

providing for gradual application of the Common Tariff to Cotton Textiles, Jute Goods and other manufactures and tropical products, with precautions to ensure that the trade is not damaged, cannot be considered to be adequate safeguards for Indian trade. The 18 percent Common External Tariff on Cotton Greys, it is feared, would lead to a reduction of Indian exports to Britain which, in its turn, would bring down their prices in a like proportion and consequently India would lose eighteen percent in export earnings which are now so much needed for building up her basic industries. The Indian counter-proposals to meet this situation are, the reduction of Common External Tariff to zero for productions which enjoy today quota-free entry into Britain, and where this is not practicable, Indian goods should be accorded in Great Britain the same facilities which are extended to goods from Morocco and Tunisia imported into France. India has also urged substantial reduction in the Common External Tariff on items of special interest to India in the light of duty-free Commonwealth imports into U. K. under the present system.

But India's position in regard to her export trade in major items like tea, coffee, jute and textiles is not so vulnerable as some prophets of doom seem to think. From the figures available for recent years, it will be seen that except in the case of tea which is mostly exported to Britain, the E.C.M. affords us an equally large market — if not a larger one — with Britain for the export

of other items. In textiles, particularly grey cloth, if the processing should be done in India the E.C.M. countries might absorb more of our cloth than Britain. Even in regard to tea, our exports to Britain are not likely to suffer even after Britain joins the E.C.M., since the price of Indian tea is the lowest in the world. It may be that India will have to go through the experience of initial set-backs in export trade. But she may well profit in the long run by her growing trade relations with E.C.M. countries through Britain, when the latter becomes a regular partner in the European community.

Thus, the problem posed before the Commonwealth countries including Britain is not that of making a choice between the Commonwealth and the E.C.M. but that of widening the scope for the spreading of the Commonwealth ideals in the comity of European nations, most of which have even to this day, close ties with countries on the other side of the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Indian oceans. The Commonwealth links have grown organically by a combination of historical facts and circumstances. Here is an opportunity now for these links to be further strengthened and extended between the new Asian countries emerging free from colonial rule and the European nations. In this connection more than usual significance has got to be attached to the pointed reference made by Mr. Heath, the chief British negotiator at Brussels, to the important role the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent has been playing in International affairs and also to the public recognition extended to this role of India and Pakistan on behalf of the East by Senator Emilio Colombo, the Chairman of the Ministerial meeting at Brussels. It is therefore up to India to reciprocate these sentiments by worthily and actively participating in this noble work of bringing into existence such economically well-knit Communities in the Free World, and making her influence effectively felt in their deliberations and counsels to the mutual advantage and benefit of the parties concerned.

THE PLACE OF ENGLISH IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

The resolution passed at the National Integration Council on the language policy in respect of education betrays a lack of straight and clear thinking on this most pressing problem. It seeks to accord equal status to both Hindi and English in any scheme of adopting a medium of instruction in schools and colleges. The merits of English as 'the link among University-men and between University and University' and 'as a language of international importance' have been rightly stressed. But to appease the sentiments of Hindi fanatic from among the members of the Integration Council, the resolution goes on

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to say that the place of English as an internal link in the country will have to be progressively replaced by Hindi as it develops. In our opinion this insistence on making Hindi an All India Language, despite the vehement protests from the South even before Hindi has progressed to the stage of other regional languages like Tamil, Bengali and Marathi, will do more harm than good to the cause of National Integration which the Council professes to promote.

That the Council is sharply divided in its opinion on the subject of medium of instruction in schools and colleges is quite clear from the wording which the resolution has employed so as to hold the scales even between the paramount claims of English to the All-India status and weak and doubtful merits of Hindi in this respect. On the one hand, the resolution urges that the standard of teaching both of Hindi and English should be improved and maintained at a high level at all stages of education, but on the other hand, it cunningly suggests that at the University stage the student should be equipped with a better command of Hindi in addition to only a working knowledge of English so that the students might be able to follow instruction given at the University stage.

This is once again a case of confusion worse confounded resulting from a dogged unwillingness to look facts in the face. Experience has proved that introduction of a regional language as the main medium of instruction in schools, has inevitably led to the neglect of the teaching of English language and consequently, to the lowering of educational standards. Gujarat which was the first province to lead or mislead the people under the guidance of Gandhiji in this respect, has learnt the bitter lesson now and is clamouring for reverting to the intensive study of English in schools in the interests of the younger generation. Immediately on its separation from Gujarat the Maharashtra State quickly introduced once again the study of English right up from the fifth form.

So let Hindi-speaking people not come in the way of national integration by imposing Hindi on the unwilling people of non-Hindi speaking areas. The latter would not be satisfied with merely having 'a working knowledge' of English as the resolution recommends but they would wish to have a 'command' of that language as they were doing in the pre-Congress era. Till Hindi is proved to be a workable proposition in schools and colleges of Hindi-speaking regions, let English only hold the field in other linguistic states. Hindi would serve only as an optional language in these areas. The National Integration Council's resolution does not go far enough to clarify this position, though it is an undoubted improvement on the Council's previous thinking on this subject. It has yet to rid itself of some

of its ill-conceived notions and hard prejudices regarding the role of English in National Integration and its proper place in schools and colleges.

HERE AND THERE

The Soviet Union and the United States have jointly announced their agreement—Declaration condemning war propaganda. The agreement perhaps was intended to mean no more than this: that the days of mere words (propaganda) about War and Peace are over and what is now needed is Deeds. In this matter, Russia seems to have taken upon herself the task of actively promoting War by her Deeds, ie, 50-Megaton explosions, leaving it to U.S. and other Free Western countries the task of promoting Peace by unilaterally stopping nuclear tests. This was in the opinion of Russia, a good division of labour between the two camps. But on second thoughts, Russia seems to have thought it fit to sabotage even this innocent-looking 'No War Propaganda' agreement. She now wants to introduce what Mr. Zorin calls 'serious improvement' in this draft agreement. Mr. Zorin must have quickly realised that communism would never thrive without tub-thumpings and word-rattlings.

K. D. Malaviya said in the Lok Sabha 'it was not anti-socialist or inflationary to raise the price of coal.' This aggressive socialist is rather too modest. He should have on the other hand openly declared that socialism necessarily meant 'soaring prices' and Indians should welcome these hardships with open arms if they wanted to continue under the paternal care of Socialist Nehru.

Mr. Khrushchev at a reception given at Moscow by a Mini-Government Delegation said that 'Christians promised Paradise only after Death but we shall have it on this Planet.' We do not know how and when Mr. Khrushchev's Socialist Heaven will arrive on this earth. For aught we know, from the reports coming from the socialist part of this planet like China and East Germany, people there are in fact face to face with Death in this very life.

Mr. S. K. Patil recently declared that the food position in the country was never so good as now. This must be the reason why the rats are causing such a great nuisance at Agra and even at Delhi. They must be conducting a vigorous search for the food-grains reported to be in such great abundance by our Food Minister.

CHINA'S LEAPS.

'The Great Leap Forwards has turned into the Great Leap Backwards and now into the Great Leap Outwards' —M. R. Masani

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

"Republic's Fall, when the wise are banished from the public Councils, because they dare to be honest and the profligate are rewarded because they flatter the people in order to betray them."

Supreme Court Justice Story (U.S.A.).

The Limits Of Neutrality

M. A. Venkata Rao

Sri Nehru has expressed himself as against the description of his foreign policy as one of neutrality in the strict sense as understood by international law and usage. He prefers the term non-alignment with the freedom it gives for participation in international discussions and negotiations to contribute to peaceful settlement of disputes and the easing of tensions. If "neutrality" is used, the Indian position would require the word "positive" to be added to it to provide for participation in international "pourparlers".

Critics characterise this sort of neutrality as a form of "neutralism". That is, it is an ideology in its own right even in the process and claim of being above ideology. To say that India is not committed to the ideology of either bloc—the Soviet or the Democratic blocs—is to accept an ideology of its own. It is to assume that an intermediate position between the conflicting attitudes and policies is possible, that is, between the Soviet policy of world revolution and world sovietisation under Russian leadership and the Western policy of promoting a world organised in a federal or confederate union of independent nations subject to international law for the enforcement of peace. But if must be said that the goals of western policy are not as clearly set forth beyond expression of the value of freedom for all nations as those of the communist empire.

Indian policy proceeds on the possibility of steering a middle road between communism and democracy, between the interests of Russian world revolution and those of nations living in freedom.

