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## EDITORIAL

# “SECULAR” STATE OR “CIVIL” STATE?

**T**HE Prime Minister Nehru does not appear to have any clear and definite idea about what he means when he says that India is a “Secular” State. In a speech recently made at Raipur, Mr. Nehru is reported to have strongly denounced the talk of a ‘Hindu State’ or ‘Hindu Nation’ as “ridiculous and foolish” and added that no one who ever ruled India for the last one thousand years, had ever professed for a Hindu Rashtra and India has been and will ever be a country where everyone, irrespective of his religion would be able to live peacefully and follow his religion.

Mr. Nehru and as a matter of fact, a majority of those who occupy seats of political power along with him, have been applying the term “Secular” to the State of India in a peculiar sense not actually conveyed by that term. “Freedom of Conscience and Worship” is not a right always and necessarily guaranteed by the “Secular” character of a State. But it is a ‘civil’ right invariably conceded by all ‘Civil’ and ‘Democratic’ States. Strictly speaking a “Secular” State is one that has no national church and that is free from the domination of the church or the priestly class in temporal matters. A State which is ‘secular’ properly so called, is therefore ‘non-religious’ and ‘non-clerical’. In fact no State in the world today whether progressive or backward, dictatorial or democratic, socialist or capitalist, excepting the Vatican State, could be called ‘Clerical’ in the sense that it is ruled or dominated by the priests or the clergy. General Ayub Khan of Pakistan albeit its State religion of Islam, is ruling the country in as ‘secular’ a way as Mr. Nehru is doing in India, inasmuch as the State is not influenced and guided by Mullahs and Moulvis in the day-to-day administration of the country. The Pakistan Government loudly proclaims itself to be as great a defender of the ‘civil’ rights of the religious minorities in Pakistan as the Indian Government does in this regard. Britain has a National Protestant Church but nevertheless, one must admit, it is the model ‘civil’ State, according as it does, greater civil, political and religious rights to the minorities than many other so called ‘secular’ States such as USSR and China.

It will thus be seen that what distinguishes a modern progressive State from a reactionary and backward State, is not its ‘secularity’, that is, ‘non-religiousness’ and ‘anti-clericalism’ but its ‘civil’ form of Government and administration. In such a ‘civil’ State whether the subjects belong to the majority or minority groups or whether they belong to the dominant church or some other church, all of them enjoy perfect ‘Equality

before the Law,’ not only religious but social and political also. A ‘civil’ State is extremely unwilling to associate itself or interfere with religious denominational affairs of a community. In this connection it may be pointed out that the secularity of Russian and Chinese States has miserably failed in safeguarding even the freedom of conscience and worship of its subjects, not to speak of other ‘civil’ liberties. So what Mr. Nehru perhaps means by the secularity of his Government is that it does not favour any religious group at the cost of another and allows all castes, communities and groups to follow their avocations peacefully. In this sense his Government could be more aptly described as ‘civil’ than ‘secular’. It is therefore unfortunate that our rulers have been giving a peculiar twist to the meaning of the term ‘Secular’ and confuse and confound it with the word ‘Civil’ which connotes much more than strict impartiality towards religions. The latter means and includes also the ‘Rule of Law’ which protects the civil and democratic liberties of the people. If tomorrow Mr. Nehru and his political associates should succeed in abolishing this Rule of Law—which God forbid—and substitute for it ‘The Rule of the Leader’, India will have nothing but a reactionary Government notwithstanding its much vaunted secular character.

This confusion is in a great measure, responsible for creating another set of confusions and misunderstandings among the people about the meaning of the word ‘Hindu’. It is a fact rather too wellknown that in the eyes of the foreigner, particularly a Westerner, the word ‘Hindu’ is synonymous with the word ‘Indian’ and all Indians whether they be Christians, Muslims, Buddhists or those professing Hindu faith, are to them only ‘Hindus’. In fact, it was the foreign conquerors and travellers who came to India that first gave the name ‘Ind’ or ‘Hind’ to India and called Indian people ‘Hindus’. So one is not being fair to Jansanghites when one accuses them of being rabid communalists for using the native word ‘Hindu’ to convey the sense of the Anglo-Indian word ‘Indian’. Even the devil must be given his due, and merely because Congressmen do not like the Janasangha politics, they would not be justified in ascribing to the words Janasanghites use, a meaning which the latter never intended to attach. If we have understood the Janasangha’s political philosophy aright, ‘Hindu Rashtra’ to them means the same thing that England means to Englishmen, Russia to Russians, and Pakistan to Muslims—each country being more or less influenced by the dominant thought and cultural pattern of the majority of the population inhabiting it. We do

not believe that even the Janasangha wants to establish in India a theocratic State of the Hindus, that is, those who profess Hindu faith. To use the phraseology of Mr. Nehru himself 'By far and large' or 'broadly speaking' India of Janasangha conception is a 'Hindu Rashtra' and a 'Hindu State'. Hindu religion as such has nothing to do with it. Therefore we think Jawaharlal Nehru has grossly misinterpreted Indian history in maintaining that India has never known a Hindu Rashtra. Even in the narrow sense of the term 'Hindu', he as a student of history must know that there were purely 'Hindu Kingdoms' even as there were 'Muslim Kingdoms', and Christian States as in Portuguese Goa. The political concept of a 'civil' State is of recent origin and at least in the case of India, it is a political gift of the much-maligned British rulers of India, which Indians have yet to appreciate and fully understand.

Therefore considered from the correct historical perspective and the exact connotation of the word 'Hindu' the idea of 'Hindu Rashtra' though it may be inopportune and inconvenient at the present moment, is not so ridiculous and foolish as Mr. Nehru the 'secularist'—we have our own doubts about Nehru being half so enthusiastic about maintaining the 'civil' character of the Indian State—makes it out to be. Let him not forget that even the framers of the Indian Constitution including himself could not escape the powerful hold of Hindu culture on their minds, when they brought themselves to name our country as 'India that is Bharat' and when they directed that Hindi should be developed by feeding itself on Sanskrit vocabulary. Therefore let us as realists admit the fact that as in the case of every other country, India also has its own dominant culture whether it be called 'Hindu' or 'Bharatiya'.

Nevertheless, it must be conceded that in the context of the bloody Hindu-Muslim feud and the bitter feelings generated in the so called non-violent struggle for India's freedom led by Mr. Nehru himself, the word 'Hindu' has come to acquire a bad odour about it. Particularly the secularism of our Congress friends who were mainly responsible for all this, is simply scandalised by the very mention of this word. And we sympathise with them in their predicament. But we, on our part, are neither enamoured of words like 'Hindu', 'Christian', 'Muslim' which undoubtedly convey at the present time some idea of outdated and obscurantist superstitions and beliefs, nor do we shudder at their very sound as Congressmen suffering from a bad conscience pretend to do. We as Humanists and Liberal-Democrats, however, would very much love to be and remain just 'Citizens of India, that is Bharat'. And we firmly believe that a 'Civil' State in Bharat will succeed more than a mere 'Secular' State in curing the country of any remnants of communal and religious medievalism that still poison her body-politic.

