

MARCH 1972

EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

MISFORTUNES OF A BOMBAY UNIVERSITY DROP--OUT

Joan Contractor

I AM an American university educated American, who started a Master's Degree in English Literature at the University of Bombay, and quit after one month. In writing about my experience, it will be difficult to be tactful, and not to emphasize an already too prevalent point of view that all things Western are illustrious and all things Indian are shoddy. This is a view which I generally do not hold. This fact, I would apologetically like to make clear, before blundering into unholy and anti-humble fault-finding, with judgment clouded by misty-eyed sentiment for my dear *alma mater*. By your leave.

I found the University of Bombay to be rather badly and bafflingly organised. On registering, there were the usual transcripts and identifications to be prepared, forms to be filled, and fees to be paid, a bureaucratic tangle at any university. At no one place, however, could I find a complete and organised set of instructions for registration, stating exactly what was needed, in what order, and where. The Bombay University clerical staff all thought it amusing that my knowledge of registration procedure was not instinctual, and laughed at my questions. As I made each of several individual trips to the university, to present one or another form or document, I could not tell whether I was just beginning or ending the procedure of registration. I usually learned only the next small step in the process, thinking that would be the last necessary time-consuming trip to the University of Bombay offices. The end of the procedure was a golden goal, like a carrot on a stick.

The classes also were organised in a way that I found confusing. There were eight different literary areas being handled at once, and each of the nineteen lecture periods was devoted to one of the different areas, usually taught by a different professor, with no particular order or continuity. I must confess I had not

even memorized exactly what all the areas were, let alone which lecturer taught which area, which day, by the time I quit. In this respect I find the American system preferable. American organisation would be something like this: Instead of having all eight areas both years, they would lecture on four subjects the first year, and four the second. They would hold a lecture for one of the subjects at the same time of day, two or three days per week. One professor would lecture on all or one area. At the end of each year, the final examination for four of the subject areas would be held.

The new system would yield considerable advantages. It would provide continuity in the study of each subject. It would cut down the over-ponderous, nineteen lecture week to nine to twelve lectures, and would facilitate the yearly instead of the biennial exam, a schedule that has been vocally propounded by students time and again. This organisation would point toward three to six professors, devoted entirely and identifiably to the graduate course, instead of twenty to thirty people, mainly devoted to, and borrowed from undergraduate courses, at inconvenience to professor and student. I make these suggestions admitting that I know nothing of their financial and administrative feasibility.

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Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Sporting Don

A GREAT deal of sloppy talk goes on about student unrest. About the need for the sympathetic understanding and handling of legitimate discontents there can be no question. But where murderous attacks, such as that on Professor V. V. John, are concerned, one can commend the spirit of the letter written by the Warden of Wadham College in Oxford on behalf of the College Fellows to a group of students who had presented a list of "non-negotiable demands". This delightful epistle ran as follows:

"Dear Gentlemen: We note your threat to take what you call 'direct action' unless your demands are immediately met. We feel that it is only sporting to let you know that our governing body includes three experts in chemical warfare, two ex-commandoes skilled with dynamite and torturing prisoners, four qualified marksmen in both small arms and rifles, two ex-artillerymen, one holder of the Victoria Cross, four karate experts, and a chaplain. The governing body has authorised me to tell you that we look forward with confidence to what you call a 'confrontation', and, I may say, even with anticipation."

A Man for all Seasons

KUDOS to Governor Dharma Vira of Mysore for ending a distinguished life-time of service as a Civil Servant with a vindication of the Governor's duty to stand up for the rights of the State of which he is the Head by his vigorous protest against a breach of the Prime Minister's publicly made assurance to the State of Mysore.

The Constitution has quite clearly charged the Governor of a State with responsibilities towards the people of the State and entrusted him with the authority and discretion to give effect to them.

The Report of the Committee of Governors, which is surely an authoritative document, states the correct position as follows: "The Governor, as the Head of the State, has his functions as laid down in the Constitution itself, and is in no sense an agent of the President Even in a situation where the government of a State is taken over by the President under Article 356, the Governor does not by virtue of anything contained in the Constitution become an agent of the President."

Unfortunately, because of the nominees to this high office being in many cases politicians who were being kicked upstairs, the weight of the office has been

lowered by too many of its incumbents behaving like stooges of the Prime Minister and the President — in that order — and taking instructions from Delhi.

The fact that Mr. Giri, himself a rubber stamp President, allowed himself to be used for administering a rebuke to Mr. Dharma Vira is hardly surprising and is entirely in keeping with Mr. Giri's own ignominious performance.

Mr. Dharma Vira's real crime is that, during his three year tenure of office in Mysore, he ably steered the affairs of the State and tried to protect its people from the rapacious politicians of the New Congress Party who ran up to Delhi to whine to their masters in the Capital.

Mr. Dharma Vira deserves the thanks of all lovers of constitutional liberties for the blow he has struck for the rights of the States and of the Governors as their Heads. Now that he is free from the trammels of office, it is to be hoped he will continue, like Mr. A. D. Gorwala, Mr. N. Dandekar, Mr. H. M. Patel and some other retired members of the I.C.S. to serve the people. Judging by his first public utterance after laying down office in New Delhi on February 9 there is every indication that he will do so.

IN THIS ISSUE

Freedom First is happy to be the first journal or newspaper in India, as far as can be ascertained, to review Medvedev's *A Question of Madness* which tells the grim story of how the Soviets persecute those who suffer from "paranoid delusions of reforming society" by confining them in lunatic asylums. Our reviewer is Nissim Ezekiel, poet and prominent litterateur.

A. G. Noorani, one of India's leading commentators, draws timely and pointed attention to the Achilles' Heel of this country — Kashmir. He has provided further confirmation of New Delhi's double standards to which we drew attention in an editorial note last month.

R. Hawkins, who has published more textbooks in India than anyone alive (including the editor's best seller, *Our India*), deals with the absurdity of "nationalised" textbooks.

Joan Contractor, a young American, relates the mishaps that led to her deciding to drop out of Bombay University.

Geeta Doctor tells our readers about recent art exhibitions in Bombay.

States Rights Under Fire

THE attack on the Constitution has developed one stage further. After having attempted by the 14th and 25th Amendments, which are patently illegal, to destroy the Fundamental Rights of the Citizen and truncate the authority of the Supreme Court, and having dangled a Damocles' sword over the heads of the Press, those in authority are now turning in right earnest to destroy the autonomy of the States of the Union and to subvert the Federal structure.

