-four years been in charge of North Vietnamese studies at London University and is Britain's leading expert on Indo-Chinese affairs, was recently interviewed by the *U.S. News & World Report* on conditions in North Vietnam.

Here are some of the questions and Prof. Honey's answers as they appeared in the November 6 issue of the journal:

Q. Are Hanoi's present leaders firmly in control of the North?

A. They're in control as any Communist Administration is in control in its own territory. They have very powerful security forces.

There is no public opinion because nobody dares to voice a contrary opinion. It's very difficult for any disaffected North Vietnamese to start any dissident movement which would threaten the regime.

Q. Is there any sign of an effective anti-Government underground in North Vietnam?

A. No. The only evidence of any dissidence involves a number of wounded veterans who were allowed to be repatriated to North Vietnam several months ago. Some have come back so embittered that they have beaten up the managers of co-operative farms whom they have accused of failing to look after their families while they were in South Vietnam.

Quite a number have been going around telling people very bluntly that they should not allow their sons to go to South Vietnam because they will die of starvation or disease or be killed by the South Vietnamese.

There have been several instances in which these returned veterans have clashed with security forces in North Vietnam. They actually have killed members of the security forces and nobody has attempted to stop them. But these wounded veterans are too scattered and too few to form any sort of effective anti-Government movement.

Q. Do the North Vietnamese still widely support their Government?

A. I don't think they either support or oppose the Government, but rather accept it. There's nothing to be done about it. So they've got to manage with it and make the best of what they've got. This, for my money, is about the state of mind of the North Vietnamese people."

that no settlement with India is possible unless India stops its 'imperialist way'. An example the China leaders cited was the Indo-Soviet Treaty which they regarded as part of Russia's strategy to encircle China."

Strange as it may sound, the Russians' understanding of the Treaty is very much the same. They regard it as but a link in the chain of the Brezhnev Plan, which is designed to contain China.

A recent article by *Izvestia's* political analyst V. Kudryavtsev in the Soviet Embassy's journal *Soviet Review* (November 4) cites the Indo-Soviet Treaty as an example of Soviet implementation of "the idea of the establishment of a collective security system in Asia."

The Treaty was conceived in February-March 1969. Russia, pre-occupied by the cold war with China and anxious to increase its influence over India's policies, foreign and domestic, offered it to an India pre-occupied by Pakistan as a price for Russia's going slow on the Soviet-Pak arms deal of the previous year. The Brezhnev Plan was enunciated in June 1969.

Incidentally, "The Austrian journalist's assessment is that China is not as close to Pakistan as she is thought to be in India. It is an attitude born out of circumstances in which Peking is obliged to have Pakistan on its side since it believes India and the Soviet Union are on the other."

Mending Fences

At a time when the U.S. and Japan are busy mending their fences with China we ought earnestly to be asking ourselves whether the present *impasse* in Sino-Indian relations cannot be broken to our advantage.

New Delhi's answer is that it is China which is proving difficult. The *Indian Express* aptly characterised this plea recently (November 3) as a "ritualistic exercise for New Delhi" and proceeded to urge "It is not enough to say that we are not part of Russia's bloc against China. The important thing is to ask ourselves whether the closer links with Russia are at the cost of a distortion of our proper place in the regional scheme of things. Are we giving to our neighbours the impression that relations with them come a good deal lower down the scale than our relations with Russia?"

Unfortunate as this attitude is in regard to a weak neighbour like Pakistan, or the States of South-East Asia, it is disastrous when the neighbour is an emerging Great Power like China. Unless India stops the present trend, its dependence on Russia's will increase in proportion to its estrangement from China. There will be, then, the usual voices who will perversely justify the former on the ground of the latter!

Prof. Leo Yueh-yun Liu of Brandon University in Canada has in a very able study entitled *China As A Nuclear Power in World Politics* (Macmillan; Rs. 30) described the mainsprings of China's foreign policy—its drive to be a world power.

He is too realistic to ignore the ideological factor. "China's zeal in world revolution communism has constantly and significantly influenced its policy. For example, if mainland China were still under the control of the Nationalist government, it probably would not pay as much attention to the revolution in countries in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East as the Communist government does. In many cases, such as its policy of encouraging revolution in Japan in 1958 and its antagonism toward the Japanese government's ideological convictions apparently have led Communist China to formulate some mistaken policies." He holds that "both national and ideological interests are important and both have played important roles in deciding Communist China's foreign policy objectives."