## INDIA'S POLICY TOWARDS NEIGHBOURS

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's mission to Nepal, from all account, appears to have succeeded in overcoming the initial hurdles of misgivings and fears rankling in the minds of the Nepalese people about India's attitude towards Nepal's status as a sovereign State. It was really an achievement of no mean order, for this small but sturdy Himalayan country to preserve her independence even when the whole of India bit by bit came under the yoke of the British in the nineteenth century. Though independent to a degree, Nepal always remained within the British sphere of influence. The same policy inherited from the British, India sought to pursue towards Nepal, without having the requisite strength and diplomacy that the British summoned to the task. The results were disastrous for both. But China's aggression on India and her massing of troops on Nepal's borders must have now opened the eyes of King Mahendra who out of resentment at India's paternalistic attitude towards Nepal, had been drifting towards China and away from India.

The Government of India also seems to have realised the urgent necessity of keeping India's frontiers safe and secure with the friendly co-operation of these border States. In fact, India's foreign policies will be judged and tested by her ability to win Nepal, Pakistan and other neighbouring coun-

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tries over to her side in the present Sino-Indian war.

It is to be hoped that initial success that Mr. Shastri has achieved in his talks with King Mahendra will eventuate soon into a fuller understanding and closer alliance between Nepal and India. The key to India's victory over China in the present conflict lies in successfully forging close and unbreakable links with her immediate neighbours rather than with doubtful 'friends' like Russia. First things must be done first.

\* \* \*

### SILLY AND SENSELESS

The thirteen peacemongers led by the notorious pro-Phizo and anti-Indian Bishop Michael Scott and the disgruntled politician Shankarrao Deo have started on foot from Rajghat at Delhi on their peace-making journey to Peking. They are expected to reach the borders of China via Burma after a long and weary march lasting for eighteen months. They hope to convert Mao and his colleagues to their way of thinking and turn them into the 'Bhais' of India once again.

We are, of course, used to such foolish stunts of Sarvodayawadis. But we wonder how the Government of India who have been sadly disillusioned about China-India Bhai Bhaism, could persuade themselves to issue visas to these Musketeers, when they are not doing so in the case of others who intend going abroad on worthier errands and for more ennobling causes. The foolishness of this whole affair is all the more heightened by the fact that the Chinese Government have not yet issued admission passes to these strange pilgrims. Not only that. The Chinese papers have even gone to the length of condemning these peace missionaries as 'agents of American imperialism' and 'representatives of the Indian Bourgeoisie'

This silly and senseless gesture of goodwill made to China by these peace-mongers will have only one result. It will present to the outside world a none too happy picture of India being a nation led by leaders who can never be awakened from their world of 'dreams and fancies' even when India's very existence is threatened by a wily and wicked foe knocking at her very doors.

\* \* \*

### ASIAN COMMON MARKET, A FAR CRY

Regional approach to economic problems has now been made fashionable by the European Common Market. The ECAFE conference held in Manila has also tried its hand, be it ever so feeble, at the formation of the Asian Common Market. As the President of the conference claims, the conference seems to have taken a first step, though a halting and hesitating one, in this direction by adopting a resolution on the economic co-operation among the five-member Asian Nations who constitute it. But the projected Asian Common Market presents certain difficult problems. In the first place all these Asian

countries except Japan are industrially backward and too poor and their economies naturally are not complementary to one another as in the case of the E.C.M. countries. Then again these countries have adopted different paths of industrialisation to end their colossal poverty which is the only common feature of all these countries,—some adopting the methods of private enterprise and some others like India openly experimenting with socialist planning. These divergent factors may act as a formidable and powerful brake on the progress of the work of bringing into existence a Common Market for these countries.

For the present, industrialisation is the major problem before the Asian nations and therefore ECAFE had better concentrate all its energies on fulfilling the modest goal of promoting intra-regional commerce and trade between Asian countries and on initiating joint enterprises in selected economic spheres. Apart from Government-initiated planning of these countries who have necessarily to depend for the purpose, upon foreign loans and foreign economic aid especially from the Western powers, these countries will have to develop private enterprise side by side, if they wish to rapidly industrialise themselves.

This alternative way of industrialisation would enable these countries to secure for themselves sufficient capital from foreign private agencies as also technical aid and experience. Japan has already shown the way. So a proper and practical scheme will have to be worked out by ECAFE to create a proper economic climate for attracting foreign private capital to Asian countries. In face of these initial formidable tasks claiming the urgent attention of the Asian countries the Asian Common Market must necessarily be considered a far cry.

— D. M. Kulkarni

### FOOD FOR THOUGHT

"Nationalisation and Planning, the catch phrases of the immediate post-war period, have lost their appeal and even in the socialist camp, the response is now weak. Such enthusiastic reception as they still find—together with nationalism—seems to be concentrated in the so-called undeveloped countries, with their Nehrus and Sukarnos and Nassers or whatever their names may be. But even in these areas, a cooling off may be expected in the near future."

—Wilhelm Ropke (Human Economy).

\* \* \*

"Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen and six—result, happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty and six—result, misery".

—Dickens (Micawbar).

\* \* \*

**"THE NATION WHICH CAN BE SAVED  
BY ONE MAN AND WANTS TO BE SAVED  
THAT WAY DESERVES A WHIPPING".**

—Seume.

# An Unnecessary Revolution

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

The Russian and Communist revolutions have not established economic equality; nor has the common man a standard of living higher than that in the Czarist times. And above all people in all ranks conspire to escape from the the 'paradise' of Communism, Russia and China. So, for India and her people, Communist revolution is totally unnecessary. Better results could be obtained in India through democratic and gradualist means without Socialism and violence as in Britain, Scandinavia, Switzerland and U.S.A.

A blight has fallen on Indian life from the days of defeat at the hands of Mussalmans. India has not been able to assimilate Islam as she did the Hunas so triumphantly, who became Rajputs among Kshatriyas and Hindus of Hindus.

Nor could she drive them out. Nor keep them confined in a corner of the country.

The South at least held the Muslim Bahmani kingdoms above the river Krishna from 1300 to 1565 and later in a truncated form through the Vijayanagar empire.

When the British began to assume political power in the eighteenth century, Indian social and political life had already collapsed. It was only waiting like a ripe plum to fall into the lap of any Power with a tolerable degree of social discipline.

British officials have recorded that they could get battalions of Indian servants for a couple of rupees each per month! Every Tommy could have a dozen peons to wait on him. The secret (at least one of the most potent secrets) of this extraordinary phenomenon was the utter collapse of Indian economy. The East India Company was the only employer in India, civil or military, who paid wages and salaries punctually on the first of every month!

During the agitation against the Rana of Nepal in 1950-51, the present writer who toured the Nepal border heard that, though the Rana had forty thousand troops on his payroll, he could use only the 300 men of the Palace body-guard at Khatmandu against Congress agitators! Why? Because the vast majority of the Ghoraka sepoys had not been paid for years! They were cultivating their lands at home and stayed in their hill-side hamlets!

The Rana lived in the eighteenth century when after the defeat of Nepalese troops to the Company's army at Sagauli, the British could recruit Ghurkhas to their army! Regular pay overbore traditional loyalty.

The Indian civil and military service with its large component of Indians proved efficient and loyal till the defeat of British arms in the East at the hands of the Japanese in 1942-43. The Indian apparatus of administration and fighting and police could hold out for two centuries!

It is clear that conventional morality in the sense of the rules of right and wrong, good and bad cannot guarantee national independence and beneficent government. Nor can it save any people from invasion by aggressive nations who feel that they can get away with it.

