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# Indian Libertarian

Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review' and 'The Indian Nationalist'  
AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY  
AND LIMITED GOVERNMENT

MAKING ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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## EDITORIAL

### THE ASSAMESE PROBLEM FLARES UP AGAIN

THE Bengalis form a compact majority in the district of Cachar in Assam but are also spread evenly throughout the Brahmaputra Valley amidst the Assamese proper. In fact they number fifteen lakhs in the Brahmaputra Valley where they form a large majority whereas they are ten lakhs in Cachar where they are in a majority.

The Reorganisation Report had suggested that where in a district the majority speak a language different from that of the provincial majority, they should be allowed to have their own language as the official language. The Shastri Formula recognises the value of this recommendation and upholds Bengali as the official language of Cachar side by side with Assamese as the central official language of the State as a whole. The Assamese Official Language Act goes further and provides for full Assamisation in the future by a special provision whereby the mahakuma or panchayat councils are authorised to change over from Bengali to Assamese by a majority of votes at any time in the future. The Cachar Bengali-speaking people protested against this eventual Assamisation programme, which may come sooner than expected artificially whenever the central authorities could influence the local panchayat councils otherwise than through legitimate linguistic grounds.

The Shastri formula allays this fear of the Cachar

Bengalis by persuading the Central Assamese Government to withdraw this provision of the recent Act of Shillong. This should assure them that so far as Cachar is concerned, Bengali is guaranteed a safe future for all time. The question of the infiltration of Assamese language into Cachar will never arise.

But the Cachar Sangram Parishad is not satisfied with this solution of a safe and long term use of Bengali in their district. Based on the fifteen lakhs of Bengali speaking people in the Brahmaputra Valley in the midst of the Assamese people (who want a subnation for themselves under the name of Assam) on the analogy of Assam, the Cachar Bengalis and the Banga Bhasha Parishad in general demands the recognition of Bengali as an official language for the State as a whole on equal terms with Assamese. They want the State of Assam to be a Dual Language State to reflect the present language equilibrium for all time—both Assamese and Bengali being recognised for all official purposes. In real terms, this means that the Bengali should be enabled to feel at home in Assam as his own home province without the need to adjust his position as a minority to the majority of Assamese speaking people. The Bengali will continue as an equal partner in the sovereignty of the State sharing in equal measure in the opportunities and patronage of the State in its developing phases in the future. The formula of Karl Marx that economic sovereignty determines the political superstructure of a people's life and culture is exemplified in this struggle of Assamese and Bengali

elements in Assam.

This background is necessary to realise the intensity of the struggle with its unusual degree of virulence and violence in Assam.

There is also a complicating factor which is difficult to assess in its full strength on account of paucity of information due partly to ignorance and partly to a misinterpretation of the secular policy of India which prevents the principal newspapers from probing further into the matter. It is the conspiracy of pro-Pakistani Muslims to increase the Muslim proportion of the population of Assam in order to smooth the way to its eventual incorporation in Pakistan in the fulness of time.

In 1949-49, there were complaints that a large number of Pakistani Muslims immigrated into Assam illegally, and clandestinely through the collusion and slackness of Muslim officialdom on the border.

During the recent Census operations, it is reported that several lakhs of illegal immigrants have again come into the country.

At Hailakandi, large mobs numbering as many as 10,000 attacked the town in mid-day. They raised slogans of "Allah-ho-Akbar!" and "Pakistan Zindabad! Hindustan Murdabad!" The mobs consisted largely of Muslim villagers. The Muslim ex-League Minister, Moin-ul-Huq and the Muslim Inspector General of Police were in the Town just a couple of days back.

The organised attack by Muslims was led by a Shanti Parishad (so-called) formed for the occasion as a counter to the Bengali Cachar Sangram Parishad which had withdrawn its agitation after the

intervention of Mr. Shastri and Mr. Nehru. But the counter Parishad of Muslims attacked the Bengalis all the same. The real intention was to drive the Bengalis out of Assam. This is a continuation of last July's organised attacks on the Bengalis! The Central Government acquiesced in the demand of the local Government that no enquiry be held into the doings of Assam's high-ups during last year's riots!

It is clear that the "civil war" is on again: Mr. Asok Sen, the Central Minister, is right in describing this conflict as one of civil war.

It is high time that the Central Government mustered courage, jettisoning its election fears and took the State Administration over for Presidential control.

There are two Muslims in the Government of Assam,—one of them an ex-Muslim Leaguer and the Chief Minister is returned by Cachar border Muslim majorities: hence his weakness vis-a-vis the Muslims! The rest of India needs to go into these underground conspiracies more thoroughly instead of supinely dismissing the whole tangle as due to "communalism", (of course of the Hindus the universal scapegoat of the Congress!)

### CONGRESS AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE IN KERALA

Congress party leaders made a great hubbub in Durgapur about the Jabalpur riots on the assumption that they were wholly due to Hindus attacking Muslims unprovoked. They appointed the Indira Gandhi Committee to suggest remedies for the uprooting of the evil of communalism.

Most papers and observers pointed out that the most powerful communal force in the country is the Congress Party and Congress Government themselves which encourage the minorities illicitly for the sake of capturing their votes. They distribute seats in schools and colleges and reserve posts and promotions in the administrative services for minorities in some arithmetical proportions—Mysore going so far as recognising 160 communities for the purpose!

In the last elections, the ukase had gone forth from Mr. Nehru that fifteen percent of the tickets should be reserved for Muslims and women. Today, Muslims in Conference are demanding reservations in schools and colleges, government jobs and promotions, trade, industry, transport and even in private commercial and industrial establishments, Indian and foreign! If every opportunity is afforded to have reservations for Muslims, how far (or near) are we to separate electorates and reserved seats in Government bodies—to the cutting up of sovereignty and destruction of integral nationalism?

In Kerala Congress leaders were confronted with an awkward problem. The Speakership of the Assembly had been given to a Muslim Leaguer in accordance with the League-Congress Alliance during the mid-term elections. Now Mr. Seethy Sahib the Speaker died rendering the post vacant.

After some cogitation, the Congress High Command ordered that the Muslim League's Head Mr. Koya could be elected by the PSP-Congress—League

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Alliance on condition that he resigned from his membership of the League! (Accordingly he resigned formally and was elected Speaker! Formal and verbal resignation was supposed to drive his League mind from Mr. Koya's blood-stream! The people are aghast at this exhibition of hypocrisy and deception on the part of the Congress High Command. If this is the measure of its crusade against "communalism", it only reduces itself to the equalisation of communalism to an opposition to Congress! My doxy is orthodox but your doxy is heterodox!

After this exhibition of unscrupulous dealing, comes the news of Congress success in Orissa mid-term election. This shows the ignorance and immaturity of the Indian electorate that is not affected by hypocrisy, double dealing and lack of all principle. One fears that Congress can buy its way to power for a long time to come with its illgotten money and governmental patronage.

### THE CONGO MESS CONTINUES UNABATED.

Mr. Rajeswar Dayal has been making encouraging statements about the success of the UN operations in the Congo on his way back from Lake Success.

He points out that the UN has succeeded in preventing civil war on a large scale and the intervention of the great Powers and thinks that the setback occurring from the murder of Mr. Lumumba is being counter-acted and that the Congo is on the way to a conciliation between its Leaders and the formation of a Central Government.

