

# Indian Libertarian

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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY  
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MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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## EDITORIAL

### MR. NEHRU'S 'HOTCH-POTCH' GOVERNMENT

The composition of Nehru's New Cabinet must have shattered the fond hopes of the so called Leftists, engendered by the pyrric victory of Krishna Menon in Bombay North, that Mr. Nehru would add a deeper red hue to his new governmental set-up. But keen political observers had already surmised from the trend of Nehru's post-election speeches particularly the one at F.I.C.C.I. meeting at Delhi that his high socialistic election fever had considerably come-down and he had come to have a more realistic appraisal of the present political and economic situation in India. Evidently he has no longer the Messianic fervour for the Socialistic panacea for ending the colossal poverty of the Indian masses. Perhaps the news of our neighbour, the Communist China's debacle on the industrial and agricultural fronts, which has been featured in bold headlines in all journals and news-papers, must have had a sobering effect on his run-away Leftist enthusiasm. One would not therefore be very far from being right in concluding that this cautious mood that has over-taken Mr. Nehru, to a large extent has moulded his policy in regard to his Cabinet-making.

The Cabinet team that Mr. Nehru has selected for himself consists of not more than three or four members who including Mr. Nehru could be described as Leftists. Many of the rest of the seventeen-member Cabinet are Rightists who only pay lip-service to socialism when they think it necessary to curry favour with Mr. Nehru and who also at the same time protest too much to the outside world about India having been never committed to socialism, as Mr. Morarji Desai, our Finance Minister did, during the tour in America, undertaken by him last year to explore the possibilities of getting more financial aid from that country.

Mr. Nehru's Cabinet making must have been influenced by another factor. The emergence of the Swatantra Party as the real Opposition to the Congress with a clear-cut ideology of Liberalism and a practical approach to domestic and foreign problems facing the country, must have set Mr. Nehru thinking furiously about the possible effects of overcrowding the Cabinet with Leftists. He is fully aware of the fact that people slowly but surely will veer round to Swatantra out of sheer disgust and disappointment that is sure to befall their lot, if such a Leftist Cabinet when formed should think of vigorously implementing its Socialist policies.

It is also wellknown that Mr. Nehru loves power and authority at least as much as, if not more, than anybody else, in the Congress top-leadership. It was therefore to be expected that he would never allow the balance of power to be tilted too much in favour of the Right or the Left in the new Government as long as he remained at the helm of affairs. In the present socio-economic conditions of India ultra-leftism or ultr-rightism, as Mr. Nehru, seems to have realised though belatedly, would not simply work. Mr. Nehru, a shrewd power-seeking politician that he is, had therefore no other alternative but to appoint and continue practically the same old team of Ministers for the next term of five years.

The new Cabinet is thus a house divided against itself with these two groups the Ginger group and the Rightists implacably ranged against each other. The Manubhai Shah episode brings out vividly the Hotch-Potch nature of this Government, the members of which have nothing in common except the all-consuming desire to install themselves in the saddle of power and authority under the protecting wings of Prime Minister Nehru who is curiously enough a Conservative among the 'Leftists' and Leftist among the Conservatives.

It would therefore be too much to hope from this new Government any dynamic and inspiring policy towards the China problem or any constructive and bold approach to the Kashmir pro-

blem. The need of foreign financial aid particularly from America, to the Third Five-Year Plan and the Swatantra's vigorous opposition to the utopian socialist programme of the Government under the leadership of C.R. in some measure, may slow down the process of the country being rushed headlong towards Socialist chaos and disaster. But it would be futile to look forward to any basically same and sound policies issuing forth from this Government, that would enhance the prestige of India abroad or transform India into an economically stable and progressive country and politically and socially a well-knit and integrated nation.

King Mahendra's Talks with the Prime Minister.

As we go the Press the news has arrived of friendly talks going on at Delhi between King Mehendra of Nepal and our Prime Minister Nehru. As President Rajendra Prasad said in his welcome speech on the arrival of King Mahendra at Delhi, the common basic interests of both these countries tied together by age-old links, historical, geographical and cultural, are almost identical and therefore temporary differences of opinion now prevailing between them should not be allowed to come in the way of further strengthening and confirming these common bonds.

King Mahendra's chief allegation against the Indian Government seems to be that the latter is directly or indirectly encouraging irresponsible Nepalese Congress elements to carry on India-based terrorist activities against the present regime and this amounts to interference on the part of India in the internal affairs of the country. The recent outrageous attempt on the King's life by the Nepali Congressmen has not unnaturally aroused indignation and resentment throughout Nepal against these 'wild' men and also against certain Indian groups who are supposed to be their sympathisers. If the attempt had succeeded, neither India nor Nepal would have been thrown into a political chaos of the worst order which the Chinese army would have exploited to the full for vigorously implementing its policies of expansionism all along the Himalayan borders. It will be therefore well for India not to say or do anything that might be misinterpreted by the Nepal's Government as a deliberate attempt on her part to abet such outrages, though perpetrated in the name of Democracy. It must be remembered that in the context of Chinese hordes almost spread all along India's Northern border as that of Nepal and of the internal uncertain political situation in Nepal, King Mahendra's stewardship of Nepal would undoubtedly prove more helpful to India than the Nepal's so called 'popular' leaders divided as ever by factional loyalties and group conflicts and not

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quite unwilling to pay China and India against each other.

It must be unequivocally conceded that the form of Government that Nepal should have is the sole concern of the Nepalese, and their King, and therefore Our democratic notions and predilections should not therefore make us oblivious of the realities of the Nepali situation which call for strengthening the hands of the Nepali King and winning him over to the Indian side.

It is to be hoped that Prime Minister Nehru will be able to impress upon King Mahendra the dangerous implications and consequences of such dubious policies towards China, and succeed in ironing out the unfortunate differences that have cropped up between India and Nepal.

#### Dr. Vishwesharayya.

The sad demise of Dr. M. Vishwesharayya on 14th April, 1962 at Bangalore marks the end of an era of a many-sided patriotic career in the cause of India's planned industrial development and economic progress. Born in September 1861 as a college student, Dr. Vishwesharayya exhibited a remarkable engineering talent and secured the first place among the successful candidates in the Engineering Examination of the Bombay University in 1883. Immediately thereafter in 1884 he started his career as an Assistant Engineer in the Bombay Public Works Department. In that capacity he carried out a large number of irrigation schemes and rapidly rose to the position of Superintending Engineer and Sanitary Engineer to the Bombay Government. While in service at Bombay, he introduced what has now come to be called the Block System of irrigation to ensure the use of canal water by the cultivator on long leases. In May 1908 he retired from the service of the Bombay Government at his own request. Thereafter on his return from his wide travels in Europe, Japan and America in 1909 he took up the appointment of a Consulting Engineer to the Government of Hyderabad. Here he succeeded in designing flood protection and underground works on the banks of Musa river.