India's case against the Chinese may be morally right but that will not help her to save her freedom from being engulfed by the Chinese hordes.

What is needed is social organisation, social cohesion, leadership inspiring resolute and devoted loyalty on the part of the people and an all-out effort to mobilise the economic and psychological resources of the people.

All debilitating customs should be cast away. All sections of the people should come together in a great common effort and display team-spirit and exceptional endurance.

Contemplating the condition of communist countries like Russia and China, one cannot but feel that the kind of revolution that they have undergone and the kind of State system that they are now running, with its total mobilisation of manpower and total centralisation of economic effort and abolition of personal freedoms of all kinds—are too costly a price to pay for any benefits that they may bring. The evil outweighs by far any good that may ensue.

There is sufficient evidence today about the life of various strata of the people in Russia, China and the other communist countries to arrive at a fair and just judgment about their claims to bring welfare and progress.

It may be that military science and military weaponry including missiles and space ships and nuclear explosives have progressed far on account of the surplus compulsorily earmarked for them in a slave economy.

But in the essentials of welfare such as abundance of the means of living, an ever-increasing standard of living and expanding leisure, a progressive approach to social and economic equality, greater opportunities for popular culture, on a free basis, "greater joy in widest commonalty spread" a rise in the quality of life and capacity through voluntary eugencies or selective marriages, greater opportunities for dis-

covery and invention, more museums, picture galleries, better music (and more widely available), better drama and opera (and more cheaply available), better homes for all and so on.

The **raison d'être** of the Russian communist revolution was economic equality. It was felt that the French Revolution brought only political equality—namely equality in the matter of the vote. But the essential and far more degrading inequality in economic condition remained as oppressive as ever.

The sovereign worker had the **freedom to starve**, if he struck work for higher wages or if he was dismissed for the convenience of the employer.

The mad career of capitalist economy through its crises of **boom and bust** continued to dislocate the lives of millions.

But the Russian and the Chinese communist revolutionary Governments and the social and economic systems that they have evolved have **not** solved any problem that vexed the common man and the sensitive conscience before 1914.

They have **not established economic equality**. Today, as the Russian authorities themselves admit, the spread between the lowest and the highest incomes in Soviet Russia is as wide (if not wider) as in the U.S.A! Scientists, managers, marshals, ministers are paid a **hundred times** more than the ordinary man!

Nor has the common man a standard of living perceptibly higher than in Tsarist times. Food is still scarce. Clothing is still costly and only meagre rations are given to the common man in Russia and China. Nor have the ordinary people got apartments or houses of **their own** even after forty years of totalitarian planning!

Above all, people in all ranks plot and conspire to **escape from the "paradise" of communism** (Russia and China) at the risk of death! The commune has failed miserably in China. Tens of thousands of starving people had to be allowed to escape to Hongkong last year!

Why then should the Indian communist party be allowed to mislead the ignorant masses and innocent, lazy, tender-minded and irresponsible fellow travellers and become a power in the land? They will assist the enemy and act like a fifth column which is their **avowed doctrine and strategy**.

The only justification for the party and the only intelligible motive for them is **to capture power and to rule the country!** This has become an end in itself for them. Otherwise, their devoted work for the movement for the greater part of their lives would have to go waste!

But, for the country and people, the Communist revolution is **totally unnecessary**. Better results have been attained by way of welfare through democratic and gradualist means, in Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and the USA and can be attained **without socialism and violence** in our country as well.

If nevertheless, communism comes to India, it will be the result of social weakness, the failure, if not the betrayal of the intellectuals, and the criminal sentimentality and tender-mindedness of fellow travellers!

Individual ethics, religious devotion and purity and customary morality even at their best will **not save** the country.

It is only **conscious organisation** against the peril in all its dimensions—psychological, moral, economic, propagandist, political etc.—that can save the country.

The hour is already very late, with so many communist agents and fellow travellers in the services, the press, in Congress and Parliament in addition to the Communist Party of India itself.

### ANARCHIST PRINCIPLES

1. Anarchists want the greatest possible happiness for every individual.

2. Since every individual depends on others for many of his needs, co-operation and social responsibility are also essential for a free and happy life.

3. Anarchists aim ultimately at a free society: that is, a society organised for the equal benefit of all its members. They think that worthwhile step can be taken now towards the creation of such a society.

4. **Government.** Anarchists are opposed to any social organisation that involves one person, or a group of persons, imposing their will on others, however the power to do so may have been achieved. Therefore, they do not vote in elections. They refuse to take part in, and actively oppose, those activities of governments that are particularly harmful.

5. **Social organization.** Anarchists favour organization in the form of self-governing communities, sufficiently small for every member to retain his individuality. Decisions important to the community as a whole should be taken by an assembly of all its members. Many successful approaches to this type of organization are being made at present, both when the purpose is mainly therapeutic—that is, to repair the damage done by the existing society—and when the purpose is simply the achievement of a full and satisfying life.

6. **Law.** In a free society, no laws are envisaged. Contracts would depend upon mutual respect. Under the present system, anarchists particularly oppose, and where appropriate ignore, laws that arbitrarily restrict the liberty of the individual (for example, those concerned with national boundaries, conscription, marriage, and censorship).

7. **Economic organization.**

**INDUSTRY.** Industries should be controlled by those who work in them, or by the community of which they form part. Production should aim at filling the needs of the community, and if possible those of less fortunate communities, and not at making a profit for the few at the expense of the many.

8. **Religion.** In a free society, all religions would be tolerated, but attempts by the supporters of any dogma to impose their ideas on others would be resisted. In fact, most anarchists are not religious, since they consider that nearly all forms of religion contain an element of authoritarianism.

—J. K. R. in **Freedom**, London.

# The Philosophy of Jaya Prakash Narain

By M. N. THOLAL

The author argues cogently against Mr. Jayaprakash Narain's lack of political realism as reflected in his Convocation address at Rajasthan University. If Mr. Narain's advice of 'non-violent resistance' were to be followed, Indians would have to vacate the country for the Chinese by courting death as a nation. The author says that Indians committed to democracy need to be pro-democratic rather than neutral, as against those who like the Chinese Reds are out to destroy Indian democracy. Those who are neutral even in the present crisis, are either muddle-headed or are Communists and pro-Chinese at heart.

**F**OR sheer lack of realism Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain easily carries away the palm. Addressing the 15th Convocation of Rajasthan University at Jaipur the other day, he said the Colombo powers should be prepared to compel the Chinese to accept adjudication through The Hague Court in case India and China could not resolve their dispute through mutual talks. If he had used the words "try to persuade" for "compel", there might have been some sense in the proposition, though its futility would have, even in that case, been apparent to those who know the Chinese Communist mind. As it is, if the Colombo powers were to take him seriously, they might ask him how they are to compel the Chinese to accept the adjudication through The Hague Court. (They might even ask him to persuade the Indian Government to accept such adjudication in respect of Kashmir and thus set an example.) Compulsion can only be through force. Mr. Narayan is in effect asking those powers, who have avoided condemning the Chinese invasion of India, to take resort to arms to make China reasonable.

