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EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

FOREIGN AID MUST GO

M. R. Masani

ONE of the positive fall-outs of the Indo-Pakistani hostilities is the suspension of U.S. economic aid to India by President Nixon and Mrs. Gandhi's repeated statements that India does not want that aid and the country should learn to be self-reliant. While the motivations of the two heads of their respective governments are very much their own, there are deeper and more fundamental reasons why this development may well turn out to be a blessing in disguise for this country as also for Indo-American relations. It is, therefore, devoutly to be wished that neither of them will back down from the stand they have taken.

Liberals believe in international cooperation and international division of labour. They do not believe in autarchy as the communists do. Then why do I welcome the suspension of government-to-government aid? The answer is that government-to-government aid distorts the international division of labour. It comes in the way of the natural laws of the market which should decide which country should produce what. By reason of government-to-government loans, distortions take place by encouraging a country to manufacture what it should not be manufacturing at that time and neglecting what it should be promoting.

The need for international economic aid arises because of social backwardness and a lag in technology. There is an imbalance in our country between the man-land ratio and the man-capital ratio. We have a massive population growing rapidly but the quantum of land in India is static and, while our population is growing rapidly, our capital does not grow correspondingly. Therefore, what economic cooperation does, whether it is capital or loans or grants, is what Lord Canning, the British statesman, once described as "bringing in a new world to redress the balance of the old." It is to redress the imbalance between man and land and man and capital that, in a country like India, foreign capital, whether it is given by governments or private parties, is required because

it brings in more tools, more machinery to put to work idle hands and feed hungry mouths.

The response given by the prosperous countries, led by the United States, is something unparalleled in human history. Never in human history have one set of human beings put their hand into their pockets and shelled out funds as the American, the British and West German people have been doing for the sake of feeding and keeping going a huge country like ours.

What are the basic motivations why people do this? These are a mixed lot, some good, others unworthy. The first, which is a good instinct, is a sense of human obligation—a desire to help out. John Donne, the English poet, referred to this when he said: "No man is an island entire of itself," and ended up by saying: "Do not ask for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee."

Another motive is a sense of guilt on the part of those who give. Past empires like the British, the French and the Japanese suffer from a sense of guilt and feel they must make some kind of reparation.

There is another doubtful motive, that foreign

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Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Fascism in Calcutta

IN our April issue we had referred to the rigging of elections in Kashmir and Bengal. Detailed proof of these disgraceful developments has been coming in ever since from both States. Thus, for instance, Mr. P. C. Sen, the respected veteran Congress leader and former Chief Minister of Bengal, has alleged that the elections in forty-five to fifty constituents had been rigged and has called for an enquiry.

Mr. Bimal Banerjee, General Secretary of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, has described what happened in *Himmat*: "On the day of the elections on March 11, 1972, inhabitants of the under-world were mobilised for the cause of forced voting. State Government machinery including police were pressed into service. Money flowed like water. In many polling stations voters who stood in a queue are told at 11 o'clock in the morning, four hours after the opening of the polling, to go back home as 100 per cent of the votes had already been cast in the booth. In certain other constituencies voters were asked to hand over their ballot papers to volunteers of the Congress Party to be marked by them. On those who refused to oblige, physical force was used. Polling Agents of certain political parties were physically thrown out of a number of polling stations. After the polling was over the ballot boxes were also tampered with. Ballot papers of other constituencies were found in the ballot boxes. More stamped ballot papers were found in the box than the number of ballots cast in the booth. Used ballot papers were found floating in the Subamarekha river in Jhargram."

What is even more frightening is that this goondaism of the ruling party did not stop on polling day. The situation is such that, on 3rd April, the *Economic Times* described it in a headline as "Politics of Terror in Bengal Again". Its Calcutta bureau reported:

"On March 25 at 7.30 a.m. two workmen were kidnapped by an armed band of about 50 miscreants in front of the gates of a factory in the northern industrial suburb of Agartara in the presence of hundreds of workers. The kidnapped workmen were the office-bearers of the CPM union operating in the factory. The workmen were bodily carried away at pistol point and, although they were brought back later through the intervention of the police, their limbs had been bashed in and broken. They are now lying in the E.S.I. hospital.

"Reports are now trickling into newspapers, though heavily scissored as a matter of policy. It

is now known to all that there is a movement going on to forcefully throw off office-bearers of particular trade unions and occupy the union office by the INTUC. The new offensive trend is seen also in the ultimatum to institutions that appointments and dismissals must be done as directed by the union. Recently the United News of India was threatened on the phone for carrying a statement quoted to a CPM leader about some incidents in Jadavpore. Such telephone calls come from youth organisations now 'in power' and one such call came to the residence of Bennett, Coleman & Co's manager also some days ago. Terrorism is, thus, applied to the press as well."

Independent reports have come in of the manner in which the head of a well-known educational institution was recently approached by these Congress hoodlums with the demand that the recognition given by the college to the Union representing its students should be withdrawn and the Chhatra Parishad

IN THIS ISSUE

S. V. Raju, one of the most perceptive observers of the political scene, analyses the States Assembly Elections and their implications.

Manjula Padmanabhan, an undergraduate, tells us about the latest language to join the existing cacophony — Body Language.

Germaine Greer's *Female Eunuch* is reviewed by Farok Contractor about the same time that the lady's estranged husband, Paul de Feu, who separated from her after only three weeks of marriage because, says Germaine, he wanted her — not unnaturally — "to be a wife", is in New York to find a publisher for a book about "liberation from liberation".

For an amusing account of the trials and tribulations of the long-suffering Soviet consumer — no Naders permitted — read the *Tale of a Glove*.

Finally, the Editor, welcoming the current unfavourable climate for foreign aid, explains why it is important that President Nixon and Prime Minister Gandhi, in the interest of the Indian people and of Indo-American relations, stand firm in their opposition to Aid.

should be recognised instead. These threats failed to succeed when the Principal, following Prof. V. V. John's courageous example, refused to let his students down and bow to this intimidation.