On January 29, the Prime Minister told a public meeting that only a "State Government which co-operated with the Centre would be effective in pushing through the development programmes." On February 3, the Prime Minister said State Governments "should be in tune with the Central Government. They should agree with its policies and should be willing to implement its programmes." On February 13, she reiterated her plea for governments of States which would be "willing to co-operate with the Centre in the onward march of socialism." She went on to declare "that poverty could be banished and the country made self-reliant" only when governments at the Centre and in the States "acted in concert to carry out the Centre's programmes."

As it happens, this is not at all what the Constitution of the Republic has prescribed. The Indian Constitution, like those of all genuine federal countries, contemplates governments at the Centre and in the States of different political colours which might or might not at all agree in regard to their policies and programmes. The Prime Minister's doctrine is altogether alien to our country's Constitution.

That this is not merely a platonic plea is clear from the ruthless manner in which the Chief Ministers of several States, belonging to the Prime Minister's own party, have been toppled, duly elected State Governments subverted and "gauleiters" appointed by New Delhi to take their place. If this trend is not defeated by the resistance of the States, the rights of the States will soon be as bogus as are those of the various "Republics" in the U.S.S.R.

Life and Soul of the PEN

"L'ETAT, C'EST MOI", said Louis XIV. "Le PEN, c'est moi", could say Madame Sophia Wadia though, of course, she doesn't. Ever since she came to India forty years ago and helped to establish the All India PEN Centre, she has been its life and soul and inspiration. In a country where writers in different languages are apt to be at loggerheads, she has helped to create a fraternity of writers in all Indian languages. At international conferences, she has spoken for India with more authority than an Indian could have. That is because, as Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy put it at her 70th birthday subscription dinner in Bombay on

February 14, "she is more Indian than many of us." Mr. Roy also said that "following the precept of the ancient Chinese philosopher, Madame Wadia had lit more than one candle in the prevailing darkness."

As one who knew her a couple of years even before she came to India, the Editor joins in this tribute and hopes that those believing in freedom of expression, for which the PEN stands, will subscribe to the Madame Wadia 70th Birthday Literary Fund which the PEN has launched to mark the happy occasion.

Journalists Organise

THE establishment of the National Union of Journalists at a conference in New Delhi on January 23 and 24 is an event which may, in course of time, mean a great deal for the vigour and vitality of the Indian press.

The Conference, with Mr. Frank Moraes in the chair, has established a professional body of journalists including editors, which has declared its freedom from political strings and alignments. This is all to the good since the "Indian Federation of Working Journalists" has been reduced for many years now to nothing better than a Communist front. It is to be hoped that a great majority of journalists, who have been chafing at the Communist leadership imposed on them, will now rally round the N.U.J.

Defence Minister Spills the Beans

IN his *State of the World* message to Congress on February 9, President Nixon repeated categorically his belief that the Indian Government was, after the "capture" of East Bengal, "seriously contemplating" the seizure of Pakistan-held portions of Kashmir and the destruction of Pakistan's military forces in the West. The President added: "Nor could we ignore the fact that when we repeatedly asked India and its supporters for clear assurances to the contrary, we did not receive them."

While neither President Nixon nor Mr. Kissinger produced the evidence on which they rely, the *New York Times* on February 10 reported that Mr. Kissinger had shown to some "selected newsmen secret reports of the Central Intelligence Agency that were attributed to a source in the Indian Cabinet." Commenting on this the *Times of India* News Service in Washington observed: "Some thinking will have to be done in New Delhi." One thing is clear that it is not only members of the American Government who are guilty of "leaks" to the press.

While this speculation proceeds, it has escaped notice that there is one piece of partial corroboration of President Nixon's thesis that has been provided to the Indian people by the Defence Minister himself.

According to the *Express News Service* reporting from Patna on January 17, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, while

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THE ALTERNATIVES IN KASHMIR

A. G. Noorani

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THE arrests of Maulana Mohammed Saheed Masoodi and Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Karra, President of the Political Conference, on the eve of the forthcoming elections to the Assembly of the State of Jammu and Kashmir are not only an abject confession of defeat by the ruling Congress Party but a sad reflection on the cynicism and double-standards that shape the Government of India's policies towards that helpless State. It is sadder, still, to think that liberal opinion in the country has remained, for the most part, a silent spectator of the State's misfortunes.

The brutal truth is that, alone among the States of the Indian Union, Kashmir has never had free elections. In the 1957 general election, 43 out of the Assembly's 75 seats went to the then ruling National Conference without a contest, a feat unheard of in the rest of the country. Similarly, in the 1962 general election, 32 out of the 43 seats in the Kashmir Valley were captured by the National Conference without a fight. *The Hindustan Times* said in its editorial of February 12, 1962, that "public confidence in free and fair elections will remain badly shaken unless there is a thorough-going investigation into the charges of malpractices which have been levelled by the opposition against Bakshi Saheb's Government". Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed was the State's Chief Minister then.

During the 1967 general election, that high office was held by Mr. G. M. Sadiq; but while the personalities had changed, the institution of fraudulent elections survived. One hundred and eighteen nomination papers were rejected in 39 out of the total of 75 constituencies. As a result, there were 22 unopposed returns.

while in 17 other constituencies the result was materially affected. In both cases, needless to mention, the beneficiary was the ruling Congress Party. (In 1965 the National Conference became affiliated to the Congress leaving the Bakshi rump to itself). In a joint statement, some of the country's leading personalities protested against these malpractices.

Comes 1971 and the general elections to Parliament. Now, a different technique was adopted to signify a change in the style of the 70's. Sheikh Abdullah, Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg, President of the Plebiscite Front, and Mr. G. M. Shah, the Front's General Secretary, were externed from the State and the Front banned under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967. All this was done on the eve of the elections. For good measure the Sadiq Government pushed through the legislature a draconian amendment to the electoral law. Section 24AA was inserted in the State's Representation of the People Act. It provides that "A person who is a member of an association which has been declared unlawful under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967, shall be disqualified for so long as the declaration in respect of the said association remains in operation under that Act, *whether or not the said person continues to be a member of such association during that period*". No room was left for conversion and several lakhs who were members of the Front were debarred from contesting the election.

Be it noted that every candidate was required to affirm an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of India. The Plebiscite Front decision in 1967 to revise its stand on contesting the elections within the frame-

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addressing a public meeting at Gandhi Maidan that evening, said that the Prime Minister "had told him soon after the surrender of the Pak forces in Dacca that she desired to announce a unilateral cease-fire."

Mr. Ram, the report in the *Indian Express* on January 18 continues, "confessed that at first he was doubtful about the soundness of this move, particularly because arrangements had been made to rush troops from the Bangla Desh sector to the Western theatre of war 'for the final kill'."

