

# BEHAR HERALD

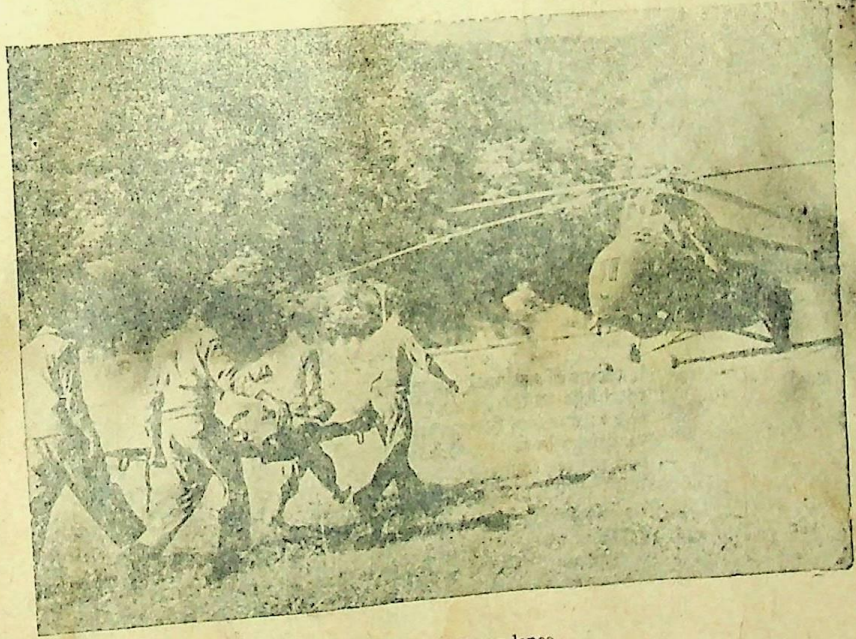
ESTD. 1879.

DECEMBER 22, 1962

SATURDAY

Chief Editor  
Dr. S. Samaddar

★ India Stands up to an Imperialist Invader ★



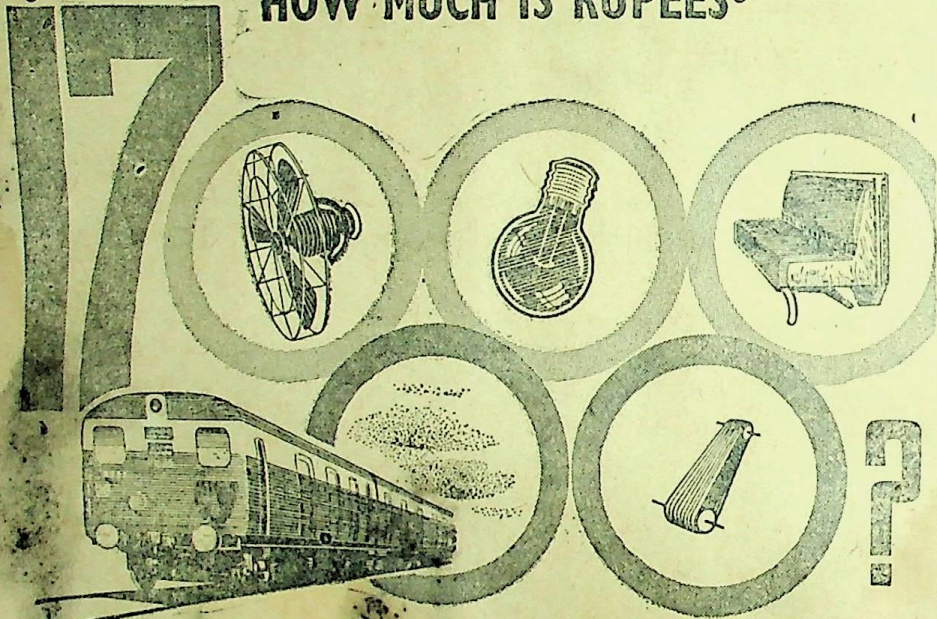
India is faced with the gravest situation since independence. An imperialist invader, mistaking India's eagerness for peace for weakness and friendliness for appeasement, has cynically trampled under foot its loud-mouthed professions of 'Pancheheel' and carried its expansionist drive across the Himalayan borders of India. In this hour of peril when the honour, independence and the democratic values which we cherish are at stake, the whole Indian landscape has undergone a change. The transformation that has come over the nation touches every aspect of its life. Indian casualties brought from the forward-most picquets in NEFA are given first aid in a medical post and later evacuated by air to the base hospital. Picture shows a casualty being carried in a stretcher to be airlifted by the helicopter seen in the background.

★ Save For The Brave ★

★★ Invest In National Defence Certificate ★



## HOW MUCH IS RUPEES?



In terms of national waste, the total loss to the Eastern Railway due to thefts of fittings and vandalism in railway coaches and wagons is much more than this figure indicates.

To you this figure means temporary denial of many amenities. To us, who serve you, such losses are serious impediments to our efforts to render satisfactory national service.

Moreover, fittings and equipment damaged or stolen are not easy to replace. Surely, such vandalism shocks your civic sense. Your co-operation is essential for protecting national property.

Every year, the Eastern Railway alone suffers a loss of over Rs. 17 lakh through thefts of carriage and wagon fittings and equipment, and through wilful damage done to them.

PRO/ER-9

## EASTERN RAILWAY



# Behar Herald

ESTD. 1874

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## GOLD HOARD

The gold drain from this country started from 1930, when the United States began to stockpile the yellow metal to bury it in a mountain cave in Fort Knox, Kentucky. Every week huge consignments used to be shipped from the Bombay port. The matter was raised in the old Central Assembly, and the Government contended that it was only the distress gold that was being exported.

Lord Willingdon in his address to the Assembly made a pointed reference to this and said that the exported gold formed a microscopic percentage of the actual gold stocks in the country, and that the country's economy would not be shattered by this export and India could get back the gold when conditions returned to normalcy.

When appeals to the Government failed Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel issued a 'directive' to businessmen of Bombay to stop further export of gold in the interests of the country.

Since World War I there has always been a difference between the world price of gold and its price in India. In the thirties gold was cheaper in India and hence vast quantities of it were exported. In the thirties price of gold in India is more than double its world price. Hence the strong temptation to smuggle gold into India which has even affected the embassy staff of some small countries.

The total amount of gold in the country is estimated to be worth Rs. 4,000 crores. The value of the "black money" gold which Mr. Desai has been fondly hoping would come out of the vaults in response to his appeals, must be several hundred crores of rupees. The total surrendered for bonds so far, however, stands at the lamentably low figure of Rs. 30 lakhs.

Morarji Desai's threat that he will bring down to price of gold to Rs. 70 a tola seems to be ineffective. It is not clear how the Government can bring down the price of anything unless it can capture all stock of it.

Effective tightening of anti-smuggling measures can only reduce the stock of gold available for sale in the market, and when the supply becomes less and the demand remains the same as before the price of gold is bound to rise, not fall.

## Notes & Comments

### OPPORTUNISM

The English columnist, Cassandra, has compared Pakistan to a jackal. The crumbs from the lion's feast are always reserved for it. A British weekly has thus exposed the temptation of the Pakistan Government: "The plight of the Indian army, its almost pathetic unpreparedness, had demonstrated to the Pakistani army that it would be relatively easy to do in Kashmir what the Chinese did in neighbouring Ladakh and Assam."

It is in this atmosphere that Messrs. Sandys and Harriman have persuaded India and Pakistan to have talks about Kashmir.

### THE SO-CALLED "PROHIBITION"

It is high time that advocates of prohibition woke up to the realities in the face of a national crisis and let go this white-elephant which is costing the nation very dearly.

What has prohibition brought us? Loss of a hundred crore rupees as excise duty, increase in the number of addicts and waste of another hundred crore to see that prohibition is enforced (which, in fact, it is not). It has helped nothing but vice and crime to breed; unsocial and evil pests to flourish.