As Fascism thus raises its ugly head, it is amusing to see the champions of communist dictatorship running for cover under the safeguards of the Constitution. In the last few days Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad of the CPM has stressed the need to safeguard democratic rights even with the help of the Rightist parties, if necessary. Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon has similarly urged that the time has come for the people to safeguard the democratic rights of citizens, whether Naxalites or Swatantrites.

To those who put freedom first and are consistent defenders of the Constitution like ourselves these laments of impending doom appear amusing. These two gentlemen are among those who only a few months back supported the Constitutional Amendments aiming at the scrapping of the Fundamental Rights of the citizens. It is good that realization has begun to dawn on them. But before their bonafides can be accepted by genuine fighters for freedom, it is necessary that they renounce their guilty past.

A Brave Man's Ordeal

ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN has at last given up hope of ever receiving the diploma and the gold medal which accompany the Nobel Literature Prize awarded to him in 1970. The last straw is the Kremlin's refusal to provide a visa to the Secretary of the Swedish Academy who was to have made a presentation in Moscow on April 9. As a result, the courageous Russian writer has, in a declaration made before Swedish correspondents in Moscow, willed away the insignia to his infant son.

Solzhenitsyn was last seen in public on the occasion of the funeral of his great friend Pasternak. He has now broken his silence in a rare interview with Hedric Smith of the *International Herald Tribune* and Robert Kaiser of the *Washington Post*. He told them that people are afraid to talk to him, that he cannot get anyone to do research for him, that his living quarters are bugged, his phone tapped, his friends shadowed and his wife dismissed from her job. A "contaminated zone", he says, has been built around him. "You Westerners cannot imagine my situation. I live in my own country. I write a novel about Russia. But it is as hard for me to gather material as it would be if I were writing about Polynesia."

These grim conditions have not, however, deterred Solzhenitsyn from taking on the Russian Orthodox Church by sending an "Open Letter" to its Primate. In that letter he describes the Russian church as "ruled dictatorially by atheists—a spectacle unseen for two millenia." "The Russian Church," says the great Russian writer, "has its indignant opinion on every evil

in distant Asia or Africa—only on domestic ills nothing, ever."

What is Moderate?

IN an attempt at justifying New Delhi's pro-Arab and anti-Israeli stance in flat contradiction to the attitude of these two camps towards India, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs told the Lok Sabha during Question Hour on April 6 that most of the Arab countries had, after the end of Indo-Pakistani hostilities, adopted a more "moderate" attitude. On page 9 of this issue, the reader will find an interesting exchange of letters—unpublished in the Indian press—between the Indian Prime Minister and General Gaddafi of Libya. This correspondence forms part of a booklet released by the Libyan Embassy in Beirut entitled "The Dangerous Indian Attempt Against East Pakistan" and was published in Arabic by the Lebanese Daily *Al-Hayat* on January 20 this year. Would the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi also venture to describe the most hostile and derisive tone of the Lebanese leader's epistle as "moderate"?

Perpetuating Our Backwardness

THERE is one field of technology where even the Soviet press and spokesman do not claim leadership, and that is the world of computers where it is conceded that the Soviets painfully lag behind the U.S.A. and other advanced countries. The reported decision of the Electronics Commission in New Delhi to seek collaboration with the Russians for the manufacture of computers in India can, therefore, be understood as yet another example of the abject satellitism to which New Delhi has been reduced since the conclusion of the Indo-Soviet Treaty last year. The New Delhi bureau of the *Economic Times*, which gives this disquieting news on April 11, itself mentions the objection that "Soviet computer technology is less advanced than the American IBM company." That surely is the understatement of the year. Even today major enterprises in this country are being forced to continue to use first generation computers considered obsolete elsewhere as a result of the refusal of New Delhi to issue import licence for more sophisticated machines. Evidently, this enforced backwardness is now to be perpetuated.

Thus do we show our gratitude to our Soviet mentors and pay the price for their "support".

Jai Hind!

A Myth Exploded

THE North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam involving twelve of Hanoi's fourteen regular army divisions has torn to shreds the myth so sedulously fostered in this country that the Communists in South Vietnam are waging a civil war against the Saigon

WHO IS AFRAID OF BODY LANGUAGE?

Manjula Padmanabhan

DID you know . . . that your pupils dilate when you look at a nude photograph? That you can antagonize someone by moving a glass? That the way you sit can give away your darkest secrets? If you didn't, then read on, this article is for you.

The name of the game is kinesics, the latest from the American grab-bag of do-it-yourself sciences. And it can really be an interesting game once you learn the basic rules and the method behind it. Kinesics, otherwise known as body language, tells you everything you've always wanted to know about what people are really thinking, without having to ask. All one has to do is to apply a dash of basic psychology and presto! a new science emerges. Here are some samples and then it's your turn to play.

The most universal gestures made by people are a series of rhythmic or ticking movements. For instance, if you're in a group and notice one person sitting with his legs crossed and rhythmically bouncing one leg, try to be nice to him, because for some reason he's ill at ease and anxious. All such ticking movements re-

present this sort of anxiety. The reasoning behind this is as follows: when in the womb, the major sensory influence is the pulsating of the mother's circulatory system. Since the womb represents the ultimate state of security, resort to rhythmic actions means that one is reminding oneself of the womb and thus of the security for which it stands. One needs the security because at that particular moment one is unsure and uneasy, craving for reassurance, even if it is entirely unconscious. Needless to say, gestures such as these and the ones which will be mentioned are significant only if they are entirely unconscious and sustained.

Hands speak volumes in body language. A nervous high-strung person might constantly fidget around the neck area because he or she is under a constant nervous strain. All of us in times of stress tend to raise our hands near our heads; this is because to do so represents the first stage in a defensive gesture such as throwing or hitting and since it might not be possible to actually do either, we subconsciously resort to merely representing the action without carrying it to completion.