"Later," said the Defence Minister, "the chiefs of the three wings of the Defence Services were consulted and all including 'myself' fell in line with the judgment of the Prime Minister."

Now, it is a good thing the Prime Minister's statesmanlike view prevailed over that of the Defence Minister, but what is surely clear is that there were

divided counsels within the Government, that the Defence Ministry were already preparing to make military dispositions somewhat in line with President Nixon's understanding of their intentions and that these were only abandoned when they, on the Defence Minister's own admission, "fell in line" with the wise decision in favour of a unilateral cease-fire.

Whatever the politicians of the day both in India and the U.S.A. may choose to say, students of history, wherever they may be placed, will suspend judgment on this issue till further evidence becomes available.

AN APOLOGY

It is regretted that by oversight on page 2 of the February issue the name of Dr. C. D. Deshmukh appeared in place of Dr. Gajendragadkar.

work of the Indian Constitution was widely welcomed in the country. Now, just when it was about to act under the Constitution, it was prevented from doing so.

However, Mr. Shameem Ahmed Shameem, editor of the intrepid weekly "AINA", stood for election to Parliament from the Srinagar constituency against the Congress candidate, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, and won. This was entirely because Sheikh Abdullah supported Mr. Shameem and Begum Abdullah campaigned for him most effectively.

Mr. Shameem has always differed from the Plebiscite Front on the issue of accession to India. He was all for it and considered a plebiscite unwise and impractical in the changed circumstances of the two decades. But—and this was the rub—he argued, logically enough, that the democratic institutions and practices and the fundamental rights in force in the rest of the country ought to be respected in Kashmir no less. This was the issue and Mr. Shameem won the poll.

One wonders how many know that the Chapter on Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution is applied to the State of Jammu & Kashmir only with modifications which rob them of its force and restraining effect on the Government.

The Constitution (Application to Jammu & Kashmir) Order, 1954, extended to Kashmir certain provisions of the Indian Constitution as modified in the order. Only two important modifications need be mentioned here. Article 19 of the Constitution confers on the citizen Fundamental Rights essential to the democratic system, viz., freedom of speech, of expression, to assemble peaceably and without arms, to form associations or unions, to move freely throughout the territory of India, to mention a few. The State is allowed to impose "reasonable restrictions" on these rights in the public interest which are specifically set out in the Constitution. The reasonableness of the restrictions is for the Courts to judge—except in Kashmir. The Order provides that the words "reasonable restrictions" occurring in the Article shall, as applied to Kashmir, mean "such restrictions as the appropriate legislature deems reasonable". In other words, the legislature can ride rough-shod over the fundamental rights and the citizen has no remedy. Another important provision is that the State laws with respect to preventive detention are made immune from challenge on the ground that they are inconsistent with any of the fundamental rights, including Article 22 of the Constitution, which, while enabling preventive detention, confers on the citizen vital safeguards such as furnishing of written grounds to the detenu and the right of representation to the advisory boards. Even these rights are not available to a detenu in Kashmir.

The Order was initially made for a period of 10 years. In 1964 it was extended. The last such exten-

sion was made, incredibly enough, in 1969 for a period of five years.

Sustained calculated electoral malpractices mean a denial of representative Government. Add to it the denial of civil liberties and the protection of the Constitution, and the picture of abnormality is complete. These are monstrous wrongs, surely. Yet, how many outside Kashmir know or care?

Undoubtedly there is the external factor. Kashmir was once the subject of an international dispute. But Pakistan's aggression in 1965 ruled out a plebiscite thereafter totally. A State which, in breach of the U.N. Charter, had recourse to force could hardly ask for a plebiscite based on the resolutions of a U.N. body, the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan.

But, of course, that did not eliminate the domestic factor. "While we say that it is not for any foreign power to interfere in its affairs, we at the same time recognise that if there are any troubles or any difficulties in Kashmir, it is our duty to settle them to the satisfaction of the people of Kashmir", President Radhakrishnan had said on December 8, 1965, after the conclusion of the Indo-Pak war. But his Government ignored the advice.

Negotiations were held with the Naga underground. At one stage they were offered a Nagaland "within the Union but outside the Constitution". It was they who declined. However, the poll in Nagaland was not rigged. Such blessings are reserved only for Kashmir.

In January 1968, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that there were lots of "possibilities" for a rapprochement with the Sheikh but within the framework of the Constitution. This was eminently fair. But when he asked her to spell out the possibilities, he was shrugged off. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has revealed that Mr. G. Parthasarathi, negotiating on behalf of the Government of India, and the Sheikh came close to accord, but "when the issues were about to be clinched", the former was "hastened out to New York without a word of explanation to the Sheikh". This was in 1968.

Events since then tell their own tale. Fraud and repression remain the sole alternatives to a democratic solution. It must be added that the Front was sorely remiss in chasing the mirage of a plebiscite in recent years. True, it was not given a chance to evolve a sensible alternative. But this does not excuse it of its own responsibility to give the proper lead. This applies very much to Sheikh Abdullah, in particular.

It is interesting to note that the Tribunal set up under the Unlawful Activities Act, 1967, upheld the ban on the Front on the sole ground of advocacy of plebiscite. Other charges—seeking to wreck the Constitution, breaches of law and order and communal propaganda—were rejected in terms.

Meanwhile, on February 5, 1972, the outlawed Front's President, Mr. M. A. Beg, issued a major policy statement in New Delhi in which he offered to discuss

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'NATIONALISED' TEXTBOOKS

R. Hawkins

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UNLESS the Constitution is amended or suspended the States of the Indian Union will assuredly retain their present control of elementary, secondary and tertiary education. Even mainland Australia, with far less climatic and cultural differences, leaves its five constituent states free to decide their own school systems, and in India, where languages as well as cultures and climates vary from State to State, it is certain that each linguistic area will jealously guard its right to control the teaching given in its schools. To talk of 'Nationalized' textbooks, meaning the publication of textbooks for the whole country by a single agency controlled by the Central Government, is therefore almost meaningless. The Centre can and should set standards for imitation, but the States are not likely to follow them closely. Indeed in 1969-70 many centrally-initiated schemes for educational development were transferred to the States. Except in matters of Defence, where the need for unity is recognized, the tendency is for power to be delegated by the Centre to the States rather than the reverse. In so large and varied an area decentralization is necessary if democracy is to be more than nominal.

