

JUNE 1972

EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

THE P.M. AND THE PAK PROFESSOR

“Martial”

I DO not see the point of the recent potter about Mrs. Gandhi's borrowing some ideas on economic policy from a Pak professor. After all, our P.M. cannot be expected to work out original conceptions of economic development all by herself. Consequently, she must lift them from someone somewhere. If, this time, it happens to be a Pak academician in the employ of the World Bank, this is merely a random statistical fact.

However, I do wish that the P.M. would exercise a little more quality-consciousness in her exploratory rambles through the pages of the lesser-known journals. This would have prevented her getting taken in by the absurd claims of Dr. Mahabub ul Haque (the Pak professor in question) of having invented a new approach to development planning. These ideas, as they have been presented, are neither original, nor particularly valuable.

What, after all, is Dr. Haque's central idea? It is that a high growth rate of the Gross National Product (taken as a single objective) is not a suitable guide for development planning particularly for the poor nations. This has been pointed out, over and over again, in the last two decades by people like Colin Clark, P. T. Bauer, Simon Kuznets and Gunnar Myrdal. In recent times, Professor Mishan and Dudley Seers have been eloquent propagandists of this point of view.

The reason why GNP measures of development have continued to be popular is not that the defects of such measures have not been well understood. It is because alternative useful measures of development performance have been difficult to devise. But does Dr. Haque offer us any new guide lines on this critical technical problem? No. Instead, he offers the following hodge-podge as a serious development policy.

First, “the problem of development must be defined as a selective attack on the worst forms of poverty”. Dr. Haque does not tell us how we distinguish between these worst forms of poverty and other relatively innocuous forms. Neither does he tell us the criteria

of selection on which the alleged ‘selective attack’ should be based.

Secondly, “the developing countries should define minimum consumption standards that they must reach in a manageable period of time”. How these minimum needs are to be fixed is not specified. We are only told that they must not depend on the ability to pay. But it is unclear as to what this means. If the poor group's incomes do not rise enough to enable them to pay for their minimum material needs, it means that they will have to be maintained on the dole. Does Dr. Haque really comprehend the consequences of putting about 40 per cent of the population on the dole? If he does not, what is the meaning of the phrase that the ability to pay should not be considered at all.

Thirdly, the concern for more production and better distribution should be “brought together in defining the pattern of development”. Bravo! But what about the cases where the two concerns do not match? What

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Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Surely not 'Tabloid'?

WE see that our good friend, Mr. Khushwant Singh, has given a pat on the back to *Freedom First* by telling the readers of his prestigious and well circulated *Illustrated Weekly* that "if you want information on off-beat topics and like to be provoked I recommend this lively journal".

We acknowledge this compliment with a grateful bow but, when Mr. Khushwant Singh goes on to describe *Freedom First* as a 'tabloid', we think we must gently demur. We are confirmed in this by a look at the dictionary where the two attributes of tabloid journals are listed as being (1) printed on sheets of half the normal size of daily newspapers and (2) 'popular' which means lowbrow and sensational in style. We would like to think our readers would join in acquitting us of the latter charge.

Freedom First is undoubtedly extremely thin in the number of its pages but, in our supreme conceit, we like to think that we make up in educative value and content for the lack of wordage or verbiage. Any one who subscribes to *Freedom First* on the strength of Mr. Khushwant Singh's encouragement will not, however, be disappointed because, along with serious material of high national and international import, he will find something to read about hippies, hashish, female eunuchs and body (not bawdy) language. All this—and Heaven too!

Death of a Tyrant

The death of Kwame Nkrumah undergoing treatment for an 'incurable disease' in a hospital behind the Iron Curtain in Rumania, in exile and in disgrace with a reward of Rs. 75,000/- on his head is a sad but fitting end to the career of a man who liked to be known as the "Redeemer" and as a protagonist of the 'African personality'.

For nearly a decade, Nkrumah ruled supreme in Ghana, relying like others of his ilk on charisma to make up for sound economic policies and sane international relations. Using the umbrella word 'socialism', as so many dictators have done and are doing, he managed to fool the people of Ghana by talking of strength and glory in place of consumer goods and a stable currency. Like other 'socialists' of that kind he himself lived extremely well on the perquisites of his high office. Corruption was rampant and the Leader of the Opposition, Dr. Basia, had to flee and go in exile to escape assassination. Naturally, Nkrumah drifted into the Soviet orbit and was quite appropriately over-

thrown by an angry people and a patriotic army that had enough when he was visiting his comrades in Peking. Nkrumah's bodyguard of Russian gunmen had to be disarmed and placed on a plane to the Workers' Fatherland. Nkrumah's career is paralleled by that of Sukarno of Indonesia and some others who rode the high horse of popularity while promising to destroy poverty. All that they succeeded in destroying, however, were the country's democratic institutions and the economic welfare of the people. These casualties their successors have to revive painfully over the years, as President Suharto is doing in Indonesia and President Sadat is trying to do in Egypt.

It is to be hoped that the Indian people if ever they are faced with a similar situation will decide that an ounce of timely prevention is better than a ton of cure later.

USIA Director's Admission

Mr. Frank Shakespeare, Director of the U.S. Information Agency in Washington, has now confirmed what one had always suspected—that the United States is losing the cold war on the propaganda front to the Soviet Dictatorship just as badly as the United States is losing their nuclear superiority to the Soviets.

In an interview with *U.S. News & World Report* published on 1st May, Mr. Shakespeare has refuted the stupid suggestion often made that the cold war has come to an end and quite rightly asserted that the cold war evidently exists in terms of the struggle for men's minds. He then comments on the U.S. failure: "I think that the Soviet Union has been much more successful than the West, generally, in propagating its point of view and in getting support for it. And I think this is especially remarkable when you consider the substance of life in the Soviet Union, as contrasted with the substance of our life and what we have to offer. So I feel that we in the West have done a very inadequate job of presenting the issues in a way in which people can judge them with perception."