It assumes that it is possible to discuss the sources of trouble and contention that arise from time to time in terms of merits in isolation from the world conflict between the blocs. Merits in this context would mean the effect that any move can be seen in actual practice to have in favour of the easing of tension and the postponement of the arbitrament of war.

In crisis after crisis from the days of the Korean war, observers can see that this attitude of India has proved fruitless. It has been a source of comfort to the Soviet bloc. It has always encouraged the aggressor and discouraged the fighters for freedom or supporters of world order in terms of the Peace Treaties of 1946.

In Korea, India took up the position that North Koreans and South Koreans were engaged in a civil war and was silent on the entire aggressive role played in it by Russia and China.

India put aggressors and aggressed on the same plane. She regarded the USA and the UNO in their action in Korea as more or less equal to Russia and China in the guilt of intervention.

This attitude on the part of India produced a profound revulsion of feeling in the USA and the free world generally against India as the champion of communism and the opponent of the West. The defect of Sri Nehru's policy stems from a hangover of antagonism to imperialism which was an overflow of the Indian national liberation movement. Nehru was the idol of the nation next to Gandhi in that struggle. The emotional penumbra of that experience has never ceased to govern his dominant emotions and attitudes to international problems. In addition to this anti-imperialist psychology, Nehru adds his own socialist inheritance with its condemnation of Rightism, Property, Capitalism in general. He oversimplifies the role of America as the champion and bulwark of capitalism.

In this he is not being free from conflicting ideologies. On the contrary he is governed emotionally and subconsciously by the ideology of anti-capitalism. This unfits him to consider emerging problems in the international conflict of the blocs in terms of merits without predispositions.

This has cost the country dear in terms of good-will from the West—Britain, America and France.

The mutual rivalries of Western nations and their jealousy of American power and world influence has led many of them to express sympathy with India in a general way and to participate in the Aid India Club in the economic field. But no western power trusts India as a whole-hearted adherent of freedom and justice.

In fact they feel that India is making the best of both worlds in a most cynical manner while unashamedly deriving protection from the West. Without the fear of offending America, the Soviet bloc would have long ago annexed India. The West's silence on the Chinese aggression into India's northern borders is a clear reaction, cold and calculating, to India's coldness to the western cause.

The British in strong contrast to this attitude to the Chinese incursion have expressed themselves clearly and unambiguously in favour of the Durand Line as the accepted international border between Afghanistan and Pakistan! And they have in significant contrast refused to support in public the similar MacMahon Line

on the Assam-Tibet border! They were responsible for both Lines while they were in power at Delhi. But they support one and keep silent on the other. It is a reflection of their support to Pakistan as against India. Their claim of impartiality as between India and Pakistan as members of the Commonwealth is a myth. They are strong partisans of Pakistan while pretending equal friendship for both.

In regard to India's intervention in South-east Asia, it has not been conceived in the interests of Indian security.

India's stand as expressed in the Geneva conference and settlement of 1954 was not approved by the USA because of its ignoring the real aggressiveness of the Soviet powers in the internal affairs of Viet-nam and Laos. The mere functioning of the International Control Commission chaired by India was not felt to be sufficient to contain the communists. So it has proved.

Today, the long and uninterrupted infiltration and arming of Laotians and Southvietnamese by the Chinese and Russians under cover of local communist parties who are infiltrated by Northvietnamese has been going on all the time.

Today we see the result of Laos being almost lost to the Red factions and the USA being forced to send marines and armour to the Thai border. The USA has lost influence in Laos and has almost lost the game in Southvietnam.

The New Frontiers policy of President Kennedy has signally failed in Laos and Southvietnam, as it failed in Cuba. The communist empire has encroached under cover of co-existence. Khrushchev's policy of peaceful conquest of territory through aid, infiltration and encouragement of local communist parties has paid off even without the overt action of Red armies on the spot or the neighbourhood!

The participation of Russian personnel in the North Korean forces in the Korean war was most skillfully disguised. Escaping Russian Air Pilots have disclosed their presence in the Korean field.

Indian policy ignores this underground action of the communist bloc, just as she ignores the action of international communism within the democratic internal sphere of Indian life and politics.

Today we are witnessing a further aggravation of the injury to India's international prestige being wrought by Nehru's misguided policy.

Indian military action in Goa has deeply antagonised the American public. India still refuses to recognise the depth of the alienation of American public opinion from Indian positions and attitudes. The alienation is symbolised by the antipathy that American publicists have towards Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon whose pronounced pro-Soviet stands and provocative utterances have wrought untold damage to the Indian

cause.

India was right in taking Goa through military action but she should have taken particular care to win American opinion through proper public relations, publicity and diplomacy.

American opinion is definitely anti-imperialist as was indicated in action when she forced Britain and France to withdraw from their invasion of the Suez Canal. America also earlier prevented Britain using Force to prevent the Shah of Iran from nationalising the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Portugaul is no doubt a Nato Ally of the USA but not more so than Britain and France. America can be won over to appreciate the Indian position regarding Goa by good diplomacy.

American anger on this matter is an indication of the failure of Indian diplomacy.

Pakistan has naturally cashed in on this critical situation. She has re-opened the Kashmir question in the Security Council and is forcing it to hold sittings in spite of the reluctance of all members including Russia and the USA. The USA seems to have yielded to the pressure of Pakistan to please an Ally and to punish India for her pro-soviet attitudes and for ignoring America's request for a postponement of action on Goa.

Nothing will come of the debate Russia is ready with her veto if anything drastic against India is proposed.

But to have to rely on Russian favour to save ourselves from Pro-Pakistani Western action is in itself a clear symbol of the disastrous failure of Indian policy.

The Bear's embrace can be more fatal than the frowns of America and the West.

This series of disasters to Indian policy receives further aggravation by the Indian proposal to purchase MIG fighter planes from Russia. The arguments that they are cheaper, that payment is accepted in terms of rupees and therefore involves no foreign exchange and that India as a sovereign nation has every right to purchase arms from any quarter like any other commodities are beside the point. They are excellent arguments for a conclusion already arrived at.

This situation is an illustration of the effect of having a crypto-communist as Defence Minister. He will prepare the case in such a way as to make it easy and natural for Nehru to accept the proposal!

American and British demarches are dismissed as impertinent and intolerable affronts to our independence.

As for price, India might have negotiated for a reduction in prices from America or Britain or France. If they are prepared to give economic aid on a large scale, they should be prepared to lose on the supply of arms. Their refusal, if such

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Psychology Of Communalism

By M. N. Tholal

The Jana Sangh, particularly when Shyama Prasad Mukherji was its President, gave birth to high hopes in the hearts of those who were dissatisfied with the Congress and many seemed to see in that organisation a party that would in course of time replace the Congress. But the untimely death of Shyama Prasad Mukherji was a severe blow to the Jana Sangh — one from which in fact it has not really recovered. His successors have been third-rate men, appointed, it is said, by the leader of the RSS. In any case, they do not possess the stature to stand up to him or to command his respect, as did that great Bengali patriot, Mukherji.

During the last Holi festival the Jana Sangh members of a New Delhi township where I live held a meeting which was addressed by Dr. Raghuvira (who resigned from the Congress before the last general election) and by the Chair-

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it is, can only be due to the ungainly and offensive manner of Mr. Menon's presentation. In this he has injured India deeply.

The west should also consider how far they should be influenced in this matter by their armament firms. It is well known that armament firms queer the pitch in their own favour through influencing officials and the press.

The west has always regarded the supply of arms as a part of diplomacy. In India in the past, the British prevented arms from reaching Afghanistan and Nepal except through their good offices. It is part of their management of spheres of influence.

The New York Times was not wrong therefore in regarding the Indian intention to, purchase fighter planes from the USSR as a loss of influence for western civilisation in India.

It is clear that this matter cannot be judged on merits as a case of mere trade in commodities.

India has always ignored the deeper emotional aspects of war to the death in which the West is engaged with Soviet Russia and her satellites. In such a situation, it should be intelligible that the West should react emotionally. For the cold war is war in the real sense with the possibility of its breaking out into shooting war at any moment. The ordinary canons of peace-time diplomacy do not apply in this situation. India should revise her foreign policy radically.

man of the Delhi State Jana Sangh, Prof. Madhok, who won the New Delhi seat in Parliament for the Jana Sangh in a by-election in 1961. The audience was entirely Hindu — but for one who appeared to be a Muslim. But is that any reason why a man should allow his unreasonable sentiments to run amok?