The sudden imprisonment of Mr. Tshombe was in keeping with the Gilbertian (and anarchical) condition of the tribal society or lack of society of the Congo.

Then came the news that Mr. Tshombe was released by the Central Government leaders, Kasavubu and Bakango. Newspapers carried pictures of Mr. Tshombe embracing Mr. Bakango with great pathos.

But once safe in his home town of Elizabethville, Mr. Tshombe has gone back to his original position of independence and hostility to all ideas of a central integral unitary government for the Congo. It is clear that the intrigues of the UN and the hopes of Mr. Dayal have many disappointments in store. They should not cry before they are out of the woods! Mr. Tshombe still supports the Panarive proposal of a loose federation or confederation of 23 tribal units with no over-riding powers to the President of central government. He receives revenues from the Belgian Mineral Companies amounting to half the revenues of the entire budget of former Congo Central Government! Why should he surrender any part of it to the Central Government if one is formed on the lines of the Constitution that inaugurated the Congo independence?

Modern theory holds that every national State should represent the General will. But where is the general will in the Congo at present? The Parliament might have allowed its emergence through free discussion but Kasavubu and Mobutu are willing to allow the meeting of Parliament only on condition that it expresses their own Will already made up in their own favour as supreme rulers! No one—whe-

ther Kasavubu, Mobutu, Gizenga or Bakango or Tshombe—is willing to surrender power and reseck it and accept it if given by the freely convoked and freely deciding Parliament! Such a free expression of Parliamentary Will and Opinion is nowhere in the offing yet, in the jungle of power-conflict in the Congo!

### ALGERIA AND THE FAILURE OF DR. GAULLE'S POLICIES

The suppression of the revolt of the Generals of the Army was a glorious act of De Gaulle. But the Algerian problem is not nearer solution on that account. The only solution that has any chance of stability is the Partition of the country between its French and Arab elements. Things are moving towards this conclusion slowly but unmistakably. The stumbling block is formed by the Sahara. But even the Sahara has to be partitioned.

### ESSENTIALS OF FREE GOVERNMENT

—To make a Government requires no great prudence. Settle the seat of power, teach obedience and the work is done. To give freedom is still more easy. It is not necessary to guide; it only requires to let go the rein. But to form a free government, that is to temper together these opposite elements of liberty and restraint in one consistent work, requires much thought, deep reflection, a sagacious powerful and combining mind.

—Edmund Burke (Reflections on the Revolution in France).

—'On the basis of my Soviet experiences, I believe that extreme concentration of power, both political and economic, is the supreme evil in government from which all other evils flow. And I regard as the supreme social good, the free development of the individual, best assured by a limited government with an abundance of checks and balances and by a free, competitive economic system based on private property'.

—W. H. Chamberlin ('Evolution of a Conservative').

'Liberty, private property and prosperity, now and for ever, one and inseparable'.

—Daniel Webster.

'The accumulation of all powers, legislative executive and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few or many, and whether hereditary self-appointed or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny'.

—Madison (The Federalist).

'Clearly enough in the modern State, the application of law to life demands a vast body of civil servants to administer it. In Anglo-Saxon Communities it has been regarded as elementary that the interpretation of law should be entrusted to an independent body of officials — the judges — who can arbitrate impartially between government and citizens. That view I take to be of the first importance to freedom!

Prof. H. J. Laski (Liberty In The Modern State).

July 15, 1961.

# The Will To Be A Nation

By M. A. Venkata Rao

**T**HE way that the Congress party and Government are setting about the solution of the problem of national integration suggests powerfully by its grievous inadequacy the necessity and wisdom of appointing a President's Commission to study and offer constructive suggestions towards a permanent resolution of the vexed tangles connected with communalism.

National integration is a two-way process. Any approach like the one adopted by the authorities stressing exclusively the offer of incentives or carrots to the Muslims to make them at home and contented in Indian national society can only be self-contradictory and self-defeating. The Congress Committee presided over by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Government after receipt of report submitted by that committee seem to have accepted its recommendations and approach completely as the last word of wisdom about the problem! The essence of the solution recommended consists in the offer of carrots to Muslims and the use of sticks to Hindus. The communalism condemned by all seems to be only that of the Hindus as if it is not the Muslims that are creating the dangerous problem of separatism once again by their exclusive claims and refusal to assimilate themselves into Indian society and State in terms of the democratic and republican Constitution we have adopted.

The solution to the problem of Muslim communalism and its derivative of Hindu communalism by way of defence and reaction involves no less than the problem of nation-making embodying the social assimilation of Muslims into Indian society. We cannot have a National State (such as is called for by the strenuous conditions of the modern world, which is an arena of conflicting nation-States maintaining a precarious balance of power which breaks down periodically into world wars,) without a national society bound by a sufficient degree of social unity and fraternity and mutual confidence—in a word without “a consciousness of kind” to use the sociologist's term.

This is agreed ground in current political science and philosophy. For instance, Sir Ernest Barker says in his book: *Principles of Social and Political Theory*: “Under modern conditions and as a result of the historic process.....the basic form of the human community.....is the nation.....It has a common capital of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted in a common course of past history.....which includes a common language, a common religion and a common culture variously expressed in art and architecture, in literature, in social habits and otherwise”.

“The second is a common will to live together for the future, freely and independently increasing the common capital of thoughts and feelings.....”

Race, language, literature, religion, social customs and laws based on religions may all differ but if the peoples occupying a definite territory consider it as their common home or patrie and develop a will to live together as one nation and form one state for common defence and for the legal purposes of law and order and justice between all members on equal terms, the future may bind them though the past may stress differences.

Switzerland has different races and religions and languages but all Swiss have a determination to form a single nation and state. They have expressed this determination in eight hundred years of historic defence of their homeland unanimously. They have thus a common history and cherish a common future as one nation.

The Canadians and Belgians are also dual-people nations but they are bound together by a common will to live together as a single nation.

The common consciousness of kind (or kinship or sense of belonging together) can only develop through a common history of shared feelings of joys and sorrows and a sense of common commitment to the same destiny. If the past does not furnish common ideals and experiences, the future should take its place. In spite of all differences of race, religion and language, a nationality may develop in the face of a common danger and a realisation of the advantage of common interests. A common territory and a common administration willingly supported by all elements of the population who are bound by the determination to build a common future in a common society may develop sufficient social unity to support a nation with the requisite integration to constitute a viable State, viable in the sociological and political dimensions.

A French thinker of the last century Mr. Renan in a well-known essay on the nature of nationalism (*What is a Nation?*) has brought out the pre-eminence of this will to live together and form a single nation-state in the formation of nations. National integration requires at least this basic factor for its emergence and functioning as a nation-maker.

All other common factors such as race, religion, language are only contributory factors but not indispensable in every case.

The problem in India is posed by the question whether we have these factors as between Hindus and Muslims to enable them to integrate themselves in a common society and form a single nation.

This is a question that puts the Muslims at the cross roads. It confronted them with the cross roads before Partition and we know the result, so tragic in its repercussions on the future of Indian unity and its career as a modern nation.