Mr. Shakespeare then refers to the massive discontent within the Soviet Union caused by two factors, one being the denial of human freedom to all its citizens and the other national discontent on the part of the peoples of the subject nationalities in the Soviet Empire who do not wish to be ruled by the Russians. "It's essential that we broadcast to the discontented people inside the Soviet Union", he says. "Why? One reason is because the dissent of the leading intellectuals is never made known to the people of the Soviet

Union except by Western radio. If we don't broadcast such information, it doesn't get in. The Soviet people are not told about (Nobel Prize winner) Solzhenitsyn's dissent, of the Sakharov letter (a letter by nuclear scientist Andrei Sakharov asking freedom for Russians to leave the country at will) or about the fact that 17,000 Catholics in Lithuania signed a protest against the Government.

"We must make these discontented people inside the Soviet Union aware that they are not alone, but that there are millions of people who feel the same way they do.

"You can do this in a very objective way. You can simply read the novels of Solzhenitsyn, as Radio Liberty does. Or you can report the facts on the Soviet repression of the Nobel Prize to a Soviet citizen—as the Voice of America does. Or you can report the fact that sugar is being rationed in Cuba".

Fulbright's Folly

There are of course others who would like to do exactly the reverse of what Mr. Shakespeare advises. There is, for instance, the foolish Senator Fulbright who would like to cut off financial assistance to Radio Free Europe, the Munich station that has been broadcasting to Russia and Eastern Europe since early 1950s. Commenting on his suicidal effort, the London *Economist* rightly comments that "Mr. Fulbright looks like

doing the communist governments' work for them, and *Pravda* and Moscow Radio are duly commending him. But the continuation of broadcasting to the East remains an essential Western interest. It is not a liberal action on Mr. Fulbright's part to try to silence this part of it; and it casts further doubts on his understanding of international issues. If the Americans fail to provide alternative ways of financing the Munich stations, others should step in to fill the gap. Britain might well increase its grant for the hard-pressed BBC external services, which enjoy a high reputation among listeners in the communist world."

Judging by the annual poll of East bloc tourists in Western Europe, 78% of all radio-listening Poles, 81% of the Hungarians, 77% of Rumanians, 78% of Bulgarians, and 60% of the Czechoslovaks at present listen to Radio Free Europe. All the East bloc countries except Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have given up trying to jam RFE since the broadcasts tend to get through anyhow.

Fortunately, Mr. Willy Brandt, the German Chancellor has, despite his Ostpolitik, appreciated the value of the people behind the Iron Curtain getting a little bit of the truth and has rejected the Soviet suggestion that the licence of the stations operating from West Germany be withdrawn.

All lovers of freedom throughout the world will be happy if Mr. Fulbright's vandalism fails and these two radio stations are allowed to continue to function.

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HOW INDIAN THE OCEAN?

A. G. Noorani

THE late President Sukarno irately questioned the name and claimed that the Ocean could more appropriately be called the Indonesian Ocean. None took the President seriously. But one wonders whether India does not, at times, take the name a trifle too seriously. In consequence, the truly serious task of formulating a sound Indian Ocean policy suffers.

Indian policy today is no more than a few admonitions addressed repeatedly with irregular intervals, to the Great Powers, mostly to the Western Powers—the Ocean should be a zone of peace, Great Power rivalry is dangerous, bases are more so, and nuclear weapons the worst of all. All this is true but the rivalry is a fact of life, the bases are there, and so are the cruises of warships on high seas. Canutian admonitions are worse than useless. They give a harmful illusion of policy where no policy exists, whether in regard to the Indian Ocean or to Asian security generally. The great missing factor is the lack of any rapport with the other Asian countries on these matters.

The presence of the Great Powers on the Indian Ocean concerns our security a great deal. *The Economist* (January 8, 1972) referred to it as an area where “even a fairly small naval force can still hope to establish a local superiority of power—the command of that bit of the sea—and use it to do all the things, from showing the flag to putting the marines ashore, that are the prerogatives of naval supremacy”.

Both the super-powers are increasing their presence. Effective from January 1, 1972, the “chop line” or jurisdiction of the U.S. Pacific Fleet has been extended to a longitude extending due south from the western border of Pakistan, that is, for more than three-quarters of the Ocean area. The U.S. has a communication station on Diego Garcia, where it is building an 8,000-foot runway to be used for “resupply aircraft”. At Bahrein, the U.S. has taken on lease “naval facilities”.

Soviet Penetration

According to a SEATO study entitled “Soviet Interest and Influence in the Indian Ocean Area” published in March 1971 “Soviet naval penetration of the Indian Ocean began in the summer of 1967 shortly after the Six-Day War between Egypt and Israel.”

Admiral Bernard A. Clarey, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, said in an interview with *U.S. News and World Report* that the Russians “have established an anchorage around Socotra Island, just east of the Gulf of Aden and south of Yemen. And there are two or three places in the Indian Ocean where they have anchored large mooring buoys”.

On December 14, 1970, the Defence Minister, Mr.

Jagjivan Ram, told the Lok Sabha that Russia had more ships and vessels in the Indian Ocean than others had. He replied in the affirmative when asked whether he had seen reports that it had a special Indian Ocean fleet consisting of 20 ships equipped with missiles, scientific research (spy) ships and nuclear class submarines.

The Government of India speaks in two voices. Thus on one and the same day, (April 7, 1971), the Defence Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, told the Lok Sabha in a written answer that there had been “an increase in the movement of Soviet ships in the Indian Ocean”. But, the Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Surinder Pal Singh said that the Government had “no positive evidence” of a large-scale Soviet naval build-up in the Indian Ocean. Where does an “increase in the movement” end and a build-up begin. What better proof of a build-up in an Ocean can there be than a sudden and substantial increase in the presence or movement of ships?

China was a limiting factor, and China has been

IN THIS ISSUE

One of the most outstanding of our younger economists exposes the phony nature of the “new” economics made fashionable by the Prime Minister’s adoption of a Pakistani professor’s thesis.

A. G. Noorani asks “How Indian The Ocean?” when writing about what has become an area of vital international concern.

Two eminent educationists, one Indian, the other American, deal with the problems of higher education. Prof. V. V. John, the courageous Vice-Chancellor of Jodhpur University, contributed an important paper to a Seminar organised by the Leslie Sawhny Programme. Prof. Sidney Hook, Professor of Philosophy in New York University, gave a paper at a recent seminar of the Australian Association for Cultural Freedom in Sidney. We publish abridgements of both.