BETWEEN YOU & ME AND THE LAMP POST—Continued from page 3

Government. As the London *Economist* of April 8 puts it: "It is essentially a foreign invasion executed by conventional North Vietnamese forces. This is no longer 'a people's war' . . . There is no evidence so far of any significant local support for the North Vietnamese forces." The trail of refugees streaming southwards to escape the communists shows the people's attitude to their "liberators"!

With over eighty per cent of the North Vietnamese army now operating in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the aggressive nature of the communist regime in Hanoi is now obvious for all who have eyes to see. Among these is not Mr. Swaran Singh, the Indian External Affairs Minister, who told the Rajya Sabha blandly on April 7 that he was not aware of any so-called "massive invasion" by North Vietnam. Even allowing for Mr. Singh's habitual obtuseness, it is difficult to believe that he could be so blind as all that, and this hypocritical pretence is probably only a ploy to ingratiate himself with his Soviet ringmasters.

As to Delhi's wail against the defensive air action against North Vietnam, it comes oddly from those who in 1965 and again last year—quite rightly—did not hesitate to cross the international frontier and attack Pakistan by land, sea and air when it aggressed against us on those two occasions. There is evidently no limit to the extent to which the practice of double standards in New Delhi can develop.

Moscow's Hand

ALL international observers of the scene are agreed that the North Vietnamese invasion of the South has been master-minded and provisioned by the incendiaries in the Kremlin. Writing in the London *Times*, Sir Robert Thompson, the British counter-insurgency expert, has opined that "without heavy material support from the Russians the invasion could never have taken place. This must have been planned at least a year ago. There has just been a large Russian military mission in Hanoi presumably to assess 1973 requirements. Without this aid from the communist powers, the North Vietnamese would be nothing and there would be peace tomorrow."

The absurdity of the North Vietnamese asking the Americans and South Vietnamese to resume talks in Paris under the blackmail of invasion is patent and it is to be hoped that this attempt at blackmail will fail. But is that enough? Is it not high time for President Nixon to cancel his Moscow visit in these circumstances and to demand that the Soviet call off their running dogs before he visits the Soviet capital? Perhaps that is now the only way in which the American Government can make up for its unfortunate decision all these years to fight a defensive war with one hand tied behind its back and to permit the aggressor to shelter in his privileged sanctuary.

Similarly, it is considered improper to point not so much because the Victorians just did not take to it, but because the extended finger conjures up images of aggressive male behaviour, so that pointing becomes both an aggression and an indecency. In fact a great deal of gestures which look utterly meaningless are actually representations of the complete gestures.

Take heed when confronting some one with his arms crossed strongly over his chest. He's on the defensive and is likely to be stubborn and uncompromising. By crossing his arms he makes it clear that he has closed himself to you, just the way his arms guard his chest and 'box' his body in. In contrast, the girl who holds her arms crossed loosely and slightly lower down, is relaying the exact opposite message—she wants her femininity to be noticed and subconsciously is drawing attention to herself. If one elbow is slightly lower on the side someone is sitting, it could mean she is partial to that particular person. Apparently, when it comes to mating calls, the body practically screams where the voice falters. If kinesics is to be believed, the rampant male is not so much the one who discusses sex freely in the canteen but the one who sits carelessly low in his seat with his knees spread wide. The one on the look-out can be seen loafing against walls, hands on his hip, fingers pointing suggestively. It is often noticeable that the ones who actually talk a lot sit comparatively 'tight', with their legs crossed, arms and shoulders narrowed or with their knees wide but with their hands held close to themselves, cupped protectively. These would prefer only to talk.

Crossed legs are more than the socially accepted way of sitting. When not controlled by factors such as comfort or habit, to cross one's legs means, like crossed arms, that one is clamming up and shutting out. The more closed in the limbs are, the more the case holds true. When one is crossed toward someone, it means this person attracts the subject. If a couple cross toward each other the attraction is mutual. The reverse holds when legs are crossed away from someone; presumably when seated between two people compromises are made by not crossing legs at all, if the feelings are strong in either direction towards both. Interestingly, when two people on either side of one person cross their legs towards that person then it represents an attempt to in some way stifle that person's influence.

The subconscious responds strongly when it comes to territorial questions. Every individual unconsciously allots himself a certain minimum of air space, fixed probably by his environment—the more crowded it is, the less will be the minimum requirement. It is astonishing how finicky we are when it comes to maintaining this air space. Notice for instance when sitting at a sofa with someone who is not a particularly close friend. The tendency is to keep a certain distance. Whatever the sex, if this distance is violated for no ostensible reason then at least one party becomes un-

comfortable though it is difficult to explain why if they know nothing about air space. Notice also how reluctant a person is to share the sofa already occupied by two people, even though there is usually ample space and possibly greater ease in discussion. Yet this is rarely done unless there is no other place to sit. The less one knows a person the further one tends to stay from him. This is a common understanding recognized instinctively by all human beings. That is why any girl in a crowded bus knows almost immediately when a man is going to misbehave—she knows that even under difficult circumstances the greatest effort is made to maintain a distance between all parties concerned and when one party seems anxious to do the opposite, it means his intentions cannot be too pure.

This question of jealously guarded air space of course harkens back to the good old days when an ape was an ape and had property which was considered exclusively his own by right and inviolable by others without his sanction. Air space may seem insignificant in comparison to that sort of 'territory' but it is nevertheless retained with surprising tenacity. The same attitude pervades a great variety of objects and areas. A clear example is the avidity with which school children rush into a new class to 'bag' the best seats. They gouge their identity into their desks to establish their ownership and even when there is no reason at all to retain the same seat, students often insist on sitting in the accustomed spot and positively resent it being usurped by another.