Morarji Desai has hinted at levy of more taxes to meet the country's present requirements. Instead of levying fresh taxes, if the Government gives up its puritan attitude, a colossal amount of revenue can easily be collected without further burdening the people. If the Government is adamant, let prohibition be suspended during the emergency.—

#### IRONY OF FATE

Mr. Averill Harriman has said that Krishna Menon had starved the Indian Army and concealed the fact from the Indian people.

Krishna Menon should receive praise as, being a Crypto-Gandhian, he was preparing the country for non-violence by gradually reducing its fighting potential. It is his ill-luck that he is being blamed by professional Gandhians to-day who have become violent all of a sudden. K. K. Shah, the General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. has called on Congressmen (Dec. 13) to "*convert every nook and corner of the country into a war front.*"

Even those who pleaded for unilateral disarmament only a few months ago are now war-minded and demanded Menon's dismissal for being a consistent follower of Mahatma Gandhi.

Mahatma Gaudhi pleaded for Hindustani. This has been completely disregarded by his followers since his death. He advocated Basic Education, which as now practised, is a fraud according to its originator, Dr. Zakir Hussain. Mahatma Gandhi preached truth and non-violence. The former was jettisoned long ago and the latter

has been completely discarded now. There only remains the so-called "prohibition" which has been a failure all along.

#### PROFITEERING

India's war with China is still only a few weeks old and the patriotic fervour is yet high, but already there are indications of scarcities and increasing prices in respect of several commodities besides kerosene. If goods can be cornered in metropolitan Delhi where administration is supposedly more vigilant, it is safe to assume that certain rural areas must also have started suffering from similar anti-social activities. Newspapers are not always able to publish photographs of queues outside rural shops.

The Government has proudly claimed that nearly a dozen kerosene dealers were arrested for alleged profiteering. One has to be utterly naive to believe that the supply of a commodity sold at hundreds of depots could be paralysed, as it was in Delhi, by a handful of petty traders. What improved the kerosene supplies last week was not the arrest of the dealers but the fact that large additional supplies were quickly unloaded in the market. Should a genuine shortage develop, the Fuel Minister will not be able to act so extravagantly.

One sincerely hopes the Government's freedom of action in the matter of restraining is not hampered even remotely by the vast financial obligations that the Congress Party and many of its individual members incurred only last year when they went round collecting donations for the election fund. The

corrupting effect of financial help at the time of elections must not be under-estimated.

Businessmen make gifts to politicians only on a *quid pro quo* basis. If they contribute Rs. 25,000 they hope to make an extra lakh.

#### ALL FOR SHOW

With a vast manpower at our disposal rifle-drilling by girls seems to be more a fashion parade than a sensible necessity. In a bloody encounter with the enemy women are surely not the better counterpart to be profitably deployed in the field. Besides, what concerns everybody is that the Government has to incur some expenditure on this account which serves no useful purpose: and, because time calls for more careful and cautious spending of public money, such practice by women should be discouraged.

If the idea is to help the country's war efforts, there are numerous other services such as nursing, ambulance driving, emergency telephone operation and so on which women should prefer to drilling with rifles to be photographed.

#### A WRONG VIEW

Mr. Valentine Ossipov's charge of war hysteria being whipped up in India by the imperialists is grossly wrong. What he calls a war hysteria is in reality the national upsurge in the people of India for equipping themselves against the unprovoked invasion by Communist China bent on imperialist expansion.

Mr. Ossipov should not have forgotten so soon that his country, the USSR, also welcomed, with deep gratitude to President



Roosevelt, the mountain-high loads of war materials worth billions of dollars from the USA for defending his country against Hitler. We expected he would also welcome this time the similar help, though to a much lesser extent, we have got from the UK and the USA for defending our country against the invasion by Mao, who poses a direct challenge to Mr. Khrushchev's line of peaceful coexistence and noninevitability of war. By his provocative action of thrusting war on India Mao has taught us that it is dangerous to rely on the good faith of a false friend. Must we not then quickly build up our defence as efficiently as possible to drive out the Chinese invaders?

In our unpreparedness for a full-scale war, we were forced to ask for help from all nations. We are grateful to those that have promptly responded to our request.

#### BREEZE IN LOK SABHA

Mr. Nehru dismissing Mr. Ranga's demand for the liberation of Tibet, said the Swantantra leader tried to be "an expert on things about which he knows nothing"—and immediately got a most unexpected reply.

Before the laughter had ended on the Congress benches, the Maharani of Jaipur (Swa) stood up daintily and said "If the Prime Minister had known anything about anything we would not have been in the present mess". Some Congress member shouted retorts which could not be heard but the Prime Minister merely commented: "I cannot bandy words with a lady member".

#### LINGUISTIC WAR

The Gujarat University incurred an expenditure of Rs. 57,600 in fighting the case over medium of instruction and examination in the Gujarat High Court and the Supreme Court.

The cost of fighting the case in the Gujarat High Court amounted to some Rs. 17,500 while the Supreme Court fight cost it about Rs. 40,000.

No one should grudge the waste of tax-payers' money in a good cause.

The Gujarat University lost the case both in the Gujarat High Court and also in appeal in the Supreme Court which held that the University had no power to prescribe Gujarati as the only medium of instruction and examination.

The piquant situation arising from the Supreme Court judgment will be discussed by the new Syndicate of the University.

The question came up for discussion at the meeting of the Syndicate but as the University had not received an authorised copy of the Supreme Court judgement, it decided to defer the consideration of the issue.

Meanwhile, moves are under way to bring pressure on the State Government, in the wake of the Supreme Court verdict, to change its policy of English teaching from the eighth standard and introduce it from the fifth standard.

A signature campaign has been launched in Ahmedabad in this regard.

#### OUR BRAVE BOYS

A Loyal Railway guard who tried to save Railway property

from wanton destruction and to stop some rowdy students from travelling without tickets, was done to death at Orai Station, in U.P. between Kanpur and Jhansi, under the very nose of the Railway Police, reports *Tide*.

The outrage is the culmination of lawlessness among students and indifference on the part of the police.

For some time past it had become a regular practice among students to travel without tickets, to travel in first class compartments with third class tickets, to squat on the tracks; to stone trains; break windows and halt trains by pulling chains.

If anyone tried to check them they resorted to mass violence.

On the day of this outrage by student rowdies, a train had left Kanpur as usual. A while later, the guard heard the sound of something breaking in the first class bogey ahead.

At the next halt he got down to check up. To his surprise he found that a batch of students had made themselves comfortable in a first class compartment and that they had smashed some of the windows.

He gave them a warning and resumed the journey.

Until the next station the students continued their vandalism. Here the guard decided to take some action. When a check was made most of them were found holding third class tickets, many had no tickets at all.

Much damage had been done to the compartment.



The Guard asked the students to get down. On their refusal he locked the door from outside and moved the train to Orai Station. Here he reported the matter to the railway police, but the police took no action. This encouraged the miscreants.

They surrounded the guard on the platform and started beating him up. In the melee they stabbed him in the abdomen and he collapsed and died. The police were conspicuously inactive.

Subsequently some higher railway authorities came on the scene. The "boys" had made themselves scarce by this time.

Need we fear the Chinese when we have such "boys" in the country?

"Boys" in Bihar are also not far behind their opposite numbers in U.P. in the matter of bravery as will be evident from the following news item:—

"The students of a Bihar Shareef school attacked the Biharsharif Weaver's Cooperative Society, assaulted its members and looted handloom cloth worth about Rs. 500. One of its members received serious injuries. Brick-bats were also used."

#### AWKWARD QUESTIONS

There is a general appreciation that people everywhere have responded magnificently to the situation created by the Chinese aggression. But the people are looking to the Congressmen for leadership. They wonder why when people are contributing their mite even when their economic condition is none-to-happy the Ministers have announced Rs. 100/- only per month as their

contribution to the National Defence Fund.

Some disloyal subjects also want to know what contributions have been made by the 14 kings and 2 queens in our democracy.

#### REALIST AYUB

Ayub Khan has said:

"The Chinese are our neighbours. We have certain frontiers which are undemarcated and we don't want to kick up a row unnecessarily over frontier matters, and we have approached the Chinese and they too, are, I think, anxious to settle the problem with us. This is what we are doing".