Hearing about his engineering talents the Mysore Maharaja called upon him to serve his own native State of Mysore and gave him the fullest scope to plan the industrial and educational development of Mysore. The Dam across the Kavery River known as the Krishnaraj-sagaram Dam stands as a monument to his perpetual memory in Mysore. His rise in the State was meteoric. He held the post of the Diwan of Mysore for about seven years from 1912 to 1919 and during this tenure of office Dr. Vishwesharayya brought into existence the University of Mysore, the Iron and Steel Works at Bhadravati, a village improvement scheme and a systematic economic investigation and planning for districts. After his

retirement from Mysore service, his services were, off and on, requisitioned by one Government or other in India or the Princely States.

Thus Dr. Vishwesharayya's life and career were richly fruitful and helpful to the country. He was the first to father the idea of Planned Industrialisation of India and building up heavy industries. His mind was always occupied with the thoughts of how best India could forge ahead industrially and towards this end he toiled unremittingly to the last day of his life. And happily he lived to see his dreams fulfilled.

It was in the fitness of things that the President of India conferred upon this great patriot and public servant of India in 1955 the title of "BHARAT RATNA", the highest award of Free India. His life so unique in its length and multifarious patriotic services to the country will always serve as a beacon-light and as a shining example to his countrymen for generations to come.

#### HERE & THERE

President Ayub Khan has called on students not to be misled by disgruntled politicians and also 'Not to hesitate in humiliating these politicians.' In East Pakistan seven political leaders had issued a statement asking Government to release all political detainees in the country and students arrested in connection with a demonstration during the last few weeks. They had also criticised the restrictive franchise under the new Constitution. The Pakistan President must evidently taken his cue from the way in which Mr. Nehru and his party-men have been humiliating in India ex-Congress veterans like G.R. for fighting with their backs to the wall, a battle to save democracy in India, from Congress One-party rule.

Welcoming the new members to the Rajya Sabha, Dr. Radhakrishnan advised them in the words of Narada smriti "To subordinate material comforts and security to truth and welfare of the country, if there is contradiction between Artha and Dharma'. But our permit-licence-Raj has cleverly bypassed this contradiction by harmoniously combining Artha (money) with Kama (Personal Pleasures and Comforts). Poor Dharma (Truth and Duty) has become only the back-bencher.

#### A NEWS ITEM

"A tanker plane fitted out as an air-borne command post which could stay aloft for days together by refueling in the air, for President Kennedy and his top Government leaders in the event of a surprise nuclear attack, is standing by at all times at air-field near Washington." So instead of the rule of the Gods from above, this blessed Earth will soon have the rule of Supermen from the Heavens.

# The Trojan Horse

M. A. Venkata Rao

**U**NABLE to breach the walls of Troy even after ten long years of uninterrupted siege, the Greek heroes thought of a stratagem. They got a huge wooden horse made, so huge that its inside could hold some ten heroes comfortably. Ten of the bravest heroes got into it and the rest of the vast hordes of Greeks sailed away ostensibly for home and for good.

The Citizens of Troy came out and rejoined at the flight, (as they thought) of their redoubtable enemies and dragged the wooden horse in glee and triumph into the city and slept soundly that night.

In the dead of night the heroes in the belly of the horse came out stealthily and opened the gates into which poured their armies that had returned to the walls after nightfall! In the attack that followed, the Greeks were victorious — needless to say.

This is the role that the communist parties working in the ninety countries in which they have entrenched themselves with more or less success since the Russian Revolution of 1917 seek to play! They have become more influential in most countries after the Allied victory over the Nazis and Fascists in 1945 and Japan in 1946.

In many countries they have become a menace to national security and are functioning like the fifth column of an enemy power that is supporting them in diplomacy and with funds and counsel day in, day out.

The Communist party in India too is not an indigenous movement expressing genuine and spontaneous popular aspirations for a better life under a democratic set-up after independence like the PSP or Swatantra parties.

It was actually founded by Mr. M. N. Roy about 1920 from Moscow. He was sojourning in Germany during the war and got into touch with Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks after their success. He was counted as an authority on India with them. He helped to run a school to train revolutionaries in Tashkent for Lenin which was financed by the Russian and their Comintern. He was taken into their executive — the executive of the Communist International (The Third International) whose primary aim was to foment world revolution through setting up and guiding and feeding indigenous communist parties, in all countries.

About a hundred persons from Asian countries are said to have attended Mr. Roy's revolutionary class at Tashkent some of whom were Indian Muslims like Usmani who were discon-

tented with the war against the Khalifa and Sultan of Turkey waged by the British in the German war.

In the course of ten years and more, the Indian communist party took shape and took root in the soil. All the time it was financed by and guided by the Russian communists through Indian agents like Mr. M. N. Roy and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya.

They strengthened themselves through infiltrating into the Indian National Congress of Gandhi and Nehru. They joined the Congress Socialist Party of Jayaprakash Narayan and got into the executive of the Congress Socialist party and into the AICC. They began to dominate national policies in these organisations. They influenced Pandit Nehru. They started, the All India Trade Union Congress and the Peasants' and Workers' Party under the inspiration and guidance of Philip Spratt and Ben Bradley, two British emissaries of the British Communist Party.

During the first stage of the war of 1939-46, when Russia was not yet involved, they condemned the Allies — Britain, France and America as imperialists. They called the war one of imperialism for the sake of expansion of territory and power.

They called for boycott of the war effort. They sided with the National Congress leaders in condemning the British action of declaring India's participation in the war without consulting Indian opinion. They posed as Indian patriots.

But Hitler attacked Russia suddenly treating the Ribbentrop Treaty as a scrap of paper. Instantly the imperialist war was transformed into a People's war and Indian communists under orders from Moscow called upon the Indian people to co-operate with the British imperialist rulers in the War effort to destroy Hitler and the Fascists!

This sharp reversal of policy and loyalties of the communist party leaders in India at the behest of a foreign power disillusioned the Indian people and created a revulsion of feeling against them.

But they have been staging a come-back in popular affections at last with the poorest working classes aided by the respect and consideration shown to them by the Prime Minister.

In 1948 January-February an International Youth Conference was held in Calcutta under foreign auspices. It was resolved therein (in

obedience to directions from Moscow what is called Zhdanow Line) to start guerilla wars in the recently freed countries of Asia—India, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Philippines. Some Russians were actually present at this conference. The sequel was the Telengana guerilla war (in Hyderabad) that took more than two years and ten thousand armed forces to quench. Meanwhile the communists under Rajeswara Rao and others had established ascendancy over a large area of the Nizam's territories adjacent to Andhra province and had killed around 2000 poor villagers and landlords and others in the process according to an official report!

The new Constitution was passed in 1950 and the first general elections approached in 1951. The open, violent and bloody war had failed and the communists were on the run and were demoralised. Then the Prime Minister went to their rescue. Vinoba Bhave visited the communist leaders in jail and took an assurance from them that they had abandoned their violence and were resolved henceforth to be good democrats! This was enough for the Nehru Government which forthwith released all the criminals still in jail and permitted them to function as normal, innocent, nonviolent, democratic political parties committed to the ballot box; solemnly eschewing the weapon of the bullet!

The Government assumed without examination that the inner conversion professed by communist leaders who changed their tactics in order to enter parliament was deep and genuine and permanent!