Much discussion on this question today and in the recent past has been vitiated by a failure to distinguish between cultural homogeneity and political

consciousness. We may have a high degree of cultural homogeneity but fail to develop a national cohesion sufficient to run a politically viable State. Europe had a great opportunity before the wars of the Reformation and Counter-reformation to develop into a large European Nation-State inclusive of all present-day nations—France, Germany, Italy, Scandinavian people, Spain, Portugal, Austria-Hungary—if not the Slavic peoples included in Russia and her sphere of influence. Christendom has sufficient cultural unity. It had (and has even to-day) the same view of life and scale of values conflicting in the same way with modernism after the renaissance and with science and secularism. But the ambitions of Princes and the overweening secular autocracy of the Popes destroyed the great possibility with the result that the opportunity passed and Europe split into warring nations in spite of cultural homogeneity. Muslim States in the same way have warred against one another motivated by the ambitions of dynasts and the conflicting economic interests of different areas notwithstanding the undoubted fact that Islam posits brotherhood among the faithful more strongly than any other great religion.

It is no doubt true that Indian culture through the ages has developed a remarkable degree of homogeneity in overall view of life, social customs and scheme of values carried by key terms in the same way throughout the vast land. The terms—*dyhan*, *jnan*, *karma*, *punarjanma*, *bhakti*, the *devas*, 'brahman' or the absolute, impersonal 'nirguna' or personal or 'saguna', *tapas*, *prakriti*, *purusha*, *jiva*, *jada*, *kala*, *akasha* or *dik*, *svarga*, *moksha*, *kaivalya*, *yoga*, *samadhi*, *anu* and *peramanu*, *guru*, *acharya*, *vidya*, etc. etc.—are understood by people in all parts of the country. The spiritual classics of the country the Vedas, Upanishads, the Gita and the epics the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and Bhagavata are permeated by the same psychological climate and are governed by the same scheme of human values. The popular hymnologists—Purandhara Dasa, Thyagaraja, Chaitanya, Ramananda, Kabir (a Muslim), Vallabha, Tukaram, Ramdas and others use the same ideas and feelings in spite of the different provincial languages they employ. The basic culture is the same throughout the vast land from Kashmir to the Cape.

But Indian history has been full of wars and battles between States and groups of States under Rajas and Emperors century after century. The identity of culture has not prevented rulers of Anga, Vanga, Chola, Chera, Kalinga, Ujjain, Gujerat, Malwa and Bihar etc. from waging wars against each other in the quest for overlordship or imperial hegemony (the status of the 'chakravartin').

The basic truth of this matter is that common culture goes a long way to cement different peoples into a single Nation-State, if leaders inspired with such a common vision assume control in crucial stages of their history. Common culture can be used to develop homogeneity or consciousness of kind into a full-fledged Nation-State, if a single administration is imposed and run honestly to maintain a common system of law and order and common defence. Confederations thus become federations and federations pass in time into unitary national governments or States.

There are eras in history when different major interests of man are predominant in motivation. At one time religion could inspire leaders and people to forge nation-States. At other times revolutionary slogans permeated by humanist values like Liberty, Equality and Fraternity could under Napoleon help conquer the greater part of Europe. Today economic interests and defence play a major part in modern states. But in India, Muslims are still atavistic and are roused to action in the name of religion and historical memory coloured by Islam. That is more powerful in them than common economic and defence interests which could make Muslims and Hindus favour a single State. Indian cultural memories make Hindus prefer a single State for India which would consolidate and fulfil the dream of ages pointing to a single all-Indian State as the culmination of the Chakravartin ideal and national consolidation. But this demands the consent and soulful acquiescence of the Muslims. But they have a different memory—that of Islamic greatness amalgamating religion, culture, and political interests all in one powerful motive.

That is why Mr. M. A. Jinnah repudiated the single nation theory of the Gandhi-Nehru Congress Party. He said that Muslims were a different Nation and wanted a different autonomous State of their own in India as a preliminary towards establishing in the fulness of time an Islamic empire or federation extending from Morocco to Indonesia, including Hindu India as at best a small vassal state. Or the Hindus could be scattered as stateless subjects in the Islamic imperial or world State!

Today Indian statesmanship should decide whether in view of this psychological and historical background and climate of Muslims, (rank and file as well as leaders,) it is at all probable that they could persuade them to form part of the same Indian society as equal national partners in which Hindus are a majority. Whatever possibility there was of this composite dream of Hindus and Muslims forming one nation, has been rendered more difficult by the establishment of Pakistan. Muslim rebellious crowds shout—"Pakistan Zindabad!" when they set out to attack Hindus on the occasion of music before mosques, cow-killing or language riots as in Assam recently and currently.

Congress leadership that ignores this solid fact of Muslim aspirations for a separate destiny (with affiliations towards anchluss or merger with Islamic states like Pakistan) stronger as their motive force than assimilation into Indian national society is incurring a grave responsibility. Jobs and privileged position in the services, legislatures and governments, courts of law, trade, industry, transport—in fact in every gainful and prestige calling, (particularly in the police and military departments) offered to appease them without satisfying themselves that their proteges have abandoned separatist loyalties can only dig the grave of Indian national sovereignty. It is not merely Hindus who will pass under Muslim rule again. The whole secular, modernist experiment will vanish like a dream even as the Weimar Constitution

(Continued on page 6)

# Madan Mohan Malaviya

By M. N. Tholal

THE year 1861 produced three great Indians, Motilal Nehru, Rabindra Nath Tagore and Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose birth centenaries we are celebrating this year. It was my good fortune that I came in intimate contact with two of them, each great in his own way and so unlike the other. Madan Mohan Malaviya was a Hindu out and out, the best product of Hindu culture. Like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Motilal Nehru was the product of composite culture. As we Kashmiris look at the portraits of our grandfathers and great grandfathers, we find it difficult to believe that they are not the portraits of Muslims but of Kashmiri Pandits. We took to Urdu and Persian and even Arabic during

Muslim rule and produced poets and litterateurs therein, just as we took to English in British rule and produced remarkable writers and speakers and scholars in English.

Not that Malaviyaji was not conversant with Urdu. He spoke the chastest Urdu with Muslims, but his emphasis was on Hindi and Sanskrit. He jumped up and embraced Akbar, the famous Muslim poet of his hometown, Allahabad, when he heard him recite the following lines on the Delhi Durbar in a mushaera (poetic competition):

Mahfil teri, saqi tera;  
Aankhen meri, baqi teral

(Thine is the assembly and thine the wine-server; mine are the eyes, the rest is thine.) The couplet summed up British rule beautifully, as Malaviyaji told Akbar there and then, with cries of approbation. Akbar was a great admirer of Malaviyaji—food for thought for those who are inclined to think Malaviyaji was communal—and once compared Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, the great Muslim leader, deprecatingly with Malaviyaji:

Hazar Sheikh ne darhi barahai sun ki si,  
Magar wo bat kahan Malvi Madan ki sil

(Much as the Sheikh may lengthen his jute-like beard, where is the comparison between him and Madan Malaviya?)