If we are sensitive about air space, we are even more sensitive about touch. Just as the distances between developing acquaintances narrow down, the taboos on touching relax as intimacy grows. In this connexion, it is interesting to note that though the extrovert American touches hands in greeting strangers, further touching at friendly levels is not so easily accepted. By contrast, the Easterner salaams, namastes, kowtows all without touching, yet when it comes to friends is much freer than the average American. Where Arabs openly kiss in welcoming friends and Indian males hold hands while walking in public the American would feel positively embarrassed to follow suit. The implication here is that social consciousness among many Westerners is high enough to make a show of friendship when greeting a stranger, but that the essential person is even more elusive and hidden away than with the average Easterner.

There are endless categories and lists of gestures connected with body language, admittedly, some conclusions become extremely far-fetched and absurd if carried to extremes. But like any pseudo science, taken with a pinch of salt and an active imagination kinesics has great potential, both as an amusing pass-time and as a fast developing branch of psychology. Certainly, as urban socializing entirely retards free speech, it might do well to learn the alphabets of kinesics; it might soon be the only language which "tells it like it is."

DEMOCRACY WITHOUT BRAKES

S. V. Raju

BEFORE the outbreak of hostilities with Pakistan, the Election Commission had announced that elections to the State Assemblies would be held from February 15 to 20, 1972. Pakistan launched its attack on 3rd December and on 15th December, according to a UNI report, the Union Cabinet decided to postpone the elections by a year. Legislation for the purpose was to be introduced in Parliament the following day. But on December 16, military operations having concluded in Bangla Desh, India declared a unilateral cease-fire on the Western Front and the intended legislation to postpone elections did not materialise. Four days later, Mrs. Gandhi told a meeting of Opposition leaders that elections would be held in March this year after all.

All media of mass communication were pressed into service and with the transistor revolution particularly in the countryside, there was hardly a village in India which did not know of the great role played by the Prime Minister in bringing Pakistan to heel and liberating Bangla Desh.

On the floor of Parliament most leaders of opposition parties vied with one another in showering fulsome praise on the Prime Minister. She was described as "Yahyamardini", "Chamundeswari", "Joan of Arc", etc.

There were hardly any issues that the opposition could take up with advantage. Mrs. Gandhi having robbed them of the only live issue, viz. the refugee problem. She had succeeded in sending them back and had, in the process emerged as a determined leader capable of decisive action.

In the euphoric post-victory climate, attempts by the opposition candidates to focus attention on problems like high prices, rising unemployment and a steadily deteriorating economic situation proved futile. The *Garibi Hatao* promise was only a year old and, with the intervention of the Bangla Desh problem, Mrs. Gandhi had a legitimate excuse.

National Referendum

Though the elections were for the State Assemblies and not for the Lok Sabha, Mrs. Gandhi made it a national referendum. Fully conscious of the mass adulation she enjoyed and equally aware of the men of straw she had placed in key positions in the State Congress Committees supplanting influential and experienced though less amenable leaders, Mrs. Gandhi's strategy was to ensure that she (and not the candidates or even her party) was the star attraction.

In a large majority of cases her candidates were non-entities. And they were handpicked. The test — loyalty

to the Prime Minister. Posters and banners of Congress candidates carried Mrs. Gandhi's picture. It was clearly Mrs. Gandhi *versus* the rest.

Congress candidates did not suffer from lack of finance and consequently had material and manpower resources in abundant measure. The ruling party collected funds methodically and ruthlessly. Industry-wise quotas were reportedly laid down. Business tycoons and industrial magnates were not only expected to fulfil their quotas but word was passed around that the opposition parties were not to be encouraged. "Dossiers" on leading business houses with the Prime Minister ensured compliance. The lollipop of permits and licences was dangled before the moneyed community as a reward.

In earlier elections, the bribing of voters and the large scale use of money in other ways was not unknown. But this March it was flaunted, implying a total contempt for the voter. Everyone has his price appeared to be the ruling party's watchword. Special targets for this version of *Garibi Hatao* were the slum dwellers in urban constituencies and the poor and landless in the rural areas.

Misuse of official machinery was there for all to see, from the use of Air Force planes by the Prime Minister right down to the local satraps in the Zilla Parishads and Panchayats who made use of government machinery with impunity.

Violence and intimidation of the voter, which in earlier elections were marginal, were very much a factor this time.

In many States, the Congress entered into electoral arrangements with the C.P.I. A leading Bombay weekly displayed a poster issued by a Communist candidate in Belgaum which described him as a candidate sponsored by the Congress Party. Even more significant, the poster carried Mrs. Gandhi's photograph.

Among the first posters issued by the Congress was one in which Mrs. Gandhi demanded: "I seek another mandate from the States. This theme of equating stability with Congress rule recurred throughout the campaign. According to Mrs. Gandhi, stable State Government meant governments belonging to the same party that ruled in Delhi.

Opposition Disarray

What was happening on the other side of the fence? The Opposition parties were in disarray. While swearing at the Congress, they were also swearing at one another. On the ground that the "Alliance" was

responsible for their individual debacle, they sought neither alliance nor adjustments. Barring Swatantra, all the democratic opposition parties tried to go one better than the Congress in mouthing radical slogans. Mrs. Gandhi lost no time in pointedly referring, for instance, to the Jan Sangh as "Naqli Socialists". "Why choose an imitation when the original is available" was her powerful retort. The Congress(O), who were fighting the assembly elections for the first time *sans* power, found that it was power and not organisation or mass appeal that had brought them success in earlier elections. Though the Swatantra Party continued to adhere to its policies and attacked the 24th and 25th Amendments to the Constitution, it found that it had to contend with a deaf audience. People were simply not interested in listening to theoretical arguments about fundamental rights or to pleas for economic commonsense.

The claims of the democratic opposition parties also lacked credibility for other reasons. For instance, the performance of the SVD governments in the Northern States. Mrs. Gandhi's claim that the Congress alone could provide stable governments in the States (despite the fact that it was her party that had toppled otherwise stable governments in Gujarat and Rajasthan by engineering defections) carried conviction thanks to the cynical opportunism of the opposition parties that had formed patchwork coalitions soon after 1967 and their manoeuvres to hang on to power.