This was because the Prime Minister was brought up in the belief that communism as a doctrine and plan of social revolution was good and beneficent—only its violent method in Russia being wicked. In India he was resolved to achieve communism or socialist pattern of society through democratic means.

This assumption is the greatest danger to national independence today—especially after the decisive victory of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in North Bombay in the Elections last February. The country should be informed of the true nature of communism and of the communist parties that take their inspiration from and are under the financial and overall political control of the Russian Communist Party—in actual effect, under the control of the Russian Government.

The fact is that international communism is guided by the Russian communist party which dominates all the national parties which are members of the "communist international" or "communist information" or world revolutionary body.

The policies dictated to national parties by the world executive are those that are in accordance with the interests of Russian Foreign Policy.

When Khrushchev denounced Stalin in the 20th Soviet Party Congress in 1956, Indians like Mr. Ajoy Ghosh were present. They returned to India and defended the new line faithfully and executed the somersault required of them without any qualms of conscience for the volte face they had to perform! Today, they listen carefully to authoritative voices from Moscow and Peking in order to clarify their attitudes to Indian problems such as the invasion of China into our Northern borders! They dare not call it aggression! Their loyalty is mortgaged to Moscow and Peking. They accordingly stifle their Indian patriotism and loyalty, if they have any.

— "The victory of socialism in one country is not a self-sufficient task. . . . It is an aid, a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries.

. . . . It is the first stage of the world revolution and a mighty base for its further evolution."

(Stalin)

Stalin quoted from Lenin:—

. . . . "We are living not merely in a State but in a system of States and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with Imperialist States for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of "frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois States is inevitable. That means, that if the ruling class, the proletariat wants to hold sway, it must prove its capacity to do so by military organisation also."

(Lenin)

That communist parties of the kind we have in India were first organised by Russian authorities is proved by the following Statute of the first International Congress held in Moscow in 1920:—

. . . . "The new International Association of Workers is established for the purpose of organising the common activity of the workers of the various countries who are striving for a single Aim: the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the International Soviet Republic, for the complete abolition of classes and the realisation of socialism—this first step to Communist society."

. . . . In 1924, Stalin vowed before the dead Lenin—"We vow to you Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and extend the union of the working people of the whole world—the Communist International."

International communism is therefore a regular conspiracy to subvert national governments in non-communist States.

# Our National Language

By M. N. THOLAL

R. K. N. KATJU, who recently hit the headlines by his failure to secure the seat he contested in the general election, has for long been a supporter of the claim of Sanskrit to be the national language of India. Not long ago he was in the habit of carrying with him, like a passport, a few words in the handwriting of Jawaharlal Nehru affirming that Sanskrit is easy to learn.

*(Continued from page 5)*

It maintains national communist parties both above ground in the guise of open "democratic" parties and underground as illegal conspiratorial groups bound by an iron discipline to their Russian masters!

The Prime Minister during the North Bombay elections and Smt. Indira Gandhi some time before, declared to suit their own purpose, that Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon is not a Communist in the full sense of being a member of the CPI under the rose and that he is only an innocent, democratic (that is, one wedded irrevocably to non-violence) socialist. Now this is a question for Mr. Krishna Menon to answer himself. He cannot deputise others to function as his conscience keepers. When roundly asked by a journalist some time ago, Mr. Menon evaded the question and said that his political faith should be of no concern to others'.

We cannot accept this evasion as the last word. We have heard from knowledgeable sources that Mr. Menon was a member of the British Communist Party Executive for several years. That means he was a card holding member pledged to Moscow in his deepest loyalty as the socialist Fatherland. He is reliably reputed to be aiming at the communist goal of a "Government of National Unity" which means in communist parlance a government with communist ministers holding important portfolios like defence and police and radio. If Sri Nehru is persuaded to include communists in his cabinet and to give them home and radio ministries, the tactics of subversion from above will be combined with subversion from below as in Czechoslovakia and Hungary and India will be sucked into the Russian empire before our wishy-washy, nambor-pamby, milk and water, shallow liberals know what is happening!

Those who know should dedicate themselves coming months and years to prevent such a catastrophe.

Delivering the Convocatoin Address of the Sanskrit Vishwa Vidyalaya at Benares on April 6, he said that the study of Sanskrit was of paramount importance in strengthening the bonds of unity and promoting cultural and emotional integration. It would be interesting to know from Dr. Katju how strong the bonds of unity were in India when Sanskrit was studied to the exclusion of all other languages, if only for the reason that the latter were non-existent. He did not cite any example from the pages of Indian history to prove his contention, and historians, it is well-known, hold the contrary opinion. However, knowing as we all do, the irresistibility of the appeal of the absurd proposition for the Hindu mind, it should be taken for granted that the credentials of acceptability he is now offering will secure for him the seat he is now contesting in the by-election in Madhya Pradesh.

## A Reactionary Desire

It is true, as Dr. Katju said, that "all our religious thought and literature is embodied in Sanskrit and today the key to our ancient mode of thought lies in the knowledge of Sanskrit." But that only shows that knowledge of the ancient language is necessary for research scholars. That knowledge is certainly not necessary to enable our people to require great knowledge about Buddhism, as he claimed it was, even though it is conceded that a greater knowledge of Buddhism will promote contacts between India and the other Asian countries. There are numerous books on Buddhism in English, and they far outnumber books on Buddhism in any other language. Even for greater knowledge about Buddhism we have to turn to the English language.

One reason why Sanskrit alone can occupy the place of national language, according to Dr. Katju, is that it is known all over India and a vast majority use it in their homes for religious purposes. I can also, like most people, recite the Gayatri mantra (without understanding a word of it, again like most people) but I was not aware that, therefore, I can claim to know Sanskrit or to be a Sanskrit scholar. Using the Sanskrit language for religious purposes, without understanding it, does not prove that the language is known all over India, any more than the proposition that Arabic is understood by India's sixty million Muslims because they recite their Kalma or their prayers in the Arabic language.

Nor is it necessary, as Dr. Katju argued, that we should cherish and treasure our ancient culture and traditions in order that their achievements in the realm of thought may be maintained. If our ancient culture and traditions show, as they do, that there was a time when we were the vanguard of civilisation, we can be proud of the fact. But that does not mean that in order to cling to them — that is what 'cherish' means — we should foster and nurse in our hearts our ancient culture and traditions, which have in the meantime, at any rate in some respects, been out-ture and traditions, which have in the meantime, out-distanced by others' cultures and traditions. It is to be hoped that Dr. Katju is not among those fanatics who believe that outdistancing is not possible.

Dr. Katju does not seem to be aware that he is being reactionary in his outlook by forgetting the need of composite culture — which, by the way, can stand for many types of culture, in which the percentages of eastern and western, Hindu and Muslim, etc. etc., differ widely, but which alone can make for unity (amid diversity) in the land. The desire to cherish our ancient culture and traditions is, to put it bluntly, a reactionary desire, and not the less reactionary because it is being given expression to by a Congressman, instead of a Jana Sanghi or a Hindu.