But though the process cannot be called nationalization, many states, universities and examining bodies have created monopolies for themselves in the provision of textbooks. For the age-group 6 - 11 virtually all textbooks are public-sector productions, and in the next age-group, 11 - 14, the position is not much different.

Autodidacts, people who teach themselves, are rare, as is proved by the general illiteracy of this country, and if the aim of the Constitution, to provide free and compulsory education up to the age of 14, is to be achieved, there must be schools, there must be teachers, and there must be textbooks and other aids to teachers. All India Radio's broadcasts have had very little impact - perhaps because so few schools have receiving sets in working order - and in the foreseeable

future television, films, teaching machines and other expensive aids to teaching cannot be widely used. Education (the development of an individual's latent capacity) and instruction (imparting certain skills or information) will have to be done by human teachers with little equipment except textbooks. Hence their importance.

A textbook may be arranged in sections designed for daily or other periodical lessons, but it is not a series of lesson-notes designed to take the place of a teacher. It should provide a framework for the teacher to build on and from which the student can refresh his memory. If this definition is accepted, workbooks, copybooks, supplementary readers, atlases and dictionaries are excluded, and the only textbooks required will be graded series in the subjects to be studied - in the primary schools perhaps five readers in the mother-tongue, five mathematics books and a few books on general science and 'social science', the label used to cover a smattering of geography, history and civics. Where is the difficulty? Why cannot four authors be employed to write these four series and their books given to the schools?

The first difficulty is to find authors. A good class-teacher is not necessarily a good textbook-writer but, unless the textbook-writer has experience of teaching children of the age and capacity for which his book is intended, he is not likely to succeed. He has not only to set out a body of coherent knowledge but to set it out in such a way that the child will be able to understand it and will have his curiosity both stimulated and satisfied. Consider on the one hand a girl of eight who lives in a town, whose parents read a daily newspaper, who turns a tap when she wants water, flicks a switch when she wants light and chats to her friends on the telephone; and on the other hand a boy of the same age living in a village where water is fetched from a well, whose parents cannot read or write, and who has never travelled in the daily bus.

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a "bilateral plan" with the Centre to ensure the State's "lasting association" with India. These talks should be held, he clarified, "exclusively" between the people of the State and the Government of India. Pakistan is no party to them. Specifically, the object of the parleys will be to consider the State's autonomy and its special status within the Union as provided for in Article 370 of the Constitution.

If the Ministers of the Government of India can offer "a dialogue" to the Naxalites, why not have one

with Sheikh and his supporters, particularly now that accession is not in issue?

The alternative, to repeat, is fraudulent elections and repression. As Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has written recently "For the past ten months we have been presenting ourselves to the world as ardent champions of democracy and the rights of man in Bangla Desh. What are we going to tell the world when we deny the same rights to our own citizens in one of our States?"

Obviously the same presentation will not do for both. Even in learning mathematics, the town girl will start with an immense advantage: she will be familiar with numbers from bus-routes and telephones, with counting because she buys her own ice-cream, with measurements because clocks are familiar and she hears her parents talking about kilos and metres. The illiterate village boy will have to learn all this at school. The author who satisfies the town girl will certainly not be satisfactory for the village boy. Then, even within the same environment, there are children with very different capacities. The measurement of intelligence may be inaccurate, but that innate abilities vary greatly is certain, and different series of books are needed for the average child and for those who are intellectually dull or bright, to say nothing of the special needs of those handicapped by deafness, blindness or other infirmities. One has to find not one author for each series of books; but many authors, all covering similar ground but in ways that will be satisfactory for many different groups of children. And of course in each language the same variety of authors will be needed, for differences in language imply different environments, physical and cultural, which would imply adaptation rather than straight translation.

In an article which appeared in the *Times of India* on 18 November, 1971, A. S. Abraham has little difficulty in demonstrating that the States have failed to produce satisfactory school textbooks, but the remedy he proposes is far too simplistic. Quite apart from the dangers of chauvinistic indoctrination inherent in any monopolistic set-up, no single committee can draw up syllabuses for all subjects and then 'invite and scrutinize manuscripts and select finally one and only one textbook for each subject'. Not one but many alternative textbooks for each subject, in each class and each language, are necessary.

Then too, even though a committee may invite manuscripts, when it is known that only one manuscript will be selected for publication the competition will not be severe. The number of people qualified, by experience and ability, to write a good series of textbooks is not large. The writing itself is a slow and exacting business, for the material should be tested by classroom use, so that at least one year's, and preferably more than one year's classroom experience can be taken advantage of. Who is going to exert himself to write a textbook without encouragement? A committee, or a publisher, may encourage an author to write, but if there is not a good chance of the result being published, no author is likely to come forward.

I do not know how the authors of State-published textbooks are rewarded now. Probably practice varies from State to State. In the past, Government servants were often forbidden to write textbooks, or allowed to receive only a lump sum for their copyright, to ensure that they did not gain financially by the use of their books, and in the monopolistic position the States

now occupy it seems unlikely that the authors of textbooks have any continuing financial interest in them: probably they are paid a lump sum for their copyright when their manuscripts are accepted for publication; or when the writing has been done in the course of their employment perhaps they have merely been given time off for writing. In general, however, the system of rewarding authors by the payment of royalties proportional to sales works well. An author with a direct interest in the continued use of his books will not only do his best in the first place but will strive to improve his book from edition to edition; and it is clear that with the passage of time inadequacies will be revealed in any textbook.

Another suggestion made in Mr. Abraham's article is that, if no manuscript suitable for publication is submitted to his omniscient and omnipotent committee, 'If necessary, it can draw upon a number of manuscripts for its material and see to it that the best points of all of them are incorporated in the textbooks'. Authorship is a lonely profession, and it is nearly always best to entrust the writing of a book, textbook or other, to a single author, or perhaps a team of two or three whose talents are complementary. Satisfactory textbooks are not produced by scissors and paste, by cutting up and pasting together the best bits of a number of different manuscripts. The result may be a stimulating book of selections, an anthology, but it cannot be the coherent, skillfully woven whole that distinguishes the good textbook.

Competition between alternative sets of textbooks is required at all stages, and the numbers of pupils concerned at the primary and secondary stages is so great that competition is possible without sacrificing the benefits of mass production. The subject syllabuses should be less detailed than they are at present, and they should not be changed more frequently than every five years. Two years after a change of syllabus, appropriately qualified committees should consider all the textbooks available for a particular stage and recommend the best five or ten sets in each subject. Within the next six months each school or local education authority would have to order its requirements of each of these series; and in the next six months the required books would be manufactured. The committees should select the best series without concern for their origin, whether in the public or private sector. They should lay down prices appropriate to the numbers required and allowing for a royalty to the author of not more than 5 per cent (on editions of less than 5000) and not less than 1 per cent (on editions of a lakh or more). To simplify accounting, publishers here might do well to adopt the Japanese system of paying royalties on numbers printed rather than on numbers sold. Whatever the method adopted, however, there should be payment by results, for authors do the donkey work and must be offered carrots.