COMMUNAL UTTERANCES

With the best of goodwill in the world for the Jana Sangh, I am often at a loss to understand the statements its leaders often make. Indeed, some of these statements rouse my ire and the more I think over them the greater is my resentment, and I begin to wonder if the reason why they are made is folly or political trickery, which passes for statesmanship in the minds of those who have come to a final decision regarding their allegiance, irrespective of moral considerations.

Prof. Madhok, in the course of a speech otherwise unobjectionable, made the startling observation that festivals like Holi and Divali are national festivals and should be observed in India by all alike, irrespective of whether they are Christians, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists or Parsis. If he had included Id or Christmas, to name only two non-Hindu festivals, among his national festivals, one might have been led to imagine that he was making a plea for national integration. But he confined his national festivals to Dussehra, Divali and Holi, without any apparent objection from his Hindu audience, which was there by invitation. How anyone gifted with a sense of fairplay can make a proposal of that kind passes my comprehension.

But that is not the only possible reaction to such a proposal. It makes one wonder whether the proposer includes non-Hindus among his countrymen, and, if so, whether he has taken the trouble to think out the possible reactions in their minds of the kind of proposals he makes. If the answer to both the queries raised here is in the negative, there cannot be the ghost of a doubt regarding the political identity of the man making such a proposal. He is on his own confession a devout communalist, howsoever much he may dislike the epithet.

It is being short-sighted to imagine that this kind of appeal to people's sentiments will work wonders. It may win over some, but it is bound to antagonise others. The Jana Sangh debacle in Delhi in the last general election was really due to overplaying the communal card. Their emphasis on Hindi, which is only another aspect of

communalism, antagonised the Sikhs, the South-erners and the Bengalis. It would appear to be high time they began asking themselves the straight question: Will it pay in the long run for the Party to be generally considered a Hindu communal party?

The question is put in this form because in politics it is what pays that counts, and also because the Jana Sangh leaders must have a lurking hope in their hearts that this kind of thing will pay, otherwise they would not be indulging in it. The leaders and followers of the Jana Sangh should know that they are being branded "communal" and that in the eyes of a majority of the intelligentsia that one word is enough condemnation for any party.

GIRL AS AUTHORITY

Dr. Raghuvira gave a very funny reason why Hindi, or the mother tongue, should replace English all over the land. He was in a European country some time ago and he received a letter from home addressed to him in English. The daughter of the host who gave the letter to him wanted to know what the language in the letter was like and, on seeing that it was English, asked him, "Have you no language of your own?" On being told that he had, she wanted to know why then his people were writing to him in English. He said at the meeting that he could not answer the question of the little girl, who went to her parents and asked them to turn him out of the house as he was receiving letters from home in English and not in his own mother tongue. "Is ko ghar se nikal do" were the equivalent of the words Dr. Raghuvira put into her mouth. ("Turn him out of the house.")

The audience was duly impressed by the patriotic outburst of the little European girl, who cannot be credited with any knowledge of the circumstances prevailing in India. It is the same as the Socialist outburst of "Angrezi hatao" ("Remove English") but do they who raise these cries try to realise what the step would mean in terms of national disintegration? Howsoever unpalatable the fact may be, can any one deny that English in India is today the greatest and the strongest bond uniting the people of the land? The fact, as well as the century's history that caused it may well be regretted, but that regret should not induce one to try to bring about a repetition of that sorry history in the country. That is patriotism running amok and no amount of clapping that it may receive from unthinking minds should induce a real patriot to indulge in it. English is today the language of our leaders. It is the language of our thinkers. It is the language of our scientists and technicians, and so long as there is no substitute for all these — the elite of the nation — English should continue to occupy its proud place in India. That should go

without saying. But it doesn't. The General Secretary of the Jana Sangh said some time ago that even the fact that our access to science is through English should not be allowed to stand in the way of the removal of English from the land.

MAJORITY PRINCIPLE

The mentality described above seems to be born of the idea of majority rule, which is generally equated with democracy. We, the Hindi-speaking people, are in a majority. Therefore Hindi should be the official national language of the country. We Hindus are in a majority. Therefore Hindu festivals should be observed as national festivals. And the funniest part of it is that those who stand for this kind of nationalism also stand for the reunification of India and Pakistan. Do they think that making Hindi the national official language of the country will make for the reunification of India and Pakistan? Or making Hindu festivals national festivals of the country make rapprochement between India and Pakistan? Can any honest mind think so? Obviously not. The conclusion is therefore inevitable that they do not really desire the reunification of India and Pakistan, which they stand for publicly.

It is contradictions such these which reveal the dishonest mind. Truth is a harmonious whole while those who represent untruth soon contradict themselves. Those who really work for Hindu-Muslim or communal unity also work for the reunification of India and Pakistan, whether they intend to do so or not. Thinking that the Jan Sanghs were real nationalists, I agreed some years ago to contribute a column or two to their weekly. The Editor showed me a Government release which stated that the Education Ministry under Maulana Azad had made the largest contribution to the Aligarh Muslim University. I contacted the Maulana, who said that the particular information Department release was always on his table for the benefit of Muslims, foreigners and Indians, who visited him, as the best possible refutation of the charge that the Government of India was anti-Muslim. The aid figure was justified by the University's needs. Even if that was not so, he said, it was justified politically, as it shut up anti-Indian Muslim critics. I conveyed the information to the Editor, without divulging the source, as he apparently wanted me to attack the Government on the basis that piece of information. He was or at least seemed satisfied. When the Maulana expired a few months later I wrote a panegyric on him which quite horrified the Editor and his associates. Indeed, to counter the effect of my praise of Maulana Azad the Editor in an editorial referred to that Information Department

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Raja Ravi Varma's Water Colour Paintings

By K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy, B.A.

Even during his lifetime (1848-1906) Raja Ravi Varma, the Painter among Princes and Prince among Painters, won national and international reputation as a master artist of true-to-life portraits and colourful paintings of episodes from Hindu religious lore, in the heavy, ponderous, and alien medium of oil colours after the Western technique. His famous oil colour Paintings some of which were exhibited in Europe and America and won high awards, revealed that he had gained amazing proficiency over the exacting standards in draughtsmanship and colouring demanded by Western academism of the late nineteenth century. In the then widely accepted, but now almost completely outmoded, tradition of Western Academic Realism adopted by Indian Artists, Raja Ravi Varma's works continue to remain without parallel. As an Artist whose life work has become a national institution and given great happiness to a vast number of men and women, he is supreme, and his name will be remembered for ever. A more popular Artist than Ravi Varma India has never had.

That Raja Ravi Varma was also equally proficient in the evanescent and volatile medium of water colours after the European academic style (as opposed to the exquisite Indian Wash style of which he had no knowledge) is illustrated by the few outstanding small size paintings of classical themes, and studies in portraiture, and genre painted by him off and on, towards the close of his life, perhaps as a diversion from exacting work on large size oil paintings which were commissioned by Royal patrons. It may also be that these fine Water colour studies, sketches in colours not approximating to full-fledged and finished paintings, were done by the Artist to serve him as patterns for use in large-scale work on oil paintings. Whatever that be, his water colour

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release to prove Maulana Azad's communalism, the assumption being that no Muslim can be a nationalist. That was the end of my connection with the paper. Yet it was the Editor of this same weekly who used to say, "Shivaji had Muslim generals in his army." I may add that, if Maulana Azad cannot be considered a nationalist, the assumption underlying the psychology of the exponents of Jana Sangh policy should be considered fair.

Maulana Azad used to say that narrowmindedness is the root of all evil. And fanaticism in all spheres is born of narrowmindedness.

studies are brilliant examples of accomplished academic art irradiating visual satisfaction and aesthetic delight to the common man. His magnificent oil colour paintings are like epic poems, ornate, pompous, sonorous and dignified. But his water colour studies are like beautiful, impressive, sensitive, sonnets with a ready appeal to the eye and the heart of the looker-on. It is likely that the boy Raja Ravi Varma was fascinated by the water colour paintings done by his uncle and Guru Raja Raja Varma (A.D. 1813-1884) who was a painter of merit in water colours. Self-taught, he made his own water colours from plants and earth, and used them for painting striking studies of animals on paper and walls. Raja Ravi Varma must have, during his boyhood days, painted in water colours after the style of his uncle and preceptor, Maharaja Swati Thirunal and Sivaji, the last of the Tanjore Rulers, two fine portraits, miniatures in water colours on ivory panels painted by Raja Raja Varma, are in the Trivandrum State Art Gallery. A few sketches in water colours of animals at play by this pioneer Kerala artist are also exhibited here.