Mr. Narain also said that peace-loving nations should see that China should not find an excuse to wriggle out of just and negotiated settlement. China's standpoint is that a just and negotiated settlement is exactly what she wants. She has her own ideas of justice, some of which she has translated into practice in Tibet. (Incidentally, why should not the case of Tibet also be referred to the Hague Court?) And where are the peace-loving nations he has in mind, and recognised as such by China? The moment they begin following Mr. Narain's advice, and accepting his standards of justice, they will cease to be peace-loving in China's eyes, and as non-existent as the just and negotiated settlement out of which these peace-loving nations are to see that China does not wriggle.

It does not seem to strike him that the Colombo powers are doing their bit for non-alignment to which they are committed, because the Chinese invasion of India discredits non-alignment as well as those who follow it. Its basis is the East-West equation, which the Chinese invasion of India and its tacit support by Russia have demolished. If the services of the Colombo powers are acceptable to China, it is because China is keenly interested in the non-aligned nations, particularly India, remaining non-aligned, and wants to promote non-alignment as

well as that pro-Communist nonsense, Afro-Asian solidarity.

## NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE

Mr. Narain devoted the major part of his address to unfold his proposition that India should consider the possibility of offering non-violent resistance to the Chinese aggressor. The proposition is certainly honest, much more so than the one advanced by Dr. Rajendra Prasad at a seminar on non-violence some years ago. He then said India had evolved the theory and it was now for some country to translate it into practice. Obviously, it is for those who believe in the theory of non-violence to practise it, and it is for Gandhi's numerous (?) followers in this country to join Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Shanti Sena and proceed to liberate the parts of Ladakh and NEFA under Chinese occupation. A more splendid opportunity will never come their way, for the Chinese are in need of labourers on the border and they are bound to welcome Mr. Narayan's unarmed battalions of non-violent soldiers, whose creed will naturally persuade them to behave as ideal prisoners in Chinese hands and to do their bidding enthusiastically. Mr. Narayan is therefore absolutely right when he says that this is the time to talk of non-violence and not later, indeed, not only to talk of it but to practise it.

Mr. Narain added, however, that he was not questioning the current defence effort, nor the use of force in case there was an immediate resumption of aggression. But the inevitable transformation of our Shanti Sena into a Chinese labour force can hardly be construed as promoting India's war effort. It will, on the contrary, obviously promote China's war effort. For those who entertain any doubt regarding the transformation referred to above, may be recalled the general opinion of Gandhites in 1942 when the Japanese were at our gates. They were unanimously of the opinion that there could be no question of non-co-operation or civil disobedience under Japanese rule, with which they would have willy-nilly to co-operate. In other words, as I told them at the time, even our non-co-operation and civil disobedience was a tribute to British humanitarianism.

## TANSFOMATION INTO CORPSES

Mr. Narain is again right when he says that even the biggest army cannot guarantee success in war, "but if the path of Ahimsa was followed no country could ever go on its knees even if its

last citizen was killed." Indeed, indeed, even the question of the country's going on its knees would not arise, because, ex-hypothesis, none would be left to go on his knees. Answering the question as to how India would stop the Chinese march, Mr. Narain said, "We will stop them with our corpses." That will doubtless be a novel enterprize for corpses, for they have never so far been known to stop the onward march of the enemy. Mr. Narain's idea seems to be for vacating the country for the Chinese by courting certain death as a nation. People as a whole, particularly the Hindus, will applaud Mr. Narain to the echo, but when Mr. Narain begins asking them to enrol for transformation into corpses, they will beg to be excused, saying, "My circumstances don't permit it." That was the noble plea of every one who applauded Mahatma Gandhi but refused to follow his directions even to the extent of spinning the Charkha or going to prison.

If Mr. Narain were to think it over, he would perhaps find that the idea of becoming a corpse is not a very inviting one in normal human beings, that we are all the time, on the individual plane, acting on the principle of "Safety First" in obedience to the instinct of self-preservation, and that what he is advising amounts to defying the instinct of self-preservation, which is an impossible task, except in cases of people suffering from suicidal mania. Mr. Narain's attempt to turn us into lunatics—that is what it comes to—cannot, in the nature of the circumstances, succeed. Personally I shudder at the idea of my body turning into a corpse. As I consider myself a normal human being and I am so regarded by those who know me, I have reason to believe that others also would shudder at the idea of their bodies turning into corpses, but equally certainly I know that they would not say so for fear of being considered cowards.

But I do not shudder at the idea of others' bodies turning into corpses, though the sight of a corpse leaves a bad taste in my mouth, if it is that of a man I have known for a pretty long time, and I am sure I would do my little best to prevent the tragedy, if I could. But this public invitation to people in general to turn their bodies into corpses passes my understanding. Mr. Narain emerged as the bravest figure in the Quit India Movement but I would like to remind him that he tried to remain underground, to, as Jinnah would have put it, save his skin. "I believe in saving my skin, if I can," Jinnah used to say, and his co-religionists applauded him for his sincerity, his devastating frankness and outspokenness. So did many an honest mind outside the Muslim community.

Gandhi's advice was "Learn the art of dying bravely" but what did he do after threatening "Pakistan over my dead body"? And did he not in the beginning of this century escape in South Africa in the uniform of a policeman to save himself from a mob of howling Europeans, though he wrote to the Viceroy in 1942 that he had been "practising non-violence with scienti-

fic precision for the last fifty years"? When all is said, there has been only one example of a man baring his breast before British bayonets and marching forward defying them. That was done by Swami Shradhanand in Delhi which has, since independence, been boasting of statues of patriots of the flunkey brand. But one swallow does not make a summer, and one man in several decades, among four hundred million people, can only be regarded as an exception and not the rule. How can we be heroes if we cannot even honour our heroes? Or if we honour those who were better forgotten?

#### OUR NEUTRALITY

In the course of his Convocation address Mr. Narain also voiced doubts if the nation could match its armed strength to that of China while at the same time retaining the democratic form of government. His anxiety for the retention of the democratic form of government does him credit, but he himself seemed to question its sincerity when he remarked that we would have to depend on US aid even to a more pronounced degree than now, and asked, "Can we retain our freedom of action and neutral policies in such circumstances?" Why should people committed to the democratic form of government have neutral policies and not be pro-democratic and against those who are out to destroy democracy in the world? Why should we have any freedom of action so far as standing four square for democracy is concerned? Any one who claims to be a democrat, and acts as if he does not care whether democracy survives in the world, is not a true democrat. He is a hypocrite. The U.S. asks for nothing more than that we, as democrats, should be true to our faith. Not a single American paper condemned our Prime Minister's ringing denunciation of the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt.

Those who talk of neutrality between democracy and totalitarianism are not democrats, and those who talk of neutrality between the two blocs, even after the invasion of their country by China, are either very muddle-headed people or are Communists and pro-Chinese at heart. Personally, as a democrat, I have always regarded neutrality between democracy and totalitarianism as immoral. Mr. Narain should try to find out what it is that makes China so strong and who it is that is supplying the sinews of war to China. He should try to guess, if he cannot find out, who could have supplied China with thousands of bombers and fighters, with the members of the much-maligned Western alliances ruled out from the list of suppliers, as they must be. He should try to remember, at least in this Emergency, that a Treaty of Mutual Alliance was signed in 1949 between Russia and China. And he should try to remember also that in politics those who are not realists are traitors to their country, whether they know it or not. After that he would perhaps talk less of neutrality. India has great hopes in him. He should rise to the occasion and take it by the forelock.