#### Sabhaite Known All Over The Country

Dr. Katju must be aware of the common belief among Hindus, during the last World War, that the Germans owed their technological advance to their knowledge of Sanskrit which contains all the secrets and all the discoveries the human mind has uncovered or made, or will ever uncover or make. He should also be aware of a similar belief among Muslims that the Germans owed all their scientific advance to their knowledge of the Arabic language, in which God Almighty chose to disclose his mind to humanity through the Prophet Mohammad. These two dissimilar beliefs did not start rioting — otherwise they would have been better known — because rioting was frowned upon by the British Government during the world War as it tended to interfere with India's contribution to the Allied cause. But if Dr. Katju thinks he is making a plea for unity and promoting cultural and emotional integration by pleading the cause of Sanskrit for the place of the country's national language, he should know that he is doing nothing of the kind. Indeed, he is doing exactly the opposite and that too by indulging in a process of reasoning which cannot be called logical or even straightforward. When Dr. Katju says Sanskrit is known all over the country, he means to imply that it is understood all over the country, which is not a fact. What else can he mean by saying it is known all over the country? It would have been truer to say that it is known

nowhere in the country. If a dozen in Delhi know or understand Sanskrit, it does not mean that the language is known or understood in Delhi.

The use of doubtful language suggests that Dr. Katju knows that his cause is weak. Neither does the fact of a vast majority using it in their homes for religious purposes convey anything except that the vast majority prefer to conduct their religious functions in a language they do not understand. It only means that they do not understand religious functions and have made a meaningless consideration it necessary to understand their religious functions. And what of the vast minority which uses Arabic for their religious purposes? Is then Arabic to be an associate national language of the land now known as Bharat? In any case, there will be advocates for Arabic and the cleavage will be on communal lines, making for disunity and perhaps another cry for a separate homeland. And the advocates of Arabic will be able to say that no Sanskrit lover has ever advanced the claim that God chose that language to reveal His Mind to Mankind.

#### Playing To The Gallery

Belonging as he does to UP, Dr. Katju must be aware of the part played by Hindi in antagonising the Muslim mind. These are issues which should be left untouched by Nationalists. There was the use of the phrase "Vidya Mandir" by Mahatama Gandhi which sent a dagger through the Muslim heart and he had to change it to "Nayee Taalim" to appease the Muslims. No harm would have been done by coining a phrase in English for the new type of education Gandhiji had in mind. His acceptance and use of the phrase "Vidya Mandir" made many like me think that either he was in the habit of ignoring the existence of Muslims or did not know their psychology. In politics, particularly in a subject country where the need for unity is paramount, leaders have to shun the controversial, particularly the type of controversy which is likely to develop along communal or religious lines. But the desire to play to the gallery proves too strong for our leaders and they go all out for it for the sake of achieving personal popularity at the cost of the country.

Even Gandhiji forgot that the English language was a cementing bond—strange in a man who professed to love the English people. One day he took it into his head to address Jinnah as '(Shri' Jinnah and, as any sensible man could have foreseen, Jinnah resented it and asked Gandhiji to address him as "Mr. Jinnah". Like the obstinate man that he was, Gandhiji refused to oblige. He consulted a Muslim woman in his Ashram for a substitute for the word "Mister". She sug-



yested "Janab" and Gandhi accordingly wrote to "Janab Jinnah". "Are you trying to make fun of me?" asked Jinnah, again demanding that he be addressed as plain Mister. Gandhi again consulted the Muslim female in the Ashram. This time she suggested "(Quaid-e-Azam" (great leader) and Gandhi then wrote to Quid-e-Azam Jinnah. Jinnah gave up Gandhi as hopeless and "incorrigible" but the Muslims of India, specially the Muslim Leaguers, found the phrase they had been searching for to pit against the "Mahatma" of Gandhi, and Jinnah was henceforth referred to as "Quaid-e-Azam" Jinnah. Any ignoramus could have told Gandhi that "Shri" would be resented by the League leader.

I have never been able to understand what harm "Mr." was doing to the national cause, and I have often wondered why it was sought to be replaced even when the letter was in the English language. Had Gandhi been writing to Jinnah in Hindi. "Shri" would not have been inappropriate. If he had been writing to him in Urdu, "Janab" would not have been inappropriate. But in a letter in English, "Mr."—apart from Jinnah's love of it which made him refuse an earldom—was just the word, since "Esquire" after the name is now considered obsolete. To an unbiassed mind in love neither with Hindi nor with Urdu, the substitution of the word "Shri" betrayed a cloven foot. It certainly did to Muslim minds, the extremists among them even suggesting that the Mahatma was out to convert them to Hinduism, Shrimanji being only the beginning!

I am only trying to show negatively how the English language is the cementing bond and how we have suffered by our failure to realise the fact. I have often wondered why Gandhiji of all people committed such blunders. The answer always has been: because of the desire to play to the gallery and the philosophy of claptrap, which made him play to the Muslim gallery sometimes and at others to the Hindu gallery. He was always playing on the heartstrings of the people, as Mr. Nehru says in his Autobiography; apparently to make them shout "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai". Sometimes in his zeal he overdid this. The majority of the people being Hindus, the play had to be mostly on Hindu sentiments and the result was dismay among the Muslims. One cannot exploit Hindu sentiments without causing reaction of the worst sort among non-Hindus. That was the nation's undoing and that brought Pakistan into being.

When Dr. Katju says all our religious thought and literature is embodied in Sanskrit, he clean forgets India's sixty million Muslims, to say nothing of the smaller minorities. That a man of his standing in the Congress should for-

get the minorities altogether when suggesting something of first-rate national importance only shows the way we are inclined to think. It is not necessary always to have a Muslim on one's right hand and a Christian on one's left, to be able to think nationally, but an intimate acquaintance with Muslims and Christians and Sikhs, etc., is certainly necessary to evolve a national mind, which most of us quite frankly do not possess. And it is a national mind that is required, first and foremost to decide what our national language should be. That is a proposition which should be self-evident, but which does not appear to be so for the vast majority of our leaders. Only the self-evident does not appear to be quite evident in this country. Everything else appears to be quite evident to leaders of most parties in the land. I believe this is "ancient mode of thought" to which Dr. Katju referred in his address to the Sanskrit Vishwa Vidyaya at Benares.

#### HOW FREEDOM IS UNDERSTOOD EVEN IN LIBERALISED COMMUNIST STATE

HOW little difference of opinion is tolerated even in a so-called liberalised Communist state is clear from the Yugoslav government's re-arrest of Milovan Djilas. What has been his crime now? Conspiracy against the state? No. Trying to overthrow the dictator, Tito? No. Acting to the detriment of Yugoslavia and its people in any way? No. All Djilas did was to write a book "Talks with Stalin". He knew it could not be published in Yugoslavia and so he sent it to a publisher abroad. Whereupon, early one morning he was woken up, his house was searched, his papers were seized, and he was imprisoned.