In the Sri Chitralayam, (State Art Gallery) at Trivandrum, seven water colour studies of Raja Ravi Varma are exhibited along with a good number of his outstanding and superb pencil sketches which illustrate his genius in drawing. A firmness of line, absolute certainty of control over the medium, as impressive as is rare, is the dominant quality of these drawings which are sensitive and personal in interpretation. Of these water colour studies, *Rest*, and *Milk Maid* (1904) are realistic and convincing representations of a vegetable seller and milk maid of Mysore, two rustic types of simple habits commonly met with. In *Rest*, a lady vegetable seller is depicted snatching much needed respite, leaning against a pillar, with her basket in front. The facial expression and poise of the village woman indicate how tired she is after knocking about in the hot sun with a load of vegetables for sale. Executed in sombre colours with grey and brown predominant, this study of a humble working class woman is most expressive of the day-to-day life of the masses in India who have to toil hard for their existence. *Milk Maid* is a faithful and striking rendering of a lovely and bashful maiden carrying a couple of copper vessels containing milk, stopping for a while on her way, urged by a wee bit of curiosity. In both these simple and straightforward studies of rustic folk, the artist, who is a keen observer, has caught the

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Impact Of Population Growth On Planning

By Minoo R. Shroff

According to the recent Census figures, India's population in 1961 was 438 million. Though the figure is staggering by any standard, a comparison of the rate of growth during the last decade with that in the half century preceding it will help focus public attention better on the magnitude of the problem.

At the turn of the century, India's population was 236 million and increased to 357 million by 1951, i.e., a net increase of 121 million in 50 years. The increase during the last decade alone has been 77 million, being almost two-thirds the figure of the half century. As a matter of fact, the net increase between 1951-61 far exceeded the total population of any country in Europe, except the U.S.S.R.

The rate of growth of population at present has been computed at 2.15% per annum, the original estimate of the Planning Commission at the time of launching the First Five-Year Plan having been 1.25%. The latest projections of population made by the Central Statistical Organisation reveal that the figure will be 492 million in 1966 and 555 million in 1971, a little more than thrice the present population of the U.S.A.

Any plan for large-scale and rapid economic development of a country can succeed in achieving the desired increase in per capita income provided the projections of increase in output and services as well as of the increase in population prove substantially correct. This, most unfortunately, was not the case during the two Five-Year Plans, as the projections of population rise proved grossly under-estimated with the result that the impact of the Plans in increasing the standard of living of the people has not at all been commensurate either with the effort put in or commensurate either with the effort put in or the resources expended.

Let us now consider the impact of this explosive population growth in our food problem.

The production of foodgrains increased by 22 million tons, or roughly 40%, between 1950-51 to 1960-61 as against a rise in population of 21.5%. It is reckoned that at present the income elasticity of demand is 0.8, i.e., for every increase of Rupee One in the per capita income the additional outlay on foodgrains alone is 80 n.p., a reflection of the subsistence level of existence of the large majority of our people. The increase in per capita income during this period having been 20%, the additional demand of foodgrains resulting therefrom has been 16%, the balance having gone to feed the increased population.

Despite the improvement in the production of foodgrains, imports have averaged 3 to 4 million tons per annum since Independence and have been consequently a very substantial draw on the sterling balance acquired by India. The greatest paradox of our economic life has been that despite 70% of our population being engaged in agriculture we still have to look to Countries abroad to meet our needs of foodgrains even at a bare consumption level of 16 ounces per capita per day. This has been aptly described by a recent U.N. Survey as follows: "Eighty per cent of the World's population (overwhelming majority in Asia and Africa) have never had and will never have in the foreseeable future what an American or European family take for granted as a square meal."

For a long time, we have been faced with chronic unemployment and under-employment in this country. A recent estimate has placed the figure of unemployed in 1961 at 9 million. The increase in the number of those seeking jobs during the Third Plan will be more than 20 million, as against the Plan provision of 14 million. Even presuming that this target is achieved the number of the unemployed in 1966 will be 15 million over and above the tens of millions un-

der-employed. The political, economic and social consequences arising out of this can hardly be viewed with equanimity.

The per capita income in India today, almost the lowest in the world, is expected to touch the figure of Rs. 385 by 1966 (at 1960-61 prices), an increase of 17% during the Third Plan. The National Income during the same period is anticipated to rise by 31%, almost half of which will be swallowed up by the teeming millions that would have by then been added in our midst.

Even for achieving this modest target the total financial outlay for the Third Plan is the very formidable sum of Rs. 11,600. The incremental ratio being taken at 2.62:1, this amount of investment will be required to increase the national income by Rs. 4,500 crores (at 1960-61 prices). Assuming that the average per capita income during the Third Plan will be Rs. 360 per annum, the investment outlay required for providing this income would be Rs. 840 per every additional person. If the rate of increase in population had been stabilised at 1.25% per annum during the Third Plan period as against the projected 2.15%, the actual increase during the period would have been 31 million against 54 million i.e. less by 23 million. This would thus have entailed a saving in the total outlay of Rs. 1,932 crores to ensure the same per capita income. The amount proposed to be raised by additional taxation during the Third Plan is Rs. 1,710 crores. If the rate of population growth had been stabilised at the level cited above the necessity of any additional tax imposts would have become totally unnecessary, releasing thereby additional resources for fruitful investment in our developing economy.

It must be conceded that bringing about a decrease in the present very high rate of population growth is indeed a very challenging problem. This is particularly so as while the birth rate has remained practically stagnant over a decade and more the death rate has tended to fall markedly during this period. The decline in death rate is albeit most desirable, though in the transitional period it has tended to aggravate the problem.

How serious have we been to control this rapid population growth? If the financial outlays on Family Planning could be taken as a guide, we spent Rs. 0.65 crores and Rs. 5 crores respec-

tively during the First and Second Five Year Plans.

How inadequate these outlays were can be gauged from the fact that they formed a meagre 0.02% and 0.07% of the total respective outlays. However the outlay during the Third Plan has fortunately been stepped up considerably to Rs. 50 crores. Even this figure is less than 0.5% of the total outlay.

Apart from the paucity of financial resources, there has been a tremendous dearth of both qualified medical practitioners as also of social workers, particularly in rural areas where the need is the greatest. First of all, the message of Family Planning has to be spread far and wide if Planning has to have any meaning in this country. Neither money nor effort should be spared in achieving this goal, as otherwise the commendable progress made in the field of industrialization in the last few years will hardly make impact on the lives of our people. For this purpose a large-scale campaign of disseminating information in all conceivable forms is called for.

We have been hearing of pronouncements from the highest quarters that Family Planning can only succeed if cheap and effective contraceptives are made abundantly available, particularly in rural areas. The more ambitious have even pleaded for free distribution of these! But when it comes to translating this into practice nothing tangible appears to happen.

The State has shown tremendous zeal and enthusiasm in setting up industrial units in the Public sector even entering fields like hotel industry where there was no justification for it to do so. It has even tried to justify a few of its industrial ventures, which have proved total failures financially, as being in larger public interests. Therefore, some students of public affairs ask "Why not then a few units in various parts to the country for making contraceptives, (of a type suitable to our conditions) on a very large scale which can give substance to our schemes for Family Planning?"

It is late and unless we tackle the population problem on a national emergency basis, "Family Planning" will only remain a slogan. The apple cart of planning will be upset.

* Equalising Opportunities—V

NEXT STEP FOR MANKIND

By Wendal Bull

My second specific proposal has to do with measuring the cost of labour. I wish to point out that, 1) workers, who wish to establish equality of freedom for all should assess the cost of their labours from their own point of view, not from the capitalists'; and that 2) the cost of labour, from the workers' point of view, can be objectively measured and stated in terms of the most precious property which is every man's own.

Every man's stock-in-trade, one might say, is his lifelong right to equal associational freedom. Every business transaction involves a transfer of expanded and or expendable freedom. In order to equalize freedom, the amounts we spend on behalf of other persons need to be balanced with the amount others spend on our behalf.