# English In Schools And Colleges.

By K. Sreeramamurthy

**O**UR nation at present is confronted with vital problems like National Integration, Chinese Aggression, etc. The problems are of both internal and external nature. The most important internal problem confronting our nation is the conflict between loyalties to lower level groups like caste, religion, linguistic state, communalism, and the loyalty to the country.

For example let us take the position of the regional languages in our country. Due to the formation of linguistic states in our country in accordance with the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Committee, love for the region and the regional language has become the badge of local patriotism and regional loyalty.

Language is an essential necessity to convey one's feelings and thoughts to others. Our country is in an unenviable position in this respect, since there are as many as fourteen recognised and fully developed languages scheduled in the Constitution. In addition to the Indian languages, we have got English also now fully wedded to our culture, civilisation and environment. Thus English, though foreign in its origin has now become a part and parcel of our living and being.

We Indians cannot, therefore afford to lose this English language. No patriotic Indian will plead for the complete banishment of English from the Indian scene. It has been acclaimed by no less personality than our beloved Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru as a bridge between the East and the West, which is true indeed.

Dr. I. I. Rabi, an American Nobel Laureate, when he visited India was pained to note that a controversy with regard to language existed. He advised the people not to lose English as it is "a window on the world".

English has been cultivated assiduously during the last 150 years for one reason or other. It is the standard language of the majority of educated people in India. To discard the advantages that have through historical circumstances accrued to the country merely on the ground that it is a foreign language, would appear to be too short-sighted a view. Today in international spheres eighty per cent of the work is done in English, which so to say has become a sort of "Lingua Franca" of the world. Except the French and the Russians, majority of the delegates in U.N. representing various countries address the Assembly in English.

If we agree that we cannot afford to lose English then it follows that we should certainly make the learning of it compulsory. But another question arises here. From which standard we must make the learning of English compulsory? Every Government has its own views on this

problem. The Andhra Pradesh Government decided to introduce English from the III Standard and I feel that it has taken the right step. If we want to impart a sound knowledge of English to the present day student community, the future leaders of our country, we should not hesitate to introduce English from the elementary stage of education. It has been proved by research, that youngsters can learn a new language with greater ease than elders. The Andhra Pradesh Government needs to be congratulated on its bold decision to introduce English from the elementary stage.

At present English is the medium of instruction in our colleges and Universities. There is a persistent demand from some linguistic fanatics for replacing English by the regional languages as media of instruction even at the University stage. Before accepting such a proposal all relevant factors should be carefully examined lest it should encourage and help the growth of fissiparous tendencies in our midst, which we so much deplore.

Let me make it clear that my opposition to the use of regional languages as media of instruction in our colleges and Universities is not due to any inherent defect or backwardness of those languages. If serious and persistent efforts are made, they can be used for instruction in our colleges and Universities. It is because higher education, research, intellectual activity, professional training at the higher level are definitely all-India activities that I advocate the use of English at the higher levels of education.

Any student from outside a linguistic region will find it impossible to take higher education if instruction is to be imparted in colleges in the regional languages. All persons who have to reside in regions other than their own—and their number is increasing rapidly owing to industrialisation, improved communications and transport, increased all-India activities—will be at a great disadvantage in the matter of their children's education. Today Universities are able to attract professors and scholars from all over India. The moment the regional languages are introduced, scholars from outside the state in Universities will almost be kept out of University posts. Thus teaching calibre in the 'Varsity may be adversely affected. Each State University will have to depend for all its educational and tutorial personnel on the scholars in the State itself. If regional languages are to be media of instruction, research carried out in University Departments will also be published in regional languages and Indian scholars will find it impossible to keep pace with publications in fourteen different languages of India and to that extent, their

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## Joint Sino-Pak Attack On India ?

(From Our Correspondent)

At a special meeting of the Punjab Citizens Council on March 3, Prime Minister Nehru said that he would not rule out the possibility of a fresh Chinese attack before the onset of the monsoon. Fighting in NEFA, according to him, will become difficult after the rains, but is possible in Ladakh even during the monsoon. At a public meeting at Rohtak later Mr. Nehru said China was still massing large forces in Tibet and another attack might come any time.

The American Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Averell Harriman, in a television interview in Washington on March 9, said there might be a long period of cease-fire, or the Chinese might decide in Ladakh, for instance, to attack again, in order to show their domination.

In an interview with a correspondent of the Bonn newspaper, *General Anzeiger*, published on March 13, President Ayub said, "Should Pakistan and India resume fighting over the Kashmir issue, there can be no doubt that the winner will be Communism. The loser will be the rest of the world."

Stringing these three news items together suggests the possibility of a simultaneous attack, in Ladakh to begin with, by China and Pakistan. When President Ayub talks of the resumption of fighting between India and Pakistan he has doubtless in mind resumption by Pakistan, for resumption by India at a time when she is preparing to defend herself against China must be obviously out of the question for every sane mind. Also, on an issue on which Pakistan has been feeling so strongly since she came into being, it would seem that an attack on India by her in alliance with China is not beyond the bounds of possibility, having regard in particular to the haste with which Sino-Pak boundary differences have been settled by the two countries. Not to bear this in mind is to indulge in complacency which is the bane of Indian politics.

Indeed, if Pakistan has been in earnest in her threats of war against India over Kashmir, the present would appear to be a Heaven-sent opportunity for her. Instead of concentrating our wishful attention on Sino-Russian differences, we would do well to try to realise what the present opportunity amounts to, for both Pakistan and China. We shall, if the simultaneous attack materialises, be fighting both the blocs, absolutely friendless. Where enemies are concerned the part of wisdom is to anticipate the worst.

Our Prime Minister has been complaining of the "time-consuming" methods, implicit in the Western Air Mission, assesment of

our aerial defence requirements and their scrutiny by their respective governments. The American Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, has assured us of all possible help in the event of another attack by China, but surely aid will take some time in materialising, and time will be of the essence in meeting a blitz. And what if the attack is by both Pakistan and China? Will the promised American assistance against China be forthcoming in that case? Obviously not. For, it is no part of American policy to render assistance to two non-Communist parties to fight each other. Surely the American and British Governments cannot but be aware of the "time-consuming" nature of the methods being employed by them in the matter of assessing our requirements and meeting them. And cannot this delay be interpreted as pressure on India to come to terms with Pakistan, without which, in their opinion, adequate defence of the sub-continent against China would not be possible?

### INDO-PAK TALKS

The Indo-Pakistan talks have been dragging on and it is perhaps something to be grateful for that they are at least dragging on, instead of collapsing. United States Ambassador J. K. Galbraith told newsmen in Calcutta on March 15 that his country's interest in the current Indo-Pak talks on Kashmir was limited to furthering the efforts of the two Governments to a better understanding of their problems. This in itself is obviously a very comprehensive effort. He denied that the western representatives were "looking over the shoulders" of the participants in the talks held in Calcutta, but declared that he would rather face the criticism of "being too concerned than I would the criticism of being too negligent." This is of course an open admission of the deep American interest, for obvious reasons, in the success of the talks.

Indeed, the American Ambassador made it plain. He said the defence of the sub-continent was primarily and overwhelmingly the problem of the countries of the sub-continent, but the United States no doubt took warm and sympathetic interest in the problem, the interest stemming from its serious concern with the security of the sub-continent, to which the United States had committed very heavy resources. He pointed out that it was reasonably clear that the Chinese interest "is not in seeing better understanding among the non-Communist countries along its border" and that "there can be no question that we are seeking unity and understanding and the Chinese are seeking division."