Those who doubt the ideological motivation would do well to read the letter circulated by Mr. Kanu Sanyal and some other CPI (M-L) leaders before Mr. Charu Mazumdar's arrest to their Comrades: "By this time, we hope, you will know that the great glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party has sent us most valuable fraternal suggestions in respect of our liberation struggle in India in the month of November, 1970." (*Frontier*, November 4, 1972).

Of course, the "imperialist" Nixon's visit illustrates the other aspect—the promotion of the States' interest.

As the author points out, "In view of its present rate of nuclear weapons development, Communist China will very probably become a major nuclear power in the foreseeable future".

Sense of Being Wronged

It is a grim prospect — China as a "Major nuclear power" with a sense of being wronged. "The situation might be aggravated by the fact that Communist China is regarded as a potential enemy by both superpowers. Thus when Communist China possesses an operational nuclear force, either superpower might be tempted to increase its own nuclear capability to the degree that the nuclear force of Communist China and of the other superpower would be matched and therefore deterred. Consequently, a rapid nuclear arms race among the United States, the Soviet Union and Communist China would become inevitable."

The book was written, apparently before Dr. Henry A. Kissinger's visit to Peking last year paved the way for the Sino-American detente, however limited it is. It may be that the nuclear arms race might be restricted by mutual agreement. What is undeniable is that the stability of the Asian States system "would significantly diminish, if not disappear."

Unless India anticipates this now and increases its options by a calculated disengagement from Russian influence and well prepared moves for a rapprochement with China, the U.S. and Pakistan, it will find itself pitifully isolated and haplessly dependent on Russia.

MOSCOW'S HAND IN INDIA

IN the Union Government's anxiety to suck up to the Soviet dictatorship, it is apt on occasion to make itself look ridiculous. The latest of such antics is the ban on the export of *Moscow's Hand in India*, by Peter Sagar, on the grounds that it is "likely prejudicially to affect friendly relations with the USSR."

Readers of *Freedom First*, in which the book by the Swiss scholar was reviewed, will recall the publication as an excellent and useful analysis of Soviet propaganda in India. Indeed the book was reproduced in India in 1967 by arrangement of the Swiss Eastern Institute in Berne under the sponsorship of the Democratic Research Service, which felt privileged to bring to the Indian public knowledge of the manner in which the Soviet Union has been allowed to misuse its diplomatic representation in this country. All copies of the book in India have been sold. Why then this ban five years later and that too with foreign exchange so scarce? Perhaps Mr. Y. B. Chavan, one of the few literate politicians in this country, whose ministry has by notification in the Gazette distinguished itself by this action, will care to look into this matter and clear the mystery?

Propaganda Colossus

As the intensity and extent of foreign infiltration has increased considerably since 1966, it is worthwhile recalling the significant disclosures made in the book.

Moscow's Hand in India starts with a short general description of the two main Soviet propaganda organs—the agencies TASS and Novosti. It continues with the history of the development of Soviet propaganda in India—in which we see that, from humble beginnings on the day of India's independence in 1947 to the present vast propaganda flood unparalleled anywhere in the world, all the twist and turns of Moscow's foreign policy have been "explained" in a way which has sought to justify them in Indian eyes. This is followed by the bulk of the work; detailed descriptions of the large number of newspapers, periodicals and press services produced by the Information Department of the Soviet Embassy.

Part of the information that is available is about the violation by the Russian Embassy of "The Third Country Rule", and now it has utilised the *New Age Press Service* of the Communist Party of India for its partisan propaganda.

The Third Country Rule forbids any foreign nation accredited to India from indulging in hostile propaganda against any other nation having friendly relations with India.

Russia has found a convenient way around The Third Country Rule. Since it cannot put out anti-Western propaganda in its own bulletins, it uses the

New Age Press Service run by the Communist Party, as a convenient front. Sagar has given several instances of the violation of the Rule such as the allegation that the U.S. planned a massacre in Santo Domingo, that West Germany is a haven for Nazis, that the aid given by European countries is only to exploit and plunder their former colonies.

The Soviet Information Service (a part of the Embassy) was always very careful to avoid implicating itself directly. It usually handed over propaganda material to trusted contacts in *New Age*, who stencilled the releases on their own machines and issued them under the letterhead of the *New Age Press Service*.

Last Autumn, however, a method that had worked perfectly for several years came across some difficulties. During the Indo-Pak conflict the *New Age Press Service* was so heavily under pressure that it could no longer handle its own material as well as the extra flood from the Soviet Embassy.