## TUSSLE WITH PANIKKAR

I first met Malaviyaji when he had taken over the *Hindustan Times* from Sardar Mangal Singh, who found it to be a white elephant beyond the resources of the Sikhs and the Akalis. When I heard the news I had my doubt whether Malaviyaji would be able to shoulder the burden. Chancing to meet Motilal Nehru I placed my doubt before him but he told me not to worry for Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla had told him only the other day that if Malaviyaji wanted ten lakhs for the *Hindustan Times* his cheque was ready for the amount. I then got introduced to Malaviyaji through a letter from Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, known as his right-hand man, without consulting whom he would not take a decision. Malaviyaji was in search of capable hands, particularly North Indians—not one was on the paper—as he said, not without a good deal of justification, that South Indians did not understand the communal problem.

Notwithstanding the munificent help from Birlaji, Malaviyaji was close-fisted in the matter of salaries. After extracting from me the information that I was a bachelor, he gave me a lecture on national service and asked me to volunteer for it. There was no saying 'no' to Malaviyaji and I agreed. He promptly fixed Rs. 100 per month as my salary. Mr. K. M. Panikkar, who was then Editor of the paper, after seeing my work for a few days, reported to Malaviyaji that the salary he had fixed for me was too little for one of my ability and unfair, considering what

(Continued from page 5)

vanished in Germany for not establishing itself on the solid facts of history and national psychology.

Thus it is not merely a question of communalism that is at stake. This awakening of the Muslims once again to their historical "visions of grandeur" has been occasioned by the spectacle of the weakness and shortsightedness of Congress leadership that is concentrating its attention only on the next elections and neglecting the deeper problems of national unity. Political strategy—compact of punishment as well as encouragement in terms of impartial enforcement of the fundamental rights—is required in a more single-minded manner if disaster is to be avoided.

The fault of Congress leadership at this deepest level of nation-making is two-fold: (1) One is the continued use of the communal category in dealing with Muslims and other groups. After the passing of the Constitution, (democratic and republican) on an overall national basis, pledged to the dignity of man and the integrity of the nation, it was treason to rule by dispensing favour in terms of categories of birth and religion. This weakness is in the blood of Congress leaders. The sooner they are ousted from power the safer it is for nationalism and national integrity.

2) The second defect is the continued reliance on the fallacy that all peoples in India are full-fledged nationals by mere birth, irrespective of their political ambitions based on historical memories and differences of culture. There are traitors, fifth columnists, spies and other extra-territorialists in the country who are all treated as if they were citizens to rank with loyal natives on the same terms (or even better terms) without screening them from the standpoint of national sentiment and record.

The present proposals of the Congress Party and Government therefore do not promise any striking success in solving the great problem of National integration. On the contrary, they are likely to hasten the process of disintegration!

others were getting, and that I should get at least Rs. 50 more. Agreeably surprised, Malaviyaji agreed and sent for me to inform me of the same. Word came to me through the Manager, who told me Malaviyaji wanted to see me "at once" and that I would be well-advised not to tell the Editor, while taking leave, where I was going. I thought over it and decided there was no harm in not telling him, there might be some in doing so. So I took leave for an hour and rushed to see Malaviyaji. He almost rebuked me for coming to see him during office hours, but informed me of their decision and congratulated me on having impressed the Editor so well.

Malaviyaji left the same evening for Calcutta to attend a Hindu Sabha Conference and when Mr. Panikkar saw him off at the railway station, Malaviyaji told him he had informed me of the raise suggested by him. Mr. Panikkar guessed then where I had gone that afternoon, and was furious because I had not told him I was going to see Malaviyaji. On my reaching office the next day he sent for me and asked me, "Where did you go yesterday during hours?" "I went to see Pandit Malaviya," I said. "Why did you go to see him without my permission?" "Because he sent for me." "What?" he said rather loudly and rudely and incredulously. "Because he sent for me," I repeated. "You are not going to see him without my permission in future," he ordered. "Unless he sends for me," I replied. "I don't want ifs and buts," he said. "I am sorry I cannot promise more," I said. He issued the order in writing for the whole staff, which every one signed without any reservation except myself. A correspondence ensued between me and him, as a result of which I was suspended. I had kept a copy of what I had written to Mr. Panikkar and passed on a copy of the correspondence to Malaviyaji without comment, only saying it was for him to decide. Malaviyaji sent telegrams to Mr. Panikkar asking him to explain why he had suspended me, to reinstate me, failing which he was asked to resign and hand over charge, which he did.

#### ALL-INDIA ISSUE

A meeting of the Executive Council of the All-India Journalists Association was held soon after in Bombay at the instance of Mr. Panikkar which condemned Malaviyaji and me. On returning to Delhi Malaviyaji told me, "We are being bracketed together. Publish the correspondence in the Hindustan Times." So the Panikkar-Tholal correspondence was published on the front page as the lead story of the day and copied by other papers as the issue had become an all-India one. I was rather perturbed over the incident and wrote to my brother, who was a friend of C. V. Chintamani, to ask him if I was right. He wrote to say that I was absolutely in the right since Malaviyaji had appointed me and not Mr. Panikkar. I had repeatedly said in my correspondence that it was for the Proprietor and the Editor to settle the matter between them and that I could not refuse to go to see Malaviyaji whenever he wanted to see me. On principle Mr. Panikkar was right. This seeing the Proprietor behind the back of the Editor is liable to open the floodgates of intrigue. I had every reason to be pleased with Mr. Panikkar.

Only his tone had annoyed me. Perhaps he thought I was lying when I told him Malaviyaji had sent for me.

The trouble was due to a lack of the sense of discipline in Malaviyaji, because he was not cynical enough to realise (like Jawaharlal Nehru) that the trust he emotionally placed in men was liable to be exploited by them to their own advantage. The Manager, who added "at once" to Malaviyaji's summons, also advised me not to tell Mr. Panikkar where I was going, whereas he should have told Mr. Panikkar that Malaviyaji wanted to see me. Indeed, Malaviyaji should have asked Panikkar to send me to him. On a similar occasion when Motilal Nehru wanted to see me when I was on the Independent, he sent for me through the Editor. That was the proper thing to do. But then Motilalji was discipline personified, whereas Malaviyaji was indisciplined personified. He once rebuked me for going on leave without his permission.

This lack of a strong sense of discipline always leads to intrigues and quarrels. In Malaviyaji it was well-known, it led to intrigues in the Hindu University. After another Editor had taken charge, Malaviyaji began missing my writings in the paper. He must have asked the Editor whether I was writing and the Editor must have said, truthfully enough, that I was. The fact was that what I wrote was so changed by the Editor that even the writer could not recognise the writing as his own. The Editor had the right to do so in his superior wisdom and I did not complain. But Malaviyaji apparently did not believe the Editor and, as soon as he happened to see me after some months, he took me aside and asked me, "You are not writing for the paper these days?" "I am writing," I said, "but the Editor makes so many changes that what appears is a composite performance." Malaviyaji at once asked some one near him to send the Editor, who was also there, to him and as soon as he appeared he said, "Mr. Tholal says you make changes in his writings. Please don't do so. I know he writes very well."

#### SOFT-HEARTED

Malaviyaji took my breath away. The Editor looked downcast and murmured obedience. But what did Malaviyaji expect after that? Did he expect the Editor to submit to the proposition that I was the better writer of the two? That was implicit in his admonition. He might have even come to the conclusion that I had complained against him and for his own sake he should see me out. Malaviyaji's decision to interfere with the Editor's discretion was a vote of censure on the Editor, which no decent and capable editor could tolerate. The alternative to resignation was to drive out the root cause of the censure by hook or crook. And it was adopted successfully. I had occasion to work under Mr. Panikkar once again and must say, by way of tribute to him, that he never interfered with my writings, never sought to change a word to assert his authority, as smaller men have always tried to do.