Mr. Galbraith might well have added: "United you stand, divided you fall". But he diplomatically refrained from saying so, and added instead that the impression he had gained from personal experience after having talked with good many people about it was that there was "a deep and responsible sense of urgency regarding a Kashmir settlement in India". Mr. Galbraith perhaps does not know that the people of India, often out of sheer politeness, do not differ from the person spoken to, specially if he happens to occupy a high office. This correspondent's impression on the subject is just the reverse and, as my contacts with my countrymen are naturally much more intimate than the American Ambassador's, the information gained thereby must be regarded as much more correct.

Those who realise the urgency of the settlement should rather press for the problem being handled by The Hague Court, rather than expect a popular response to any suggestions which look like pleas for conceding territory to Pakistan, and which may in any case run counter to the spirit of jingoism natural in a people still bitter over partition and the fruits thereof. The question really is of putting first things first and of realising who the enemy is and its strength as well as backing, in short, of swallowing the bitter pill in the national interest. Educated men now accuse the Nehru Government of having mistaken the enemy for the friend and the friend for the enemy over the last decade and more. They hardly realise that by their attitude over the Kashmir issue, they themselves are still, if inadvertently, serving the cause of China and Communism.

The loudest against any partitioning of Kashmir are and will be the Communists. Does any one think that they are therefore the greatest patriots in the land? A safe rule for those who have no time to think out things for themselves, or cannot do so, is to be guided by the anti-method, sure in the belief that whatever the Communists advocate in international affairs is for the country's liberation by their fatherland, for which they frankly stand. Above all, we Indians should try to remember that Indo-Pak accord on Kashmir will be the greatest blow to China and discord on the issue is fraught with the gravest dangers.

On Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's mission to the United States, Mr. Galbraith said it would provide an opportunity to get a "very wide angle discussion of Indian military production plans and the requirements in connection with their development". Indeed, he went so far as to say: "We stand ready to talk with Mr. Krishnamachari about anything on India's defence. Our response will be just as wide as his brief." Fellow-travellers, however, have started agitating against any concessions to Pakistan on Kashmir and, unfortunately enough for the country, find the Jana-Sanghis fellow-travelling with them on this issue. That is why the best course

in the circumstances is to send the issue to The Hague Court and prove our bonafides in the matter. If the Hague Court is good enough to decide our border dispute with China, it should be good enough to decide our border dispute with Pakistan.

### DELHI-PEKING MARCH

In a statement he issued at Bulandshahr on March 8 Mr. Shanker Rao Deo, leader of the Delhi-Peking peace march, said he was deeply grieved to read Press reports originating from Paris and Hongkong, saying that the march was an "anti-China conspiracy" organised by a "group of Indian reactionaries" or a "handful of anti-China elements in collusion with American imperialism". Mr. Deo says that the "criticism is based on an unfortunate misunderstanding of our position" and that "it has been made abundantly clear that the march is essentially and fundamentally the expression of sincere desire to establish direct communication between the people of India and China". But surely Mr. Deo ought to know by this time that this desire "to establish direct communication" with the people of China is a very anti-Chinese-Government desire and, insofar as the Chinese Government claims to represent the people of China, the former is entitled to call the Delhi-Peking March "an anti-China conspiracy". This slurring over basic realities, such as a Communist Government's monopoly of indoctrination in its land, can hardly be credited to ignorance. What then is it to be credited to? This kind of logic is as common in India as it is deceptive, and the attempt to fool others, as if through self-deception, only lands those who believe in such things in trouble. Politics is a job for the hard-boiled who do not stop in their ratiocination at a certain point because their pose will not allow them to go further. Nothing is more suicidal.

The budget debate has been overshadowed by revelations of "pompous living" by our ministers as proved by the electricity consumed in their residencies, with the current charges amounting to nearly Rs. 600 in the case of the Home Minister. What they preach is apparently not for them to practise. As for the budget the best comment would appear to be that the Finance Minister is making hay while the sun of emergency shines, though even that would not be enough for the colossal task before the country, necessitating as it does military aid on a colossal scale.

"The one object in life is the development of the mind and first condition for the development of the mind is that it should have liberty."

—Renan.

"Every actual State is corrupt. Good men should not obey the laws too well".

—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

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knowledge and efficiency will be circumscribed and retarded.

Foreign scholars will of course give up the job as a hopeless one. Isolation of the Universities will then be complete. In fact the Universities will no longer be seats of higher learning and sources of new ideas that they are today.

In the National interests it is therefore essential that education imparted in all our Universities should be of high quality and the professors and the Readers employed should be scholars of eminence. The result of making the regional language the medium of instruction in the University will, in substance, close the portals of these educational institutions to efficient scholars and worthy men.

In most cities there is a considerable proportion of non-regional students (in Bombay they are actually in a majority). If India is not to break up into small linguistic units on the model of Europe, we cannot tell them that no arrangements could be made for their higher education except through a regional language.

"It would be inconceivable" Prof. V. K. Gokak, Director of the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad declared "to think of a graduate in Arts or Science or indeed in any of the professional courses, who is conversant with the latest development in his field of study, without a knowledge of English or some other European language. And English would be the easiest European language for us to study, since there has been a tradition in the teaching of English in the country for well over a century."

Dr. I. I. Rabi, the American Nobel Laureate when he visited India said "You can't have an emotional approach to a language; You can only assess its value as a medium of communication." He argued that since the greatest scientific literature of to-day is mainly in English language, any one who wished to study any of the sciences would have to do it through the medium of English. He warned that abolition of English in India would mean the creation of class differences as "the elite would have to learn English any way" English being a window on the world.

Countries like Russia, Germany, Italy, France, Japan, etc., in spite of having their own languages well developed, are learning English language and they are taking considerable pains to teach English to the pupils in schools and colleges. Are we greater than Russia, Germany and France, etc., in the field of scientific development? When they are advocating learning of English, our so called patriots like Jaya Prakash Narayan want to discard it. It is a tragedy that we have such people in our midst with confused ideas and notions.

As true citizens of our country we must learn the regional language, Sanskrit and English. Hindi will in no way be in a position

to meet the cultural or educational needs of non-Hindi people. The Hindi protagonists and zealots lack foresight and they want to impose Hindi on non-Hindi people. This is quite similar to the Chinese aggression on our frontiers. The U.P. wallahs, who constitute the majority in the Union Cabinet are not intellectually competent to decide the all-India issue of the national language. Let us therefore pledge ourselves to discard Hindi and uphold English as the Lingua Franca of India so that India might be truly integrated internally and be enabled to keep herself abreast of the progressive and enlightened countries of the world.

## Book Review

**PATTERNS OF CULTURE** by Dr. Ruth Benedict. A mentor Book published by the New American Library of World Literature, New York. It is being issued every year from 1946. First published in 1934 as a study in anthropology by the author. 272 pages. Price 35 cents.

The new exhilaration for reading in wide masses in the English-speaking world after the world wars carried the paperback editions in millions to high success. In addition to light literature serving the purpose of escape and recreation, the new publishers found that they could introduce many classics of science and philosophy, art and religion, sociology and psychology, politics and history into the popular series with success. In this way, many works of genius opening new horizons entered into the reading of millions.