Damning Evidence

The Russian Information Service agreed to help their comrades in the C.P.I. Instead of getting their material stencilled by the typists of the *New Age Press Service*, they had them stencilled at the office of the U.S.S.R. Information Service. These stencils were then passed on to the *New Age Press Service*, which merely added the serial number and page markings and cyclostyled the hand-outs as their own material.

It has become possible for Sagar to discover and expose this conspiracy because in a few glaring instances the machines used for the page and serial numbers of *New Age* handouts were obviously different from the machines used for preparing the texts. In his book *Moscow's Hand in India* the author gives a clear and conclusive documentary and photographic proof.

Sagar sent the material that he had collected to the *Scientific Division of the Zurich City Police* for expert analysis. The material consisted of releases put out by the *New Age Press Service* together with releases issued by the Soviet authorities in India.

A disturbing part of this affair is the negligence of our External Affairs Ministry. The Ministry is supposed to receive all material put out by foreign diplomatic establishments and is also supposed to prevent violations of the Third Country Rule. From the evidence published in Sagar's authoritative study, it is quite clear that those entrusted with this task have been singularly remiss in carrying out their duties.

Another significant fact that emerges is that the publicity organs of the Communist Party of India act more or less like tools in the hands of the Russian Embassy. It proves that the Communists in India are nothing better than agents of the Soviet Government.

FOR ADMISSIONS, COME SEPTEMBER

Geeta Doctor

"SEPTEMBER? Your son is born in September? I am afraid it is the wrong month," the voice said decisively. I countered with a feeble "Oh really," trying to sound both apologetic and pleading not daring to upset her further by inquiring why this should be so. There are some persons who have the ability to induce instant paralysis of the vocal chords in those around them. She was one of them, a female St. Peter whose business it was to stand at the school gates and banish each hopeful parent with a flick of the pen and send him flying for admission at another school.

Parents are no doubt at a grave disadvantage when it comes to admissions. It is a tiresome and frustrating experience for them and the well meant advice of friends who have already established their children at the best schools is not likely to be of any use. For in this game there are no friends, only rivals caught in the Grand Prix of one-upmanship which they must begin playing right from the moment when their offspring make an entry into this world.

At first there does not seem to be anything to worry about; registering the child's name is a painless affair, costing a mere twenty rupees for a piece of paper stating that the school authorities will be pleased to consider your case five years from that moment.

It is only by the third year that you have the occasion to think about it again. At about this time friends may casually inquire whether you have registered your child anywhere. By the fourth year, not only friends but absolute strangers begin to accost you with "What have you done about your son's admission?" This is the period when you start questioning your 'one and only' about his alphabets and discover that far from being the genius you had always been sure he would be, he can't even distinguish letters from numbers. Other peoples' children seem to be incredibly smart and you console yourself by saying "Well after all that boy is two weeks older."

Now there are only six months left for September and you start making the rounds at all the in-schools. This is half the problem. It is not enough that your son gets admission, he must get admission at The School, or else... the consequences are too dismal to contemplate; he will not get invited to the innumerable birthday parties, all the tiny snobs at his parents' club will ignore him, he will get his holidays at the wrong time and above all, his parents will not be able to clink their glasses smugly at the next Cocktail party and rhetorically inquire "My son has got his admission at—'s. Has yours?"

It is about this time that you begin to indulge in vague cloak and daggerish activities. While you do not exactly start creeping about in the dark making

threats about dire consequences, you do seriously begin to search for someone who can 'influence' the principal in whose hands the fate of your son lies. It can be anyone, the architect who built his house, the obstetrician who delivered his children, the lady on the bus whose neighbour's sister-in-law is a teacher in that school or anyone else in short who will 'put in a word.' This is naturally something no one likes to talk about since as everyone knows the students are selected strictly on merit and to admit that your son got in mainly because someone put in a word would be a discredit both to the school authorities and your 'one and only'. Besides it would immediately enable 'them' the others, your dear friends who are also trying to get their son in, to use the same influence and then where would that leave you? As I said earlier in this game there are no friends.



There is only one month left now for September and the crucial interview. There are moments of brightness and despair. The 'one and only' knows his alphabets up till 'M' and can count up to hundred. You begin to question the neighbours' children as to what they did for their test. The answers are not very encouraging. "Aunty" they advise, "he will have to count up to a thousand and then he will have to spell a few easy words like 'Father'." "Oh lord, we'll never make it," I mourn, "Why does 'Father' have to be spelt with a 'T'?" and then at that very instant there is a letter from one of the schools to say that there is no need for the children to know their alphabets or numbers. Three cheers for ignorance!