#### OUR FIRE-EATERS

At present, there is no case for India abandoning her policy of non-alignment against Russia and bombing Chinese bases, as demanded by Mr. Rajagopalachari.

It is surprising that the man who is such an ardent advocate of even unilateral nuclear disarmament should light-heartedly advocate a full-scale war against China, when the situation does not demand such heroic steps.

It takes one's breath away to find our Swatantra and Praja Socialist leaders frantically crying for jettisoning non-alignment, while the countries most interested in the reversal of such a policy are not only tolerating such a policy but positively saying that such a policy is good not only for India but for the whole world except China.

The 'Guardian' wrote:—"It (India) must not throw Mr. Khrushchev into Mr. Mao Tse Tung's arms where he probably does not wish to go." And the conservative "Daily Telegraph"

writes about the present invasion being intended to 'force Mr. Khrushchev to side more firmly with Peking against Delhi.'

Sir David Ormsby-Gore, British Ambassador in Washington, said at San Francisco: "We have no wish to encourage India to abandon her policy of non-alignment. This would only encourage the Russian and Chinese Communists to sink their considerable differences and make common cause against India. In so far as continued co-operation between Russia and India contributes to these differences, the opponents of Communism everywhere will take comfort."

#### CONFUSION AND CONTRADICTION

India's border war may change the definition of communism and of alignment.

Mr. Khrushchev's dilemma is: If China succeeded in defeating India, South-East Asia could not long resist the validity of China's ideology which, from a Marxist viewpoint, would have been demonstrated.

Such a Communist success would encourage hesitant Russians to jump on the Chinese gun-carriage.

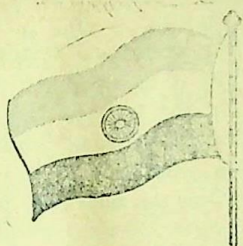
If on the other hand, India were saved only by a massive Western aid, the political defeat of non-alignment and the Indian Communist Party would be Mr. Khrushchev's defeat.

If, however, Mr. Khrushchev stepped in to help India, for instance, by giving her the promised aircraft, he must risk being branded at some later stage as a Western collaborator.

A war in which India fought the Chinese with Russian and Western material help would not rank as a simple anti-Communist war, but as a war which expressed concretely the common interest of Communist and non-Communist nations in human survival.

India's battle zone becomes the point about which complex and unpredictable forces turn.



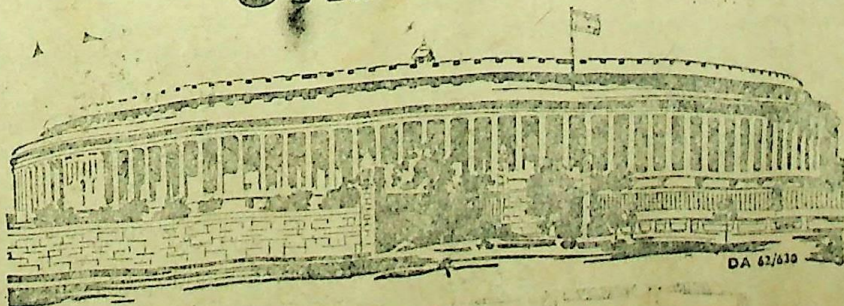


## OUR RESOLVE

“With hope and faith this House affirms the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be.”

*From the Resolution passed by Parliament (November 1962)*

## JAI HIND



DA 62/630



# Non-Alignment Vindicated

By CLOVIS MAKSOUD

*(The author is the Representative of the Arab League, in India and S. E. Asia)*

In recent weeks China's incursion into Indian territory has given rise to many speculations about the validity of non-alignment and its future relevance. A deliberate attempt to discredit non-alignment was evident and the technique utilized was to project the conflict itself as sufficient reason of non-alignment's failure. That such submission should have received any credence points to a basic misunderstanding of the sinews of non-alignment. A restatement is, in our view, necessary because swift and simple answers to intricate and complex problem lead ultimately to intellectual exhaustion and to wrong conclusions.

India's non-alignment today is being challenged by a sectarian communist leadership. The challenge is a deliberate attempt to discredit what constitutes one of India's major assets and attraction. Equally important is the fact that this conflict reflects an inner struggle within the world communist movement between the sectarian dogmatists and the 'liberal' rationalist groups. The object of the sectarians is clear enough and that is to polarize the world into, what we consider unhealthy, postures. One of the principal obstacles to the realization of this objective is the growing influence of non-alignment among the new states of Africa and Asia. A further obstacle to the sectarian attempt at polariza-

tion is the increasing readiness on the part of the two principal powers in the world—namely, the United States and the Soviet Union—to accommodate non-alignment and to admit that it plays a constructive and useful role in the world today. The sectarians consider that this accommodation circumscribes their designs not only in Asia and Africa but also in their attempt the 'liberal' group from positions of leadership and influence within the world communist hierarchy. In other words the sectarian communists consider non-alignment an 'outside' lever that cushions their 'liberal' adversaries. This, they rightly foresee, might not only render communism more amenable to coexist with the others but also to modify its own structure by imbibing positive features it discovered in the others. If such a process is ushered the sectarians anticipate their eclipse, and the decline of their influence.

The sectarian challenge to non-alignment is not without precedents. The latest clear precedent is the sectarian challenge to Egypt's non-alignment in 1956. A brief analysis of that challenge might draw a pattern that in many ways is analogous to the present situation. Not that analogies are binding but they can be useful and revealing. In 1956, prompted by Zionist ambitions in the Arab world, the sectarians in France and Britain

undertook to attack Egypt, considered by the British, French and Zionist sectarians a strong bulwark against their collective ambitions in the area. Israel's reflex antagonism to Arab nationalism, Britain's attempt at restoring a position of pre-eminence in the area and France piqued by Egypt's consistent support for Algeria's liberation, provided enough reason and stimulation to execute their sectarian aggression—otherwise known as the Tripartite aggression. The overthrow of the Egyptian regime was deemed a preliminary condition to realize their objectives in the area. The sectarians of the Right overplayed their hand and the principal western power—namely the United States withheld its support and denounced the attack of its allies, in spite of U.S.'s previous antagonism to Egypt's non-alignment and its concomitant policies and actions. In the meantime Egypt, faced with the threat emanating from western quarters and with an attack from this quarter, was not inhibited from receiving military assistance from the Soviet Union and its allies. Egypt's policy of non-alignment therefore enabled it to receive Soviet material and military assistance, support of world public opinion, solidarity of the Afro-Asians, abstention and obvious displeasure of the senior partner in the western bloc and finally the isolation of the secta-



rians morally and then politically within Britain and France.

With all the strains and stresses to which Egypt was then subjected, it did not deflect from the policy of non-alignment, confirmed its viability to the Arabs and enriched the rational countervailing forces throughout the world and strengthened their will not to relent before the assaults of sectarianism of the right or of the left.

We see, therefore, that during the right-sectarian challenge to non-alignment it was the secondary powers that undertook the challenge and that the principal power excluded from the final stages of the plan, acted as a decisive restraining factor. Furthermore the sectarian mind is usually so conditioned that its political evaluation is less interested in the objective truths than in making the evaluation suit its pre-conceived notions and prejudices. Hence Franco-British evaluation led to conclude that the mere landing of troops and raids upon cities will demoralize the victim of aggression and overthrow the non-aligned regime. The result of course led to exactly the opposite.