In order to bring into realization as a living everyday experience and faith of our revolutionary forefathers — the faith that all men have equal unalienable right to liberty — every man is called to be vigilant in the accountings and the transfers of liberty. Lest our heritage — according to the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration — be hopelessly trampled, we, the people, are called to re-assert, to vindicate, and to prove, the claim, faithfully, staked out for us. This we can do by accounting the cost of labour, and hence the exchange-value of every economic good or service, in terms of the measurable aspect of associational freedom.

The measurable aspect of associational freedom is its duration. We could say that normal adult humans are naturally endowed with "bank accounts" of relative freedom. To know the size of the credit balance of any particular person at any particular time one would have to know how long that person would live. Each day of our lives each one of us spends — in work, play, study, sleep, in whatever we do — a day's worth of his "bank account" of relative associational freedom. The accounting of how one spends his freedom can be objectively and rather accurately kept by any careful observer who is equipped with a timepiece and elemental knowledge of numbers.

For a simple illustration let us assume that

* We are reproducing this article in a serial form with the kind permission from Balanced Living, the official organ of the School of Living, Ohio, U.S.A. The previous article appeared in the issue of March 15, 1962.

John, a frontiersman, has learned from the Indians the way to catch trout barehanded. John catches four trout from the river in a day. One day a stranger comes to John's valley with some fishing tackle he has made. John is fascinated to see the stranger catch twelve trout in half a day. John offers to buy the tackle. The stranger says, "You got money?" — "No, but I have beaver-skins." — "Okay, how many skins will you give me?" — "I could give two good skins," says John. "Oh, no, this tackle is worth twenty good skins." "Suppose the two men reach an agreement of sale at the price of ten skins. Is this a fair deal just because both men agree to it? I answer, No. The reader might want to learn the market prices of skins and fishing tackle in order to compare the "values" swapped. But market prices are only quotations from previous transactions, likewise arrived at by guessing and "higgling" the absence of a true measure of the cost of labour. Moreover, we have already noted that market prices normally include exploitive-value in addition to exchange-value. I have proposed a way in which the two men could compare the true exchange-values which they had embodied in the products they bartered, without reference to market prices which normally include multiple profits, advertising costs, hidden taxes, sinking-fund reserves and so on.

Not knowing how labour-costs can be objectively measured not particularly cherishing freedom in any practical sense, not dreaming that they could share responsibility in establishing and maintaining the equal and unalienable rights of all men, John and the stranger are helpless if they try to name fair prices for their products. So they do not even think in the direction of fairness. They think only of ways to get more and give less in their dealing. Their selfishness is stimulated while their co-operative goodwill is shrivelled by the ignorance which was institutionalized in our standard of values 2500 years ago.

I have proposed a way of measuring labour-costs — and hence a way of understanding exchange-value — which, instead of ignoring the human and ethical aspects of economics, actually pivots on them. My proposal cannot be put into practice by men who do not care for human dignity, for mutuality of respect, and for equal opportunities for all. My proposal calls for men who care enough, to become themselves responsible for these values in their everyday economic behavior. This means that the two men in

the illustration could have reached the terms of a fair trade, if they had previously so cherished equality of freedom that they had recorded the duration of freedom spent in their respective productions. For if they had done that they would have been in position to compare objectively the cost of beaver-skins and fishing tackle they had made. If John had spent two hours of this freedom to produce each skin, and if the stranger had spent ten hours of his freedom in producing the tackle, then obviously five skins would be the fair equivalent for the tackle.

INCENTIVES TO TRADE

If it be objected that no businessman today would consent to engage in business if there were no prospect of profit in sight, I must remind the reader that this essay is not aimed at promoting profitable commerce. It is aimed at the other worker, if he insists on a profit — as high as businessman will not accept compensation for services rendered on the same equitable basis as root ignorance which underlies men. If the law or the competition allows — in addition to his fair compensation, he will simply lose the patronage of all the persons who understand equitable exchange and wish to practise it.

On the other hand, the dissolution of the profit incentive which is certainly anticipated in my view of what property is ethically ownable and how it should be evaluated for purposes of exchange, will preserve and will considerably strengthen the natural and ethical incentive to trade. The benefits arising from division of work, specialization, and equitable exchange, will provide adequate incentive for wholesome economic intercourse. And these benefits will be notably increased to all producers when the vast army of persons in non-productive occupations fades away.

I have indicated above some principles of a philosophy of economics which embraces a radical revision of traditional and current practices. Let us turn now to a projection of how these principles might be implemented. My aim is to indicate a way for the equalizing of opportunities for all men. Opportunities are most glaringly unequal in the matters of access to credit facilities and access to land. Considerations of implementation of economic equity will at this time be limited to these areas of most obvious inequity.

A NEW MEASURE OF VALUE.

The benefits arising from division of work, specialization and equitable trading can be vastly increased and made available to all members of mankind. To this end facilities must be devised for the consumption of indirect exchanges and postponed settlements. Money, and arrangements for the monetization of credit are such devices.

Money and credit facilities as we now em-

ploy them — i.e., the money and credit facilities of monopolists — have served to develop a world-wide privilege-and-profit economy. This system needs to be replaced by a world-wide equitable economy, understood, established, and controlled at the grass-roots by the people, not by punitive governments.

We have previously noted that the current legal tender monies of the commercial world had their origins upwards of 2500 years ago, and that they represent the combination of two incompatible kinds of property rights and two incommensurable kinds of value mixed in unknown proportions. This kind of money has been aptly called the "inexhaustible ally" of those who rule and exploit man. An ideal tool for the smooth cuts of privilege versus privation, this kind of money cannot possibly serve in the establishment and maintenance of equal opportunities for all. A new kind of money is needed.

In this function as a standard measure of true exchange-value, the new money should represent countable units of the most precious good which passes between men in every business transaction. This most precious good is the relative freedom which should appear to producers as their cost of production, and which should appear to consumers as their cost of purchase. As noted above this precious good does have an objectively measurable dimension, its duration.

If this new concept of exchange-value seems too abstract, or hard to grasp, I venture to suggest the reason is not in the nature of the idea itself. It is incomparably simpler and clearer than the confused notion of value with which we daily operate. Our ingrained habit of thought are conformed to a notion of value which deserves not to be called a measure of anything. If we can quit these habits, even monetarily, we can begin to sense the simplicity of true exchange-value.

The new measure of exchange-value which I propose is not equivocating. It refers to but one dimension of the single component of economic goods which needs to be measured. It refers to the one measurable dimension of the labour-cost of all productions, like a yard-stick, which does not refer to the nature of the materials being measured — whether they are fabrics, concrete, or rope; and which does refer the quality of things — whether flimsy or stout, and which has nothing to do with weight, temperature, viscosity or any measurements other than linear units — so the proposed duration-of-freedom measure of exchange-value does not refer to any dimension of labour-costs, not to any dimension of labour-products, other than the single measurable units of duration of the individual associational freedom spend, or to be spent, in producing goods and service to the satisfaction of purchasers.

(To be continued)

characteristic expression, demeanour and movement of the subjects with fidelity and precision. Subordinating cumbersome details, laying accent on the absolute essentials, and recording them with obvious relish and with little concern for any effective or picturesque background, Ravi Varma has drawn these profoundly moving studies with great economy of line and colour contrary to the grand, spectacular, and theatrical method adopted by him in painting his resplendent oil colour studies.

The **HEAD PEON**, and **SALAAM**, are faithful portrait studies of the servants of the Mysore Palace displaying character and form, with rare insight, great sympathy, and warm understanding. The Head Peon's portrait is a very impressive study in character with blue as the predominant colour. Dressed in a blue coat with golden and silver livery adorning it, and blue tight-fitting trousers and with a big, gold laced, blue turban on his oversize head, he has a bovis facial expression and round, wide, expressive eyes. A hefty, old, bewhiskered, vivacious, Palace servant of respectable demeanour and dignified bearing shining livery, with a huge scarlet turban embellished with gold lace, is seen greeting a visitor with a Salaam, a sight with which Raja Ravi Varma was quite familiar. The tall, erect, graceful, figure of "A Swordsman" drawn from life after a Maharashtra type, the heroic representation of the manhood of Bharat, seems to have served as a model to the artist for painting King

Rugmangada in his world famous oil painting entitled "Rugmangada and Mohini" the original of which adorns the State Art Gallery at Trivandrum. In all these paintings, the artist has elevated common place themes to the domain of art in a manner at once impressive and pleasing to those who know anything or not about the mysteries of art expression.