Jack Anderson has been awarded the Pulitzer Prize though with reservations on the pact of the Trustees regarding the ethics of his activities. James Burnham, one of America’s most brilliant political scientists, discusses the issues raised by Anderson’s disclosures.

Our Associate Editor contributes a book review.

strongly critical of the Soviet presence in the Indian ocean.

The Small Land

Sad to say, smaller countries like Indonesia and Ceylon have shown greater awareness of the problem than India has. On March 16, 1969, Dr. Adam Malik, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, called for co-operation among India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Ceylon, Malaysia and Singapore "to defend the Indian Ocean". He amplified "They should say to the three Great Powers. 'It's better that you don't come here. We can look after it ourselves'".

Dr. Malik's proposal may not be acceptable to the Great Powers but his plea for regional co-operation merits acceptance. But the Government of India has been cool to the whole idea.

The Ministry of External Affairs' Annual Report for 1969-70 said:

"During the period of the report, developments in the Indian Ocean assumed considerable importance. The British decision to withdraw from Singapore, Malaysia and from the Persian Gulf caused anxiety in some quarters that a power-vacuum was being created in the Indian Ocean which outside powers would try to fill. Government of India believe that British withdrawal would not create any more power-vacuum than the liquidation of the Empire had created.

"The countries in the Indian Ocean or its periphery have been developing politically, economically and, indeed in every field, contributing to the stability of the region as a whole. India is of the view that it would be most unfortunate if this movement towards stability is disturbed by the introduction of foreign naval forces into the region. India's view has been that the Indian Ocean should be an area of peace and a nuclear-free zone, free of military bases and big-power tensions. We have, of course, recognized the freedom of the seas under international law."

What if "foreign naval forces" use the "freedom of the seas" for a display of might? In what way are "military bases" in the region more dangerous than a continuous presence, otherwise, on the high seas of "foreign naval forces"? Yet, strangely enough, New Delhi has been more critical of Diego Garcia than of the increased Soviet presence.

The Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lusaka in September 1970 recommended that the United Nations adopt a declaration "calling upon all states to consider and respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace from which great power rivalries and competition as well as bases conceived in the context of such rivalries and competition, either army, navy, or air force, are excluded. The area should be also free of nuclear weapons".

The Great Powers were none too impressed. Thanks to the disunity among the Asians, the Great Powers have found it easier to have a discussion directly amongst themselves than with or through the Asians.

In a speech, on June 11, 1971, Mr. Brezhnev said: "We have never regarded it as an ideal situation for navies of great powers to remain for long periods far from home waters. We are ready to settle this problem, too, but to settle it on an equal footing."

"The Soviet Union," Mr. Brezhnev said, "is ready on the basis of such principles to discuss any proposals."

It seems that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were already engaged in informal discussions on this question. Both abstained on the resolution which the U.N. General Assembly adopted on December 16, 1971, declaring "that the Indian Ocean, within limits to be determined, . . . is hereby designated for all time as a zone of peace".

It also called upon the Great Powers "to enter into immediate consultations within the littoral States of the Indian Ocean with a view to halting the further escalation and expansion of their military presence in the Indian Ocean.". The U.N. Secretary-General has been asked to report to the next session of the Assembly on the progress in the implementation of the Assembly's Declaration.

China and Japan joined the other Asian States in voting for the resolution. Apart from the super-powers other notable abstainers were Singapore, Madagascar, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

In December 1971 warships of the U.S. and the Soviet Union were in strength in the Indian Ocean. The entry of the nuclear-powered U.S. Carrier *Enterprise* in the Bay of Bengal dramatically altered the situation.

The Indo-Soviet joint statement issued in Moscow last September on the conclusion of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's visit contained this significant passage "The Prime Minister of India reaffirmed that the Indian Ocean area should be made a zone of peace. The Soviet side expressed its readiness to study this question and to solve it with other powers on an equal basis."

Clearly, there was no identity of views between the two sides. But another factor has been introduced in the situation since the Indo-Soviet Treaty. Mr. K. Subrahmanyam, Director of Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, and Mr. J. P. Anand at Research Office there cite the Treaty and comment: "Both for the purposes of effective consultations in regard to maritime threat that could be posed to India as well as measures necessary to remove those threats, the Soviet Union might consider it necessary to have increased surveillance capability in the Indian Ocean area, especially in view of the fact that the capability of the Indian navy by itself in this respect is not of a significant order."

"It has been officially revealed that this Treaty had

WHAT MAKES JACK ANDERSON TICK?

James Burnham

IT would save a lot of trouble if all high-level White House, Pentagon and State Department get-togethers were televised live from now on. There would be no need for anyone to waste time making those extra Xerox copies, or for journalists and spies to have to bother protecting their channels of communication.

From the standpoint of national security, if I may be pardoned the expression, the Jack Anderson caper is probably more damaging than Daniel Ellsberg's. Ellsberg's Pentagon Papers were stale products of bygone Administrations, but Anderson has been serving up his goodies hot from the griddle. Their subject-matters are unfinished political and military operations. There can be no doubt that these timely tid-bits not merely are "embarrassing to individuals" but are capable of affecting those operations adversely and have probably done so. In addition, they nurture resentments, suspicion and ill-will in the government appa-

ratus, and obstruct frank communication with the officials of other governments.

The pious twaddle of the media about "the people's right to know" is not worth discussing. The media seize on these disclosures primarily to serve their raging lust for marketable sensations, and in some cases out of political motives they share with the sources. These motives are one or more of the following: (1) opposition to a specific official policy (Vietnam war, support of Pakistan...); (2) apparatus infighting (State v. Kissinger cadre, Pentagon v. State or CIA, etc.); (3) general opposition to the incumbent President; (4) opposition to U.S. Government.

Private and Public

Whatever the enterprise, the people who run it have got to be able to talk problems and policies over confidentially among themselves if they are going to run it

HOW INDIAN THE OCEAN? — Cont'd from page 5

been offered to India as early as the middle of 1969. It is not quite clear whether the increased Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean since 1969 was designed to re-inforce the credibility of Russia's capability to discharge its obligations under the Treaty in certain contingencies."

In that event what does this spell for India's non-alignment as well as its adherence to the Lusaka and the U.N. General Assembly's declarations?

It has since been revealed that the United States has approached the Soviet Union about mutually limiting naval strength in the Indian Ocean and elsewhere, but there has been no response from Moscow.