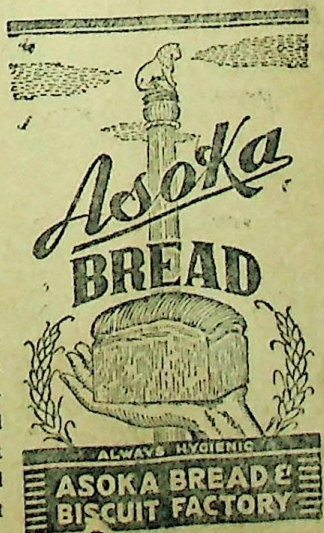
The analogy is quite suggestive in the present situation. The attack on non-aligned India mounted by the secondary power in communist alliance. The principal power in the alliance, namely the Soviet Union, is definitely acting as a decisive restraining factor and is showing many signs of disapproval of China's behaviour. India's instant reaction was to ask for accelerated military assistance

from the western powers and which India has received. The Chinese sectarian evaluation of India's political stamina proved a total failure and thus strengthened the hand of the 'liberal' group in the communist alliance to put the brake on its erstwhile sectarian ally. Now growing evidence of world opinion rallying to India's support is a further dimension in India's armour. One of the most important conclusions that can be drawn is that the two big powers, with their nuclear parity and global responsibilities, will prevent reckless adventure by their junior partners to proceed to their logical conclusion. It is here that the constructive role of non-alignment policies proved its tremendous usefulness. Not only has it on many instances helped relax tension, arbitrate conflicts, mediate apparently irreconcilable positions; but it has proved to be a very valuable investment in the defensive apparatus of those countries who pursue it because the stamina of defence is not only determined by the material prowess in battle but also by a capacity to deny your adversary the utilization of what he considered to be a permanent mainstay of his aggressive potential—whether military or diplomatic. If there had been no non-aligned area in the world the counterpoise that would have ensued would have thrust the sectarians in both camps to the top layers of leadership. That of course would have militated against the great achievements that Asia and Africa have realized in the last fifteen years besides rendering the fate of mankind determined

by the dictates of sectarian irrationality.

The advocates of non-alignment have nothing to apologize for and if it has invited the wrath of the sectarians it does not follow that it has failed. If the rationalists of the two camps lend it a large measure of approval then the attempt to deflect from the course of non-alignment is doing exactly what the sectarian challenger wants to be done—namely to make non-alignment irrelevant and force the world to choose constantly between sectarian postures.

I think the world has surpassed this stage and although sectarians can still muster enough power for aggressive sorties against non-alignment and human rationality it is obvious that they are nervously fighting a losing battle. Vigilant and profound commitment to non-alignment is at this juncture the creative response to the sectarian challenge.





## India And The Chinese Aggression

Sir:

The intransigence of the Chinese Government and their mounting bellicosity, culminating in a large-scale and carefully planned invasion of our country, have forced on us a war which the people of India have so long tried to avert. Our eagerness to settle peacefully the dispute with China, over the MacMahon line in the Eastern Sector, and the traditional and customary water sheds in the Central and Western Sectors, seems to have been interpreted by the other side as our weakness.

The aggression of Indian territory by the "People's Government" of China, in flagrant disregard of international law and in cynical contempt of all canons of civilized behaviour, betrays not only an attitude of expansionist imperialism, but also seems to fit in with their militant communist ideology which advocates war against non-communist countries as an extension of class-struggle. The aim of the Chinese aggression, therefore, can only be to overthrow India's democratic system of government and to replace it by a puppet regime of their own through military pressure and incitement of civil war in this country. It is this sinister design of Chinese Communism which has to be properly understood by all sections of the Indian people.

The military challenge of China seeks, however, to cover its naked expansionism, territorial and ideological, under the mask of a so-called liberating mission and a seductive slogan of social justice. Their challenge will have, therefore, to be met as much on the battlefield as on the ideological front. The people of our country must unite today in an all-out effort to defend their hard-own Independence and their democratic way of life from external aggression as well as internal subversion.

Effective participation by the people in this effort can be ensured only when they feel that they have a high stake in the social and political system they are called upon to defend, and that they have nothing to gain but totalitarian slavery of mind and body in communism. Ever since Independence, this country has been engaged in the gigantic task of evolving a social system which will reconcile the claim of justice with the maximum of individual freedom, and with this end in view, has formulated her three Five-Year Plans to lay the foundations of a modern industrial economy to guarantee for her people a decent standard of living. Our democracy may come out of the ordeal of this war all the more strengthened, if the unprecedented enthusiasm of the people evinced in this hour of national peril can be taken full advantage of to further accelerate the pace of economic development and ensure a juster distribution of its benefits, by adopting, in the course of our defence preparations, suitable measures to arrest further rise in prices, and check hoarding and profiteering with determination to ensure adequate supply of the necessities of life to all. This opportunity can also be seized to inject new vigour into panchayats and local self-governing bodies, which may come to play a vital role in harnessing the people's enthusiasm for defending the country, by eradicating many social evils and malpractices which create a sense of frustration among them.

We have at the same time to bear in mind that the war, which is likely to be protracted, will put a severe strain on our economy, entailing much suffering for all sections of our people, as well as curtailment and even temporary suspension of many cherished democratic rights. To all this may be added the danger of a militant nationalism outgrowing its initial defensive role and being tempted to take on a more chauvinistic character.

Authoritarian trends which are part of our traditional heritage, strengthened by an upsurge of chauvinism, and flourishing under the collectivism of war economy, with democracy considerably curtailed or temporarily held in abeyance, may build a formidable fortress of another kind of totalitarianism, which will make restoration of democracy difficult after the war.

The signatories to this statement, therefore, urge all our fellowcountrymen committed to the values of democracy and civilization, to view this grave situation in its proper perspective, and, fully alive to the many serious dangers with which our nascent democracy is faced, to rally behind our Prime Minister, who, in this perilous situation, is maintaining an attitude of calm resolve to defend our country, without bringing irreparable damage to our framework of democracy.

If we resolve to meet this challenge with full faith in democracy and freedom, victory will be ours, and the travails of war will not have been borne by our people in vain.

Your etc.

Jatin Mitra, Amlan Datta, Abu Syed Ayyub, Monoranjan Basu, Nalini Sen, Barendranath Chattopadhyaya, J. C. Goswami, Basudha Chakrabarty, K. K. Sinha, Niranjan Dhar, G. P. Bhattacharjee, Nirmal Mukherjee, Mrinal Gupta, Biswanath Banerjee, Lalit Mohan Bhattacharyya, Gourangadev Chatterjee, Shyam Lal Sharma, Probodh Bhattacharyya, Sushil Bhadra, S. Bhattacharyya, Anil Mukherjee, Haridas Bandopadhyaya, A. Mitra, D. Chowdhury, Jagannath Bose, A. Purkait, Benoy Bhattacharyya, A. K. Ghosh, Gopijiban Banerjee, Somen Banerjee, Samanta Home, Sukhendu Chakravarty, S. Chatterjee, Moni Dasgupta, Parimal Gupta, S. Mukherjee, Anurup Bhattacharjee, A. Gupta, Bibhuti Mitter, Ranjit Chowdhury, Sasadhar Mukherjee, Sisir Kumar Dey.



# K's Views On Sino-Indian Conflict

MOSCOW, Dec. 14.

Following is a text of Mr. Khrushchev's speech in the Supreme Soviet on the Sino-Indian border situation: "Comrade deputies, examining the current international situation, one cannot overlook the regretful events which occurred in the area of the Indo-Chinese border. As known, it was not a week or a month ago that the border conflict began there. It began as far back as 1959. Of late, this conflict has aggravated and overgrew into armed clashes in the course of which thousands of men fell on both sides.

"The Soviet Union's position on the Indo-Chinese border conflict was stated as far back as 1959 in the well-known Tass statement.

"The statement expressed the hope that the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of India would not allow the forces averse to relaxation of international tension to profit from their border incident, and that the two governments would settle the misunderstanding which arose between them with due consideration for mutual interests, in the spirit of the traditional friendship between peoples of China and India.

"The Soviet Union expressed great regret over the incident which broke out. We sincerely hoped that the Governments of the two countries would quickly find the road to a peaceful resolution of the dispute. To this day we regret that the sides did not avail themselves in due time of the possibilities to nip the incipient conflict in the bud.

"It is especially painful to us that there has been shedding of the blood of the sons of the fraternal People's Republic of China and of our friend, the Republic of India. For the first time a situation has arisen when a border dispute between a socialist country and a country which has started on the road of independent development, and follows a policy of non-alignment,

has led to a serious clash of arms.

## China And India Compared

"Soviet people rejoice as they always did in the successes of People's China, which after the victorious revolution, has scaled high summits on the front of peaceful economic development and has shown to all the world what can be achieved by a people when it takes its destiny into its own hands. In its foreign policy, the people's China advocates the principles of peace, equality and friendly international cooperation. It is high time to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, it is high time to restore to the People's Republic of China her ancestral land—Taiwan.