Alexis Carrel's *Man the Unknown* and Dr. Whitehead's *Adventures of Ideas* come to mind in this category.

This book by a competent student of anthropology in the USA, a pupil of Dr. Boas who has written a foreword, belongs in this series of serious literature, literature, of knowledge as contrasted with that of power or emotional appeal like drama. The publisher says that it has ranked as a best-seller in recent years!

It is a fine example of non-technical exposition to the general reader of a growing science in its latest form without sacrifice of accuracy and depth. The author does not write down to the reader. She lifts him up to the level of scientific thinking and broad survey and careful generalisation leading to illuminating vistas, whetting the appetite for further knowledge.

The work is also close to human interests and values and will contribute to a true liberalisation of outlook tending to free the modern reader from current prejudices like race prejudices (e.g. anti-semitism, anti-Negroism etc.). It helps to distinguish between what is local and temporary from what is permanent and essential in human motives and drives.

The study passes from the old manner of treating primitive culture in general to the method of dealing with concrete cultures in their situ and wholeness.

The book contains fairly detailed studies of three primitive cultures of living peoples the Zuni Indians of New Mexico, the Kwakwaka'wakw of Vancouver Island and the Dpbus of Melanesia.

Her general point of view is presented lucidly in the first three chapters—the science of custom, the division of cultures and the integration of cultures. This is followed by

three longish chapters in which the three primitive cultures chosen for study, contrast and comparison are described vividly from her own analytical and synthetical point of view.

The last three chapters bring together her reflections on the results of her study and their bearing on current Western civilisation and their contribution to what may be called liberation from superstitions of all kinds and to the realisation of a universal and rational humanism.

Darwin, she points out, turned to an examination of beetles, for a simpler revelation of biological structure, which was overlaid with confused detail in species closer to man. So modern anthropology in the work of its best students turns to simpler societies for a glimpse of essential human structures, motivations and values.

Dr. Benedict's point of view is that of a believer in configuration or Gestalt in culture.

Every culture tends to develop its trails into a constellation of related units. Such integrations occur in many degrees. Some tribes live in a culture ensurable of loosely jointed units.

But the trend is towards integration.

Her thought resembles that of Dr. Spengler but is more cautious. For she explicitly disavows the idea that advanced modern civilisations like the Western could be explained in terms of single comprehensive destiny ideas like the Faustian aspiration for the Infinite as Dr. Spengler does.

Modern societies are too stratified and too heterogeneous for that.

But she does make intelligible and convincing use of Nietzsche's distinction between the Apollonian and Dionysian views of life. One of the tribes, displays the former and another the latter, according to Dr. Benedict.

The book is a contribution to general education and helps to free the mind from parochial narrownesses and deserves to be translated into all Indian languages and issued in a cheap edition comparable to the present Mentor Edition in English.

—M. A. VENKATA RAO.

## Gleanings from the Press

### PEACOCKRY OF INDIA GOVERNMENT

India will not come to terms with Pakistan, though any schoolboy can see from the map that the country cannot be defended against China if Pakistan is hostile. The Western powers have dropped very broad hints on this matter, but India has ignored their suggestions. The Government has made it quite plain that it suspects the intentions of the Western powers and will not allow them even to set up air bases in its territory. India is satisfied with her attempt to hold off China through the diplomatic intervention of Russia and the Afro-Asian circus. Only if all else fails will she condescend to take help from the white imperialists.

It is clear from the Western press that people there realise this and that already many of them are having second thoughts about giving help where it is so evidently unwelcome. Kennedy and his advisers are firm, and last week again he assured India of support. But in foreign affairs especially, the American President is not complete master of the situation: the notoriously touchy Senate has great influence. Delhi should not take too much for granted.

The peacockry of the Government of India threatens the public with unendurable economic hardship and undermines their morale. It encourages China to press her attack, while it places unnecessary obstacles in the way of military support from the Western powers, and may in time lead them to reconsider the whole policy of giving support to India. It is a heavy price to pay for the temporary satisfaction of a few people's vanity.

—MYS-INDIA.

## News & Views

### KHRUSHCHEV SELLS INDIA TO PEKING

WASHINGTON, March 17.

The results of Mr. Khrushchev's zigzag foreign policy which at present is leading him in the direction of Peking, would need to be watched in India.

Not to annoy Moscow and not to compromise its position in relation to Peking is one "must" of current Indian thinking. It acts as a brake in our defence negotiation with the U.S.

But the U. S. goes along with India's policy, for it has bright side. Neither country wants Russia to fall into Peking's lap.

Now that Moscow is moving nearer Peking at Peking's terms in some ways a closer vigilance is called for lest Moscow sells India to Peking to recreate communist unity.

### PLAYING PEKING'S TUNE

That Moscow is effortfully playing Peking's tune is indicated by a variety of events:

1. It has suspended the delivery of oil to France to bolster and abet the coal strike in the country. This is an unprecedented measure in the trade relations of any two countries.

2. It has staged extremely rowdy demonstrations against the Iraqi Embassy to protest against the imprisonment of communists by its new regime.

3. According to "Herald Tribune" News Service report, the Soviet Communist Party has sent a confidential memorandum to its counterparts in Eastern Europe suggesting a tougher policy towards Syria, Iraq, Yemen and the U.A.R. In all these countries, communists have a bad time, though some of them receive economic and military aid from Russia.

While the probability is that India has not much to fear, the possibility of China striking a hard bargain with Moscow remains. The question would be what happens to India's dependence on Soviet technology in oil and other sensitive spheres. It is perhaps not an accident that Soviet assistance to India falls within the extremely strategic areas.

—Times of India News Service.

### MILITARY AID TO INDIA DOUBLED

NEW DELHI

Australia has announced her decision to double her aid to India as "originally announced in November last to bring the total to approximately two million pounds (A).

The assistance, according to the Australian Foreign Minister, Sir Garfield Barwick, would help India improve her defence capacity in case of renewed Chinese attack.

The announcement, made in Canberra on March 10 by the Foreign Minister, also said that rifles and ammunition, originally offered against credit, had now been shipped to India as a gift, according to a Press release by the High Commission for Australia in New Delhi.

## LARGEST U. S. INTEREST-FREE LOAN TO INDIA

The Governments of India and the United States concluded an agreement in New Delhi last week providing for an American loan of \$240 million (Rs. 114 crores). The loan will help import a wide range of raw material, machinery, and chemicals to carry forward India's Third Five-Year Plan goals.

Mr. L. K. Jha, Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs signed for the Government of India. Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith represented the United States.

India's Finance Minister Morarji Desai presided over the signing ceremony.

Speaking on the occasion, Ambassador Galbraith noted that the \$240 million transaction is "the largest dollar loan without any interest ever made by the United States."

It is the largest loan of its kind that America has made anywhere since the days of the Marshall Plan, he added.

Mr. Morarji replied:

"My first thoughts at the signing of what you have called the largest dollar loan without interest ever made by the United States are naturally those of deepest appreciation for the generosity with which the Government and the people of the United States have been helping us, as indeed they have helped other nations from year to year. . ."

"Apart from its size and scope, this loan is all the more welcome for its generous terms of repayment, which as you said will be spread over 40 years with no repayment for the first 10 years without any interest payment and with only a credit charge of 3¼ of one per cent."

## ENGLISH STIR IN GUJERAT

AHMEDABAD.