Why did not Malaviyaji dismiss the Editor whose writing did not please him, instead of insisting that the assistant should be given an opportunity—that

(Continued on page 8)

is what it came to—to prove that he was the better writer, a fact the Editor was trying hard to hide? Because he had a soft heart. Because he was amenable to flattery and liked people who stood hands folded before him. All this makes for indiscipline. A man has to be hard-hearted to enforce discipline, even to see justice done. Where there is no justice there is no discipline and where there is no discipline there is no justice, not because the desire for justice is lacking, but because the soil for the plant of justice to grow is lacking.

#### PATERFAMILIAS

But what a man! Patriotism was his supreme passion. Nobody who is always seeking justice, as he did, can really be communal. Nobody could ever point to a single sentence or a single phrase uttered by him which could really be said to be objectionable. No wonder he was held in the highest respect everywhere. For his Hindu University he used to fix the contributions of the Ruling Chiefs—in lakhs! Who could say 'no' to him after half a century of selfless service of the country? The Birlas were among his donors but his 'yes' was never taken for granted by any of them. I remember Ghanshyamdas trying to persuade him to accept his views on the

shilling-rupee ratio controversy, not with much success for the moment at least!

It was a treat to hear him speak. Known as the silver-tongued orator of India, he was as fluent in English as in Hindustani. He always began his public speeches with a history of the Congress and took an hour to come to the point, the subject being almost always, "Present Situation". His telegrams assumed the length of long letters. Viceroys gave him interviews on their special trains, and the scheduled ten minutes became an hour, if not more. He had so much to say and to say it effectively.

At one time he was much concerned about the definition of Hinduism. One that appealed to him was: any religion born in India. On his asking me what my definition of Hinduism would be, I said, "Any one who believes in free thinking is a Hindu." And he seemed quite pleased with it, at least for the moment.

He was inclined to be a paterfamilias. He used to feel concerned about my health—I was then lean and thin—and would go to the length of advising me to see a Vaid in Delhi whom he held in high esteem. All in all, what a selfless, lovable man! There was about him an ancient grandeur, in itself unique. We shall never see the like of him again.

## The Prime Minister And The Future Of Our Country—IV

### Failure of Domestic and Foreign Policies

By S. R. Narayana Ayyar

**F**ORGETTING for the present, this position inside our Motherland, if we turn our eyes to our relations with foreign countries, there again we only see bleak prospects. Already China has by subtle threats has pointed out that India is not able to defend her land from aggression and even to protect the honour of its nationals in China—to expose this only China got one of our men in our Embassy there publicly flogged, without India taking any action—and therefore cannot be expected to be of any help to the small countries on our borders. Thus she has already isolated us by entering into various treaties with those countries. This is the high reward, which China has given to India for its consistent support to the proposal to get her admitted as a member in the U.N.O., against the combined wishes of all the democratic countries of the world. India is only reaping its bad karma in recognising the brutal sovereignty of China over the most inoffensive and helpless people of this world—the Tibetans. Apart from this, Pakistan, which was only two and a quarter provinces of undivided India, is giving us innumerable troubles from outside and it is also inducing a number of Muslims of India, who are the real makers of Pakistan, to give trouble inside

India. It has also shot down our planes and we have looked on helplessly.

Apart from these dangers from our hostile neighbours, our nationals are being driven away from South-East Asia, and other places, especially from Malaya, Singapore, Ceylon and Burma. But our Prime Minister who takes the first opportunity to express his views on all the conflicts in every part of this world, invariably ignores those which affect our interests vitally. For instance, leaving aside his views on distant countries in other parts of Asia and Africa, he has unnecessarily wounded the King of Nepal by a statement, for having dismissed his Ministers. He conveniently forgets that our own President has had often to get rid of incompetent and troublesome Ministers in Punjab, Andhra, Kerala and in Orissa. On these occasions, the King of Nepal did not say that it was wrong on the part of our President to do so. Then, why should India's Prime Minister and some other parties, which had even started a "Nepal Day", interfere in the domestic politics of Nepal and thus drive the King to look to other countries for help? While there is enough of work for our Prime Minister to do in India itself during all his waking hours, he and



many other prominent Politicians of India—barring the single exception of the Chief Minister of Madras State, Sri K. Kamaraj Nadar, have been expressing their views on various matters and thus they are provoking other countries to become hostile to us.

Our Politicians created a hue and cry about Goa, which can never be separated from India. Forgetting this they sent some unfortunate men to be shot down by the despicable Portuguese. India has endured many insults from Pakistan and has surrendered a lot. Hence, surely India can be quiet and be friendly with this tiny dot of Goa. Our own merchants send their goods to Colombo to be rebooked to Goa. It is in this way, our merchants have been trained to be 'patriots.' If our merchants had only taken to Gandhian methods of non-cooperation with Goa, the latter could have been brought to its knees. However Goa is not such a serious matter as to goad our Politicians on to start a great agitation and to get unfortunate citizens to be shot dead; but the party, which began this agitation wanted to be in the lime-light and was not very anxious to do any substantial work for the country.

This mania for creating sensation and getting their names advertised in the papers and impressed on the minds of the unthinking masses, has become one of the great banes of our country. After Independence we have witnessed so many 'Satyagrahas' and Disobedience movements that all honest citizens have become disgusted with the Politicians. But they are helpless against them. They have turned the sacred method of Satyagraha into buffoonery. For, we have seen "Satyagrahas" for erasing Hindi script at one place, at another place English script (Ceylon imitating Madras State erases Tamil script!) to break Ganesa images or burn Sri Rama's pictures or to get a name of a State changed and to bring about linguistic division of India. For all these, they engage idlers and pay them and sometimes they misguide immature youths. Thus do they serve the country, while foreign countries laugh at us!

All these Politicians are not prepared to do quiet constructive work for getting rid of miserably suffering beggars, for growing more food, even ordinary vegetables, fodder for cattle or for inculcating the civic sense among the citizens that they should walk on the crowded roads in a proper way. These silent but substantial services, unfortunately, will not attract the notice of the newspapers and the Police. Our Prime Minister has no time to think of these things, which create a bad impression on foreign visitors. Hence they can turn round to him and say "Physician! Heal thyself!" If he had devoted half the time, which he spends on world affairs, to what is happening in India, our country would not have been in the present balkanised state. With apologies to a Britisher I may state,

"Why does Nehruji mess about  
With countries far away and out?  
Thinks he that he can mother everybody? Well,  
he can't.

What does he want with Timbuctoo and Tokio?  
Hasn't he enough misfortunes in the home?"

Why does he want to roam?  
Poor old Bharat! Excuse a little sob:  
Ain't your wide Bharat a whole-time job?  
Less of this "holier than thou", vision

Why d'you want to roam?  
Ain't you got enough misfortune in the home?"