"As to India, the rate of her economic growth after achieving independence was slower than in China. However, India whose social system differs from the socialist system of China, year by year, overcoming the grave aftermath of the age old rule of the British colonialists, more and more confidently advances in the development of her economy and culture. India's policy of non-alignment, her neutralist policy, has won great moral and political weight in the world.

## Peaceful Co-existence

"The People's China and India have evinced a good example of fraternal friendship to other countries, having formulated and proclaimed in 1954 the well-known five principles of peaceful co-existence or "Pancha Shila", as they are also called. For years this policy yielded good fruit.

"For centuries there had been no armed conflicts along the border between China and India. And clearly the territory of this area itself is not of much value for human life, judging by the fact that the density of the population there is insignificant, although as known, India and China are most densely populated countries. It would seem that

every bit of land there should be occupied by people. However, the territories over which the dispute flared up were actually uninhabited.

"Suddenly between the people's Republic of China and India there flared up a bloody border conflict in which both the Chinese people and the Indian people suffered heavy casualties. This has grieved us deeply.

"War can be started by a chance rifle shot. One chance shot two in reply then another three in reply to these two. This is how war sometimes begins. But to end a war it is not so easy even to statesmen, wise with experience.

"On the question of border disputes we maintain Leninist views. The forty-five-year experience of the Soviet Union suggests that there are no such border disputes which, provided there is mutual desire, could not be solved without a report to arms. It is from these positions that Soviet people approach the developments on the Sino-Indian border.

"But in the world there also exist forces, the international imperialist circles, which rejoice in the aggravation of the Indo-Chinese conflict. They hinge far-reaching provocative plans on this. They hasten to offer arms shipments so that Indians and Chinese should kill each other. The imperialist Powers are ready to loosen the strings of their purses and to display "generosity", give armaments "free", as a "gift". To imperialists this conflict is a real Godsend.

"The armed collisions on the Sino-Indian border have created a nutritive medium for the harmful bacteria of nationalism and war hysteria. A chauvinistic slogan: Blood for blood, was proclaimed. In point of actual fact this means war to a victorious end. Such is the logic of war: The more blood flows, the more blood is needed to atone for it. Where will this end? Each day the moloch of war



will devour more and more victims.

"It is insatiable, and only reason can halt the bloodshed. It is statesmen who must be possessed of such reason.

#### China's Proposal Supported

"Therefore, we regard as reasonable the steps taken by the Government of the People's Republic of China, when it announced that it unilaterally ceases fire and starts to withdraw its troops on December 1. We are most happy about that and welcome such actions of Chinese comrades.

"Some might say, how can you claim this is a reasonable step, if it was taken after so many lives were lost, so much blood was shed. Would it not have been better if both sides had refrained from resorting to arms in general? Yes, of course, that would have been better. We had said so more than once, and repeat this again.

"But if it had not been possible to prevent such a course of events, it is better to display courage now and to end the clash. Is this not wisdom worthy of statesmen?

"Of course, there might be some who would say: Look, here, the People's Republic of China is withdrawing its troops essentially to the line at which this conflict broke out. Would it not have been better not to advance from the positions on which these troops stood at the time? Such reasoning is understandable. It shows that people display concern and regret at what has happened.

"But, comrades, there are some who try to put a different interpretation on the decision taken by the Government of the People's Republic of China. They say: Is it not a retreat?

"They also ask such a question: Is it not a concession on the part of Chinese comrades? Of course such questions are asked and apparently will be sprung by cavers to hurt the feelings of this or that side, to kindle enmity between India and China, to profit from that.

"We trust in the wisdom of the leaders of China and India, and hope that they would not fail for such provocations and would ensure a reasonable resolution of the conflict.

"There are some who already say that China desisted from hostilities apparently because India started receiving support from American and British imperialists who are supplying her with armaments.

"Therefore, such people say, the People's Republic of China realised that if the armed conflict would continue to develop it may overgrow into a big war which would result in still greater casualties.

Yes, clearly Chinese friends considered the situation and this also speaks of their wisdom and understanding of the fact that when a war breaks out between friendly neighbouring peoples, the imperialists always try to profit by that. The United States and Britain have an overproduction of armaments and, when war breaks out, they are happy to give it to other countries which are prepared to stake their national sovereignty to get hold of armaments, failing to realise that by this very act they are putting their heads into a noose and fall into dependence.

#### 'Merchants Of Death'

"The merchants of death reason along such lines: Why shouldn't we make something out of this conflict, when we are not losing anything when the blood of the Indian people and the Chinese people is being shed, and even to profit on this. And, besides, this action has another profitable aspect for the militarists in that it throws back the development of democratic principles in India and creates conditions for the strengthening of the positions of reactionary forces in the country.

"It is not fortuitous that recently there were arrests of Communists and other progressive leaders in India and tomorrow, if the war continues, anyone who says anything against the war will be considered a Commu-

nist. This means that pacifists, too, will find themselves in this category. And here you have a rampage of reactionary forces, the most rabid militarists and reactionaries.

"It seems that this, too, was taken into consideration by the Chinese comrades when they were studying the question of ceasing fire and withdrawing troops.

#### "No Retreat"

"Doubtlessly, the measures of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic will be worthily appraised by the peace-loving peoples. Indeed: why wage war? Did China ever set the task of invading India? No. We reject such contentions as slanderous. And, of course, we also absolutely disallow the thought that India wanted to start war with China. That is why we sincerely welcome the steps taken by the Government of People's China and in no way consider that it made some sort of retreat. No, the Government of the Chinese People's Republic displayed reason, a correct understanding of the situation and exerted efforts to stop the military clash and to normalize the situation.

"The fact that there is no more fire on the Indian-Chinese border confirms that both sides have recognised the disputed questions must be solved not by military but by peaceful means, at the round conference table. And this is correct. For even the most complicated negotiations are better than war."

"We ardently wish to see the two Great powers — People's China and India, to fully restore and consolidate their ancient traditional friendship."

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# Satire And The Aesthetic Theory

★ By A. GUPTA ★

The third point raised by the anonymous Professor is : Does art (including poetry) appeal to the head or the heart ? Or in other words, do we appreciate artistic beauty with our intellect or emotion ? According to the aestheticians as well as Romanticists, a piece of artistic work stirs up our emotion and inflames our imagination. If that is so, intellect has a definite place in the aesthetic theory. As G. S. Fraser says in his "Modern Writer And His World" : Poetry cannot be purely emotion; if it could, poetical language would be reduced to a series of interjections alone. The moment you go beyond exclamations, you appeal to the reader's intellect.

Moreover, imagination cannot exist apart from intellect. Imagination which is the main-spring of emotion postulates a fine intellect. Our ordinary feeble imagination is not impressed by the small humble things that we see every day around us. That shows our intellectual bankruptcy. A Walt Whitman is animated by the sight of not only the macrocosm but also the microcosm. The gigantic sun is as much a Nature's wonder as the tiny glow-worm. Nature works her mystery through both. To a Wordsworth a lowly flower that blows can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

It is wrong, therefore, to accuse Romantic poetry of being composed when emotion is switched on and intellect switched off. It is true that any poetry worth the name must evoke our emotion, but such emotion cannot be aroused in one having a dull unimaginative brain. We must possess of powerful imagination first before we can feel any emotion. And imagination presupposes intellect.

The anonymous Professor quotes T. S. Eliot in support of the dictum that the "cerebral cortex" is the most important instrument of poetic appeal. It is claimed that "T. S. Eliot has said the last word on the sub-

ject". In my humble opinion, mere intellectualism is no poetry. Something else has to be injected into the dry and dead bones of intellectualism in order to infuse life into it—to translate it into the living world of feeling and emotions. The intellectual school seeks to reduce poetry to mere polemics and dialectics which leave the reader cold, unenthused and lifeless. It is emotions which warm up our frozen blood and send it galloping through our tingling veins. It is this live wire of emotions which thrills and awakens the artist's mind enabling him to thrill his audience also.