The Parents Association, Ahmedabad, has decided to launch a mass movement from the next academic term in June to press its demand, namely, teaching of English from fifth standard.

At present English is taught in the State from the eighth standard.

The Association said that it had started organising middle class people on ward basis for launching the movement.

The exact nature of the movement has not been disclosed so far. The Association would also demand teaching of modern arts in schools. The study of charkha, imposed by the "anti-English forces" is sought to be discontinued.

A meeting of the Gujarat State Secondary School Teachers' Conference recently held at Talod had also demanded teaching of English from the fifth standard.

## NEHRU FEARS CONFLICT ON HINDI

BHOPAL

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, is understood to have

told a meeting of Congress workers here that Hindi could not be adopted at the Centre as a medium of official work as that would affect the interests of those people who do not speak Hindi and would therefore lead to differences. Hindi was all right in Hindi-speaking areas, he added.

Mr. Nehru, who also made a reference to Hindi teaching in non-Hindi areas, said a language could never be imposed on any body. Although people in the South were opposed to Hindi, they were learning the language in great numbers. After some time they would speak Hindi better than the people of Hindi-speaking areas.

Mr. Nehru is also understood to have spoken of the backwardness of Hindi-speaking areas. He mentioned in this context Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar.

## NO HOPE FOR UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS

NEW YORK, March 11 (AP).—Mr. Aldous Huxley, the illustrious author-scientist, yesterday forecast gloom for underdeveloped nations of the world.

"The population of underdeveloped nations is multiplying so quickly that, in 10 or 20 years from now, they may be in worse condition than today," Mr. Huxley said.

At the same time, if war can be avoided, industrialized nations should be able to eliminate virtually all poverty, he said.

The contrast creates a danger, Mr. Huxley said in a pamphlet issued by the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

He said that "extreme poverty, when combined with ignorance breeds that lack of desire for better things which has been called 'wantlessness'—the resigned acceptance of a subhuman lot."

But that same poverty, combined with the knowledge that other nations are rich "breeds envious desires and the expectations that these desires must, of necessity, and very soon, be satisfied, he said.

"From disappointment, through resentful frustration, to widespread social unrest the road is short," Mr. Huxley said.

"Shorter still is the road from social unrest, through chaos, to dictatorship, possibly of the Communist Party, more probably of generals and colonels."

"Death control is easy, cheap and be carried out by a small force of technicians," he asserted. "Birth-control, on the other hand, is rather expensive, involves the whole adult population, and demands of those who practise it a good deal of forethought and directed will-power."

The task of changing age-old ideas and habits in underdeveloped nations "is so huge and so difficult that it seems very unlikely that it can be successfully carried out, within a sufficiently short space of time, in any of the countries where control of the birth rate is most urgently needed," he said.

## 'ACCEPT AID FROM WEST FOR DEFENCE'

POONA.

Mr. H. M. Patel, former Secretary of Ministry of Defence, declared that India should not have any hesitation in

accepting whatever assistance the Western powers were prepared to give for defence against China and Pakistan.

Mr. Patel who was speaking on "the defence of India" on the foundation day of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics here, warned that in preparing for a possible conflict with China and Pakistan. We have not only a military problem but also a major internal security problem."

He suggested "we may without hesitation trust our service chiefs to evolve, with the assistance of their staff and such foreign expert advice as is available to them, a sound military doctrine."

He said "even if you adopt the policy of non-alignment as your foreign policy you cannot let it override the basic goal of your foreign policy, namely, the security of your country."

## RAJAJI READY TO LEAD NATION

MADRAS.

Mr. C. Rajagopalchari said here that if given the charge of affairs, he could show that the present emergency could be managed quite well without imposing such crippling taxes, as seen in the recent central budget.

In the alternative, he was prepared to give suggestions which if implemented would help the Government to tackle emergency without resorting to such heavy taxation, he declared.

Addressing a public meeting held in Georgetown to protest against the new taxes, Rajaji held that the Central budget seemed to pose a greater danger to the country than the Chinese menace.

The burdensome taxes would be like ripe bananas to the Chinese. The effect of the taxation would be to lower the morale of the people and dampen their enthusiasm when an enemy was knocking at our doors. In this way it would help the Chinese indirectly.

## ASOKA HAILS DEFENCE WORK OF CHAVAN

BANGALORE.

The defence preparedness of the country had been improved considerably since the new Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, took charge, said Mr. Asoka Mehta, chairman of the Praja Socialist Party, here today.

He told the "Express News Service" that every effort had been made to improve the defence equipment position with the materials available in the country and supplied by the friendly nations.

"There is yet to be done more in the matter and it all depends upon the extent of assistance we are able to get from the friendly countries," he stated.

### DEFENCE MATTERS

Mr. Mehta said that he, being a member of the National Defence Council, could not give details about the defence matters but could say that things were improving since the appointment of Mr. Chavan.

## KASHMIR SETTLEMENT VITAL FOR PEACE

NEW DELHI.

Fifteen prominent Indian publicmen, representing vari-

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ous schools of thought, said in a joint statement, that the future progress—material and moral—of both India and Pakistan and of the hundreds of millions living in the sub-continent, depended on the successful outcome of ministerial level talks between the representatives of both the countries.

Among the signatories are: Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University; Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, Sarvodaya leader; Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, M.P.; Mr. Frank Anthony, M.P. and Gurmukh Nihal Singh, former Governor of Rajasthan.

They said: "While friendly relations between India and Pakistan are desirable under all circumstances, China's aggression against India has underlined its imperative necessity beyond all doubt."

It was not the signatories' desire, the statement said, to complicate the course of the talks between the two Governments by making any specific proposals of their own. "No solution of such a complex and long standing problem can be free from defects and imperfections; but any solution which is generally acceptable must be welcomed in the larger interests of the peace, prosperity and security of the people of the entire sub-continent," the statement added.

## Dear Editor....

### PROHIBITION

The pros and cons of the prohibition policy of the Congress rulers are being regularly discussed in the columns of the dailies and magazines published in our country and majority of them are in favour of scrapping prohibition *in toto*. Yet a group of Fridays in the Congress Party exhibit their footmen show by adhering ardently to the views of their masters, though they are fully aware that the toppers in our country do not depend upon the tappers for their evening glasses. In fact prohibition is petering out in the immediate proximity of those who introduced it and enforced it and still they are not heeding to the advice of others for scrapping prohibition. In this context the celebrated Andhra poet VEMANNA is worth quoting to elucidate the obstinacy of the Congress rulers. The poet says that a man who is ignorant of worldly affairs can be enlightened within a year by regular instructions and a man who turns a deaf ear to others and keeps mute to problems can be made to listen to others and speak out his heart within a month by coaxing, but a man who pretends to hear others and remains adamant in his views cannot be rectified even if we break our heads with him for thirty long years. Our Congress rulers too have been looking at this question through coloured spectacles for the past sixteen years and promise to do the same for many more years to come.

Madras,

P. KUPPU RAO.

### NEHRU'S TRAGEDY

On Planning, corruption and inefficiency of the administration, Nehru is like a man who when told he is drunk, drinks more to prove that he can stand it. His greatest tragedy is that he believes in his infallibility and no one tells him the truth, not even the Daily press.

—Insight.

April 1, 1963

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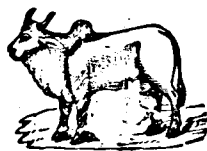
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