Along with the same letter there is a chill summons commanding the parent to present himself before the authorities at precisely 2.45 in the afternoon. This too is an occasion for much advice to be freely solicited by the "already there's" — which parent should go, what he should wear, what he should say and whether he should mention that his second cousin's husband is a very important person, (they like to know the child's background).

The interview is a masterpiece of precision, "They" have calculated that every parent will arrive at least half an hour before his appointed time and so endeavour to keep him entertained by making him fill up an enormous form. Each parent perches on a lilliputian chair chewing at a pen and tries to figure out how old his child will be in September, at what age he cut his first tooth, when he emitted his first articulate cry and so on. A teacher presides over the scene which combines the desperate frenzy of an examination hall with the quiet tension of a dentist's waiting room in the happy surroundings of a kindergarten classroom. Every five minutes a peon breaks the silence by calling out a name and the person is led out like a condemned soul. At exactly two minutes before 2.45 it is my turn. I am made to sit in solitary confinement between a tankful of disinterested goldfish and a small tortoise which blinks at me sympathetically. I am so nervous by now that I am ready to start a conversation with the tortoise only the jailor-peon is standing guard in front of me. Two minutes later, at the stroke of 2.45, a bell rings from the sanctum sanctorum and I am ushered in. What happens in the next five minutes cannot be recorded since nothing does happen. There is no time for the little speech, no time to rhapsodise about the merits of the 'one and only' or chat about the family background, there is not even time to go down on bended knees and beg for an admission. I feel quite cheated. Everyone had assured me that it would be a fearsome ordeal and all that occurs is that five minutes later I am out again clutching a piece of paper which fixes the date for the final interview.

Now all that remains is to prepare the 'one and only' for the hurdle ahead of him. He is not sure of what an interview means. From the snatches of conversation he has overheard, he has gathered the idea that it is some terrible ritual whereby strangers come and tear away howling children from their mother's arms and ask them how to spell 'Father'. He assures me that no matter what he will spell 'Father' correctly and count up to a thousand. I try to persuade him that there is no need for him to do this, but he is adamant, he will not go to school he says unless he is allowed to count up to a thousand. Finally I give up trying.

At the interview we are the only two looking quite cheerful and composed, he because he can count up

to a thousand, I because I have accepted the fact that he will never get through. Besides there is a certain grim amusement in seeing other mothers whispering last minute exhortations to their offspring.

The children are led away, some of them whimpering. None of the parents look at the other, presumably each one is too engrossed in his own private anguish.

Before I know it, there is the 'one and only' trotting out quite happily, the very first to come out. I immediately conclude that he has flunked the whole test and stumble out under the pitying stares of the other parents. But far from being upset the 'one and only' seems to have enjoyed the test. He does not divulge what has happened but hints that he was taken into a dark room by a pretty girl and asked a few questions. I shiver with apprehension wondering what I would have done if I had been taken into a dark room and questioned, but he seems to have found it a pleasant experience and asks with blasé unconcern, "Now when is the next interview?"

September is nearly over now and with it the admission fever subsides. In October we get the results and find that our son has got admission at all the schools. "I always knew he would" I say and rush off to register our second child. The woman is still there. "September?" she says, "Your child is born in September? I am afraid it is the wrong month." This time I only smile.

CONSOLIDATED COFFEE LIMITED

Regd. Office: Pollibetta, Coorg, Mysore State

CAPITAL :

Authorised	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed	
17,88,749 Ordinary Shares of	
Rs. 10 each	Rs. 1,78,87,490
75,000 Preference Shares of	
Rs. 25 each	Rs. 18,75,000
Total Reserve Funds exceed	Rs. 1,52,31,000

ACREAGE :

The Company owns 11,056 acres of Coffee and 1,285 acres of Minor Produce, situated in Coorg, Hassan and Chikmagalur Districts.

PROPRIETORS OF:

KUSHALNAGAR WORKS, Kudige P.O., N. Coorg,
MORACON COFFEE CURING WORKS, Tellicherry, and
CONSOLIDATED COFFEE CURING WORKS, Mangalore.

Coffee Curers and "A" Class Agents to the Coffee Board.
Dealers, Suppliers and Exporters of Coffee, and Suppliers
of Fertilisers and all other Estate requisites.

THREATS TO CULTURAL FREEDOM

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at the Biennial General meeting of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom held in Bombay on 27th October 1972.