The fourth and last point raised by the anonymous Professor deals with the place of didacticism in poetry and art. Though the Romanticists are one with the aestheticians on most points, some of former (Wordsworth, for example) are confirmed didacticists and lay more stress on moral teaching than on aesthetics. The aestheticians, on the other hand, are content to create artistic beauty and leave moral teaching to take care of itself. But we have already seen that a moral idea also can create beauty and impart aesthetic delight. And its claim to be high class poetry is based not upon its morality as such but upon its aesthetic content without which no idea, however ethical, can have any poetical appeal. So we see that successful poems on ethical subjects are no challenge to the aesthetic theory at all. The didactic passages in Byron's "The Vision of Judgment" nowhere degenerate into pulpit pomposity and never offend against aesthetics.

Even T. S. Eliot who pronounces the doctrine of "Art for Art's sake" to be "a mistaken one being more advertised than practised", concedes that it "contained this true impulse behind it, that it is a recognition of the error of the poet's trying to do other people's (moralists') work". Elsewhere writing on Yeats, Eliot says :

"Born into a world in which the doctrine of 'Art for Art's sake' was generally accepted, and living on into one in which art has been asked to be instrumental to social purposes, he (Yeats) held firmly to the right view which is between these, though not in any way a compromise between them, and showed that an artist, by serving his art with entire integrity, is at the same time rendering the greatest service he can to his own nation and to the whole world".

While agreeing that the above view of Eliot is "not in any way a compromise between" aestheticism and didacticism, I may be permitted to point out that it is really a complete vindication of the aesthetic slogan 'Art for Art's sake', whether the learned writer realises it or not.

To summarise the points made above, I have in the above discussion sought to demolish the following four misconceptions regarding the aesthetic theory :—

1. That the aestheticist deals with sweet and pleasant things alone and that in aesthetic poetry there is no room for ugly, unpleasant materials.
2. That the sole aim of the aestheticist being to impart delight, tragedy has no place in the aesthetic theory.
3. That aesthetic beauty appeals to emotion alone and not intellect.
4. That morality has no place in aesthetics.

After demolishing these false premises I have tried to establish, however inadequately, the correct standards to be applied in aesthetic judgment. We shall now proceed to judge Byron's "The Vision of Judgment" according to these standards.

Our considered opinion is that "The Vision of Judgment" is a great poem specially from the aesthetic point of view. We have already discussed its universal appeal in spite of the personal attacks made by the poet from private grudge. Indeed



the poet succeeded in breaking through the crust of personal prejudice in order to reach the core of universality leaving all narrowness behind. The poem has all the elements of a typical satire being full of wit, humour, sarcasm and buffoonery; but all the same it is an elevated satire of great poetic beauty breathing lofty sentiments of freedom, justice and equality.

Yet from the first stanza (St Peter dozing at the gate of heaven) to the last (George III surreptitiously entering the precincts of heaven), we seem to have only a series of caricatures and comic pictures one following close upon the heels of another. We have to hold our sides with laughter as we see the funny opera unfold itself before our eyes without a single dull moment at any time. But beneath all the light-hearted buffoonery of a humorist, lie concealed the hot tears shed by warm-hearted humanist. Behind the façade of a farce the author succeeds in developing the tragic grandeur of a lone fighter for freedom in a world of tyranny and despotism. Sometimes his outbursts come out like volcanic lava overwhelming the reader even as he laughs at the grotesque creations of the poet.

As we read the poem, the aestheticist in us asks: Does the poet succeed in creating artistic beauty that lashes our emotion and sets our imagination ablaze? Most surely the answer is yes. The scene enacted in heaven's gate creates a weird world of beauty that holds us charmed and fascinated. Even as we go through the descriptive scenes in ethereal surroundings we feel that satire merges into epic grandeur almost at every step.

Swinburne rightly says that Byron gave his satirical poems wings to fly with. Or in other words, in Byronical satires there is ample scope for play of romantic imagination. Byron's creative impulse was after all Romantic and hence prolific. That is why he could not keep himself within the rigid discipline of Classical poetry and heroic

couplets. The eight-lined Ottava Rima, having the rhyme pattern *abababce*, suited him better as these stanzas gave him more room to manoeuvre his playful poetry and a wider scope for his thought-waves to surge and swell.

Even in caricaturing the angels Byron enumerates their duties in a sportive imaginative style:

"Little else to do  
Excepting to wind up the  
sun and the moon  
Or curb a runaway young  
star or two,  
Or wild colt of a comet,  
which too soon  
Broke out of bounds o'er  
the ethereal blue,  
Splitting some planet with  
its playful tail,  
As boats are sometimes  
by a wanton whale".

(St. 2)

It is my personal opinion that any reference to astronomical bodies and vast astronomical spaces (in whatever context) is bound to quicken our fancy. H. Caudwell also says in his article on "Imagination" that vast expanses of space and time are the eternal unscrutable mysteries of Nature. Nothing else excites the human mind so deeply as they. Perhaps that is the key to the overwhelming attraction of Milton's "Paradise Lost" which recently a friend very kindly read to me in my sickbed.

The mighty picture of His Dark Satanic Majesty in stanza 24 of "The Vision of Judgment", also reminds one of Milton's epic. Then there is the colourful description of the Archangel Michael which is no less impressive:

"As things were in this  
posture, the gate flew  
Asunder, and the flashing  
of its hinges  
Flung over space an uni-  
versal hue  
Of many-colour'd flame,  
until its tinges  
Reach'd even our speck of  
earth, and made a new

Aurora borealis, spread its  
fringes  
O'er the North Pole; the  
same seen, when ice-bound,  
By Captain Parry's crew,  
in Melville's Sound."  
(St. 27)

"And from the gate thrown  
open issued beaming  
A beautiful and mighty  
Thing of Light,  
Radiant with glory, like a  
banner streaming  
Victorious from some  
world-o'erthrowing fight :"

(St. 28)

[Note:—Captain Parry (1790-1885) was a reputed arctic explorer. He should not be confused with Commander Peary (1856-1920) who conquered the North Pole in 1909.]

In both the descriptions of "His Darkness" the Satan and "His Brightness" the Archangel, we find Byronic sweep of words scattering celestial images in a grand romantic style. If these do not thrill a reader, nothing else will. Only a flaming imagination, such as Byron's, can set others' aflame.

Another impressive imagery is found in stanzas 57-58 where the coming of Satan's hordes is described as a gathering of storm-clouds darkening the sky like a swarm of locusts in no time. "Hell let loose" is the apt comment made by the poet himself.

Apart from these descriptive lines, there are evocative passages calling forth emotions that are varied and many. For example, there are occasions when we find the author in a mood of white-hot moral indignation against tyranny and despotism. In a revolutionary spirit he challenges the heirs of George III and contemptuously refers to them as—

"Drones  
Who sleep, or despots who  
have now forgot  
A lesson which shall be  
re-taught them, wake  
Upon the thrones of earth;  
but let them quake!"  
(St. 47)



Elsewhere Byron speaks out as a staunch disciple of Rousseau—a champion of the Greed of Equality—

"If you have aught to arraign in him, the tomb Gives licence to the humblest beggar's head To lift itself against the loftiest"  
(St. 69)

The character of Robert Southey, the Poet Laureate, depicted as a sycophant time-server, raises laughter and contempt. The abject picture of a bootlicker offering to write an appreciation of Satan's life as readily as that of St. Michael is incomparable. No wonder that the impetuous St. Peter knocked Southey down and sent him Phaeton-like hurtling towards the earth below.

But the surface flippancy of the poem cannot conceal the author's warm heart quivering with a revolutionary urge and aflame with righteous anger. The emotions he calls up are not merely amused laughter but something much deeper. As I said before beneath the surface of flippancy flows an undercurrent of white-hot seriousness. As a lone crusader in the noble cause of Liberty and Equality, Byron touches the very innermost chords of our heart.

If highest poetry is that which successfully creates a picture of noble beauty kindling our emotion and imagination at the same time, Byron's satires are great poetry. There is, then, no reason why we should demolish the aesthetic theory of poetry in order to appreciate Byron the satirist. It is his works which prove that a satirist may also be a great artist.