It is not very pleasant to write in this strain but I do so in the hope that our Politicians will begin to think about the problems at home, from an All India plane. We, the innocent citizens, who do not think of becoming Politicians, often feel like praying "Oh! Lord! Save us from our Politicians!". For, we find that even top leaders, who had once worked unitedly are not able to get together in the name of the Motherland. For instance, Nehruji and Rajaji have worked shoulder to shoulder previously and now they are talking at each other, instead of sitting together quietly to iron out their political differences and work together. The only things that stand in their way are intellectual vanity and pride. Or is it due to their being "magnificent" blunderers, to quote Lord Disraeli? The same is the case with many of the party leaders. Cannot all parties, who are not out for further division of our country or for making it a satellite of other countries, join together in the name of the country? Let them open their eyes and see what is happening in Congo, Laos and in other countries. Is our country also to fall a prey to the selfishness of our leaders and become the meeting place of the mutually contending two powerful blocs in the world? The great National organisation of The Congress has become a mere personal party-organisation, solely depending on the personality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This is not good even for its own interests apart from its evil effects on our Motherland.

(To be Continued.)

#### GOOD SOCIETY

"Classical Liberalism seemed to be the ideals of good Society:—A State strictly limited in its functions; maximum freedom for the individual to go so far as his desire and ability would carry him; an aristocracy of talent, not of birth, protection of the individual against all forms of tyranny, including tyranny of the majority; a minimum of bureaucratic administration."

—W. H. Chamberlin.

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# Muslim Migration In Assam: Nehru Grooms His Successors

(From Our Correspondent)

AT his Press Conference on June 30 the Prime Minister cut a sorry figure on the subject of Pak Muslim migration into Assam. The Government of India has no reason to think, he said, that there has been any large scale incursion of Muslim migrants from East Pakistan into Assam. "I have no knowledge about Pakistan sending thousands of migrants," he said. "Some people might have come. I do not think any considerable number of people have come." Asked if it was not the responsibility of the Central Government to find out the facts, Mr. Nehru said, "We try to find out. It is very difficult. Individuals creep across and get lost in the ocean of humanity on the other side, but we have no reason for thinking that incursion has been on a large scale." But when a correspondent referred to an Assam Minister's statement that half a million Muslims had come into Assam from East Pakistan over some years, Mr. Nehru said that half a million over so many years could not be too big! It would be interesting to know how many millions would be too big for him in his already over-populated land.

Mr. Nehru had begun with the statement, "Some people might have come. I do not think any considerable number of people have come." Surely, he must have read the Assam Minister's statement or it must have been brought to his notice before he made these untrue observations. (If not, there is something radically wrong with his sources of information and particularly with his Intelligence Department.) The fact that he expressed no surprise when he was told about it, shows that he was aware of it. Surely half a million cannot come under the category of "some people" or "an inconsiderable number of people," and "some years" in the Assam Minister's statement cannot be logically and truthfully converted into "so many years", as was done by Mr. Nehru at the Press Conference. There is an element of deliberation in these perversions which should be obvious to the meanest intelligence, and which cannot speak highly of our Prime Minister's standards.

The fact seems to be that he was annoyed by the disclosures made in this connection by the newly elected Jana Sangh M.P. from New Delhi, Mr. Balraj Madhok, and Mr. Nehru was trying to controvert him, forgetting that a Congress Minister of Assam had admitted the truth of the revelation made by Mr. Madhok and had further given the figure of half a million. It shows a sad lack of the sense of responsibility in our Prime Minister—this attempted refusal to admit facts already admitted by a minister of his own party on the spot, or the attempt to minimise them which is clearly not in the national interest.

Indeed, on occasions like these it is customary for ministers to exaggerate the figures to emphasise the urgency of doing something about it. Everybody would agree that it was very patriotic on the part of Mr. Madhok to have made the revelation, which in fact it was the duty of the leaders and Congress ministers of Assam to do. That they did not do so before they were forced to admit the fact by the disclosure made by Mr. Madhok would appear to call for an inquiry. Why is every matter of grave national concern tried to be hidden by the Congress Government and ministers or sought to be minimised when it is out? The same thing happened regarding the invasion of Laddakh by China which Mr. Nehru prefers to call incursion, although the country has lost 12,500 square miles as a result. Mr. Nehru has used the word "incursion" with reference also to the Pak Muslim migration into Assam. Is it the result of our Prime Minister possessing the journalist's sixth sense, "intelligent anticipation"?

Whenever Mr. Nehru is seized with problems of some magnitude, the country and its interests are seldom in the picture. In the present instance the hatred of Jana Sangh has over-ridden the country's interests. Some excuse of course is always there to make him go astray. Some years ago when I was rather intimately associated with Mr. Nehru I found myself with my own adaptation of a famous nursery rhyme on my lips:

Nehru! Nehru!

Quite contraroo

Why does thy garden grow?

In view of the protestations of loyalty made by Muslims at the Convention of Muslim leaders held in Delhi recently, it would be interesting to inquire how many Muslims of Assam reported the matter of illegal entry of Pak Muslims into Assam, particularly when, on the showing of an Assam minister himself, they had half a million opportunities to do so and give proof of their patriotism and their nationalism. Perhaps not one. Instead they kept the secret closely guarded and allowed them to stay in their houses on the sly. It becomes necessary to say this in view of the protestations of patriotism made by Muslim leaders in Delhi. They would have been more fruitfully busy trying to inculcate some patriotism in their co-religionists, difficult though the task has admittedly been made by the creation of Pakistan. Mr. Nehru said it was very difficult to find out the facts because "individuals creep across and get lost in the ocean of humanity on the other side." If nothing can be done about it, then all that need be said is that

Indians should resign themselves to losing Assam and Bengal in course of time. And why cannot something be done about it? The census registers are there, even if a few Muslims cannot be found who can be trusted to find out the migrants. In any case Mr. Nehru's perfunctory manner of dealing with the problem posed by Pak Muslim migration on a large scale is, to say the least, extremely unpatriotic and unworthy of India's Prime Minister, whatever his motive may be for minimising the problem. Perhaps he is too busy seeking personal glory abroad to mind the entry of half a million Pakistanis into India, a precursor though it may be of millions more to come.

### NEHRU'S SUCCESSOR

At the same Conference Mr. Nehru said it would be almost an insult to the Indian nation for him to tell them what they must do to choose his successor. (One would have thought the answer was 'work hard'.) It is as well that he qualified 'insult' by 'almost', for he may have to do it, despite his (professed) inclination to the contrary. When a Congress President like Mr. Dhebar proclaims his loyalty to Mr. Nehru and the Congress—thus indirectly giving away the secret of his winning the Congress presidency—he tells us indirectly who comes first and thereby endears himself to Mr. Nehru all the more. In fact he adds to his qualifications for the only man who matters. What does it matter what his countrymen minus Mr. Nehru think of him?

When I was on the National Herald in the late thirties I heard Rafi Ahmed Kidwai blurt out the greatest qualification of a Congressman—"loyalty to the Nehru family". Since Kidwai himself owed his rise to loyalty to the Nehru family, he knew what he was talking about. The reader may well ask, if that was the secret of his success in the political field, why did he talk about it? The answer is, thieves often shout, "Thief, thief" to divert attention from themselves. In fact no one shouts "thief, thief" louder than the thief himself. Witness, for example, the protestations of peacefulness by Mr. Khrushchev and his accusations of warmongering against the Western bloc.