The State Department spokesman Mr. Charles Bray made the statement February 2, 1972 following a disclosure to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee February 1, by U. Alexis Johnson, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, that Washington had contacted Moscow about a mutual restraint of forces in South Asian waters.

It was, presumably, this exchange to which the Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Surendra Pal Singh was referring when, on April 25, he told the Lok Sabha about a Big Powers' Conference on the Indian Ocean. He also expressed the hope that they would invite the littoral States to join. A more pathetic confession of diplomatic failure is hard to conceive. The next day, his chief, Mr. Swaran Singh expressed a different hope, namely, that the consensus of the littoral States to keep the navies of the Great Powers out would act as a deterrent.

A Mediterranean

Earlier, on April 7, Mr. Swaran Singh had drawn an apt parallel—a Mediterranean is what the Indian Ocean will become if the incipient Great Power rivalry gets out of hand. One wishes he would consider the implications of the analogy. In the Mediterranean, the Great Power rivalry grew because the littoral States were divided, most relying on one or the other Power. Israel welcomes the U.S. Sixth Fleet and Egyptians welcome the Soviet presence. Wrote *Al-Ahram* on February 2, 1968 "The entire Arab world has the right, indeed the duty to encourage the Soviet fleet's presence in the Mediterranean as a balancing factor, at least in the present circumstances, to counter the uproar which the U.S. Sixth Fleet is causing by roaming alone in the sea."

India's Indian Ocean policy makes little sense because it cannot be divorced from the larger issue of Asian security on which India's policy is so nebulous and so self-contradictory. Instead of India taking the lead in formulating a realistic policy jointly with the littoral States and inviting the Great Powers, thereafter, to negotiate an over-all regime of the Ocean we find India asking the Great Powers not to forget the poor littorals in their deliberations.

It would be interesting to watch what progress the U.N. Secretary-General reports to the next session of the U.N. General Assembly in the implementation of its ambitious Declaration.

successfully. And whatever the enterprise, you don't talk the same way in private as you do in public. The union leadership doesn't announce to the press: "We demand a 25 per cent wage increase, but last night we agreed among ourselves that if necessary we'll settle for 15 per cent." A general doesn't report to the enemy command his staff's finding that his right flank is the most vulnerable spot in his line. You don't tell the neighbours everything you say in the family circle at cocktail time.

If the idea gets around that almost any discussion may go public, then everyone clams up. The boss asks for my frank opinion, but I've got to take into account how my words are going to look when they hit the papers a day or two from now. No use sticking my neck out with something too controversial, or too unpopular with the media. And the boss, too, is going to have to watch his verbal step. He'll have to be very careful telling what's really on his mind.

The question of the need and right of the head of government to have inviolate confidential relations with his aides arose at the very beginning of our history, and was confronted head on by President Washington. When the Senate, considering a treaty with France, summoned the officials who had negotiated it and questioned them concerning the preliminary White House discussions Washington ordered them to refuse to testify. Later Presidents have invariably maintained the same position. The modern media, however, do not recognize any constitutional limit on their sovereignty.

There have always been leaks, but they have never been as wide open and as reckless as they have become during the Nixon Administration. No doubt this is partly an expression of the spirit of the age—no more secrets of sex; the same recklessness with life and property endangered by a bomb in a lavatory or a bank vault. But in Mr. Nixon's case there are also special factors. He is the favourite hate-object of many in the State Department bureaucracy, who will never forgive or forget his leading role in the Alger Hiss case, and of the leftist HEW-types who use him as their military-industrial bugaboo.

Leak Prone

Moreover, the colossal bureaucracy of our era is by its nature leak-prone. In Washington's day, the President's confidential discussions with his aides meant a private chat with two or three personal friends; no stenographer or tape was making a transcript—a few notes, diary entries, or a summary uncirculated memorandum were "the record"; the few people who "had to know" would usually be told personally. Today, as Anderson's transcripts indicate, the President himself is not even present in person at the "confidential discussion." A crowd assembles under a stand-in for the President. A full record is kept, multiplied physically,

and sent hither and yon to who knows how many offices and desks. It isn't much of a feat to crack the security possible under that sort of procedure.

I do not think, however, that these historical and structural factors are enough to explain fully the size and frequency of the leaks under Nixon—not so much leaks as a bursting of the dam. At least part of the cause must be Nixon himself. Nixon doesn't seem to be much good at managing the bureaucracy. He can't seem to keep the bureaucrats in line by either inspiring, cajoling, disciplining or whipping them. Nixon is the boss and the boss is in the last analysis responsible. It is incredible that the day-after-day leak to Anderson was not traced long ago to its source.

Most Secret Is No Secret

And maybe there is something, at that, to the point I started from. There is no justification for 99 per cent of governmental "classifying." Hardly anything deserves classification for more than a few years. If the classifying stamps were restricted to the sensible minimum, and if all items were automatically declassified after three years unless specifically excepted by executive order, secrecy for the modest remainder would be a lot simpler to sustain. The elimination of costs involved in current over-classification procedures would also save a couple of billion dollars yearly, though of course that's of no interest to anyone.

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THE CRISIS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

V. V. John

THE ills of our education have been studied time and again. In innumerable reports are contained recommendations designed to remedy every ill, and to achieve every objective. Perhaps we have arrived at the position of the educator who was pictured in a cartoon in an American magazine sometime ago. It showed the academic rather ruefully lamenting, "We have all the answers, but we have forgotten the questions."

The questions, however, are clear. They relate to the basic objectives of education, particularly the higher learning. These are: to impart a certain quality of the mind and to impart productive skills. The quality of the mind includes the sharpening of the tools of reason and deepening and refining sensibility.

These may be dismissed as outdated concepts relating to liberal education, and aimed at producing an elite. They may be considered irrelevant in an egalitarian society which is committed to the ideal of social justice. It might be considered even more irrelevant in a poor country where the primary need is not so much to cultivate the graces of the mind as to increase material production. Both experience and reflection would, however, show that the pursuit of productive skills without the cultivation of a quality of the mind such as higher education aims at, will prove self-defeating. All vocational training, which is purely vocational, has within it the seeds of frustration. A technologist who is only a technologist might not even prove to be a good technologist.