SHRI RAMA BREAKS THE BOW is a fine illustration done in the artist's own manner, after the type of miniature paintings in illuminated manuscripts, with a Sanskrit verse written beneath the Painting proper on a panel. It seems certain that Ravi Varma had seen some of the illuminated manuscripts of Moghul and Rajasthani Art in the court of the Rajput Rulers during his extensive tours in North India. But he does not seem to have been impressed with the high quality of these miniature Paintings for the technique, style, treatment, and calligraphy of his work are in absolute contrast with the rare delicacy, sensitiveness, lyricism, and exquisite finish of the old miniatures. The figures of Sri Rama, Sri Lakshmana, Sage Viswamitra and King Janaka, are done with unerring accent on realism, proportion, composition, character, and emotional content, and with meticulous care. A profoundly moving record of a puranic theme is this superb illustration.

In **HORSES**, a view of the Royal Stallion Farm in Mysore is depicted realistically with high, massive Wall enclosures on either side, and racing pathway in the middle over which majestic looking steeds gallop. The well placed figures of Syces look insignificant by the side of the prancing horses. Raja Ravi Varma's dignified and dynamic rendering of horses is one of the finest versions in lines and colours of the energy and force of movement of "the second animal in creation", a subject of endearing grandeur to Western artists. A Painting which recalls to mind the world famous equestrian studies by the great masters of English Art, Stubbs, Marshall, Frith, Ferneley, Dalby and Sir Alfred Munnings, Ravi Varma's study of the galloping steeds is an achievement of which any artists can be proud.

There is no doubt that all these Water Colour paintings were done without any effort, in an amazingly quick manner, by Raja Ravi Varma while he was in Mysore in 1904-1905 as a State Guest to execute the set of mine oil colour paintings of Puranic subjects (his last paintings) commissioned by H.H. the Maharajah of Mysore for the Jaganmohan Palace. These Water colours are some of his last paintings for he died in 1906.

Raja Ravi Varma was one of the special invitees for the Imperial Durbar at Delhi in connection with the Coronation of King Edward the Seventh, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon.

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But it was not possible for the great Artist to attend the Ceremony. Mortimer Mempes, a famous English master of Water Colour Painting was commissioned to paint scenes of the Durbar. These Paintings as also a large number of studies of life and landscape in India done by the English Artist were reproduced in colours in book form by the Imperial Government. A copy of this magnificent volume was presented to Ravi Varma by the Viceroy. Ravi Varma was much impressed with these Water Colour Paintings executed in the Western realistic academic style, and followed this method. He wanted to achieve proficiency in the medium of Water Colours for he had decided to paint portraits of Lord Ampthill in Water Colours on Ivory Panels as miniatures. These unfinished paintings were exhibited in the Sri Chitralayam. It is believed that the technique of painting on Ivory was brought to India by the Firangis.

In the private collection of Dr. K. R. Bhaskara Varma (Specialist in Pediatrics, Government General Hospital, Ernakulam), a grand nephew of Raja Ravi Varma, and a real art lover and amateur painter, are two excellent Water colour paintings, "the Nizam" and "After Bath". The Portrait of the Nizam of Hyderabad is well executed for it does justice to the form and character of the subject. Ravi Varma's unparalleled genius in portraying feminine beauty is evident in full measure in the sweet and delicate study of a lovely damsel after both. It is a poem in colours which gives joy-imparting glimpses of the beauty and grace of the women of Kerala. Such remarkable character studies are often superior to commissioned portraits.

After looking at these brilliantly drawn and exquisitely coloured miniature water colour paintings by Ravi Varma, one feels sorry that the great Artist did not paint more such simple, direct, true-to-life, studies of humanity for the delectation of the masses. The explanation for this has to be sought in the fact that being an aristocrat and famous Artist very much in demand by princes and rich men who loaded him with commissions to execute series of portraits of August personages and subject pictures from the Hindu Mythology, he had no necessity and time to paint water colour studies, and that the very limited number of water colour paintings hastily and spontaneously done by him towards the close of his life were for his own personal satisfaction as a pleasant diversion from the tedious job of executing commissioned work in oil colours. If Raja Ravi Varma had painted more such direct, striking, and vivacious studies from day-to-day life as "Rest", "Milk Ma'd", "Salaam", and "After Bath", in which intimacy with humble life and the dignity and charm of human form find exquisite expression, his fame would have

been built on a more solid and lasting basis as a top-ranking People's Artist for ever. If those diehard critics, who, in their overwhelming admiration for the so-called Bengal School of Art, and modern "isms" of doubtful worth take delight in uncharitably decrying the art of Raja Ravi Varma, would care to make a study of the original sketches, Water colour and oil Paintings by the great master they will, if they are true to themselves, realise the intrinsic merits of the Artist as a competent draughtsman and colourist who kept up the idealism of the vast majority of the people of India, fresh. To attempt to evaluate Raja Ravi Varma's art without examining his original sketches and paintings is nothing short of sheer imprudence; for it is a distressing fact that reproductions of his paintings through which he everlastingly endeared himself to the masses, have done him severe injustice at the hands of critics who had no access to the Master's inimitable original works. Dr. Abanindranath Tagore struck the right chord when he, with love and reverence due to a brother Artist, hailed Raja

Ravi Varma as a great Artist, and said that "it is rare to come across in these days, men like him, artists like him, lovers of India like him."

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Taking Chances With Security

(From Our Correspondent)

LACK of criticism in the Lok Sabha of the proposed purchase of MIGs from Soviet Russia was rather surprising, in view of the fact that Russian promises in regard to their availability as well as production in India and the willingness of the manufacturers to help us manufacture them can hardly be depended upon, particularly as our defence preparations are as much against China as against Pakistan, if not more against China than against Pakistan. Defence Minister Menon could quote the opinions of experts of his choice in his Department, while there are none in the House. He had that great advantage. American reactions to the proposed deal have been too sharp but it must be remembered that America is a free country with a free Press while Soviet Russia is on the other extreme, and no one really knows what is in the mind of its rulers about anything on earth. The quality of the MIGs, their availability on better terms, their suitability for production in India are all factors absolutely dependent on the willingness of the Soviet Government, which cannot be relied upon, particularly at a time when "we are prepared" for the worst against China.

That should be obvious even to amateurs. But that does not appear to be so obvious to our Defence Department or the Government of India. It is, however, being hoped here that the fact that their doubts have not found expression does not mean that they do not exist. But so much in this country depends on the mood of one man that the security of the country is not always the paramount consideration, certainly not in a mood of optimism induced by flattering references to the greatness of those who pursue a policy of trust towards the untrustworthy. All these evils are born of dictatorship in a country where a man is allowed to think of himself first and of his country afterwards as a happy hunting ground for pursuit of personal ambitions.

If the Americans have done a disservice to their own cause by their sharp reaction to the proposed deal with Russia, must we also do a disservice to our cause and place the security of the country in jeopardy? This is hardly a matter which should be decided with reference to national pride as against national security. Neither American rudeness, nor American insolence, granting both, should be allowed to weigh in the balance in reaching a hard-headed patriotic military decision. And even the efforts of our Prime

Minister in the matter of emotional integration with emotionless Soviet Russia should not have anything to do with the decision. The matter is one of far-reaching importance and it is to be hoped that Mr. Nehru's decision will be reached in one of his lucid intervals undistracted by emotional pulls. We can't take chances with our security.

B. K. NEHRU'S TELEVISION INTERVIEW

Opinions here on the now famous television of our American Ambassador, Mr. B. K. Nehru, differ, it may be said, according to one's mood of the moment. As a columnist puts it, he had not said more than is warranted by facts or than what is daily repeated by many MPs. What seems unpardonable is that he should have said what he did before a foreign audience. That should sound funny to those who do not believe in double talk or in saying one thing for home consumption and quite another for foreign consumption. Some MPs were annoyed because our Ambassador admitted that "our defence forces are certainly insufficient" or that they are "badly equipped" or that "we have never been able to equip them properly because we have been short of money". But can a man pleading for more funds or equipment claim that he has enough of both, even if he has?