The cards were thus stacked against the Opposition. The issues were chosen by Mrs. Gandhi; the timing was of her choice; she had the power and the funds; only recently she had shown herself a determined leader. The opposition parties on the other hand were hopelessly divided; they were starved of funds, they lacked credibility on the basis of past performance. The leadership of most opposition parties had also acted and behaved in a most indisciplined manner. Could anyone have seriously expected the results to have been any different?

No Landslide

And yet, the voter did not abandon the opposition entirely. With all the plus points, the Congress Party was able to manage only 44.64 per cent of the votes, though claiming 71 per cent of the seats. In the Lok Sabha elections last year, the Congress had secured 43.64 per cent. In terms of votes, a mere one per cent increase. Clearly no landslide in terms of voters' preferences.

If our voting had been based on the basis of proportional representation, the Congress would not have commanded an overall majority in at least six states or in the Delhi Metropolitan Council as the following voting percentages would go to show: Bihar (34.12%); Haryana (46.90%); Madhya Pradesh (48.14%); Mani-

pur (30.21%); Punjab (42.48%); West Bengal (49.44%) and Delhi (48.54%).

Thanks to the same kind of distortion of the popular will, the C.P.I. won a total of 112 seats, though it received only 3.57% of the votes whereas the Congress(O), with 4.56%, secured only 88 seats, the Jana Sangh, with 8.23%, got 105 seats and the CPI(M), with 4.31% secured only 34 seats. The figures provide eloquent evidence of the need to change over to some form of voting by proportional representation if the popular will is to be truly reflected.

However, such a changeover is not likely in the immediate future as the ruling party, clearly benefiting as it does by a splintered opposition can continue to secure a majority of seats on a minority vote.

Meanwhile certain other aspects need to be gone into immediately. The mysterious disappearance from the electoral rolls of large numbers of voters (particularly belonging to the middle classes) most of whom had voted in the 1971 Lok Sabha elections needs investigation. The counterfoil system of ballot papers, with the voter having to sign the counterfoil, is another matter that has caused concern in regard to the secrecy of the ballot. The mixing up of ballot papers on the plea of seeking to prevent identification of voting patterns has been considered by some as an attempt to cover up the rigging of the poll in specific areas. The time lag between polling and counting days has given room for suspicion that ballot boxes might be tampered with.

This is for the future. But what about the present situation now that we have reverted to one-party rule at the Centre and in most of the States?

Outlook

Though a similar situation obtained in the pre-1967 days, there were foci of power within most State Congress organisations. Most of these have now been eliminated and replaced by Mrs. Gandhi's yes-men or fellow travellers as in Bombay City. The built-in checks within the Congress Party no longer exist. With an overall majority in Parliament and servile governments in the States, with the majority opposition parties back to zero, the car of Indian democracy is running without brakes.

What then should the Opposition do? A Delhi journal called *Point of View*, in its issue of 18th March, summed up the situation accurately when it said that Opposition Parties should "declare a holiday on the politics of electioneering" and do "intense political homework." They should go to the people and "be re-educated politically and regain their confidence by active participation". "Without innovation, without fresh thinking, without mass action", the editorial points out, "the country is condemned to the serfdom of one party which will weaken democracy."

THE TALE OF A GLOVE

ALMOST every Soviet statistical report on the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the current plan contains, tucked away unobtrusively among the data showing constant growth of production, consumption and welfare, a brief phrase like this one (taken from the report on the fulfilment of the 1971 plan): "Despite the considerable increase in commodity circulation, the demand for certain goods such as fish, herring, vegetables, some types of woollen fabrics, clothes, footwear and kitchen utensils has not been fully met."

From time to time the Soviet press spells out the precise nature of the missing goods and the extent of the shortages. Pravda has just devoted two stories to one such, fairly typical case.

On 16th January 1972 Pravda recounted the sad tale of A. D. Nikontov from Voronezh. Mr. Nikontov had been wounded in the hand during the war and experiences a certain sensitivity to cold (the average January temperature in Voronezh is - 10 degrees C.). Beginning from last July Mr. Nikontov regularly visited every shop in Voronezh (a city of 660,000) in search of a pair of gloves. No luck. Everywhere the shop assistants gave him the same reasonable reply, "If there had been gloves we'd have bought some ourselves". By the end of October Mr. Nikontov lost his patience and wrote to the Ministry of Trade of the Russian Republic asking for a pair of gloves via the State mail-delivery firm. Instead of sending him the gloves the deputy head of the ministerial department concerned, Comrade Pronichkin, forwarded Mr. Nikontov's letter to the head of the Voronezh Regional Trade Department, Comrade Sotnikov, with a covering note: "Kindly attend to this letter, taking into account all the circumstances described therein, and if possible render Comrade Nikontov assistance towards the purchase of a glove".

Comrade Sotnikov's deputy sent the letter on still further, to the director of the Voronezh City Administration for Consumer Goods Trade, Comrade Yevteev. The request was made more specific: "The department of Trade asks you, upon arrival of the aforementioned gloves for sale, to inform Comrade A. D. Nikontov of this, and, exceptionally, to render him assistance towards their purchase."

Mr. Nikontov received no such notification. However, he proved indefatigable in tracking down his complaint from one office to another, until finally he learnt that the necessary instructions had been issued to the local equivalent of Woolworths. There he met with a friendly welcome, was offered a choice of shoe-polish, putty, penknives and various other useful objects — but no gloves. The shop did not stock them.

Mr. Nikontov returned to the Department of Trade. This time his reception was markedly cooler: he had

become a nuisance, he was told, and no more assistance would be forthcoming.

Having told the story of Mr. Nikontov's misadventures, Pravda expressed its indignation. Not over the total absence of gloves for many months in one of the country's largest cities — apparently it found nothing unusual in that — but over the heartless bureaucratic treatment of an invalid of the Great Patriotic War: "Why, one asks, was it necessary to undertake months of correspondence, to involve so many organisations merely, in the end, to pull wool over a person's eyes and to turn down his request?"