One of the causes of current troubles in the universities is supposed to be the swelling enrolment. Far too many young people come into college and university, and they are not intellectually equipped for benefiting from higher education. Hence standards fall. The remedy proposed is selective admission to universities.

It is wrong to suppose that formerly we had selective admission on the basis of intellectual competence. Those who went to college were those whose parents could afford the expense. What we achieved therefore was not the production of an intellectual elite but the giving of an intellectual basis to pure privilege. By casting the net more widely, the universities could discover talent in areas to which higher education was not formerly available.

The unpleasant fact cannot, however, be ignored that with swelling enrolments in the colleges, there has been a fall in academic standards. Considering that our standards of higher education were never very high, the present decline constitutes a major crisis in higher education. But it may not be correct to diagnose the malady in terms of mere swelling enrolments. It would be wrong to suppose that the students that come today

from high school are incapable of responding to the challenges of genuine learning. The fact seems to be that there are few in the colleges who are able to offer these challenges, or to assist the students in responding to them. In plain language, the failure of higher education is not a failure of the teaching community. Far too many persons who have very little to offer by way of scholarship are on the faculties of colleges and universities.

The Gajendragadkar Committee Report devotes most of its space to determining the size of university bodies and their composition. Responding to a ubiquitous clamour, the report commends the wisdom of student participation in decision-making in the university. Considering the quality of the decisions that are being made in the universities now, one cannot imagine that student participation will make them any worse. Besides, the educative value of such participation should also be recognised. But one would not rate this among the more urgent problems in higher education.

Student Participation

Student participation in decision making could come about for one of two reasons. One is that since students are at the receiving end of the educator's exertions, their reactions are relevant in any programme of improving the quality of education. The other reason is that decision-makers are so afraid of the student rabble that their participation in decision-making could be a form of orderly surrender. Decision-making, however, is only a means to an end. The end is to promote the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge and, ultimately, the improvement of the quality of life. As it happens, feats of organisation and administration occupy far too much space in the calculations of the custodians of the higher learning. Once accent shifts from power to learning, decision-making will become a function of the entire academic community, which ideally should be a continuum where too rigid distinctions between who is teaching and who is learning would be impossible.

Our students are restive because our colleges and universities have little to offer by way of a challenge and thus absorb their intellectual and moral energies. The closure of the universities for long periods does not make any difference to the intellectual life of the community. Those young people who play truant and cut their classes have no feeling that they are missing anything. Our student unrest cannot be tackled except by making the work in the class-room more exciting and significant than it is today.

The search for consensus and the compulsions of democratic procedure minimise the chances of new

AUTHORITY AND DEMOCRACY IN THE UNIVERSITY

Sidney Hook

FOR purposes of discussion I propose to distinguish three main fields in which the question of authority and democracy is relevant. The first is the area of student social and campus life; the second the academic area of what is to be taught, who is to teach it, and how it is to be taught; the third the all-university questions about certification, institutional growth and educational innovation.

Before tackling these questions I wish to say something very elementary about the role of authority in a democracy. My excuse is that when counterposed to an absurdity, even a truism may be important. What I say reflects my experience with some American students who have argued that in a democratic society all institutions should be democratically run. This seems to me clearly mistaken. The premise of a politically democratic society is that all adult citizens who are affected by the decisions of government should directly or indirectly have some say in determining who is to make the decisions. It doesn't follow from this that in a politically democratic society every institution must be democratically organized — the army, the church, the family, the museum, the orchestra, or the university. These organizations have special functions and the validity of the different ways of organiz-

ing them depends on how well they permit these functions to be realized. We want excellent music from an orchestra and if the only or best way of getting it is entrusting the notoriously temperamental Toscanini with the power to decide who is to play and for how long, the fact that his decisions do not conform to well recognized principles of democratic procedure is irrelevant.

The nature and locus of authority in the university must be such as to further the primary goals of the university, the quest for truth in all its forms, the revision of traditional knowledge and the discovery of new knowledge, and the education of students in various disciplines to a point where hopefully they can take over their own education not only in their terminal years at the university but beyond that in a continuous process of self-education. These goals can be best achieved by defending the freedom to teach and the freedom to learn.

This conception of the university has a direct bearing on its academic life and the ultimate source of authority on what constitutes knowledge, mastery of skills and other intellectual achievements, i.e., the content of the curriculum. Here the faculty for obvious reasons is the supreme authority. It is in this sense that

CRISIS IN HIGHER EDUCATION — *Cont'd from page 8*

ideas being accepted. It is wise to remember that almost all progressive ideas began as notes of dissent, or minority opinions. If the will of the majority had prevailed all the time, the world would not have changed very much in the last 5,000 years. The first anthropoid who suggested the use of tools must have been denounced for making an unmanly and indecent suggestion. As Charles Kotterling put it, "There have been only a few thought cultivators in the history of the world. It has been said that except for about 1500 of these thinkers living in the last 3000 years, we might still be living in caves." One of the functions of the university is to give dissent a chance to express itself, and to give new ideas an opportunity to be seriously considered. Ideas are unlike power. They often come from inconspicuous quarters. One of the reasons for student participation in decision-making is the need for the search for new ideas, rather than the need for seeking the consent of the governed.

One of the reasons why large numbers fail in our examinations is that the standards expected are low.

This may seem a paradox, for, if standards are low, shouldn't all be able to pass? How is it that standards are low and yet large numbers fail? The examinees have now found out that there is hardly any difference in intellectual quality between those who pass and those who fail in examinations. If the standards are low, they provide an inadequate challenge to the young mind, and this encourages indolence. Examiners try to maintain the illusion of high standards by failing a large number. If, on the other hand, standards were more exerting, the response to the challenge would also be of high quality. This point is proved by the phenomenon that in most examinations where the requirements are high, the failure rate is low. This is not entirely due to circumstance that such examinations are taken only by the more competent. Academic competence is itself not a fixed quality. The proper environment and effort could produce such competence among large numbers of students who are now considered to be incompetent.

the expression 'the faculty is the university' should be taken. But by itself it does not provide any direct lead to policy and authority in three other areas.