Unjustified Travel Restrictions

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom notes with concern the rule recently made by the Government that scientists, university teachers and other experts who are invited to attend seminars and conferences abroad will no longer be able to apply for a 'P' Form directly from the Reserve Bank of India but will have to approach the all-India body in charge of their field of expertise at least six weeks before the Seminar. The rule, it is understood, authorises the all-India body in question not only to block the participation of any particular invitee but also to nominate someone else in his place. As the *Times of India* has rightly observed ('Current Topics', October 21), "the door has thus been flung open to the kind of sickening nepotism with which people here are only too familiar."

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom condemns the totalitarian attitude of the Government reflected in this rule. If implemented, it will enable the Government to deny to some of our ablest scientists and academicians the opportunity to establish and maintain revivifying contacts with their counterparts abroad. It would also be against the fundamental rights of the citizen as embodied in the Indian Constitution and against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations, of which India still is a member.

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom therefore calls upon the Government of India to withdraw the rule in question and, indeed, abolish the oppressive mechanism of the 'P' Form itself.

Threats to Press Freedom

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom notes with grave concern the increasing attempts in the recent past on the part of the Government to control the press in India. The ICCF is of the view that freedom of expression and the right to dissent is not just an intellectual luxury but a necessary precondition for the progress and development of any society in the modern age. Without dissent, society must become stagnant and moribund. The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom condemns the thinly veiled threats issued by the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Siddhartha Shankar Ray against the *Hindustan Times* for publishing the despatches sent by its Calcutta correspondent on the situation in West Bengal in its issues

of September 6 and 7. According to press reports, Ray characterised the despatches as 'canards' and 'malicious propaganda' against the State of West Bengal at the behest of the business house that owns the *Hindustan Times* group of newspapers. In other words, the Chief Minister of West Bengal saw nothing wrong in suggesting to the proprietors of the *Hindustan Times* that they should put pressure on the Editor and the staff of the paper if they wanted to avoid difficulties with the State authorities. The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom also condemns the action taken by the Government against Bipin Basu and the weekly *Point of View* published from Delhi, in whose issue of 9th September 1972 Basu's article on the situation in Manipur was published. The Committee understands that Basu has been arrested under the Punjab Security Act and that, by a Gazette Notification Extraordinary the September 9 issue of *Point of View* has been declared a publication punishable under Sections 153A and 124A of the Penal Code. It is also understood that the premises of the journal were searched by the police and copies of the issue in which Basu's article appeared were seized and forfeited to the Government together with the original manuscript of the article.

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom calls upon writers, academicians and intellectuals to protest the high-handed actions of the Government of West Bengal and Manipur and to convey their feelings to the appropriate authorities.

International Television through Satellite

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom deplores the decision of the Government of India to support the Soviet Union's proposal to the 17th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO that a broadcasting country should take prior permission of the recipient country before a television programme is beamed through Satellite.

The Soviet Union's proposal does not come as a surprise in view of the fact that citizens within its own country are denied free access to information. But what is surprising is that a democratically constituted government should accept such a proposal, which is contrary to the United Nations convention on Freedom of Information, to which India is a party.

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom calls upon the Government of India to oppose the Soviet Union's proposal and to take up a positive stand in favour of free access to information to people all over the world no matter in which part of the world they live.

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AWAL'S PRINCIPLE

'A General Theory' of Student Unrest

Deepa Awal

THE following essay attempts to put forward a 'General Theory' of student unrest. The inspiration is derived from Lord Keynes' 'The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money'. I have also taken the liberty of borrowing a few terms from Keynes' terminology. The general theory of student unrest analyses the determinants of equilibrium, equilibrium being defined essentially as a state of student unrest.

There are primarily four factors in the Indian economy which interact to produce equilibrium. If these factors combine in a particular way, a state of equilibrium will be achieved so that the economy has no tendency to move away from that position. In other words, the equilibrium of student unrest will persist in the long run.

The factors which determine the state of equilibrium are enumerated below:

1. The multiplier effect;
2. The marginal efficiency of the University staff;
3. The marginal propensity to consume learning;
4. Quantity of University funds.

I shall examine each of these briefly:

1. *Multiplier effect* – This states that as the stage of socialism advances i.e. as the number of students in a classroom increase, the level of ignorance also increases, but more than in proportion to the change in the number of students. In a mathematical form, this would look like –

Level of ignorance = $k \times$ increase in number of students

where k is a constant and is called the multiplier.