Djilas is supposed to have said about Stalin that while "from the point of view of human freedom, history knows no more total, more brutal, more cynical despot", yet "in the history of Communism, Stalin, together with Lenin, is its most grandiose figure". This perhaps Tito would have put up with. But Djilas went on to remark that critics like Khrushchev cannot condemn Stalinism without condemning Communism. "In many ways they are continuing his work and carry the same qualities within themselves." Anathema to Tito, and so away with Djilas to the dungeons! Thus is life conducted and freedom understood in what is claimed to be the most advanced and liberal, the least chauvinistic and suspicion-ridden, of Communist states.

—Opinion



# Party Integration

By H. B. Isaac

**I**F IT is any imminent insecurity that has raised the problem of national integration so many years after independence, it is high time that integration of parties also received equal attention. Even in Malaya which became free in 1957 an inter-racial integration, of three races or communities, is functioning smoothly and efficiently. Therefore instead of the contemplated owlry of communal bodies, despite article 15, I would propose an A.P.N.P. democracy — call it by whatever other name you like — which would be a national integration of parties. Any organisation or party, great or small bound and held together by any community of purpose, religious political or any other, is a communal body

J.P.N. has been advocating a party-less democracy for some years now. About five years ago, the then K.P.C.C. Secretary happened to ask me to join his party. I wrote back, if he would undertake to support any party that is right and oppose any that is wrong, should that be even his own. That would be the gist of the A.P.N.P. idea. But he did not reply. That is what is wrong with us. The moment we align with a party, we lose our individuality. No longer are we human, each a new idea of God, but mere automatons with a mechanical brain, the be-all and end-all of which is to work out how best we can perpetuate ourselves in power and office. Whatever, therefore, we plan for the nation is with that end in view, nothing else!

The bull's eye of our target is the welfare of the nation not of individuals and their relatives or of parties. "Democracy becomes meaningless if it fails to satisfy the primary needs of the common man". If so, ours is no democracy. So, off we leave the beaten track, out of the unproductive rut of the past, which has led us nowhere, to adventure forth along untrodden ways. In a letter on Panchayat Raj, published in a Bombay Journal, I had advocated that training should be imparted to Panchayat folks in a correct "All-party no-party" attitude right from the very beginning—because Panchayats are "out of bounds" to political parties—to enable them to function on partyless lines. Whether parties will keep out is yet to be seen.

According to the A.P.N.P. scheme the constitutencies choose their best for the legislatures, without outside interference or pressure. That would certainly be better than getting someone elected with vote bought, or 'stuffed' ballot boxes. I had done it elsewhere, where there were three candidates in the field and I happened to be the unanimously elected Chairman of the

Conciliation Court there. I got two of them to withdraw in favour of the other who was the oldest of the three. But he had solemnly promised me not to contest the next election. It was a success. What a lot of waste, hostility, licking among camp followers etc., were avoided thereby! It is certainly not impossible here if you and I are truly democratic. But not if we are power mad and office-crazy. It could be applied to Municipal and Panchayat elections equally effectively.

In real democracy, politics is not resorted to as a permanent career. You serve your turn and step out. The next man steps in to serve his turn. It is a right, a responsibility, a privilege, for everyone to share, one after another. It is the careerist that corrupts. He clings to power and office like a limpet or a blood sucking leech, because he has something to gain for himself by c'inging like his slimy counterpart. The leech drops off when it has had its fill! But the professional is never satisfied. He doesn't realise that the next man, though unknown, may be a thousand times better than he was or is.

"I do not believe in political parties. I fully believe they are necessary, but not necessary enough to stick blindly to one, if I know there are better men in another party". That was what a party leader told a partyless leader, when promising his support to the latter, who was elected President of the Philippines by an overwhelming majority. That is how the A.P.N.P. idea triumphs!

The President, the Vice-President and the P.M. are elected by the aggregate vote of all the parties of all the legislatures in the land, and the Chief Ministers by all the parties in the respective State legislatures. We would rather not imitate other "democracies" in these matters, on which we have our sovereign right to differ.

Our President must not be permitted to be a mere figure head, just to sign along the dotted line, an anachronism for Rs. 10,000 per month, in the 1960's, which is no honour either to him or to us. In a set-up where disciplinary action is let loose on members who vote according to their convictions, where a dominating personality simply crows down opposition within the party by his mere presence, where party allegiance is enforced by promise of party ticket, nominations deposit, party funds and party support for the next elections, as rewards for good conduct, even an overwhelming party majority is not righteously valid, if the entire opposition is against it and the country affected by the measure registers

vigorous protests. On such occasions the President must be an effective check on the Government, on behalf of the people and the opposition, who elected him.

Their cabinet colleagues are chosen by the P.M. and the C.Ms! from panels elected by the various parties, according to their quotas in proportion to their strength in the legislatures. The question of having to compromise with dissident power groups within parties will not thus arise. One word of caution! Any party that owes allegiance to any outside power or organisation must have no share in this A.P.N.P. scheme, because it has no undivided loyalty to the nation.

As soon as the Cabinet is formed it constitutes the A.P.N.P. Government and the rest of the legislature becomes the A.P.N.P. national opposition. The function of the latter is not to wreck the Government, but to support it whenever it is in the right, correct it whenever it is about to make mistake, advise it whenever it is in a dilemma regarding the immediate and urgent needs of the people and the country, oppose it whenever it is in the wrong, help it to carry on to the end of its allotted term, but get it dismissed by the President, if its continuance any longer is detrimental to national welfare.

Democracy, according to articles 14 to 16, guarantees equal rights, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities to all alike, without any discrimination whatever. To perpetuate oneself in power and office, by fair means or foul, without permitting equal chances to the others in the waiting list, is therefore unconstitutional. The next one may be better than the best to date. It is the challenge of the times that discovers the man of the moment.

Even Sanjeeva Reddi's liberal "Ten year rule" did not meet with any cordial response from certain quarters, as most expected, except significant silence. The implied, "After me, the deluge", is an effective re-election tactic, under existing circumstances — but mere bunkum — to intimidate abject hero-worshippers and lean hungry sycophants, who stand to gain or lose thereby.

Therefore every one in power or office, from President to MLAs must vacate office at the end of their term. How else could equal rights, equal opportunities, equal responsibilities etc. be transferred to the nexts in the queues, unless the incumbents make way for them? To deprive them of their exercise of equal rights, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities, to which they are entitled, by prevarications of any kind, is also unconstitutional and immoral.

The leader of the opposition, also elected, functions like the foreman of a Jury. But he shall not be the opposition whip. In the A. P. N. P.

democracy, one may belong to any party, but he does not have to obey the party whip against the dictates of his conscience. It is fantastic indeed, that when "Democracy" in our constitution guarantees freedom of thought and expression to every one, without discrimination, a party member is not free today to act according to his honest convictions, even in Panchsheel India!

That detachment from attachments which Shri Krishna inculcated on Arjuna on the battlefield of Kurukshetra, must never be forgotten in the land where Sri Krishna's name is chanted by many crores every day. Nepotism and favouritism which flourishes in some western capitals must not be permitted to rear their ugly hydra heads anywhere in India under the A.P.N.P. scheme. Chanakya's Panchayat Raj, according to our P.M., strictly and sternly prohibited them.