(a) It leaves open the question of the governance of the university in relation to the legal sources of its support, private or public. This is particularly true for public institutions. Their faculties are accountable to the representatives of those who subsidize them. Regardless of how much autonomy they have, at some point the authority of the larger public body must be recognized. A university, i.e., its faculty, may propose the establishment of a new school or a new department of area studies requiring large outlays of money. Authorization for the action, even when the power to take the action is delegated to the faculty, must ultimately come from the official bodies that represent their non-academic fellow citizens. As individual citizens, members of the faculty are also members of the public to which the educational institutions are accountable. As such they enjoy the same rights as others to make their views heard, and in addition are entitled to the respect that all experts should receive when they testify on matters within their special competence. But no more than this. They cannot claim the authority to make the decision because they are experts—at least not in a political democracy. For one of the fundamental assumptions of a politically democratic society is that one does not have to be an expert in order to judge properly the recommendations of experts. However, once the decision is made to teach this or inquire into that, the authority of the faculty is or should be absolute. The state or community may authorize that a certain subject should be taught—but it has no authority to determine *how* it is to be taught and by *whom*. For it hasn't the competence to do so and therefore no moral jurisdiction.

What constitutes the best institutional form of the relationship between the university and the community or state with respect to public universities (and private universities) is a complex subject I do not wish to enter on here. Whatever its style or mode it should reflect elements of the academic ideal, i.e., a critical and scholarly assessment of the ways teaching and research are likely to be influenced by the relationship. The criteria of rationalization and profitability applicable to running a business cannot be carried over to the running of a university, or to the academic life of the university.

(b) The second area to which the authority of the faculty provides no *direct* lead is the area of student social life and organization—general student behaviour. With the voting age reduced to 18, the university can no longer, be expected to serve *in loco parentis* to students. Their organizations, press, meetings need no faculty supervision or control. The era of paternalism is long past; freedom of association and congregation

—even where it involves freedom of cohabitation—must be recognized.

Nonetheless within the framework of the University's ideals and goals students cannot enjoy complete autonomy. The faculty must be prepared to intervene at the point where student behaviour interferes with the freedom to teach or with the freedom of other students to learn. Although in general student bodies should be empowered to police themselves, provision must be made for faculty intervention in situations in which a majority of students may act to destroy the rights of minorities to learn or of professors to teach. How this should be done, whether by establishing joint faculty-discipline committees or parallel committees we need not discuss.

(c) The third area to which the authority of the faculty provides no direct lead is the immanent relationships of members of the faculty to each other. Among faculty here I include the educational administrators who ideally should be recommended, if not selected, by their colleagues and ultimately accountable to them. Whether Deans or Departmental Chairman should be appointed or elected or rotated, whether all members of the department regardless of rank should have equal authority in appointments and promotions, are matters that cannot be decided merely by reference to the primary goals of the university. Here history and custom are likely to be of considerable weight. Ideally each member of the department should determine the nature of the course he wishes to offer and when; and ideally all the offerings should cohere to provide an effective and integrated pattern of education for students interested in the subject.



"I don't care what the vote was, Miss Finch—the senior-class play will not be 'Hair.'"

Courtesy: Playboy

But actually this idea is rarely if ever realized. Offerings may have to be planned or spaced. And it is the educational needs of the students which in teaching institutions should be the primary if not exclusive consideration. Consequently it is no illegitimate abridgment of the authority or the academic freedom of the *individual* teacher if the decision-making authority concerning what courses should be offered and who is

to offer them, is vested in the authority of the department as a whole.

I return now to the central issue of the source and justification of faculty authority in determining what the curriculum of study should be. In the affairs of the mind the criteria of excellence are not determined by the political principle of one man, one vote. Truths are not established by majorities. The authority of the teacher in deciding strictly educational matters flows from the presumption of *authoritativeness* that knowledge, experience and prolonged commitment to, and concern with, the life of scholarship gives. This is true in determining not only the necessary and sufficient conditions for a liberal arts education but especially for those professional schools in which certain standards must be reached in order to acquire certification.

There is a natural presumption that teachers who as a group have devoted much more thought to the problems in their field of study, than any given generation of students at the university, and much more time to observing and assessing the consequences of alternative approaches and courses of study, are in a better position to judge what is required for the mastery of a subject and what the evidence of that mastery consists in, than are students or their representatives. So long as degrees are to be bestowed or academic achievement in some way validated, the faculty has a vested professional interest in upholding standards of excellence since ultimately it itself is judged by the quality of the student product or outcome.

The case for faculty authority in determining matters of curricular policy is on its face so plausible that one must make a serious effort to grasp the rationale behind the movement in recent years that questions it, and that demands students be given the right, some say an equal right with their teachers, to make *decisions* on the content and order of their learning, who is to teach them, who is to examine them and how. The explanation of the phenomenon, I believe, is suggested in the sloganized demands around which much of the American agitation on this matter has developed, that students 'share the power' with the faculty. Education conceived as a quest for power, whether direct or indirect, by means of the process of teaching and learning presupposes a conception of the university quite different from one which we took as our point of departure in which the distinctive role of the university, in the words of Karl Jaspers, is to serve as 'the place where the truth is sought unconditionally in all its forms'.

Student power is a political slogan carried over from areas in which class struggles are waged on the assumption that what one side gains is a loss for the other, and that what divides classes is much more important than what they have in common. But

this adversary relationship is completely inappropriate to any situation in which genuine teaching and learning goes on. For nothing is lost when something is gained. Knowledge and insight, intellectual skills and powers are in no way diminished by being shared. On the contrary, they strengthen ties of community and give a sense of fellowship in understanding that transcends, if only temporarily, age, social status, and other distinctions. That is why there is no humiliation in being taught by someone who knows more or better than we do.

Nonetheless the students need not be treated as empty vessels into which the wine of knowledge is to be poured. In the interests of effective teaching and learning, they should have every opportunity to discuss, to advise and consult with their teachers on pending decisions that affect their educational experience. Indeed, they should be challenged to do so. Nothing can be lost except a little time, and a great many difficulties and resistances in communication may be eased. Presumably educational decisions taken in the academy are not arbitrary. There are reasons for proposing one course rather than another. The invited reactions of students to proposals that affect them may have a definite bearing on their desirability. Where we can assume a common interest in learning, ultimately the authority for any decision we make should derive from the rational methods by which we reach it, from intelligence at work on the evidence, not from the force of our position or personality.