So loyalty to the Nehru family has been the living faith of the ambitious for more than two decades now. For all practical purposes the family now consists of the father and the daughter. Since the father's preoccupation with the duties of the Prime Minister leaves him little time for contact with the petty leaders of the Congress, that is done naturally by his daughter, who may therefore be said to have become the eyes and the ears of her father. A Chief Minister of Delhi was said to be her nominee, but that is an old story. Since then a Congress President has had the honour, according to reports, of having been her nominee.

Mr. Nehru refers in his Autobiography to Gandhiji as the Super-President of the Congress. He himself has been its Super-President for nearly a decade now, much as he may talk of being a "poor democrat". But even the super-presidency of the Congress pales into insignificance before the office of Prime Minister that he holds. So if the now comparatively insignifi-

cant super-presidency should tend to pass into the hands of the only daughter of a lonely man, it should cause no surprise. As President of the Congress she has had her apprenticeship. (What a wonderful opportunity that election of Congress President was for all those who believe in loyalty to the Nehru family as the key to success!) Lately she was President of the National Integration Committee, of which men like Mr. Dhebar were mere members. The Statesman published a photograph of the last session of the AICC under the caption "Daughter's Counsel" showing Mr. Nehru listening very attentively to something his daughter came to tell him on the dais. That her words have been growing weightier and weightier progressively for the man who matters (in this business of selecting a successor) would appear to admit of little doubt. If straws show the direction in which the wind is blowing, they have certainly not been wanting in this case, for those who have eyes to see.

Before leaving India for a tour abroad Mrs. Indira Gandhi left a directive obviously for her father in a letter addressed to a member of the National Integration Committee. The directive was that the proposals of the Committee, over which she presided, should be considered by the Conference of Chief Ministers which was then about to be held, and which has since been held. Those particular about forms of procedure would say that the report should have been presented to the Congress President—as was perhaps done—and it was for the Congress President to pass it on to the Prime Minister for the purpose of implementing the same. But the daughter apparently thought that the Congress President's request to the Prime Minister would not carry such weight as her own directive for Papa (howsoever indirect) and acted accordingly. She might have also thought that her own directive would add weight to the report. It did and the report was approved by a Conference of top Congress leaders and Chief Ministers.

It may be added here that the Nehru family's claims to loyalty are not entirely unfounded, for it is the only family in the country which, to borrow a cricket phrase, has scored a hat trick by winning Congress presidency for three in a row—Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi. If Mr. Nehru remains alive for a decade or two, one should not feel surprised if one of his grandsons occupies the Congress gaddi in his lifetime.

### KASHMIR TANGLE

Mr. Nehru also said at the Press Conference that he was not prepared to talk about the Kashmir question unless the Pakistan Army disappeared from the areas of Jammu and Kashmir, according to the terms of the Security Council resolution passed about eight years ago. Mr. Nehru is technically right, but in view of the fact that, as a result of Russian support of India on the Kashmir question, the Soviet noose is tightening round India's neck, without Mr. Nehru being able to do anything about it, it is in the interest of both Pakistan and India and the bloc to which both morally belong, that the question was settled. India has reasons to distrust the Security Council as at present constituted. Mr. Nehru has declared that the

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## Book Review

# The Illusion Of China's Progress

By D. M. Kulkarni

**COMMUNIST CHINA TODAY:** By Dr. Chandrasekhar: Asia Publishing House, Bombay; 199 pp. Rs. 9.00.

Communist China has, of late, been a subject-matter of absorbing interest to the students of world political and social events. Comprising, as the huge Chinese population does, not less than 1/5th of the human race, the unpredictable political and economic changes and upheavals taking place in China, cannot but have their powerful impact on other countries, particularly her neighbours like India and Burma. The melo-drama of rapid industrialisation of this populous and economically backward land and what more, of establishing the much-boasted 'communes' that is being staged there by her rulers, may evoke fulsome praise from the 'Faithful' in our country, but it has on the other hand mystified and confused not a few honest observers and sincere truth-seekers. The latter are led to ask: what has happened to China during the last twelve years and what have Mao and his men done to her? These questions are sought to be tackled in the above book by Dr. Chandrasekhar, a recognised authority on population problems of the world and keen student of political problems.

The author has had the advantage of visiting China under the Kuomintang regime in 1940 as also under the present Communist regime in 1958. Though he sees no reason for shedding even a tear for the passing away of the previous so called 'democratic' China, which was, in fact, 'quasi-colonial' in status, he has his own doubts also as to whether 'Communist peace of the last ten years, despite the tremendous material

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*(Continued from page 11)*

U.N. General Assembly is the supreme body before which all should bow. He said so on the floor of the UN Assembly itself. Why then does he not offer to accept any solution favoured by the UN General Assembly? Or was his declaration there mere claptrap to draw applause? In any case, world opinion should seek to profit by the declaration and make him act up to it.

Mr. Nehru also said at the Press Conference that, while his original reaction was against the holding of the Muslim Convention, later he came to the conclusion that to stop it would have been bad. What right had Mr. Nehru to stop it? How could he have done it? After all, India is a free country and any set of people can meet anywhere they like. Even Communists do. Perhaps what Mr. Nehru implied was that the Muslim Convention folk were his own hangers-on, and he could have easily persuaded them not to hold the Convention.

progress, has not turned out to be only the peace of the grave-yard.' The author frankly admits that he is democratically inclined and as such, he is opposed to all institutions that 'deny the average citizens food and freedom'—a simple credo which his Chinese hosts inevitably characterised very often as being 'bourgeois', 'capitalistic' and 'reactionary'.

### 'STRAIT-JACKET LIFE OF THE COMMUNES'

The strait-jacket into which the life of all Chinese people has been forcibly cast and moulded by the 'Communes' has been vividly described by the author. The term 'blue ants' applied so aptly to Communist overworked masses, clad in blue-padded pants and coats with soiled shoes, is but "an external symbol or manifestation of an inner regimentation of the people's life and thought". This regimentation is powerfully helped by the loud-speaker which one can never escape in the town or the village, the bus or the tram. Men and women are not only made to work as in military barracks, all the twenty four hours round the clock, but this 'Peoples' Democracy' has actually substituted men for animals for ploughing the plough, since the leaders think that human material is so plenty in China that it is easily expendable. Perhaps this is the Marxist way of getting rid of the surplus human material in their midst and of population control. And yet we are told that China has no population problem and it is actually under-populated. Women have been freed from domestic slavery only to be enchained to the chariot-wheels of the omnipotent State, to do its bidding "without a smile for any one, no, not even for the all-embracing State." Politically, the people are indoctrinated in these Communes to look upon Russia as their friend and ally and to hate America as their deadly foe. Even 'friendly' India has now become, in their eyes, "expansionist".

As the author says, China appeared somewhat to have succeeded in solving the food problem when he visited the country in 1958. But this success proved to be a mirage with the radical land reforms introduced thereafter. The landlords were expropriated of their lands with blood and iron and the peasants were lulled into the 'Communes' by false assurances through gradual stages and now they are "emasculated and well-drugged" by propaganda.