A QUESTION OF SANITY

Nissim Ezekiel

IN the Soviet Union, persons who say or do things disapproved by the authorities can be made to undergo "voluntary" psychiatric examinations even if they do not break the law. They are then confined in mental hospitals. This includes victims of Stalin's Terror who write accounts of it.

A Question Of Madness^{*} by the Medvedev brothers, Zhores and Roy, loyal and patriotic Russian citizens both, is a detailed description of one such case. Zhores is a biologist and gerontologist whose book on Lysenko has been published by the Columbia University Press. The manuscript of another book by him was circulated among those interested, and appeared in England together with his essays on the problems for a Soviet citizen corresponding with people abroad. (*The Medvedev Papers*, Macmillan 1971).

In May 1970, after a series of outrageously devious moves by the Russian bureaucracy, which Zhores narrates in full, he was arrested with humiliating force and detained at the Kaluga Psychiatric Hospital. The deviousness of the Soviet state and party apparatus in carrying out such arrests is of course a substitute for the more direct terror of the good old days. Its purpose is to create a smoke-screen of socialistic reasonableness and legality but the mailed fist is used when that fails.

The chapters in which Zhores tells his own story, with admirable objectivity, are interspersed with others by Roy Medvedev. Involving himself immediately and completely in his brother's fate, Roy completes the picture of Soviet ways in circumstances of this kind by giving a comprehensive report of his attempts to get Zhores released. He circulates an appeal to friends and meets A. Y. Lifshits, the Head Doctor of the Hospital, who claims that the diagnosis, on the basis of which Zhores has been confined, is a "medical secret".

This abominable Lifshits expressed his opinion, when cross-questioned, that Zhores is "a split personality" because, though a biologist, he is involved "in many other things", that he was "always dissatisfied about something, always fighting against something". Roy promptly told him that Marx too would have to be declared abnormal on that ground.

In the land of the Marxist revolution, dissatisfaction, fighting against anything in society which one considers to be wrong, and interests outside the field of specialisation are regarded as crimes.

Zhores had been dismissed from the Institute of

Medical Radiology in March 1969 after a loyalty check which "did little credit to a Soviet scientific institution" (Roy). It would not give him the documents needed to obtain another job unless he "recognised" his mistakes, which Zhores bravely refused to do. The Kaluga Party Committee and the Kaluga Branch of the KGB, with the support of Moscow, had obviously decided to carry out an exercise in intimidation against him. "They didn't realise", write Roy, "that a considerable part of the Soviet intelligentsia has a completely different system of values from those which prevail in bureaucratic circles".

Lysenko, Stalin's instrument in the field of biological studies and research, whose theories are repudiated throughout the world, is still in charge of the famous experimental farm at Gorki. His followers hold powerful positions to this day all over the Soviet Union. Roy suggests that they played a role behind the scenes in the persecution of Zhores because of his book against Lysenko.

Letters and telegrams were sent to the Soviet authorities by eminent scientists and others in Russia and abroad, "protesting against the use of force to commit an absolutely sane man to hospital" (Roy). These were ignored. A commission came to Kaluga from Moscow to examine Zhores and declared that although he "displayed no clear symptoms of mental illness, he showed signs of 'heightened nervousness' and therefore required further observation under clinical conditions" (Roy). Here was shameful evidence of scientific collaboration with political tyranny and ideological intolerance.

First deprive a man of his job, then prevent him from getting another one, then try to make him enter a mental home "voluntarily" and when he resists, use violence against him, then appoint a psychiatric commission to keep him there on the ground of "heightened nervousness!" How all the people must have longed for the Terror which simply put a man out of the way without this elaborate and expensive fuss!

The friends of Zhores knew that they were not fighting only for him but "to help all the others who were being held in mental hospitals for political reasons" (Roy). Zhores was released after *nineteen* days and many broken promises, deceptions, official attempts to prolong the detention despite increasing pressure from national and international public opinion. So far as we know, the others are still where they were. Zhores mentions a few of those whom he encountered in the Kaluga Psychiatric Hospital. A man who proposed the democratic reorganisation of the Komsomol was being given periodic insulin shock treatment. Another, pro-

^{*} *A Question of Madness* by Zhores and Roy Medvedev. Translated from the Russian by Ellen de Kadt. £ 2.75. Macmillan, London.

testing in public against dismissal from his job as a teacher in the local school, was given "two powerful depressant drugs which, according to the doctors, would change the basic structure of the psyche," (Zhores).

G. Morogov, Director of the Institute of Forensic Psychiatry, is reported to have said: "Why bother about political trials when we have psychiatric clinics?"

In the case of Zhores, even the official regulations on the emergency hospitalisation of mentally ill persons who are a public danger had been violated. These regulations are reproduced in *A Question Of Madness*. They allow for a broad range of interpretations, being so short that they cover only one sheet of paper. Used by the state, they create a situation where "no citizen of our country can be guaranteed against being carted off to a madhouse" (Roy).

Eventually, the Ministry of Health was embarrassed by the fact that Zhores Medvedev was rather well known and his case had received too much publicity. "I suppose", says Roy, "they thought it would have been quite all right to put away a scientist of lesser fame."

In the Hospital, Zhores contemplates the system which brought him there. His links with foreigners and correspondence with them aroused the interest of the KGB, which performed one of its normal functions in keeping track of them. It had the same right as the Judiciary to send "lawbreakers" for psychiatric examination, "but *without* the need to observe any legal formalities" (Zhores). What kind of society is it in which a manuscript recommending more democratic international co-operation between scientists and intellectuals is considered by the State and party authorities evidence of mental illness?

Zhores was questioned about the confidential conversations he had reproduced in his manuscript connected with the formalities of a trip abroad. An official of the KGB had tried to recruit him as an informer, "dangling the trip before me as bait" (Zhores). This bit of information will come as no surprise to those who know the Soviet attitude to journey abroad by its citizens, even for scientific, literary, cultural and philosophical international conferences. Zhores welcomed the publicity his case had received because "it threw open for international criticism the whole system of the abuse of psychiatry as a means of political persecution and made it public knowledge" (Zhores).