It is unnecessary to embroider the point. One cannot—must—recognize that it is the teacher who has the responsibility for the kind of educational experience that the young will undergo, and that this justifies the authority of the teacher to make *decisions*. At the same time one must also recognize that the likelihood of a correct pattern of decisions in individual cases depends upon consultation, involvement and interaction with those who are to be taught.

I stop at this point because I do not believe that general considerations of the nature of authority and democracy can carry us any further in resolving the specific questions that have arisen in the universities of the Western world. The most crucial problems are problems of defence against attempts to apply political criteria in evaluating academic qualification and performance. What we must resist is the concerted effort to debase intellectual standards and to politicize university life under misleading slogans of democratization. It is possible to pay too high an educational price for peace on the campus. But capitulation to the demands of militant fanatical students on the one hand, and intransigent refusal to rethink or modify customary academic practices on the other, do not exhaust the alternative available to us.

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Reviews

Sordid Sinners and Splendid Sins

Bombay: A Private View by Vinod Mehta

228 pages Rs. 5.50.

TO many Bombay is a moneyed city and little else. It doesn't have the social and cultural life Delhi claims to be acquiring nor the intellectual fervor Calcutta once had. No Naxalites terrorize the citizenry, no controversy over cow slaughter spills into the streets. Violence here is generated for material rather than ideologic gain. The Bombayite's ire is aroused by decadent, bourgeois priorities like the illegal construction of a movie theatre. Revolutions have a way of simmering and dying at the doorsteps of banks and brokers. Revolutionaries wind up in the marketing departments of flourishing firms or write copy in an advertising agency.

Bombay is a corrupting influence and therefore it is not surprising that a book which claims to be private view of the city should fall victim to its vices. From the stylish cover through its chapters on prostitution—"Hot Water, Dettol and Love"—and other subjects, *Bombay: A Private* (Jaundiced, Perverted and Fallacious) View is devoid of literary content but geared to sell. The book contains the adolescent exploits of its author, Vinod Mehta, a Rawalpindi born, Lucknow bred, virgin who rectified this condition in Bombay and after spending eight years in England decided to return to Bombay and work as a copywriter. In Mehta's own words the book is a "rag bag of diffident and inarticulate opinions, half-thoughts, impressions, prejudices and preferences" written because "no listens to me."

We cannot grudge him this opportunity to "sound off in all directions," noting the book is published from his own resources (he claims to have invested his last kurta in the venture), but as he has so little of interest to say it would have been beneficial if he had cyclostyled copies of the text and distributed them among his friends. Or better still, had reading sessions, these for the benefit of his admirers on Foras Road and adjoining areas who may not be of a literary bend.

Foot and Mouth Disease

At this juncture you may well ask what makes *Bombay: A Private View* such a distasteful book. Aside from the fact it has almost nothing about Bombay except lists of hotels and restaurants, apart from its lack of profundity on matters ranging from the Indian press, advertising and women's liberation—he's for it as long as women remain faithful and do the housework, apart from all this there are those irritating footnotes among which are: Krishna Menon (garulous ex-defence minister of India), Shashi Kapoor (film star—notoriously handsome), Fanta (soft drink) and Jai

Hind (good-bye). You'd think the book had been written for export. Until you find: Soho, telly, Dean Acheson, John Updike, Enoch Powell and so on. Full concentration is required at this point to determine who exactly the book has been geared to. The Bombayite? No (he footnotes Rendez-Vous and Arthur Bunder Road—a road in Bombay). For foreigners? No-o-o (Madison Avenue and Twiggy noted). And then realization dawns. It's written for his fans back in Lucknow. (There ought to be a law banning people from Lucknow writing books on Bombay).

The author is at his most misinformed when writing on matters outside India. To cite: That James Reston, Tom Wicker, Anthony Lewis, C. L. Sulzberger and Russell Baker work for their respective "papers". They all work for one paper: *The New York Times*. That there are only two important papers in America: NYT and *The Washington Post*. No Vinod, there are dozens and dozens. That the movie Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice 'blatantly glorifies wife swapping and communal sex,' when in fact the denouement finds the two couples unable to overcome their socio-sexual inhibitions. That the moral of a New Yorker (footnoted) cartoon in which a man seated at a bar asks another "Look I've forgotten, but is this the London Hilton or the Paris?" is not 'if you're seen one Hilton you've seen them all' but more along the lines of 'If it's Tuesday, this must be Belgium.'

Maybe the law should be amended: People from Lucknow who live in England for.... (stipulated number of) years and then return to Bombay to work in an advertising agency should not be allowed to write books.

J. R. PATEL

Facts About Israel, 1971 by Misha Louvish

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 216 pages

Israel and the Arabs by Julian J. Landau

Israeli Communications. 192 pages.

Facts About Israel, 1971, is a retrospective effort and a peep into the past of the agonizing history of this docile but 'never say die' persecuted race.

The book presents a detailed study about Israel upto 1971, covering all spheres: people, history, culture, geography and the stunning progress in various sciences which has made this barren and arid desert into a land of plenty.

The second book deals with the controversial Arab-Israeli conflict. It is essentially a "hand book of basic information" brief and concise, geared for a quick survey. Presented in chronological order, it highlights the important events in the history of the Middle East. Israel's relations with the Arab states are dealt with in depth as well as the Six Day War.

NITIN G. RAUT

THE P.M. AND THE PAK PROFESSOR — Cont'd from page 1

to do about farmers, who in the process of generating the green revolution, are also becoming a newly-emergent high income class? Should they or should they not be heavily taxed? No comment from Dr. Haque.

Finally, employment must become a primary "objective of economic planning and no longer treated as only a secondary objective". This means that we must "treat the pool of labour as given at any particular time which has to be combined with the existing stock irrespective of how low the productivity of labour or capital may be".