President Magsaysay would not have any of his relatives, near or distant, in any office under him or on any committee or board, drawing Government salary or allowance. He was "Too cruel to his relatives". That is what is said about him. "His friends wished they were his enemies to be considered for appointment and preferences".

In a Government of the people by the people for the people, the representatives are responsible to the people, in the sense that in all matters of paramount importance, the legislators obtain their mandate from their electorates and vote accordingly, instead of permitting petty "deals" and personal loyalties to swerve them from their devotion to their constituencies. The elective principle, and not the usual nomination habit, must be adhered to, to form special boards and Committees, as in the choice of Cabinet Ministers from elected panels. The boards and committees must be responsible to the legislatures.

The A.P.N.P. idea is not an original idea. It is an idea latent in every right thinking man. But through considerations of expediency and convenience it is not generally practised. George Washington said, "If parties exist we must reconcile them". Even in the India of the 1930's, the Independence movement was supported by all the parties then extant, though not as parties in the present sense, viz. the conservatives, liberals, radicals, socialists, Hindus, Muslims etc. That was the then A.P.N.P. Popular Front.

Just as I am concluding this article, I read the news that an all party national Government is under contemplation in Turkey and Laos. Encouraging news indeed. Perhaps that will be the general rule in future. An all party opposition is therefore a necessary corollary to an all party or any Government, because an efficient opposition is indispensable for an effective democracy.

(Continued on page 11)

## India And Nepal—Parting Of The Ways ?

(From Our Correspondent)

The gravity of the situation developing as a result of the strained relations between India and Nepal should not be minimised and any worsening of the situation would be no proof of statesmanship in the powers-that-be in New Delhi. India can do a lot of harm to Nepal but she cannot do so without harming herself. She can throw Nepal into the arms of China, but would it be wise to do so? That is the question that is being asked here repeatedly. The King of Nepal seems to be headstrong. All silent men are strong men and he is one of them. But so is Mr. Nehru where the question of his personal ascendancy arises. And that is what seems to be involved in the present Indo-Nepalese dispute.

The day before the King of Nepal left for New Delhi an official document was released at Kathmandu saying that Mr. Nehru's latest statement on Nepal "may open a Pandora's box and pose a threat to the maintenance and preservation of peace and tranquillity in the world." The 60-page document published by the National Guidance Ministry's Publicity Department also asserted that the latest statement by Mr. Nehru that "India wants to see her type of Government in Nepal is not only revolting to all conscientious Nepalese but also demolishes the foundation on which her basic beliefs, values and virtues rest." The document also alleged that all efforts by the Nepalese Government to secure India's co-operation in checking the arms traffic "brought forth the anticipated results—replies not in the nature of a friendly good neighbour but the one to be expected from the defence counsel of the hostiles."

(Continued from page 10)

Gilt edged securities instead of gilt edged insecurities are guaranteed by the above scheme. All forces of disintegration are themselves disintegrated. Our traditional ethos to blindly follow the "leader" will not survive the process. Politics will no longer magnetize the careerist; because corrupt electioneering will not pay expected dividends as before. Perpetuation of individuals or parties in power and office will be a dream of the past. Totalitarian democracy will yield place to truly real democracy in which equal rights, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities will be guaranteed to all, one after another, without any discrimination whatever. What else do we want?

The Prime Minister's statement that India wants to see her type of Government in Nepal is at variance with the assurance of President Rajendra Prasad, on behalf of the Government of India, at the banquet given in honour of the Nepal King, that "we have not the slightest wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal." It may be true, perhaps it is true, that India wants to see her type of government in Nepal, but it was a little indiscreet on the part of her Prime Minister to have said that, having regard to the implications that such a statement carries at a time when the relations between the two countries are not what they should be. The only way to improve them lies in the sagacious advice of the President that "these difficulties should not be allowed to make us oblivious of the fact that our common basic interests are identical and that the security, independence and territorial integrity of each is of vital interest to the other."

The King of Nepal appears to have read much more than was perhaps intended in Mr. Nehru's statement that India wants to see her type of Government in Nepal. Perhaps that is why the King, in the course of his formal words of thanks for the welcome to India on arrival at Palam airport, talked pointedly of the Panch Sheela and the U.N. Charter and gave expression to his confirmed opinion that there would be no possibility of a misunderstanding if all nations demonstrated their faith and belief in these principles through "profession and practice," significantly adding that "friendship is not a one-sided affair." These words have to be read with those in the document referred to above, which charged India with "violation of international law" and the observation that the Indian Government "cannot shirk its international responsibility under the shield of its sovereignty."

Referring to India's statements in connection with rebel activities in Nepal, the document also said, "The usual Indian reply that the disturbances are internal is contradicted by another usual Indian reply that the free border makes the (arms traffic) control difficult, thus indicating clearly that these reported replies are attempts to conceal the truth and not attempts to tell it." In view of this belief, that seems to be genuinely held by those wielding power in Nepal, the Government of India would be well-advised to give some proof to the Nepalese Government that they are trying their best to meet the difficulty, if not solve it, so that the people and Government

of Nepal may be better inclined to believe the reference of the President at the reception to "the highest admiration that India has for the people of Nepal," as well as share the feeling here, given expression to by the President, that "everything possible must be done to build a happy and prosperous future for both of our peoples."

It is to be earnestly hoped that the King's visit to New Delhi will not lead to a parting of the ways, for the simple reason that the consequences of the rift developing are too appalling to contemplate. It is none of our business to tell the King that he has to come to terms some day with those who are waging war with the present regime in Nepal, for that involves an assessment of the strength of the party or parties opposed to the King, which the latter alone is entitled to make. Advice is welcome from friends but, when friendship itself is in doubt, it is best withheld. The moment would appear to demand solid proofs to the effect that the mis-givings in the Nepal Government's mind are unjustified and uncalculated, and that there is no reason to suspect that the arms traffic between the two countries is being connived at. Indications, however, at the moment are that the talks between the King of Nepal and Prime Minister Nehru are not progressing well, that the King has argued with considerable vehemence for stern action against exiled Nepalese leaders in India, while Mr. Nehru's view has been that India has made sure that no subversion or aggression against Nepal is being organised on Indian soil and that therefore India is unable to impose the restrictions suggested by the King on the exiled Nepalese leaders.

#### MR. MENON AT IT AGAIN

At question hour in the Lok Sabha on April 20, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon disclosed a "fresh instance of Chinese aggression into Indian territory." The Government of India has duly protested, pointing out, that "this Chinese post has obviously been developed recently and constitutes, needless to say, a flagrant breach of the repeated assurances extended by the Chinese Government regarding maintenance of the status quo in this area." The Indian note accuses the Chinese Government of "systematic and deliberate encroachments into Indian territory without proper regard to the grave consequences these may entail." She also said "the Government is taking the necessary measures for the defence of its territories as well as the vacation of the area presently under unlawful Chinese occupation. It is not in the national interest to make any premature disclosure of these measures." One of these new measures, I understand, is the erection of a factory somewhere in the South, and another is the contemplated appointment of a woman as Minister of Defence, to which even the Opposition parties will have no objection, as it will eminently suit our non-violent genius vis-a-vis bigger powers.