The new Soviet criminal code of 1961 omits the special articles in the earlier code making psychiatrists and doctors criminally responsible for placing a man in a psychiatric hospital without adequate grounds. Thus the victim cannot turn to the courts against his persecutors. They remain "faceless individuals" who continue their vicious activities no matter how often

they are exposed. The second commission examining Zhores declared, without noting the irony, that he displayed the system of "poor adaptation to the social environment." If accepted universally, this criterion should lead to the imprisonment in mental hospitals of all the world's communists, to say nothing of critics and dissenters of other political persuasions!

The ideological madness of the Soviet system is confirmed by the fact that after the release of Zhores many of those who wrote letters of protest against his imprisonment were questioned and warned. The Union of Writers pulled up the members who were involved. Party organisations were asked to start special files on those Party members who had actively protested against the committal of Zhores. The Kaluga Psychiatric Hospital tried to subject him to periodic checks in the outpatients department but he successfully resisted that additional burden on his situation which he describes as "Freedom Without Freedom." Finally, he was offered a job, which he took up, but he refused to give up his "paranoid delusions of reforming society," the diagnosis of that other abomination in this case, Madame Galina Bondareva, "Psychiatrist" in charge of the wing where Zhores Medvedev was placed at the Hospital. The writing of his book is part of his struggle not only on his own behalf and in the true interest of Soviet society but of all humanity.

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WHERE MARX WENT WRONG

MR CONQUEST, in his latest book* which has been reprinted in India, takes up the different facets of the theory and practice of communism and seeks to show where exactly Marx has gone wrong. His essential bias seems to be that the system that Marx devised was good enough but has been corrupted by his successors. This thesis is, of course, questionable and if communism is vicious its father must take his share of the blame in full. It may be that Marx has used the term 'dictatorship of the proletariat', as Mr Conquest says, only three times in the entire corpus of his writings but it amounts to three cheers for it.

Although the book is slim, it is impossible in the course of a short review to bring out the full brunt of Mr Conquest's criticism of communism; it is subtle, pertinent and quite thought-provoking. If in general people act according to their class economic interest, Mr Conquest asks, "what is it that determines that some bourgeois intellectuals should become Marxists while others do not?" Even the other Marxian tenet, surplus value, "if value is taken as Marx and his predecessors tend to take it in practice, as an abstract quality only imperfectly represented by price or exchange value, it can be readily seen that the word loses all usable meaning". Marx's famous 'law of increasing misery', namely, that the more the capital invested and the greater the production, the less will be the wages paid for labour has also been falsified by subsequent experience. It is again a reversal of the truth to trace British political liberties to Britain's pioneering role in capitalism. Even the frequent communist jibe that western society is a 'consumer society' contradicts the declaration in the *Communist Manifesto* that "the modern labourer... instead of rising with the progress of industry sinks deeper... becomes a pauper and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth".

Mr Conquest cites Trotsky's fear that the dictatorship of the proletariat would become the dictatorship of the party and then shows that it did not stop there but led to the dictatorship of the Central Committee which culminated in the dictatorship of one man. This may be pondered together with what he adds a little later, namely, that the great rebellions against communism in the past few years have not been rural, military or bourgeois but have been revolts of the workers.

A good number of the barbarous snares and expedient inconsistencies of communism have been exposed in this book, particularly those concerning the so-called science and philosophy of communism. These

have been a little loosely strewn together in the second half of the book. They have all been identified rather than discussed fully, but enough has been said to leave the careful reader to contemplate the issues himself.

Basically, communism is an attempt to remedy the manner of distribution by altering the mode of production. It stems from the belief that the mode of production is the one basis that chiefly determines everything else in society, including distribution. So, according to the communists, the surest way to equalize distribution is to collectivize production. Such an approach betrays a greater anxiety to change distribution than to understand production. It is thus very difficult to rebut Oscar Lange's criticism: Marxist political economy originated as a criticism of capitalism; it was not concerned with the details of running an economy.

The proof reading in this edition leaves much to be desired.

CYNTHIA YOUNG

STATEMENT ABOUT OWNERSHIP AND OTHER PARTICULARS OF FREEDOM FIRST

Form IV (See Rule 8)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Place of publication | Bombay |
| 2. Periodicity of its publication | Monthly |
| 3. Printer's Name | J. R. Patel |
| Nationality | Indian |
| Address | The Inland Printers,
Gamdevi Road,
Bombay 7. |
| 4. Publisher's Name | J. R. Patel |
| Nationality | Indian |
| Address | 127, Mahatma Gandhi Rd.,
Bombay 1. |
| 5. Editor's Name | M. R. Masani |
| Nationality | Indian |
| Address | 127, Mahatma Gandhi Rd.,
Bombay 1. |
| 6. Names and address of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital. | Democratic Research Service
127, Mahatma Gandhi Rd.,
Bombay 1. |

I, J. R. Patel, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

J. R. PATEL

Signature of Publisher

1st March 1972

* Conquest, Robert: *Where Marx Went Wrong*, Pee Kay Publications, New Delhi 5. Pp. 126. Rs. 5.

FOUR PLUS FOUR TIMES FIVE

Geeta Doctor

EACH of Bombay's better known art galleries maintains a style that is so distinct from the other that one wonders whether this does not unconsciously condition a viewer's response to a particular work of art. The Taj Art Gallery for example cultivates an atmosphere of elegant isolation, where 'Art' can be contemplated with the proper amount of awe and veneration, far from the dust and glare of reality. Others like the Chemould or the Rampart Row Gallery are tucked away in such exclusive corners that it is almost a shock to discover them. Then there are those like the Pundole which, in an effort to save space, are constructed like one of those laboratory mazes meant to test the reflexes of white mice, and which generally leave the spectator in a dazed condition.

The two galleries at the Jehangir are expansive enough to accommodate diverse exhibits, though the one at the left is generally occupied by one-man shows, with the one man sitting like a forlorn spider, surrounded by the semi-circular glow of his works. The other room which is twice the size is a favourite for group shows which, more often than not, consist of four or five young artists who have each developed a certain gimmick (or style) which they assiduously work out in various combinations of colours. Apart from these there are also halls like the Coomaraswamy Hall, which have a more than Protean ability to adapt themselves for the display of crude merchandise such as carpets or brassware, to delicate prints and rare manuscripts.