I have criticised the anonymous Professor somewhat severely, but I would not go so far as to advise the students not to read the bazar notes at all. It would be impracticable for them to read the original works on Byron written by celebrated critics like Mayne, Nichol, Fuess, Castelain,

Vulliamy, Smeaton, Walker or Leavis. The bazar notes (particularly the various compilations edited by Prof. B. R. Mullik) render a valuable service by making available to students relevant extracts from all these authors in one compact volume. I have myself borrowed many of the materials supplied by the anonymous Professor in his commentary. All that I ask the student, specially if he has taken up Honours in English, is to keep his eyes open and not to take everything on trust from these bazar notes. His own common-sense and literary taste must guide him at every step.

I have written this article without any care for the particular types of University questions likely to be set on Byron's satire. But students do not like to read anything that has no bearing on examination papers. So as an after thought I suggest some questions which may probably be answered with the help of the materials of this article.

#### Questions:—

1. Write a paragraph on "Art for Art's sake". (P.U.B.A. Hons. 1961).
2. Discuss the characteristics of Byron as a satirist. (P.U.B.A. Hons. 1957).
3. Is satire great poetry? Discuss with special reference to Byron's "The Vision of Judgment".
4. What is satire? What is the difference between Dryden and Byron as satirists?
5. Attempt a general critical appreciation of Byron's "The Vision of Judgment".
6. "The Vision of Judgment" is an example of "Byron's way of mingling the highest poetry with satire". (Hugh Walker). Explain and illustrate. (P.U., B.A. Hons., 1959; B.U., B.A., 1954S)
7. "The Vision of Judgment" rises to greatness by the fact that underneath all its lambent

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buffoonery, it is aflame with righteous indignation". (J. Nichol). Elucidate. (B.U., B.A., 1954)

8. There are both jest and earnestness in "The Vision of Judgment". Discuss. (B.U., B.A., 1955)

9. "Satire to be convincing must have a worthy aim. Its method may be ridicule, but its object must be reform" (William Dick). Discuss with reference to "The Vision of Judgment". (B.U., B.A., 1956 S)

10. "The Vision of Judgment" is a satire not so much against Southey and George III as against literary sycophancy and tyranny. Discuss.

11. Sketch, after Byron, the character of Robert Southey. (B.U., B.A., 1955 S)

12. Write a note on the versification of "The Vision of Judgment." (B.U., B.A., year not noted)

13. Write a short note on Ottawa Rima. (P.U., B.A. Hons. 1959)

14. Write an essay on Tragedy (P.U., B.A. Hons., 1961).

15. Write an essay on Verse Satire (P.U., B.A. Hons., 1962).

16. "The Vision of Judgment" is Byron's masterpiece, aesthetically perfect, intellectually consistent, highly entertaining, and morally profound—the supreme example of satire as it could be written by an English poet-aristocrat." Examine. (P.U., B.A. Hons. 1962).



# Where Do We Go From Here ?

★ From R. K. KARANJIA ★

New Delhi: Straight and strong and serene stood, the image of this ancient land of peace roused to militant defence, as with a steady hand he loaded the heavy gun. And then, he helped me fold the weapon and put it back in its case.

This was the second time I had met the Prime Minister since his illness: and I felt like thanking Mr. Mao and his burglar-army for this miraculous resurrection—the whole nation's no less than Mr. Nehru's—brought about by their Himalayan folly.

Mr. Nehru spoke to me with quiet if injured dignity about the Chinese. There was no hatred or bitterness about his words, no chauvinism—only a hard, coiled determination worth one hundred divisions to our defence effort.

## To Peace With Honour!

I had an interview with him before the Chinese wrecked his plans for the resumption of

vacate their aggression and withdraw behind the September 8th line. The immediate next step, therefore, rests with the Chinese.

Karanjia:—There seems to be a wide gap between the Chinese and Indian proposals. Do you think the forthcoming Colombo conference of non-aligned powers can help to bridge the gulf by persuading China to withdraw to the September 7th position?

Nehru:—I hope so. That would be the obvious and reasonable thing to do from all points of view.

## Renewed Talks By Officials

Karanjia:—And if the Chinese agree to the restoration of the pre-September status quo, what would be the next step?

Nehru:—The next step, obviously, would be to resume negotiations for a peaceful settlement on honourable terms. In this matter, also, it would be advisable to pick up

The officials have cleared up many historical aspects and produced certain amount of material based on facts, for the first time, which could be helpful. If these reports are examined carefully, I am sure that even the Chinese Government and people will be influenced by something which is objective and factual.

## Non-Alignment Vindicated

We proceeded to discuss the new and cunning line of Chinese propaganda, directed at the non-aligned and communist worlds, charging India with abandoning non-alignment and inviting Western military intervention in Asia.

I put this criticism to the author of non-alignment and doyen of the un-aligned nations for clarification. His answer was categorical and convincing.

Nehru—We have not abandoned non-alignment. This stand of ours is not so much a postulate of our foreign policy as the

## ★ ★ ★ To Peace With Honour & Continued Preparedness

negotiations on September 15th last by officials of the two countries, and I was meeting him again after the treacherous war forced upon us, to find this man of peace ready to forgive and forget the bloodiest crime of history, finish the war and resume talks, provided the aggressor made honourable amends by vacating his aggression.

In fact, Mr. Nehru began our talk where he had ended it last time on the theme of "peace with honour".

## Colombo Powers' Responsibility

Karanjia:—Where do we go from here, Mr. Prime Minister?

Nehru:—As you know, the Chinese have ceased fire unilaterally and announced their intention to withdraw. We are waiting to see how and where this withdrawal takes place. Our proposals are clear: they must

the thread from where it was snapped in September—that is, talks by officials from both sides, in the first place.

Karanjia:—To what purpose, Mr. Nehru?

Nehru:—First of all, to lessen the tensions of the past and present and create a more positive climate. Then, as you know, there are the reports of the officials—two separate reports submitted by the Chinese and Indian officials on the dispute in 1960—which provide a good basis for further discussion.

## Helpful Factual Data

Karanjia:—Do these reports indicate any basis for agreement?

Nehru—Well, they are conflicting reports full of contradictory views. But at least they have put things on a factual basis.

projection of our sovereignty, independence and peaceful values to our international relations. The present situation has vindicated our policy of non-alignment and Panch Sheel. True the Chinese have sought to attack and destroy these principles, and have outlawed themselves from their application, but that does not make them bad principles of questionable principles! On the contrary, the enormous support, both military and moral, we have received from the rest of the world has justified and, if I may say so, strengthened these basic principles. So why should we abandon them?

## Logic & Momentum Of War

Karanjia—Quite right, Sir, Nevertheless some confusion seems to have been created by your statement to the BBC that, "though we abide by non-align-



ment, war has its own logic and creates its own momentum."

Nehru—What I meant by this was that, in normal circumstances, we would not have asked for so much assistance from our friends abroad, but the Chinese attack left us with no other alternative. However, this has not changed our basic stand or ideology.

In fact, the most gratifying feature of Western military co-operation is that it has come without any ideological strings or cold-war reservations. Britain, America and other friendly countries themselves recognise and appreciate the fact that we are non-aligned.

It is only fair to them to say that there has been no suggestion that we should be otherwise. We have not been asked to join any military alliance or jump into the cold war!

Karanjia :—And we would welcome military assistance from nonaligned and communist nations also?

Nehru :—There is nothing to prevent us doing so. In fact, the situation we are facing of an expansionist, imperialist aggression, which threatens not only India but Asia and other parts of the world as well, has nothing to do with communism and anti-communism or the cold war.

Karanjia :—It really calls for a break-through of the old cold-war approach to a new policy of East-West containment of China?

Nehru :—It would be good if it does so. After all, remember that China which is shouting about our so-called abandonment of non-alignment is herself a very much aligned country. And in the last war, the Chinese Red Army under this same leadership had no objection to accepting massive American aid against another Asian power which had invaded her territories during the Sino-Japanese war.