A Dodge

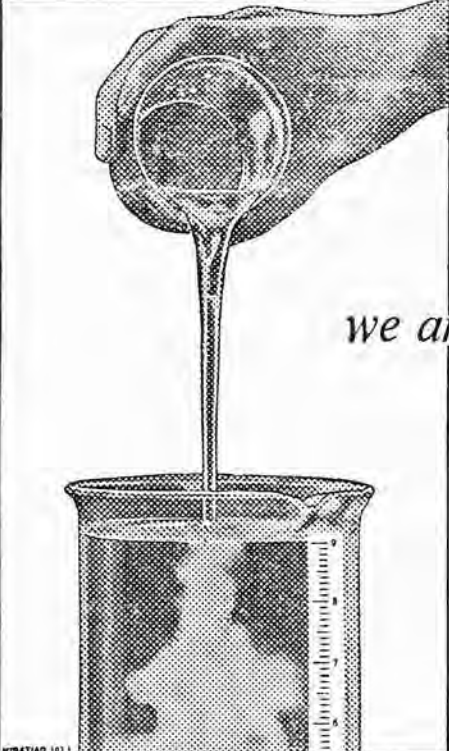
And so at last, the cat is out of the bag. The State must create jobs for everybody, no matter at what earnings and under what conditions of work and guarantee for everybody a minimum income defined by itself. This is, of course, an old idea and has been practiced, among others, by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung. But why present this as something original? Why not say "Mao Tse-Tung *zindabad*" and have done with it?

The only reason why propaganda of this sort has suddenly become popular with all crypto-collectivists is simple. As long as the GNP criterion is retained, the failure of the government to promote economic growth remains measurable and cannot be concealed from the public. It is also difficult to conceal the fact that

countries which follow liberal economic policies (like Malaysia or Thailand) make a better job of promoting growth than do "well planned countries" like India or Burma. Thus, since the failure of collectivism is so very important, let us by all means change the rules of the game! We must no longer be interested in the GNP.

What Dr. Haque and his comrades forget is that dropping the GNP criterion does not make the world safe for collectivist economic planning. If one takes the new orientation seriously, one begins to think in a new way which (in the ultimate analysis) might be even more disastrous for collectivist ideologies.

After all, how does one proceed when one takes the ideal of employment planning seriously? One starts by noting that employment does not mean creating jobs, it means matching the skill base of the population to the job-structure of the economy in such a manner that everyone has a job which not only satisfies the incentives that he expects a suitable job to provide but also demands the skills he has acquired. Once employment policy is visualised as such a matching problem, it becomes clear that one cannot try to match the job-demand pattern to a labour force which has been the consequence of unplanned demographic expansion and misconceived educational policies. One sees rather that it is important to engage in demographic planning, manpower programming and educational planning in



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order eventually to create a labour force which might provide the basis of a developed economy.

This immense act of demographic planning, education and manpower programming needs also to be married to a specific social welfare programme by which the children of the poor are rescued from the worst consequences of poverty and are given a chance to grow up into healthy and employable adults.

Assume now that the State is to shoulder the burden of this giant programme of social welfare and demographic designing. It will involve the investment of resources and skills on a truly gigantic scale. Once this is thoroughly grasped, it becomes only too obvious that the State cannot do this and at the same time take on the job of industrialising the country through "public sector" investments. The resources are simply not there. The development of the economy itself, therefore, must become basically the job of a private sector operating through free markets while the State devotes itself to the heroic task of remodelling the population, in skills and in quality, so that they may participate effectively in development.

But this, as will be realised, is the essence of the neo-liberal ideology of economic and social development. In contrast to the older liberal thinkers who underestimated the difficulties of the social side of the

growth mechanism, the new liberals emphasize that there is a great and genuine need for sociodemographic planning. However, they see that this does not imply that the economic system should be given over to collectivist control. Rather, they suggest just the opposite. A free economy and planned sociodemographic progress give the best combination of liberty and planning that is conceivable.

However, one must distinguish this *serious* variant of planning for employment and the cure of poverty from this variant that Dr. Haque peddles and which Mrs. Gandhi has picked up. That involves the essentially nonsensical task of taking the population as 'something given' and trying to create a job structure suited to it. As the population (as it stands) has a poor quality in terms of skills and ability to take up modern jobs, it means that one must freeze the occupational structure into permanent backwardness. Along with this we must have economic totalitarianism in which everyone will have to be content with a State-dictated minimum consumption standard.

Thus, if we want to become sophisticated and pass beyond GNP criteria in planning, let us by all means do so. But let us do it the right way and not the wrong way. Change after all must mean progress and not regress and Dr. Haque's economic ideas represent regression and not a step forward.



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"The deep
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—Tennyson.

Why do all foreigners appear sad in India? The answer is simple: because the only thing liked about them is their foreign exchange.

—Mrs. Florence Rastogi in *Hindustan Times*, May 2.

The time is not far off when I will have to do some plain talking to the Prime Minister on political affairs in the State.

—Mr. Brahmananda Reddy in *Statesman*, April 15.

I feel a bit sorry for Mr. Heath. The bloke would be much better with a few birds around.

—Mr. L. Hackfield, Labour M.P., in *Time*, May 1.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's personal distaste for his Russian allies has long been one of the worst-kept secrets in the Arab world.

—*Time*, April 17.

I have a philosophy. You are honoured by your friends, and you are distinguished by your enemies. I have been very distinguished."

—Mr. J. Edgar Hoover in *U.S. News & World Report*, May 15.

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Never have so many been subjected to the will of so few as in countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established.

—*Encounter*, January.

"There is only one communist in Hungary," the Hungarians will tell the visitor, but the situation is still dangerous: we do not know who he is."

—*The Economist*, April 22.

So far in human history the plain fact is that men fight every now and again, and if nothing comes along to fight about, they invent it.

—James Burnham, in *National Review*
December 31.

That America contains more bores than all other countries put together is of course irrefutable.

—James Morris in *Encounter*, February.

Mention ecology in a crowd of liberals and one out of every three will achieve climax.

—Al Martinez in *National Review*,
December 31.

The Russian writer has been arrested for 'criticising Russia', in his book, and sent to a Siberian concentration camp where he is breathing his last right now. His American colleague is making a small fortune for 'criticising' America, and basks in fame and recognition.

—*Encounter*, February.

It is treason for one to assist foreign aggressors. It amounts no less to treason to assist the replacement of democracy by dictatorship.

—C. Rajagopalachari in *Swarajya*, May 13.

There is a new mood in Africa to keep African civil wars African.

—*Economist*, April 8.

It is said of Mr. Wilson that his first thought is always how to preserve his position, and the second how to avoid the most trouble.

—*Economist*, April 15.