With these distinctions in mind one is naturally inclined to approach each gallery with a corresponding set of attitudes. In January, for instance, one of the most widely acclaimed shows was that of N. S. Bendre at the Taj Art Gallery. Superb in execution, the show was a visual delight in pale opalescent greens and muted shades of orange. And yet, even while admiring his delicate nature studies, one could not help but feel that his shy damsels and romantic bullock carts disappearing in a haze of saffron dust belonged to the never-never land of greeting card and calendars. In the cool atmosphere of the Taj, made cooler by the elegant young person who presided over the room and who looked disturbed when asked for a catalogue, one could not help but feel that the paintings too were frigid exercises in colour, devoid of emotional impact.

The case of Jeram Patel was no different. Enshrined at the Chemould, his few works were eulogised as belonging to a category so unique that only a few fortunate souls would be able to relate to them. Awed by such proclamations and by the substantial four figure prices quoted for the works of art, one was inclined to stare for long moments and wait for the

flash of empathetic recognition. There was no doubt a certain strength in the stark designs etched in wood with a blowtorch and austere outlined in paint, but the hidden mysteries which were supposed to lurk in these 'womb-like' forms did not reveal themselves, at least to this viewer.

At the same time, the Jehangir Art Gallery was dominated by the work of Vinod Parul, who appeared to paint his one theme with an almost obsessive force, in a multitude of cleverly manipulated bands of colour. The subject of a snake coiling round a central figure may have been teeming with religious symbolism, as obviously it was meant to be by the artist, who somewhat mystically proclaimed that to him the Snake was God, but there was something so repulsive about the twisting image that being repeated over the room only served to heighten the claustrophobic effect. This was perhaps a case where, had the artist chosen to give the audience a smaller dose, they would have been in a better position to appreciate his very adroit handling of colour.

Unexpectedly, it was at the Coomaraswamy Hall that one came across the most interesting exhibition of the month with a display of Australian Graphics. With almost a hundred prints, it was a fairly representative selection of Australian artists who have made use of the diverse mechanical processes involved in making prints to direct their creative energies. The exhibition was a testimony not only to their highly technical skill but to the versatility of artistic expression which can be combined in the graphic idiom.

Working with a combination of printing techniques from very simple linocuts to highly precision screen prints and experimenting with special inks and different materials, the effects were both original and stimulating. Some artists had managed to create a three dimensional effect by raising thin welts of colour or by making deep impressions in the paper. Quite a number of the artists exploited the negative-positive image that is at the basis of any printing method to create visual illusions by the use of geometric shapes and repetitive images. In the work entitled "Four plus Four times Five" the artist (Bea Maddock) used a small newspaper photograph as a starting point and then by repeating it and enlarging it with a variation of tone dots, grids and special inks created a highly compelling image that seems to dissolve and reappear with added impact. Another artist (George Baldessin) used an aluminium sheet to project an etching entitled "Skylight" which, with aquatinted clouds and the gleaming planes of the aluminium.

(Continued on page 13)

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SUDAN: THE FORGOTTEN MASSACRES

For a long time the extermination of the Bantus in Southern Sudan has been largely ignored by the world press. We publish below an Open Letter to President Kaunda in his capacity as chairman of the Organization of African Unity from Colonel Joseph Lagu, one of the commanders of Anya Nya, the Bantu military organization. It appeared last year in the Zambia Daily Mail.

WE, Southern Sudanese, living under extreme repression in our homeland or as refugees in friendly African countries, appeal to Your Excellency to become aware of our plight and raise your benevolent voice in our behalf...

Will not Your Excellency, who has spoken for peoples under the colonial yoke throughout Africa, place before the world our story—a story of shame and misery, a story of a people who have suffered half a million deaths because their skin and their culture is different from their northern compatriots. The comparison though vile must be made: we have endured many times more deaths through murder, repression and disease than all the African freedom movements combined. And yet the Organisation of Africa Unity will not even allow our story to be heard in its councils.

Our Gethsemane, cruel though it has been, was made infinitely more painful by the Union of the Soviet Republics, which have undertaken to assist and direct our Sudanese tormentors in the genocide being conducted at our expense. Even as we write to you, Soviet tanks with Russian drivers are rumbling through our villages, killing and maiming our defenceless people and our livestock with their cannon and machine-guns, burning our homes, churches, mosques and schools with their flamethrowers and crushing our garden plots under their bogie.

When our people flee the Sudan to live a pitiable existence as refugees in neighbouring countries, the Sudan troops under the tutelage of their Soviet masters, well experienced in suppression of people's uprisings, cross the international borders and massacre our people on non-Sudanese soil.

Your Excellency may ask how we know the Russians are in the Southern Sudan helping the government and their Egyptian allies? We have seen them moving about in the streets of Juba where they are based,

flying the MI-8 helicopters and firing at us the rockets and guns of these helicopters. We have heard them communicating with each other in their tanks and in their planes. We have heard the screams of wounded Russian pilots. We have buried the bodies of Russian airmen who perished with their helicopters...

All we ask of life is to be allowed to live it. We do not seek foreign arms, money or men. All we beg from the rest of Africa and the world is the recognition that we are human beings, not animals, and the right to live as human beings. Is this an unjust demand?

Your Excellency, who is a peaceful man, question why we do not surrender our arms and co-operate with the Sudanese government. We have attempted to do so many times. William Deng, an illustrious scholar and statesman, chose the path of co-operation. He was shot dead by the Sudanese army shortly after his election in Tonj Central Constituency. His name is but one of scores of the most talented southerners whose choice of co-operation resulted in their murder or incarceration. Among the ordinary people, many have tried to co-operate. They have been repaid by being slaughtered in their homes and in their churches and mosques. One example among thousands may be cited from a recent book, 'Sudan, An African Tragedy', by a Norwegian journalist. Discussing a massacre of a group of communicants in a church, the author described what he saw as 'the burned chapel, the wounded, the burned bones and skulls of the 50 innocent civilians including children, murdered in cold blood'.

For what crime then are we condemned to annihilation? Whatever the crime it must be heinous, because we have paid the full measure of five hundred thousand lives for this crime. Is it because we were born black? Because we do not wish to be slaves? Because we dare to assert we are men?.....

If but one African leader or statesman raised his voice for us, surely others would follow. But no one will be first. Therefore we must suffer in a backwash of human misery, relegated to limbo of despair, until every African man, woman and child in the Southern Sudan, no matter what his tribe or religion, is dead. Dead from the machines of war or the concomitant horrors of starvation and disease. Is there no statesman to tell the story to the world? Not just one man?

Do not forsake us Excellency. Bring our case before the OAU and the world. LET US BUT LIVE. In the name of God and humanism, treat us like men. FOR WE ARE MEN.

(Cont'd from page 11)

suggested precisely the effect described by the title.