A good question. Five weeks later, on the 23rd February, Pravda, not without satisfaction, reported on the results of its intervention. Comrade Yevteev had received a reprimand, the director of the quasi-Woolworths a severe reprimand. The other participants had received corresponding punishments.

"The Ministry of Trade also informs us," concluded Pravda, "that the orders of commercial organisations for gloves are not fully met and that the demand cannot be satisfied. Measures are being taken towards increasing the production and delivery of gloves to the trade network".

We are not told whether Mr. Nikontov finally managed to buy a pair of gloves.

—Courtesy: *Soviet Analyst*.

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INDIRA-GADDAFI CORRESPONDENCE

Text of letters exchanged between Mrs. Indira Gandhi and General Gaddafi of Libya translated from the Lebanese Arabic daily "Al-Hayat".

"Dear Sir:

The Government of India have continued to draw the attention of your Government and people to the sad events in East Bengal since 25th March 1971. From time to time we have clarified the developments of the situation for you through our diplomatic representative.

At this critical hour the Government and people of India look to you and hope to find understanding from you, requesting that you will take action to convince Pakistan to leave its policy of aggression. I take this opportunity to convey the feelings of my highest consideration.

Sd/- Mrs. Indira Gandhi

GENERAL GADDAFI'S Reply

"Dear Madam:

I have received your letter which deals with consultations regarding the situation in the sub-continent, and I would like to stress that contacts with India have been useless and of no value, including those held with myself and all other leaders of the Third World. This in contrast with the consultations held by India with Russia, which were the only cause of the war which has threatened world peace, and has led to the destruction of hospitals, schools and populated villages. It is clear therefore, that India was the one that decided to go to war. India's negotiations with the Russians, with regard to weapons and defence agreements were actually agreements of attack, when it came to their implementation.

In our negotiations with India we have always stood for peace and for the neutrality of the Third World, and we uphold the principles of Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi, and the resolutions of the Bandung Conference for the prevention of war. India negotiated with Russia and relied upon Mig jets and Napalm, and these were regrettably far more persuasive with India than our arguments, because India had already made up her mind to go to war.

Madam, whatever may have been the case in East Pakistan from the political and social aspects, whether we approve of it or not, the situation did not warrant the conquest of a country and its division by force, because that territory of East Pakistan was under the sovereign responsibility of the Government of Pakistan, notwithstanding any reservations that may be made regarding the tragic events which took place there. There is no law in the world which permits anybody to intervene by force to change an essentially internal problem.

The fact, Madam, that India may now withdraw her forces is meaningless because India has already taken a dangerous step which may one day be used as a precedent against India herself. We shall however temper our accusations against India, our friend, if we recognise the fact that India today is no longer absolutely free, nor is she neutral after having signed the treaty with Russia—but this is a matter which concerns her internal Government and we shall not comment upon it.

Dear Madam, if the fight had been only between India and Pakistan alone it would not have been so bad, but the fact is that India and Russia worked in collusion and schemed together so that Russia could obstruct the UN resolutions aimed at ending the war, while India could deal blows of death on the remaining targets in East Pakistan. This was a dangerous collaboration which remains unforgivable. We are not blaming our friend India for having closed her ears to our calls at the UN. After all we do not have the veto which India needed and which she received so eagerly from the Russians.

Sd/- Md. Gaddafi

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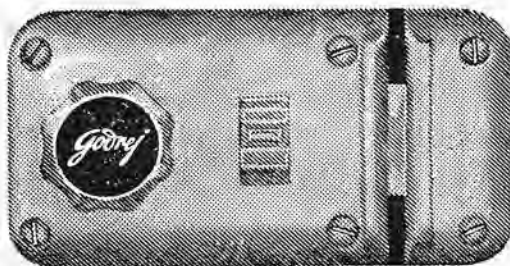
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Review

On The Female Eunuch

The Female Eunuch by Germaine Greer Ph.D. Paladin (1970). 354 pages. 50 p.

TO the beer guzzling male chauvinist pig, the ultimate feminist nightmare is a world filled with statuesque domineering females, unheeding of romance, devotion, self-abnegation and such of the finer sentiments. It is a world of Amazonian predilections in which the biologically prescribed roles of hunter and prey, master and slave are clouded beyond repair.

But the fundamental struggle of the feminist movement is not biological, it is intellectual. The ultimate feminist nightmare ought properly to be not only sexual domination but intellectual superiority. And we suspect, that reasoned male chauvinists like Norman Mailer fear not the statuesque Amazon who can be silenced by a few clever put-downs, as much as the stridently articulate woman who can hold her own in a verbal free-for-all.

It was but natural therefore, for Germaine Greer, a buxom 32, to have arrived at the centre stage of the feminist movement. The western press, hungry for images, was quick to snap up her ample six-foot frame, feed upon her surly sexuality, and utterly consume her sybaritic sentences. But Mrs. Greer is more. For she includes also perhaps the finest brains amongst the movements luminaries. In writing "The Female Eunuch" she has also done it great service, for by its analytical thoroughness, she has laid to rest the popular conceptions of the feminist struggle, by exposing its truly psychological and mental nature. And, in the afterglow of the new intellectual stature she has obtained, she has succeeded in redefining the archetype of the feminist crusader (or if you like, the archetypical feminist nightmare).

Mrs. Greer is not much of the activist; that task she leaves to the Friedans, Milletts and Stienems. She casts herself in the role of the movements ideologue. And in her ideology, she is somewhat at variance with her activist sisters. To Greer, the attainment of economic and political equality are but way-stations on the road to the ultimate goal — of liberation from female castration. To have Germaine Greer tell it, the woman of today is a psychological castrate, shorn of her true sexuality, ignorant of the true essences of femininity (but, alas and alack! Greer is unable to provide even the slightest glimmer of what this "true sexuality" is like). Servile to the dictates of fashion, casting herself into the latest masculine conceptions of the desirable female, she is the "stereotype", the sexual object sought by all men, and by all women". She has no sex, for to the extent that women accept the dictates of

mass advertising, mould their behaviour after the traditional image of proper womanliness, do they repress their sexual identity and individuality.