The multiplier effect is very easily explained. It operates because as the number of students increases the ratio of students to teachers also increases. As this happens there is greater incentive for students to sneak out from the lecture hall, because the risk element is reduced; more students are able to proxy for each other on the attendance sheets; and last but not least, the teachers have to yell much louder to make themselves heard. The facility of microphones is not available because ours is still an underdeveloped country, although it is said that it is fast approaching a state of development!

The multiplier is a very important variable in the theory of student unrest because it tells us approximately when the equilibrium of student unrest will occur.

2. *Marginal Efficiency of University Staff* – This is the second important variable. It postulates that as the number of staff in the University increases, their efficiency decreases. This happens because as the number of Staff increases, there is greater likelihood of friction, rivalries and jealousies among them. The amount of discontent increases which, in turn, reflects itself in the classroom. The marginal efficiency of Staff also decreases because their salary in real terms, i.e. in terms of purchasing power, is continuously decreasing. Here, I might also mention that Pigou's theory of employment which states that with a fall in real wages, supply of workers for employment will go down, is empirically proved wrong. It has been noticed in the Indian economy that inspite of a decrease in real wages, number of applications for employment is continuously increasing! To come back to the marginal efficiency of University staff, a third reason why it decreases with increase in numbers is because with each new batch the quality control of the qualifying degree is a little more inferior than the previous batch (unless it is a much demanded 'foreign' degree).

More Degrees, Less Knowledge

3. *The Marginal Propensity to Consume Learning* – This is the most important psychological law in my general theory. It states that with an increase in degree, the student's propensity to consume learning decreases. That is to say, as a student moves from S.S.C. or H.S.I.C. to B.A. or B.Sc. to M.A. or M.Sc. to Ph.D. his propensity to learn decreases. There are several reasons for this happening:

- (a) As a student goes to a higher level of education, the interpersonal relations between students and teacher deteriorate. The teacher no longer has the courage to spank the student or even prevent him from doing things which are clearly against the rules and regulations of the University. In fact even cheating in the examinations is permissible. This sort of disinterest is very discouraging for the student. He is naturally in for a tremendous surprise when he realises that all the teacher asks for is generally to be in the students' good books so that he can in turn be in the administration's good books. As a result, the student revolts, thereby bringing us closer to a state of equilibrium.



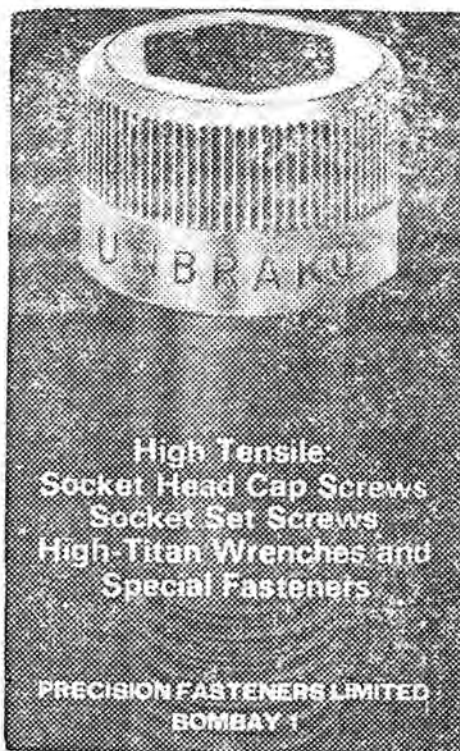
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- (b) The second main reason for the fundamental law of decreasing propensity to learn is that the student is not expected to perform well! If he is expected to perform well, he may actually perform well (!) and thereby turn out to be smarter than his teachers!
- (c) As the student goes to a higher level of education, he is told that he will not be 'spoon-fed' any more. But as soon as he starts working on his own, he realises he has to work within the very narrow limits of an age-old decadent syllabi which may not change for the next decade or so.

All these reasons serve to create the decreasing propensity to consume learning.

4. *Quantity of University funds* — This is an external factor and is outside the control of anyone except the Government. It is, however, an important determinant of student unrest equilibrium.