There are probably not enough facilities readily available to allow printmaking to become a more popular artistic medium in India. But considering the great skill possessed by traditional craftsmen in other fields such as textiles or engraved metalware that have affinities with the skill required for printmaking, this could be a challenging and satisfying dimension for Indian artists to work in.

Letter to the Editor

"ON PAMPHLETEERING"

IN his article "On Pamphleteering" in the January issue of *Freedom First*, Mr. A. G. Noorani makes quite a few pertinent observations on the decline in the art of pamphleteering and the failure of its intellectuals which may be due either to opportunism or non-involvement.

This is not the place to indulge in a dissertation on which came first: the egg of the decline or the hen of the failure. Perhaps, both sprang up simultaneously, more or less, which make the phenomenon a biological fantasy but nonetheless a sociological reality.

But when Mr. Noorani speaks — rightly, of course — of the leaders of the Congress Socialist Party, like Jaya Prakash Narayan, Minoo Masani, Ashok Mehta, Dr. Lohia *et al*, as "moulding a certain intellectual climate in the country", he has singularly overlooked the immense pioneering contribution of M. N. Roy to the stimulation and growth of that climate from the Marxist point of view. Knowing Mr. Noorani as I do, I am sure that the omission has been inadvertent.

It can be said that Roy's influence began to be felt

with the publication of *India In Transition* in 1922. Stray copies of that proscribed book of historical importance had found their way into India. For over thirty-five years and till his death in 1954, his prolific writings, first in *Vanguard* and then in *Independent India* (which was ultimately and logically transformed into *Radical Humanist*) continued to engage the attention of Indian intellectuals and politicians and were the *fons et origo* of his followers. Side by side with this weekly food for thought, Roy turned out books, booklets, pamphlets, tracts and printed texts of his speeches with an amazing prodigality. A bibliography prepared by the Centre For South Asian Studies of the University of California, Berkeley and published in M. N. Roy's *Memoirs* (Allied Publishers) lists 133 publications by Roy, of which 70 are pamphlets of less than 100 pages. Many of them also have been published in book form in India and abroad. Let me also recall his famous "Letters To Congress Socialists" from his incarceration in Dehra Dun jail.

It's a pity that even today many of our political writers and politicians show a marked hesitancy in mentioning the humanist par excellence that M. N. Roy was.

—J. B. H. WADIA

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If you live in a world of dreams dotted with greens and golds; if you see yourself in patterns of startling beauty; if you want to stop the world for a bold, dramatic moment, come to us.

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Apart from the form, I found the content of the course unsuitable for me. As I do not now plan to go beyond a master's degree, I wanted a course that would allow me to specialise in my favourite areas of literature, American novel, modern poetry and drama, especially of George Bernard Shaw. I found, instead of opportunity for intense study, that my American Literature elective was a beginning level conglomeration in linguistics, Old and Middle English, and American Literature. Non-electives were also more general than I desired. With notable exceptions, the lectures lacked the closely thought out and specific analysis that is the backbone of sophisticated literary study and too much time was spent on generalities and parenthetical historical information. I investigated the possibility of attaining a master's degree by writing a thesis on a specialised area, before quitting graduate school altogether. It is too bad the thesis programme is not possible, as it would be an exciting programme. I again realize the financial and administrative liabilities.

With all my fault-finding, I must say that the syllabus steered me to a valuable reconsideration of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*, to discover the brilliant psychological insight of George Elliot, and to commune with one of the most charming of English literary figures, Joseph Addison, to whose nature, talent added a superb prose style. Not a bad months work.

Now to mention the most subjective problem that I had in adjusting to the University of Bombay, and

the consideration which makes me most strongly to prefer the American educational system. I missed the attitude of maturity and mutual respect that the faculty and students share in an American institution. The idea of attendance quotas would be rebelled against at a fresher level, not to mention graduate school. The students attend classes because they enjoy them. The disorganisation and, sometimes, intellectual simplicity in Bombay University gives the over-riding impression that the student's time and development is not considered important. More effort is generally made to challenge the students in the American system on the assumption that the students are doing something important. The Bombay students blatantly ignore the lecturer and have a general attitude of hostility toward the professor. In return for being regarded as a responsible individual, the American University student co-operates with and generally likes his professors.

In my opinion, the respectful interaction for student and professor and an educational organisation designed to be responsive to the students, is the heart and soul of the formal educational experience. Thus, I humbly suggest administrative reorganisation more considerate to the student, more specialised and sophisticated handling of the subject matter, especially for graduate students, and a change of attitude on the part of students and faculty toward more individual student responsibility and a sense of co-operation and challenge.

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

Chief Ministers are coming down quicker than Sabre
jets during the Indo-Pak war.
—Himmat, February 4.

From our past experience, we in China place
immense hopes on the American people.
—Chou En-lai in *Time*, February 14.

One Bengali, an orator. Two Bengalis, an uproar.
Three Bengalis, a revolution.
—Dacca man to Mr. Frank Moraes,
Indian Express, January 15.

I make no other claims than this: I am an extremely
competent idiot.
—Danny Kaye in *Span*, January 1972.

You can get very much further with a kind word
and a gun than with a kind word alone.
—Al Capone, quoted in *Time*,
February 14.

The black joke about Russia being a country where
the only sane people are locked up in lunatic asylums
is not strictly accurate.
—*The Economist*, January 8.

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Poetry and music are an international language.
—President Nixon to Yevtushenko
quoted in *Time*, February 14.

Who says Americans don't love poetry?
—Soviet Poet Yevtushenko in *Time*,
February 14.

We are surrounded today by many boneless
wonders.
—N. A. Palkhivala quoted in the
Statesman, January 16.

Like the Greeks in their decadence, we are in danger
of telling our protectors how barbarous they are.
—Raymond Aron in *The Economist*,
January 1.

If you want to live a big life, get a big cause.
—Elia Kazan in *The Assassins*

For their own reasons, a good many Senators are now
positively eager to snatch defeat from the jaws of
victory in Vietnam.
—Joseph Alsop in *March of the Nation*,
January 22.

The state of trade in the country still does not meet
(consumer) demand.
—Central Committee of Communist Party of
Soviet Union quoted in *Radiance*,
February 6.

We are already beginning to move out of an era
when the consumer can be relied upon to say "please"
and the worker "thank you."
—J. A. Hoskyns in the *Economist*, February 5.

Socrates, they say, was married to a nagging, com-
plaining shrew, Xanthippe. One day a friend greeted
the great sage and asked: "And how is Xanthippe
today?" "Compared", Socrates asked, "with what?"
—*U.S. News and World Report*, February 14.