Germaine Greer's book is a brilliant exposé of the long history of woman's subservience to masculine conceptions. From wearing a bra to making herself look more pneumatic, to shaving off body hair, to wearing athletic uni-sex clothes to highlight her unathleticism, today's woman is as much in bondage to today's "stereotype" as was yesterday's woman to hers.

The fundamental hypothesis of the book is that biologically there is little difference between the sexes and that the apparent differences are the product of sociological conditioning. In support of the first argument, Mrs. Greer advances the somewhat dubious logic, that of forty-eight chromosomes only one varies between the sexes. (As if one could quantify the activating propensities of genes!) But her fundamental thesis is sound. The bulk of the book is a hard-nosed look at the "conditioning" which Mrs. Greer claims reduces the female to the role of a subservient castrate.

In her onslaught, the author spares few of the institutions held hallowed by western society. Her attack on motherhood is most delightful. She compares the upbringing of girls as that depicted in *Portnoy's Complaint*. "What happens to the Jewish boy who never manages to escape the tyranny of his mother is exactly what happens to every girl whose upbringing is 'normal'. She is a female faggot."

It is impossible to depict in the space of a review, the considerable persuasive abilities of Mrs. Greer's writings, to put across the most surprising of concepts. In the chapter titled "The Middle Class Myth Of Love & Marriage" the author is at her incisive best in exposing many of the hallowed shibboleths of the marital condition as instruments of feminine bondage.

The book's intellectual tautness is commendable and there are only a few instances in which the author has lapsed into the extreme or the bizarre. And even then these are irascibly delightful. For instance her contention that there is an unnecessary hangup over menstruation. Again, the author's taking exception to giving the Loch Ness monster the female name "Nessy." (Which *ipso facto* proves all women are monsters in the eyes of men, yes?) The author's excursions in the psychology of sex (which comprises a quarter of the book) are similarly on a shaky footing and constitute laborious reading besides.

The book is on the whole a most healthy experience, sure to set your nerves tingling. This reviewer initially felt a certain trepidation in picking up this book, considering how over-exposed and dull the question of "Women's Lib" has become in popular conception and the media. But his fears were ill founded, for Germaine Greer's book is a new vista altogether into the subject.

FAROK J. CONTRACTOR

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Letters

Another Grouse

IN the article entitled "Misfortunes of a Bombay University Drop-out" published in the March issue of *Freedom First*, Joan Contractor has narrated her pathetic experience as a post-graduate student of English Literature at the University of Bombay. I also read for the Master's Degree in English Literature at Bombay University and would like to add some of my views on the subject.

I did my B.A. degree course as a part-time student. I joined the M.A. degree course after resigning from a lucrative job as there is no part-time post-graduate course in English. I was so fascinated by literature that I thought in order to acquire a good discipline in the appreciation of literature, a post-graduate course in English Literature would be of great advantage. Moreover I wanted to take up a career in journalism. Unfortunately, after a few months study, I have at last realized that all my hopes are shattered and I stand in utter disillusionment. I also began to feel that the greatest mistake I did in my life was to leave a permanent job for the sake of doing an M.A. degree course in English Literature.

The M.A. degree course in English Literature at Bombay University is considered to be a luxury, and is meant for the students, who have money, influence and sufficient leisure. The syllabus prescribed is outdated. Too much attention is given on generalities and too many useless texts are prescribed.

It is better if no comments are made on the examination system. We still follow the age-old practice of testing a student's knowledge in the examination hall under physical and mental tension and strain. All that a student learns in a couple of months is tested in a few hours! In fact, what our universities test is the writing speed and memory power of the students. Their mental ability and intelligence are of no account. It also happens very often that many of our question paper setters are not skilled in their work and the result is that many a time the questions are vague and ambiguous. Sometimes I feel that if the paper setters are asked to answer, along with the students, the questions that they themselves set, most of them will not get even a pass mark.

C. S. NAIR

Off Side

In the issue of *Freedom First* No. 238, March 1972, Page 3, there was a note on 'States Rights Under Fire' in which it was said that the Indian Constitution was a 'Federation'.

Dr. K. M. Munshi, who was one of the principal architects of the Constitution, said: "The Union of India was not a 'Statebund' or Federation or pre-

existing sovereign States. In fact, the name 'Federation Of India' in the earlier drafts of the Constitution was rejected by the Constituent Assembly in favour of the words: 'Union Of India'. "A federation, strictly so called, would mean that the constituent units, enjoying sovereign powers, have come together to establish a common Centre, delegating specific functions to it. . . . The most vital principle underlying our Constitution was that the Union was the national Government of India, based on organic unity of all citizens. . . . The constituent units have no vestige of sovereignty; they are creations of the Constitution. Parliament has power to admit and form new States, alter the area, boundaries or names of the existing States."

P. KODANDA RAO

Our esteemed friend, Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, has missed the point of our editorial note. The question is not whether the Indian federation is a tight one or a loose one. Admittedly, it is too tight. All the same, there is a States List of subjects where the States are supreme and the Union Government and Parliament must keep their hands off. The Prime Minister's statements and activities appear to be directed to tilting the balance still further by a *de facto* transfer of the subjects in the States List to the Concurrent List by demanding that the policies of the States should be "in tune with" the Union Government's socialist policies. This, we repeat, is contrary to the Constitution.

—EDITOR



"No, no, you are wrong! The small one is the dacoit . . . the big one is the minister!"