As the quantity of University funds increases, the instability also increases. This happens because the use of these funds gives the students a chance to question the (mis) appropriation and use of these

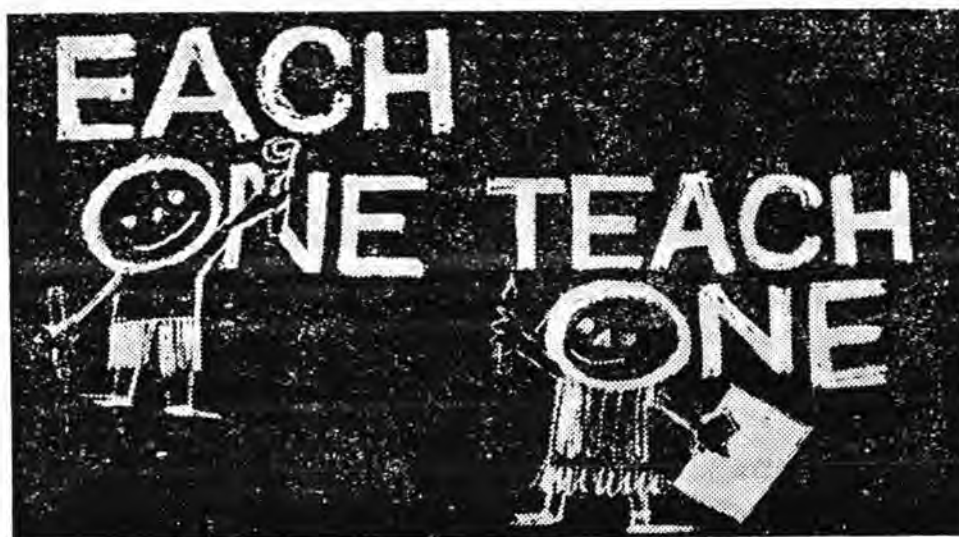
funds. Such questioning usually results in a great deal of embarrassment and instability; student unrest tends to increase thereby bringing us closer to equilibrium.

These then are the primary factors which determine the equilibrium of Student Unrest.

Highly Desirable

I consider the state of student unrest as being highly desirable. It indicates that the student still has enough hope and sanity to protest against something that is grossly wrong. The University today is comparable to a wild life sanctuary for youth and the criterion of its achievements, namely the examinations, have rightly been described as the 'periodical disgorging of what has been learnt.'

It is indeed a wonder that the student comes out of the University with his intelligence unimpaired. It is even more wonderful that he finds the motivation to protest. After all, his demands are never taken seriously and he is never encouraged to think; yet he does all this. Indeed, the salvation of the country lies in studying the nature and content of student rebellion.



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Review

Beyond Punjab

By Prakash Tandon

Thomson Press (India) New Delhi, pp. 222 Rs. 32.50.

JOB hunting is usually a trying experience. It was particularly so for Prakash Tandon during the 30s. He was a qualified Chartered Accountant trained in England but that made little difference. It only tended to place him peculiarly. European firms had no need for his type: they always imported their managers. Indian organisations, on the other hand, were family affairs. What use would Tandon be to Lalaji when he had his own canny financial horse-sense? If Lalaji needed help he had his family; if he required still further help he could turn to his caste or "trusted" members of his community.

Tandon got his break when he was accepted by Levers. As usual, the Chief Accountant had no use for him. One of the other managers, however, decided to try him out in market research, then an infant discipline.

Although pre-eminently successful in his career — he rose to become the Chairman — he had his share of emotional problems in the beginning. Because he was the first Indian manager in the English firm he felt uneasy in the company of his European colleagues. Whereas his European counterparts addressed their bosses by their first name, he called them "sir". And

they never objected to being addressed thus. This was not a comfortable beginning for a young man who had become accustomed to equality during his student days in England. Unlike his father's generation he could not reach a philosophical compromise. For them, the European boss was a guru, a mentor. They suffered the small humiliations quietly, much as they might have at the hands of an Indian guru; gave him the necessary respect, and tried to imbibe new skills.

Tandon's plight reminds the reader of Paul Scott's Harry Coomer (Hari Kumar), an Indian boy brought up in England, who tried to make a go in India. Unfortunately Coomer did not succeed in getting a job with an English Company because his impeccable English public school accent and manner were too much for the commercial types. The fact is that for a sizeable population of the British in India, an Indian could only be a clerk, a peasant, a soldier or a servant. The educated Indian did not fit into their picture of the white man's burden.

Socialising with Europeans, writes Tandon, was a strain for both sides. Discussion of politics or the War, which were uppermost in the minds of both sides was taboo. Little wonder that his little bridge parties (much like the bridge parties of *A Passage to India*) were failures. It was a lonely life.