That was indeed a valid rejoinder, for during the period of the Communist-Kuomintang coalition against Japan, Mr. Mao and his Red Army had

transformed south-eastern China into a gigantic base for American military aid, including air striking power, against the Japanese invaders. Now that Mao's China wears the jackboots of Tojo's Japan, does it lie in the mouth of her Government to condemn India for receiving Western aid?

#### Indo-Pakistan Entente

Proceeding to the other Indo-Pakistan crisis, Mr. Nehru said:

"Ever since partition, our basic policy has been to develop positive and cordial relations with Pakistan, which was the obvious and natural thing to do; unfortunately the aftermath of partition and the policies pursued by Pakistan did not help to bring about this result. The sooner we remove all this deadweight of mutual suspicion and recrimination, the better it will be for both our countries. This has ever been and remains our objective vis-a-vis Pakistan."

In this context, I brought up the issue of the masive campaign that had been launched since the October reversers against Mr. Nehru and the ideological base of his Government.

The Prime Minister wasn't, of course, worried about the wild attacks made against him personally, but he admitted the fact that "the main reason for this campaign is ideological and this campaign is ideological and that "it was not personal" and that "it was against the national ideology of socialism, secularism and non-alignment that the attack was mounted."

#### No Retreat On Ideology !

To my question as to whether we were going to suffer reverses and casualties on this ideological base also, just because we had suffered reverses and casualties in the NEFA and Ladakh fronts, Mr. Nehru rose from his desk, pulled out his chest and gave a stout, categorical and emphatic "NO" !

Nehru :—Our national ideology, which includes the plan, the growth of our industrial

base both in the public and private sectors, and what is even more important today, the imperative of defence industrialisation—that is, making our weapons ourselves, and of course co-operative farming and development—are really part and parcel of the war effort.

I would say that we owe the fact that today we can stand up to face China's challenge and refuse to surrender to the strong industrial background we have been able to build up, thanks to our Five-Year Plans and Socialist policies.

Karanjia :—So we do not propose to help Mr. Mao with any withdrawal on the ideological front?

Nehru :—We certainly don't want to do anything of the kind. The Chinese attack is not only on our territory but also our ideology and we cannot sacrifice either.

Karanjia :—This issue of ideology brings me to another important question: what in your opinion is the motivation behind the Chinese aggression? This point needs clarification because some say that Chinese expansionism is part of the Communist philosophy, while others put it down to the fact that the Chinese have been historically an imperialist country.

Nehru : The Chinese behaviour bears all the marks of the predatory Western imperialisms of the 18th and 19th centuries. They somehow continue to believe in the inevitability of war and violence. I would not like to put all this down to the fact China is a Communist country. It looks more like the revival of an odd, ancient urge of the Chinese to attack and expand whenever they are strong enough to do so!

Karanjia : How then do we propose to contain this almost atavistic aggressiveness of the Chinese?

Nehru : One has to be strong, united and well prepared both in the military and ideological sense. We have to learn to live with this problem for a long



time, and prepare long-term plans for the purpose. A great deal of help has come to us from our friends because of the immediate crisis of the invasion, but the future will depend more and more on self-help.

We must arm ourselves not only with the weapons of war, but even more so the weapons of industry and agriculture. This is the reason why I consider our plans and ideology as the muscles and sinews of our defence and security.

As Mr. Nehru finished and rose to say "Jai Hind", I could not help remarking on the quiet, relaxed way in which this old man of 73 was facing the greatest crisis of his political life. The storms and stresses of time and circumstance had not shaken his heart or shifted his mind. The rest of us, smaller men, are inclined to be tossed hither and thither by the shifting pulls of events. Not so this great statesman. For his dialogue is not with Time but History.

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### ★ TRI-COLOUR FLYING IN BOMDILA AGAIN ★

(From Our Correspondent)

TEJPUR :

The Civil Administration headed by Mr. Johari Political officer of the Kameng Division is back in Bomdila after over a month; the Indian tri-colour went up the flag-mast early this week, watched by tribal villagers and some civilian officers and men.

The Chinese army, in nearly one month's occupation of Bomdila have systematically ransacked the small town and have taken away the stored food grains, textiles, army supplies, medicines, telephone, telegraph and electrical equipments, motor vehicles—and cattle.

Information reaching Tejpur from competent and reliable sources indicate Chinese presence near about Bomdila even after their claimed withdrawal. One school of thought believe that commissars attached to various Chinese field units who are familiar with local dialects and

## 'Attitude Of Blackmail' On Kashmir

New York, Dec. 19.

Prime Minister Nehru, in an interview to a Washington "Post" correspondent, has accused Pakistan of displaying an "attitude of blackmail" in seeking to make a settlement over Kashmir a pre-condition for an assurance of peace on the Indo-Pakistan borders.

When reminded by the correspondent, Seling Harrison, that Western Powers were also pressing for a settlement, Mr. Nehru was quoted to have said: "They are to some extent parties to this blackmail, though perhaps they do not realise it".

Harrison quoted Mr. Nehru as cautioning against "pressure tactics" by the United States and Britain to induce Indian withdrawal from the Kashmir Valley as price for an enlarged Western military assistance programme.

Mr. Nehru, according to the correspondent, said, "We want, and welcome, western aid, but if it does not come, that does not mean we are going to surrender to the Chinese.

"We are not so weak as people may imagine. No doubt

terrain, are going to circulate secretly in the region stretching from the Se La pass to Bomdila in the Kameng Division, keep a close watch on Indian activities and serve as mobile "Listening Posts" for the Chinese. Chinese personnel, in civilian clothes were observed in the Tanga Valley, hardly 12 miles away from Bomdila as recently as Monday, December 17.

Meanwhile, Tejpur is fast returning to a normal conditions. Tejpur's young Deputy Commissioner, Rana K.D.N. Singh, I.A.S. (from Bihar) has made a fine impression for quickly mobilising and co-ordinating all Government personnel during and after the recent panicky evacuation of the town.

we are not used to the particular methods of mountain warfare used by the Chinese, but we will learn".

Mr. Nehru said he had seen reports of statements by Mr. Averell Harriman, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, linking Western military aid against China to a settlement of the Kashmir question, but there had been no direct pressure (on India).

The Prime Minister added: I cannot judge what their difficulties are in the United States, but so far as we are concerned, while we are prepared for greater contacts and greater trade between Kashmir and Pakistan, and for adjustments in the present ceasefire line, which is not a very sensible one, we are persuaded that any major change, would ruin the valley".

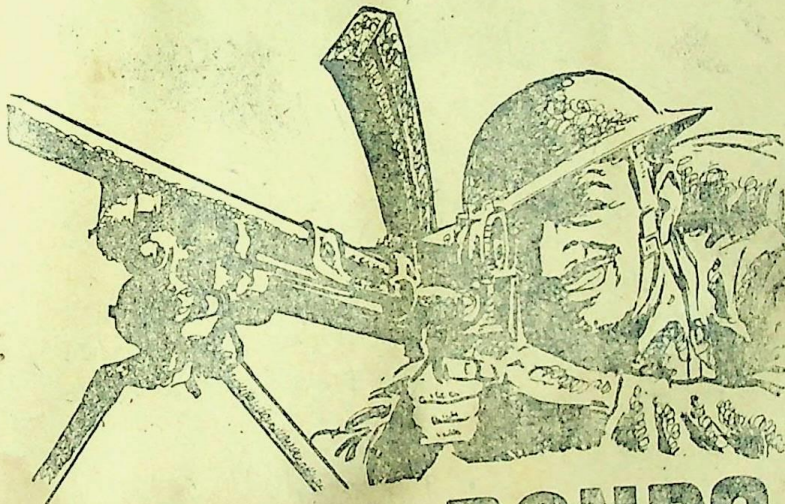
Mr. Nehru also told the correspondent that "anything which confused the position of the Valley would add to tensions and bitterness.

"Remember that at present Srinagar offers the only way to reach Ladakh, and all of our campaigns against China depend on the Kashmir Valley".

Mr. Nehru was also reported to have said that even if a settlement over Kashmir could not be reached with Pakistan, he did not think it would "badly" affect the Western military aid programme against China.



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