Courtesy: **Hindustan Times**

FOREIGN AID MUST GO—Continued from page 1

aid helps in combating communism; if you help a country, it will not go communist. This is a delusion. By now it should be clear that economic aid does not help in stopping communism eating up a country. First of all, foreign aid does not raise living standards. Secondly, there is no essential link between poverty and communism. The theory that poor people go communist and rich people do not is, I may say as a student of communism, baseless. Empty hearts, empty minds and empty souls are as much a cause of communism and Marxism as empty stomachs.

Foreign aid often strengthens the pro-communist trend. It may even help a country to go communist. American aid helped Sukarno to take Indonesia to the brink of communism. Western aid helped Ghana under Nkrumah to go near absorption into the communist bloc. I am not sure American aid has not done its bit to make our Government satellites of the Soviet Union.

What are the psychological implications of government-to-government aid for the donor country?

It is amusing to observe how the donor becomes the appeaser. An example is the way in which the West started by calling these countries "backward", then "underdeveloped", then "developing", and now "new",—terms increasingly inaccurate but meant to assuage local vanities.

Professor Peter Bauer, Professor of Developing Economies at London University, says that aid has become an instrument in the cold war on the commu-

nist side. In America, in England, in West Germany, there is no more any proletariat. The working class has never had it so good. So the Communists have to find a new proletariat, somebody on whose behalf they

Where Aid Mostly Came from

	Amount Utilised (Crores of rupees)	Share of Total (Percent)
United States	6,455	57.8
World Bank & I.D.A.	1,414	12.8
West Germany	763	6.9
Britain	628	5.7
Soviet Union	624	5.6
Canada	479	4.3
Japan	304	2.7
Italy	109	1.0

must campaign, and what more appropriate than the peasants in India, Indonesia and Ghana? So "the third world" has become cannon fodder for communist propaganda, replacing the no longer 'oppressed' workers of the West. The theory of neo-colonialism which the Communists have invented and which many amongst us have swallowed is an instrument of this propaganda.

What about the effect on the donees? First of all, there is pauperisation. Government-to-government grants and aid are like a dole. In fact, they only too often become a crutch.

Secondly, the psychological effect on the aided party

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is a sense of inferiority and resentment. Hence the ingratitude that the aided countries have shown to the countries that help them.

The oldest testimony one can cite in this respect is that of Confucius who reports a man asking another: "Why do you dislike me? I have never done anything to help you".

What is the effect on the economy or the economic policies of the helped countries? Government-to-government loans encourage socialism, communism and Statism, concentration of power, and waste. When a government aids another government, who disburses that aid? The government of that country. Aid thus transfers economic power from the people, the industrialists, the businessmen and the people to the hands of bureaucrats and politicians. The patronage the politician can dispense increases; the politicisation of economic life goes on. So, in a very direct way, every rupee of aid given by America or any other country or the World Bank to any aided country, including India, directly strengthens the forces of Statism, socialism and communism and weakens the forces of people's free enterprise. It also breeds irresponsibility and waste. Djilas says in his book *The New Class*: "Everybody's property is nobody's property." In Gujarati there is a proverb: "*Konna baapni divali?*" (Whose father's

divali?) So government-to-government grants and loans breed irresponsibility, and irresponsibility leads to waste. In the result, a great part of foreign loans have, in India, been wasted by diversion to showpieces and heavy industry while agriculture and roads have remained neglected.

Finally, one of the greatest disadvantages of government-to-government aid is that it discourages the investment of private equity capital in these countries. It does so because when one gets government-to-government aid at cheap rates, the temptation is not to raise equity capital abroad. This is a pity because our countries need foreign equity capital desperately. When foreign capital comes into India from any part of the world, it brings in foreign plant or machinery and engages Indian labour to work on it. It takes its profits out of the country only when it makes a profit. So such investment is in the interests of the Indian people. When a government-to-government loan comes, we have to repay the capital and the interest to the foreign government, however badly the money may have been wasted by our government. This is against the interests of the Indian people. So foreign private equity capital is good for India; government-to-government loans are bad for India. Let us hope we shall be spared them from now on.



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

—Tennyson.

A combination of the new rich and the old communists seems to be Mrs. Gandhi's recipe for the Indian brand of Socialism.

—*Quest*, March/April

Bombay has the richest Marxists in all India. And now they are all New Congressmen.

—*Quest*, March/April

Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia was powerfully influenced by the film *Patton*, which he viewed repeatedly.

—William A. Rusher in the *National Review*,
November 19, 1971.

The Soviet Union, racing the U.S. in space and beating America in supersonic air travel, still has to import soap powder from Iran.

—*U.S. News World Report*, April 3.

Soon, very soon, the parliamentary decisions of the United Nations will affect the policies of the United States about as much as decisions of the National Student Association, in solemn body assembled, affect the American academy.

—Roger Evans in the *National Review*,
November 19, 1971.

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The traditional combination of the self-satisfied bureaucrats in the administration and the political *dadas* at the government level is absolutely unsuitable for the war against poverty.

—Narottam Shah in *Commerce*, March 25.

A treaty, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder and never more so than when it is between a strong power and a weaker one.

—*The Economist*, March 4.

Treaties are like roses and young girls; they last while they last.

—General de Gaulle quoted in the
Economist, March 18.

The definition of peace in West Bengal is two or three political murders a day instead of six or seven.

—*The Economist*, March 4.

Says an advertisement prominently displayed all over Bombay:

"One Leader
One Nation
One Indira".

But, alas, not just one boot-licker! No, millions upon millions of them, most with the ambition to lick for ever and ever bigger and better boots.

—*Opinion*, March 21.

To win a war is one thing. To lose the peace is another.

—Frank Moraes in *Indian Express*, April 3.

There is no one so ignorant about black Rhodesians as white Rhodesians.

—*The Economist*, March 4.

The only way to get rid of a Labour leader is summed up in the phrase: "while there's death there's hope."

—*The Economist*, March 18.

"I have always made it a rule in my life to avoid fall-back positions. When you have a fall-back position, you always fall back."

—Harold Macmillan quoted in the
Economist, March 18.