He was of course not permitted into the sanctums of the Raj—the clubs—where many of his colleagues met. That hurt. When finally after Independence the British felt the pressure to admit a few token "right sort of Indians," he reacted strongly. When a colleague

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invited him for lunch at Bombay's Yacht Club, he froze, "I am sorry, most sorry, I cannot come," he said, because till recently he would not have been allowed to set foot in its premises. Similarly, he refused to join the European Hospital (Brench Candy) Benefit Scheme or the Bombay Gymkhana Club. "I found there was no rancour or desire to get even; but that there was hurt involved was obvious to both sides". In fact, even years after Independence he refused to attend a course organised at Henley for its European executives.

East of Suez

What really happened to the British after crossing the Suez? A minor character in Scott's *Day of the Scorpions* describes the gulf between the English in India and the English in England: "We were tremendously polite but had nothing to say to each other. I felt I had met a family who had been preserved by some sort of Edwardian twilight that got trapped between the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea round about the turn of the century". It was finally Independence which shocked such people out of their complacency of the Empire, the Anglian Church, the clubs, and the civilising mission of the white races.

There is a lighter side to the book also: Tandon

once visited an old family of Hyderabad for lunch: one of the younger sons of the family had been advised to exercise his limbs regularly. For a man who needed a servant to help him with his trousers, this was a fantastic suggestion. However, he took the advice to heart. Daily, at noon, when the April temperatures touched 115°C, his highness would get ready for his exercise amidst much commotion. Two retainers would sit behind him in his car, and he would career around the town madly, violently blowing the horn and agitatedly turning the steering wheel both ways. The retainers would hang on to dear life. Promptly at one, he would return panting, the exercise having been successfully completed.

Tandon describes the Byzantine compartmentalisation of Indian trains during the thirties. Trains had first, second, intermediate and third class compartments. Some trains even had special compartments for Eurasians; later they began to be marked Anglo-Indian. The first four categories also had their feminine equivalents: the first and second classes were labelled ladies; the intermediate, women; and the third class, females. In all there were eleven categories. The same went for station lavatories. It was divide and rule carried to its logical limits.

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WITH MANY VOICES

"The deep
Moans round with many voices. Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world."
—Tennyson.

If patriotism has been the last refuge of scoundrels for the last few nationalist minded centuries, the latest variant, at least in this country, is anti-Americanism or, in its more 'refined' form, calling anyone you don't like a C.I.A. agent.

—*Economic and Political Weekly*, October 28.

Russian Withdrawal; or Divorce Egyptian Style.
—Headline in *New Middle East*, August 1972.

Truly there is no snobbishness like that of professing equalitarians.

—Malcolm Muggeridge in his autobiography.
Chronicles of Wasted Time.

Mr. Roy Jenkins is one of the few remaining British politicians (Mr. Enoch Powell is another) who are actually literate.

—*The Economist*, September 30.

If persons like Jayaprakash Narayan can be dubbed C.I.A. agents, then perhaps I myself would like to be called one.

—Young Turk Chandrashekhar, quoted in
March of the Nation, November 4.

It is always difficult to distinguish true words from false when they come from the Soviet Union.

—Chou En-lai in *Sunday Standard*, November 12.

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Many of the white settlers who were then (20 years ago) muttering that all would be lost if Kenyatta should take over are those who are today muttering that all will be lost when he goes.

—*The Economist*, October 28.

Americans had a choice between "Richard Nixon, a man who broke virtually every campaign promise he made, and George McGovern who, if elected, one would hope and pray, breaks every campaign promise he has made.

—Third Candidate John G. Schmitz, quoted in
Himmat, November 3.

The mood of the people is such that if parliament and general elections are held today, the ruling party would find itself on the opposition benches.

—P. G. Mavlankar, M.P., in Lok Sabha quoted in
Times of India, November 15.

With so many Nehrus and their cousins, the Dhars and the Kauls, the bureaucracy now seems to be suffering from "Nehrumatism".

—V. Krishnamachari, in *Times of India*,
November 13.

Coalition with the Communists means death.

—President Thieu quoted in *US News & World Report*, October 30.

Henceforth if you are a member of a group which wants to assassinate or kidnap-for-ransom any foreign potentate, statesman, diplomat, greedy capitalist, inconvenient socialist, trade rival, crusading journalist, immigrant leader, Irishman, Arab or Jew, you would seem to have every incentive to wait until he visits Germany.

—*The Economist*, November 4.

As the Indian experience has shown, governments rapidly become the largest single source of white-collar jobs, and create them at the expense of savings.

—*The Economist*, November 4.

It (the House of Commons) is, indeed, just like a gentleman's club — no longer the best in Europe. Just the most inefficient.

—Hugh Marpherson in *New Middle East*,
October 1972.