Some members of Parliament seem to have been offended because Mr. B. K. Nehru, instead of repudiating the suggestion admitted it cautiously, that Mr. Krishna Menon was not very popular in the United States and that he had perhaps irritated some members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and that reactions to him might have had something to do with the cut proposed in the aid allotted to India by President Kennedy. Mr. Nehru's critics forget that when a person is asked whether Mr. Menon is popular or not in the United States, he can only give one answer truthfully, if he is not indirectly to declare himself a liar, particularly if he is speaking in the United States. Indeed, as is being pointed out here, having admitted the irrefutable he can do the next best thing and transfer the discussion from persons to policies, and that our Ambassador did quite cleverly. Indeed, even Mr. Menon cannot honestly find fault with Mr. Nehru's admission that he is not very popular in the United States. He might even go farther and say he doesn't want to be. In any case, that would be a statement not unwarranted by his activities in the lobbies of the United Nations.

The television interview did not make Prime Minister Nehru happy, but an Ambassador seeking aid cannot obviously behave like an ambassador trying to add to Mr. Nehru's influence in the United Nations. In trying to do the latter Mr. Nehru has to annoy the Americans, particularly as the Prime Minister's policies are almost frankly pro-Russian. With a better intellect and a greater power of expression Mr. Menon might have been able to annoy the Americans without a semblance on his part of the rudeness complained against him, unless of course his rudeness is part of his assigned job — a proposition which cannot be summarily brushed aside by those who know that our Prime Minister believes in shock treatment, as he has himself often said, particularly since the Kashmir issue came to be debated in the Security Council. No one can deny that rudeness has its place in shock therapy.

SOCIALIST ANTICS

The Socialists have started their irrational antics in the Lok Sabha also. Towards the end of last month one of their members, Mr. Mani Ram Bagri, was suspended by the Speaker for seven days, the longest period so far for which an MP has been suspended. Mr. Bagri started an uproar in the House when, immediately after question hour on May 24, he stood up to ask for a discussion on "my motion for adjournment given in the name of Mahatma Gandhi." The Speaker directed him to resume his seat but Mr. Bagri began his speech in support of his motion. The Speaker was obliged to shout above the voice of Mr. Bagri and disclosed that some days earlier Mr. Bagri had given advance warning to the Marshal that he would soon create a situation which would call for his services. The Speaker also said that Mr. Bagri had himself created the situation which he sought to discuss through an adjournment motion—the threat by some people to surround Birla House and to take it over for the nation. Four other members of the group walked out of the House in protest after a brief statement by their leader.

The Socialists are always on the look-out for demonstrations such as these in their attempt to endear themselves to the people. On the face of it, the place where Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated should be a national memorial and the fact that it is not so is intriguing. Mr. Bagri said he wanted to "expose the rank and file of the alleged followers of Mahatma Gandhi who are not prepared to adjourn the House even for a few minutes to discuss a matter concerning the country's greatest leader." He should have said he wanted to expose the Mahatma's lieutenants and disciples, among whom was the owner of the Birla House. There is substance in the grouse of Mr. Bagri but the manner in which he sought to give expression to it leaves much to be desir-

ed. He should have obeyed the Chair. If every member were to start behaving like Mr. Bagri the House would always be a pandemonium and little business would be transacted.

There can be a good deal of speculation on why the place of assassination of the "Father of the Nation" has no national memorial on it. In the first place the owner is a very influential person and is or atleast was fond of saying, "I can get anything done." If he does not want to part with his bungalow—and obviously he does not—it would require some nerve on the part of any one to suggest to him to do so. It was rumoured about the time of the assassination that he had been offered a building in exchange or any plot of vacant land he might fancy but he had politely turned down the offer.

Another reason why the place continued to be Birla House was lack of faith in Gandhi's greatness. When one does not really believe what one says about his Master, his lip service is likely to end with the Master. The followers may not, but the leaders know that the Mahatma of their own creation was a myth, created to fool the public into honouring them. Besides, since the assassination Raighat has grown as the place of pilgrimage for all who love mythology and many doubt if another place is needed for the purpose.

Book Review

OPINION: Special Number 1962: Published by the Editor Mr. A. D. Gorwala Pournima, Ridge Road, Bombay 6. Price Rs. 2. Pages 106. May 1962.

Mr. Gorwala is fast becoming an institution by himself with his brave one-man journal *Opinion*. He has brought out this Special Number to mark the completion of the second year of *Opinion's* career of political journalism independent of extraneous vested interests of party or business or personal careerism. The journal is unique in its devotion to the highest standards of administration and national ethics in the buildings of free India. It is refreshingly free from the besetting sin of the "cult of personality" from which our political life suffers so much.

The Special Number is full of contributions breathing patriotism and displaying a well-informed, intelligent outlook on political affairs and well maintains the standard set by the first Special Number 1961. It has articles from Prof. D. R. Gadgil, G. L. Mehta, S. G. Vaze, S. A. Sabavala, D. D. Karve, B. Shiva Rao, S. Natarajan among Indians and from a couple of non-Indian writers with experience of Indian life and affairs like Mr. and Mrs. Zinkin.

A wide range of topics is covered, domestic and foreign, political, economic, educational and literary.

Prof. Gadgil leads the symposium (which the Number is in effect) with a longish discussion on agricultural policies. He supports the official Plan policies of socialisation of agriculture with its twin aspects of officialising all trade in food-grains and of cooperativisation or collectivisation of farming. He ignores the vast and unnecessary sufferings that such socialisation involves and has brought to the countries of the socialist (communist) camp under the pressure of Soviet Russia and soviet doctrine—even where it is voluntarily accepted at the behest of local Reds as in China. This is a matter where it is impossible to agree with the writer and with Mr. Gorwala who (seemingly) as a socialist supports him.

Mr. Zinkin writes of the hopeful aspects of the movement for European unity and the access of strength received by the shedding of empire, contrary to expectation. Mrs. Zinkin writes on the psychological condition of the British Mind after the loss of empire in India and of the inner need to retain its greatness and stature which prompts Britain now to join the European Movement both for economic and political reasons. The motive is spiritual, in the last resort.

Mr. Vera Micheles Dean writes appreciatively of the sober, impartial attitude of the new entrants from Asia and Africa into the U.N.O and counter-acts the pessimistic forebodings entertained about their likely influence hereafter. He pays a tribute to their sense of justice, humanity and self-restraint.

There is a delightful dramatic piece depicting a scene in which Charles II is informed of the exhumation and hanging of the dead bodies of Cromwell and two of his colleagues at Tyburn; And thereby hangs a tale (and moral) regarding the vanity of glory and the impermanence of popularity with mobs.

Mr. Gorwala's editorial commentary contains an incisive analysis of Sri Nehru's shortcomings as an administrator and is a rare corrective in the prevalent obsequious hero-worship.

—M. A. Venkat Rao

Gleanings from the Press

MENON MAKING DEFENCE SERVICE SAFE FOR COMMUNISM

In view of the known political inclinations of the Defence Minister, and his efforts, as is generally believed, to make the defence services safe for the cause of communism, his proposal to purchase Russian fighter planes has aroused perfectly justifiable fears.

It is a great pity, therefore, that the Lok Sabha have dealt with the subject so perversely. Nobody, here or abroad, has questioned India's right as a sovereign state to buy what she likes. People here and abroad have merely questioned

the political wisdom of this proposed purchase, and in doing so they are entirely within their rights. But the Lok Sabha have chosen to regard it as a question of national prestige.

It would not be surprising if the American Senate is provoked by this foolish debate, and exercises its power to forbid further aid to India this year. If it does so, the European members of the "Aid India Club" will probably take the same attitude.

Then Mr. Menon will have strong backing if he proposes to apply to Russia for aid to fill the gap; and though Russia could ill afford it, she might very well take her opportunity and promise, if not give, the necessary amount. Then, it need hardly be said, the repercussions, political and economic, at home and in foreign relations, would be disastrous.

The whole future of aid from the West would be in doubt. The third plan would collapse. For Russia could not provide all the aid required. And Mr. Menon, supported by a wave of patriotic indignation, would have made his position as successor to the Prime Minister secure. Let the Western powers think and act in time.

—Mys-India

News & Views

TIBETAN REBELS BAFFLE CHINESE PEKING PLAGUED BY UPRISINGS

Since March last when Tibetans observed the third anniversary of their revolt against Chinese occupation of their country, Peking has been finding it increasingly difficult to rule the country.

Despite official claims of growing mass support for Peking, the situation in Tibet has become extremely difficult for the Chinese regime.

Contrary to red claims, there is continuous resistance from the population and in recent months there has been an increase in rebel activities. The Chinese are in constant clash with rebel Tibetans and have not always been successful in suppressing them in spite of their superior numbers and equipment.