At a tea party given in his honour in Madras, Defence Minister Krishna Menon declared that he would be no party to any step "which will expose our troops to unnecessary jeopardy." Said Mr. Menon, "Unless we have weapons, unless action is of a character that will enhance the security of the country, neither this Government nor any other can take the responsibility for such action.... We will not in any circumstances take the initiative in any action that means war or tumult." While the External Affairs Minister is opposed to premature disclosure of measures intended to be taken against the Chinese, the Defence Minister is opposed to premature measures themselves. So the Government is, to put it in a nutshell, opposed to the premature disclosure of premature measures. Who can say after that that the Government is in the wrong?

#### PRIME MINISTER'S ILLNESS

The news of Mr. Nehru's illness gave cause for anxiety, particularly as the disease he was suffering from was not disclosed to the Press. Since he became Prime Minister he has been burning his candle at both ends. Any one with a weaker frame would have suffered a breakdown much earlier. He has a tremendous storehouse of energy, it is true, but there is a limit to everything and the time would appear to have come for him to conserve his energy. The trouble with him is that he wants to be the cynosure of all eyes and this leads him to accept invitations which much lesser men would appropriately refuse.

I was once passing a block of flats in Daryaganj here with a journalist friend, on one of which was a signboard of "Commercial University." Pointing out the signboard, my friend said to me, "Nehru came here to deliver Convocation Address." I asked him if he was trying to pull my leg. He asked me to accompany him upstairs to the flat, reaching where we saw a group photograph in the midst of which was Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Vice-Chairman of the Indian Executive Council. The University was housed in a couple of rooms, in one of which were a few typewriters, the remaining two rooms of the flat constituted residential quarters for the Principal and other members of the staff.

On the one hand there is a hue and cry against such institutions calling themselves universities; on the other Mr. Nehru goes to such a place to deliver an address and distribute prizes. He was at the time occupying a position equivalent to the present prime ministership. Some one caught him in the right mood or that some one was one of his favourites, and the ridiculous happened. This may be an extreme example but it shows how he wasted his time.

Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of Bengal, who has been the family physician of the Nehrus for decades, was called in so that he may bluntly

and effectively order "absolute rest" to the Prime Minister, something which the local doctors felt incompetent to do. Apart from Babu Parushottamdas Tandon, now ailing in retirement, Dr. Roy is the only surviving member of that small fraternity who call the Prime Minister "Jawahar" to his face.

## Book Review

**The Strangled Cry:** by John Strachey Encounter

Pamphlet Series No. 3. A Study of Orwell, Koestler, Chambers and Posternack.

These four studies in what the author hesitatingly calls the literature of reaction were originally published in the London magazine *Encounter*, which has achieved notable success among intellectual periodicals in strong contrast to so many established ones that are being discontinued one by one like *The Strand*.

They are now issued in pamphlet form for the greater convenience of readers.

Mr. Strachey, a democratic socialist, Member of Parliament for Dundee in Scotland was Secretary of State for War in Mr. Attlee's socialist labour cabinet after the war. He served during the war in the Royal Air Force. In the nineteen-twenties he wrote a stimulating book entitled *The Coming Struggle for Power*. After the recent World War II, he wrote two much discussed books: *Contemporary Capitalism* and *The End of Empire*. He wrote a suggestive series of articles in *The New Statesman* on *Marxism Revisited*.

In these four studies, he discusses the typical works of George Orwell such as *Animal* and *1984*, Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, Whittaker Chambers' *The Witness* and Boris Paternak's *Dr. Zivago*.

All these are sensational books in their own way and record their authors' reaction and shamed recoil to the grim and inhuman reality of Communist society and State established by the Bolsheviks in Russia and the empire they have built up behind their extensive Iron Curtain.

Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism claims to be a scientific system of society based on pure reason that eschews the ancient superstitions of the past such as religion, race superiority and the need for class rule of the possessors over the dispossessed. It claims to establish a society of perfect human happiness for all without any exploitation of man by man abolishing the source of exploitation namely private capital.

But as a matter of fact, the result has been (as became clear abundantly to these ex-communists over the years of their life as communists) the exact opposite of the earthly para-

dise — a perfect hell of human domination and torture of the innocents, of degrading labour, slavery and the sacrifice of every human value for the sake of national and imperial power. The result has been a ruthless type of planning which concentrates capital and labour on heavy industry and military targets and starves necessities like food, clothing, housing, transport and the simple comforts of life.

The system works by terror — total and indiscriminate. Khrushchov himself exposed the horrors of the system in his speech on Stalin in the 20th Congress of the Soviet party in 1956.

Mr. Strachey shows how reason has been misused by the communists. Reason need not lead to these abominations. Other types of rational reconstruction are possible. Capitalism has learnt how to overcome crises of slumps and inflation and unemployment. And the workers are not getting poorer but better and better. The sacrifice of freedom is not necessary. Democratic socialism can deliver the goods. The studies reveal this lesson through an analysis of four books of the authors mentioned one of each.

— M. A. Venkata Rao

## Gleanings from the Press

### BATTLE OVER ENGLISH IN GUJARAT

It is hardly a sign of our maturity as a nation that we still continue to be exercised about the place of English in our educational set-up. In the first flush of independence we tried to jettison English as an alien language. But the suicidal folly of this soon dawned upon us and we realised that it would be futile to expect Hindi or any other Indian language to take the place of English overnight. We would only harm ourselves by abjuring English which serves not only as a window on the world but also as a common meeting-ground of our intelligentsia. It has now been decided at the highest level that English should remain an associate official language as long as necessary.

For some curious reason, however, the Gujarat Government considers that teaching English only for four years from the eighth standard onwards in secondary schools should suffice to give students the requisite training in it. It is not impressed by the bitter experience of other State Governments, who have been compelled to restore the teaching of English from the fifth standard or by the findings of expert committees. It is giving scant heed even to the pleadings of educationists in Gujarat State not to mention of others who have aligned themselves behind the demand for longer and more adequate teaching of English in secondary schools. The excuses offered for the *status quo*—lack of teachers and paucity of funds—can hardly hold water. The

Government obdurately refuses to accept the elementary proposition that if at all English is to be taught it should be taught well. Apparently, the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee is also backing the State Government's policy on this issue. It would be a great pity if a demand for the restoration of the teaching of English from the fifth standard is allowed to develop into an unhealthy public agitation. Even if the Gujarat Government feels that it is not in a position to effect the change immediately, it should have no objection to permit those schools who want to adopt it from the ensuing academic year, to do so on their own.

— Indian Express

## News & Views

### CHINESE FRESH INTRUDE AND INDIA'S PROTEST AGAIN

NEW DELHI, April 19: The Chinese has set up a new military post, the fourth one, six miles west of Sumdo (Ladakh) in the Indian territory.

In a strong protest note India has demanded the immediate vacation of this "flagrant aggression" and told Peking that it was a matter of deep concern, China was persisting in their "systematic and deliberate encroachments into Indian territory."

Disclosing these new developments to the new Lok Sabha, Prime Minister Nehru assured that India would vacate the Chinese aggression.