According to well informed sources, Chinese units have, in fact, suffered heavy casualties. There has been unabated resistance to Chinese rule in the south and southwest, especially in areas adjoining Nepal. At least 40 Chinese soldiers have been killed in guerilla ambushes since January last and many more Chinese have been wounded.

ADMIRAL DECIDES TO GO IN APPEAL SENIORITY SUPERSESSION IN NAVY CHIEF'S APPOINTMENT

NEW DELHI,

Rear-Admiral Chakravarty is understood to have decided to appeal to the President, who is the

Supreme Commander, against his supersession in the appointment of a successor to Vice-Admiral R. D. Katari as Chief of the Naval Staff.

He is believed to have asked the Defence Ministry to forward his representation to the President. Admiral Chakravarty has not accepted the Defence Ministry's contention that his representation is "untenable" on grounds of rules and merit.

In the event of his not getting justice from the President, the Admiral proposes to retire from service on the day Rear-Admiral B. S. Soman takes over as Chief of the Naval Staff.

He has written to the Government, repeating his claim that he is senior to Admiral Soman and that he was always found to be "superior to Rear Admiral Soman" in merit.

He also claims that according to the service rules, the senior-most Rear-Admiral becomes the Vice-Admiral and consequently the Naval Chief.

ENGLISH AGITATION REACHES CLIMAX VIGOROUS MOVE IN GUJARAT AHMEDABAD,

Controversy of teaching English is heading towards a climax in Gujarat. A number of political and social organisations and leading citizens are expressing their opinion either in favour or in opposition to the agitation being planned by Mr. Thakorelal S. Thakore, president of the Secondary School Teachers' Federation.

The Nufan Mahagujarat Parishad, the Gujarat State Communist Party, the Jan Sangh and Lohia Socialists have already announced their decisions to start an agitation in next month.

The P.S.P. though not very active about this problem has also openly supported the popular demand. On the other hand, the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee through its organ, the "Congress Patrika" has started a regular campaign against the general public opinion.

Since the last few weeks, the Patrika has been continuously quoting Gandhiji against increasing usage of English language.

Meanwhile, a spokesman of the English committee, while quoting the Union Home Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri said that even a Hindi-speaking Union Minister had to agree that English was inevitable at least in the near future.

The indications available here suggested that it is believed that the State Government will have to face a powerful agitation when the State Legislative Assembly session will commence sometime next month.

CONGRESS LOSES TO SWATANTRA IN BY-ELECTION AHMEDABAD,

The Congress lost two seats to the Swatantra Party and retained one in the by-election to the three constituencies of the Kaira District Local Board.

The results are as follows:

Umareth constituency — Mr. Ishvarbhai Babubhai Patel (Swatantra) defeated Mr. Babubhai Mathurbhai Parmar (Cong.).

Adas Constituency — Nawab Hamidullah Bismillakhan (Swatantra) prevailed over Mr. Bhailalbhai N. Patel (Cong.).

Nadiad constituency — Mrs. Shardaben Babubhai Patel (Cong.) defeated Mrs. Shantaben Rameshbhai Patel (Swatantra).

AMERICAN STUDY MISSION ATTACKS INDIAN POLICIES

A special study mission of the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs has made a slashing attack on India's international policies.

It reported to Congress, after a round the world survey trip that included India, that "in contrast to their thinking on internal problems, the thinking of Indian leaders on the international scene shows little grasp of realities."

This is the judgment of five members of the Committee who made their 27,000 mile trip in the past three months of 1961, devoting special attention to South-Asian and Far-Eastern countries.

They were Congressmen Pilcher of Georgia, Mr. McDowell of Delaware, Mr. Johnson of Maryland, Mr. Judd of Minnesota, and Mr. Adair of Indiana.

Their mission was to study the impact of U.S. policies and operations of U.S. assistance programmes. Their report, just filed with the Foreign Relations Committee, added in its description of the Indian situation:

"Indian dedication to peace is obscured by the mist of words that usually blanket high altitude pronouncements. At lower levels the air is clearer.

"Instant non-aggression" against Portugal results from the 'oppression' of Goans whose economic level is higher than those who live in adjacent India. Self-determination is an acceptable standard excepting Kashmir with its Moslem majority."

NEUTRALISM

"With all its devotion to democratic institutions, India has been in the forefront of the motley array of leftwing dictators who profess neutralism of the communist variety. The attendance of Prime Minister Nehru at the Belgrade conference did not enhance his stature in the West.

"It is said that he exerted his influence to restrain the more outspoken leftwing neutralist leaders. If this is correct it shows the limited influence he has in neutralist circles. As nearly as one can understand, Indian neutralism is a 'standing apart' attitude based on a fear of a major war.

"In its concern to avoid the latter, it preoccupies itself with a search for 'settlements' of disputes rather than an understanding of the nature of the dispute or the terms of the settlement.

"This approach to world problems avoids the unpleasant task of giving practical application to the moral standards it publicizes. There is little recognition among Indians that India enjoys its non-alignment only because of the strength of the free world from which it is drawing so much of its economic sustenance.

"It may be that Communist China's encroachments on India's northern border will clarify Indian thinking on the quest for 'settlements' at any price."

THE HIGH COST OF KRISHNA MENON IMPACT OF U.S. AID

The paradox of Indian-American relations today is that never has so much radiating brilliance and goodwill of the men on top produced such disappointing results.

Consider the fact that President Kennedy has been a consistent friend of Indian aid, that Mrs. Kennedy was (like all aesthetic high-placed ladies) charmed by Nehru and paid a special visit to India, that the Indian Ambassador in Washington is B. K. Nehru, an able economic expert and diplomat who has long cultivated key Congressmen and that the American Ambassador in New Delhi is J. K. Galbraith, one of the luminaries of the close constellation around the President, chosen for the post because he is an expert on developing economies, and because his liberalism, wit and literary grace promised a rapport with a Prime Minister who prides himself on all three.

Yet the sequel has proved disastrous, as witness the successive votes by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The first, sparked by Sen. Symington, first, was to cut the proposed aid to India by 25 per cent. This has now been replaced by a second vote, limiting it to the current year's level of \$727,000,000. This means a cut of \$90,000,000, which is sad enough, while the first action would have meant a loss of over \$200,000,000.

Sen. Fulbright, the Committee Chairman, attributes the cuts primarily to the baleful impact of the Indian Defence Minister. Some day a graduate student in world politics may write a study on the economic consequences of Krishna Menon.

Popular Opinion

The point is, of course that high policies are not always decided on high grounds by Chiefs of

State, Ambassadors and economic experts. Far below the stars there is also a stream of popular opinion—usually sluggish and slow to be moved but torrential and destructive when aroused.

The Goa policy, the Kashmir policy, the proposed purchase of MIGs by India from the Soviet bloc—these are all associated with Menon and his influence over Nehru. The Foreign Relations Committee is not a collection of primitives and dunderheads. What Menon stands for in the Nehru Government proved in the end too much for this cross-section of the senatorial mind.

It would be a delicate matter for Ambassador Galbraith to raise with Nehru the issue of the high cost of Krishna Menon. Nehru may well say that the composition of his Government and its policies are of no concern to the Senate Committee and to the American people, and that to make the fact or extent of aid depend upon ingratiating personalities and harmony of policy would be humiliating to a Sovereign Government.

Prudent View

This would be a correct but not a prudent view. Unless Menon is a political Svengali, with power to hold Nehru in thrall, his continued domination of Indian policy must mean either that Nehru whole-heartedly agrees with him, or that he has become a highly charged affirmation symbol to the Russians and the Afro-Asian bloc, both of whom have a high stake in his continuance in power.

Menon told me once, as he has told others that India must rely on its own munitions, since to buy them from either of the Great Powers means to be subject to their technicians and control; yet this same Menon now is negotiating for MIGs from Russia. His recent accusation that the U.S. wants to see the Chinese and the Indians fight it out on the battle-field is, aside from its political implications, a masterpiece of illogic. Why should America spend three-quarters of a billion a year to strengthen an economy and society, in order to see both destroyed on the battle-field? It is hard to blame the Senators for wondering why, in a policy of non-alignment, the Indian representatives reserve all the slaps for America.

None of this should affect the basic fact that India, even with Menon is of crucial importance to the free world future. But the political animal is notoriously not a creature of pure reason, any more than Menon is.

—Max Lerner in "Indian Express"

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