### LIBERALISM ON THE UPGRADE IN BRITAIN

LONDON: The Liberals pushed the Conservatives into third place in the Derby North by-election last night, thus inflicting another crushing blow on the ruling party. Its effect on the Conservative Party—coupled with that of the Tory defeat at Orpington—will be felt for a long time.

The shock of being pushed into third place in Derby North for the Conservative Party is all the greater because it had been steadily improving its position in this constituency and the Liberals had not even put up a candidate here since the general election in 1950. Then the Liberal share of the vote was only 7.9 per cent., against 55.2 per cent for Labour and 36.9 per cent for the Conservatives. Last night the Liberal candidate polled 25.4 per cent. The Conservative vote dropped to 22.5 per cent.

It was raining in the constituency that day. That accounts for the drop in the total votes polled from 76.7 in 1959 to 60.6 per cent. A better turn-out of votes would not have helped the Conservatives, however.

This was the nineteenth by-election since

November 1960. The Conservatives have lost votes in all these by-elections. A Liberal revival can no longer be dismissed as a freakish phenomenon in some areas. The "faceless men," as Mr. Iain Macleod, the Conservative Party chairman, described the Liberals, are winning support in all manner of constituencies.

Already there has been a demand that Mr. Macmillan reshuffle the Cabinet to meet the charge that it consists of tired men and to introduce fresh blood. This demand may become more persistent now.

### COMMUNISM FAST LOSING GROUND IN W. ASIA

Mr. Chester Bowles, President Kennedy's special adviser on Asian, African and Latin American affairs, said that communism was losing ground in West Asia.

Speaking to the bi-annual assembly of the American-Jewish Congress, Mr. Bowles said this could lead to a lessening of world tension in that part of the world.

He said that in the countries of the area, the Soviet Union tended to be regarded as a "modern edition of Czarist Russia" and "a dangerous rival for oil producing areas."

Mr. Bowles said the United States was "much less tense in its relations with the nations of West Asia and less inclined to expect immediate solutions to age-old conflicts."

The West Asia nations themselves were becoming less focussed on conflicts with their neighbours and more interested in their own international developments." He added that one might envisage that within a more or less distant future, traditional disputes would be forgotten in West Asia.

### COMMON MARKET WILL BE U.K. GENERAL ELECTIONS ISSUE

Mr. Iain Macleod, president of the Conservative Party, said that negotiations on Britain's entry into the Common Market were now approaching a decisive phase, and next month's meetings would be of critical importance.

He said that later, with the full knowledge of the terms of entry and the views of the Commonwealth countries, the Government would ask for the support of the electorate.

He was referring to the general elections due to be held in October 1964 at the latest.

He added, "I do not mean to indicate that the general elections will be fought on the issue of the Common Market itself. We do not go in for referendums in this country—on the whole an extremely unsatisfactory form of government—but when the next general elections come, clearly this is going to be the great issue."

NEW NEHRU GOVT. WILL HAVE LESS  
SMOOTH SAILING

NEW DELHI.

A closer scrutiny into the composition of the third Lok Sabha, which goes into its first session next week, suggests that members sitting on the Treasury Benches had better prepare themselves to remain on their toes all the time during the next five years.

Opposition groups, too, will have to be ready to take in a fair measure the same medicine which they may prescribe to the ruling party, because reinforcements of debating talent have arrived on both sides.

The return to the Lok Sabha of seven members of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam from Madras, two Muslim Leaguers and three Akalis is a symptom that cannot be passed unnoticed. The merger of the Ganatantra Parishad with the "Swatantra Party is another, but of a different texture. There is said to be a move for a strong Opposition in Parliament led by the Swatantra Party."

The return to Parliament of Mr. H. V. Kamath is an addition of strength to the Opposition which is of no little consequence. He has a past record of making the question-hour seem longer to the Ministers concerned, and otherwise compelling greater watchfulness on their part. The P.S.P. has other stalwarts in Mr. S. N. Dwivedi, Mr. Nath Pai and Mr. Hem Barua.

The Communist Party will not have the services of its most effective spokesman, Mr. S. A. Dange, but it now has Mr. Ravi Narayana Reddy from Andhra, Mr. Imbichi Bawa from Kerala and Mr. Anandan Nambiar from Madras, who can lend strong support to Mr. A. K. Gopalan, Mr. Hirendra Nath Mukherji and Mrs. Renu Chakravarty.

Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar (Forward Bloc), who was unable to attend the sittings of the second Lok Sabha because he was in preventive detention following the Ramanathapuram Disturbances, will be there from Madras.

Two noted orators in Tamil, Mr. N. Manoharan and Mr. Nadunchezian, both of the D.M.K., are bound to be severe critics of the Government, particularly on language issues.

— Express News Service

MONKEY-SOCIALISM

JABALPUR, April 27:

Jabalpur had a brief shower of currency notes yesterday. The pleasantly surprised residents later on found out that the notes were coming from a house-top. A monkey which swooped on the house of a builion merchant and had carried away a bag containing currency notes worth Rs. 10,000 was found distributing the notes from house tops and finally scampered away.

On 7-4-1962 Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao delivered a lecture at the L.S.I. on the book, "The Great Awakening" by John Strachey.

Reviewing the book, Prof. Rao said, the five lectures of John Strachey collected therein describe the central phenomenon of the 2nd half of the 20th Century, namely the coming to national consciousness of that larger part of humanity which used to be passive sufferers rather than actors upon the world stage. The lectures seek to characterise, however briefly, the old colonial empires and then to describe and discuss the new world that has arisen in their stead. He referred to other interesting books by the same author, such as "Contemporary Capitalism" (1957) and "The End of Empire" (1959) in this connection.

The speaker pointed out that the Communists have a coherent, logical, consistent world-view: It presumes that we know much more about the ways in which human societies work than we really do. It is this Communist presumption of infallibility—this terrible belief that they know it all, this "blinding by theory," as it is called in these lectures—which has led to the terrible Communist catastrophes of our times. It has led, for example, to the trampling of the Hungarian workers under the Russian tanks and to the present Chinese famine. In contrast the democratic Socialist world-view is a much more modest affair. Undeniably it is much less impressive; it does not attempt to be nearly so all-embracing, so coherent, so logical or so consistent as the Communist world-view. It does not pretend to know the answers to many of the questions which press upon us: it is empirical, pragmatic, experimental. It may seem to be less inspiring. It is much easier to give your heart to the Communist creed, just because it is a creed. Nevertheless, the lectures have shown how much better the democratic Socialist view corresponds to the actual facts of world. It corresponds to such undeniable facts as that the dissolution of the great Colonial Empires has left the ex-Imperial peoples richer, not poorer: that the age of Imperialism may well be over: that India, with her mixed economy, may well be making steadier, if slower, progress than China with her Communist economy: that the process of democratic government has turned out to be not less but more efficient—or at any rate far less disastrously inefficient—than the dictatorships.

Last month the Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore held three discussion meetings on National Integration, American Democracy, Manifestos of various political parties of India. Mr. Philip Spratt also spoke on "Socialism in Retreat".



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