Communes, as recent reports go to show, have brought about a total collapse of agriculture in China. But with all these sufferings of the peasantry, the author is not sure that it will be able to summon up enough courage to rise against the Communes, which are only an experiment 'in herding the peasants into a single organisational and administrative unit under a unified command', on the military pattern. These Communes have imposed on the peasants and work

ers a pitiable life of 'fatigue and tension' all the year round and have brought about disruption of human relations between the husband and wife, parents and children in the family. The author expresses his horror at what he personally observed and saw in these Communes in these words: "This is the Commune where human beings are reduced to the level of the inmate of a zoo. But there is a difference. The animals in the zoo do not have to work, much less to work hard and what is more, they do not have to listen to the blaring and tiring quasicompulsory radio. The lack of quiet peace in the countryside, the complete lack of privacy or solitude in which one can retire and reflect, are to me, more terrifying than all the conceivable hells put together". And yet the Communists have the temerity to say that the Commune represents a higher stage of economic, social and cultural life of the community!

### INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

In industrial production, despite her admirable efforts, the author thinks, it will take decades for China to catch up with the industrial West. Even now she lags far behind India in industrial output. China is producing really good products only in limited experimental quantities for being exhibited to the view of foreign visitors to Industrial Fairs. Even some products exhibited at such Fairs are imported from Russia, of course with the label 'Made in China' and one foreign businessman told the author that if a foreign visitor should order a large quantity of these items, China would not be able to deliver the goods even within five years.

In the educational field, the picture is far from being happy. No doubt, kindergartens are increasing in numbers. But the 'New Education' lays stress on vocational training and indoctrination of Communist faith. Liberal Arts have been almost abolished in the Universities and the general standard has considerably gone down as no minimum educational qualifications are necessary for admission to 'red and expert' Colleges, which are designed only to turn out experts in some semi-skilled job and in Communist doctrine. Though this sort of education is widespread, in the opinion of the author, it "forges fetters on men's minds with a calculated deliberation, which are imprisoned, drugged, debased into a pathetic colourless conformity."

### THE POPULATION PROBLEM

The total population of China mainland, as given in 1953 census was 583 million. This figure is inflated, according to some, for political reasons. At the present rate of increase and with the anti-birth control policy of the Government, it is estimated that it will be 700 million in 1963, 800 million in 1968, 1000 million in 1980. The per capita income of China is lower than that of even India, not to speak of that of the Western countries. The author suspects that the population policy of the Government is militarily motivated and China's Communist ideology of world domination coupled with this vast population, might be a potential danger to the neighbouring countries. This fear, we may add, has come out to be too true, with China's conquest of Tibet and her invasion of Indian

territory. So India should beware, betimes of this growing menace!

### CO-EXISTENCE OR COMMUNIST EXISTENCE?

Regarding Sino-Indian relations, the author points out that there is no reciprocity from China in the matter of co-existence. The Chinese never praise our achievements while our delegations to China are full of admiration for what little progress China has made. Add to this, recent aggression of China against India and we have a picture of not "Co-existence" but of "Communist Existence". He thinks that the disputes are only symptoms of a future struggle between Democracy and Freedom, on one hand and Communism and Tyranny on the other in Asia and therefore pleads for a change of India's policy towards China.

### CHINESE ILLUSION DISPELLED

By habit and training, the author is eminently fitted to take an objective view of things as he has done in this book in describing his experiences in China. He is not slow in frankly bestowing praise on the Communist regime where it is due e.g., abolition of prostitution, emancipation of women, eradication of beggary, enforcement of cleanliness and orderly behaviour in the public, untiring efforts of 'Leap Forward Movement' to catch up with the West in industry though at break-neck speed, with the quixotic slogan, '20 years compressed into one day'. But all this did not satisfy the democratic spirit of the author. In fact he left the country a sad and disappointed man. As he so poignantly writes: "I must confess that I went in curious and excited and ready to be impressed, but I came back stifled and disenchanting."

This book shows the powerful impress of the facile and incisive pen of this well-known demographer and social scientist and it should go a great way in dispelling some utopian illusions that our Indian Romanticists and would-be fellow-travellers might be fondly hugging to their bosoms about this "Holy Land" of the new faith of Communism. It is very stimulating, thought-provoking and informative and merits a careful perusal by those interested in the subject.

Mr. Frank Moraes has written a foreword to the book.

## Gleanings from the Press

### AMERICA AND THE BERLIN ISSUE

"The United States, the United Kingdom and France have repeatedly offered to negotiate a settlement of the German question, including Berlin, on the basis of the free exercise by all Germans of their right to self-determination. The Soviets have consistently refused to permit the Germans to exercise this right and are once again asserting their determination to impose a solution of their own against the wishes of the German people.

It must be remembered, too, that pressure on Berlin is in line with traditional communist tactics of probing for "soft spots" in geographically contiguous or otherwise exposed areas. Since the end of World

War II, pressure tactics have also been applied against Iran, Turkey, Greece, Korea, Viet-Nam, Libya (via the U.N.), Norway and the India-China border.

Allied firmness on Berlin is necessary if the expansionist Soviet pressures are to be discouraged in other parts of the world.

Thus, the offer of a "Free City of West Berlin" only as a "concession" actually amounts to a demand that the three Western powers give up their absolute rights for a doubtful leasehold, with the built-in risk that this represents a first step toward (a) depriving the people of West Berlin of their only effective guarantee of freedom, and (b) swallowing up the city.

Finally, it seems obvious that Communist pressure against West Berlin is now motivated by envy as well as by politics. The West Berliners have achieved a much higher standard of living and political freedom than their neighbours in the surrounding communist-controlled territory. Their city is an obstacle to communist expansion westward, and has been the gateway through which several million East German refugees from communism have passed during the last 16 years. In 1960, for example, 170,000 refugees crossed over into West Berlin. The communists, of course, would like to eliminate this obstacle, capture this coveted economic prize, and stop the flow of refugees from their territory to freedom.

The Allies and the West Berliners stand opposed.  
—From American Embassy Newsletter, June 28, 1961.

## News & Views

### RED GIANTS CLASH

London: An exceptionally serious crisis is reported to have developed between the two giants of the Communist world, Soviet Premier Khrushchev and Chinese Communist Party Chief Mao Tse-tung.

Mr. Khrushchev, in a circular addressed to the world's leading Communist parties, reportedly complains in very violent terms of Mr. Mao's "Left-wing deviationism" and reproaches the Chinese leader for failing to respect the terms of the Moscow declaration of last November which was supposed to have marked the end of the ideological quarrel between Moscow and Peking.

In the opinion of British experts, Mr. Khrushchev's document has three purposes:

(1) To destroy, at least reduce to the minimum, Chinese influence abroad—an influence particularly marked in Africa and the Middle East.

(2) Demonstrate the outmoded thinking of the Chinese who, for example, in the case of Formosa, have not shown the patience and wisdom exhibited by the Soviet Union in accepting "provisionally" under the 1917 treaty of Brest Litovsk, the creation of the Baltic States, and

(3) Win back to the Soviet line the foreign Communist parties—notably that of France—which have been swayed by Chinese dogmatism.

### MEETING OF 'BHAI-BHAI' POETS

Chinese aggression on Bharat in Ladakh is continuing. India and China are not friends. But Mr. Menon is more worried about Laos than about Ladakh! He reportedly discussed Laos with Chinese Foreign Minister Marshall Chen Yi in Geneva on May 14. And for this he himself went to the Chinese villa.

Later Mr. Menon invited Marshall Chen Yi to dinner. He said it was just a social function where only poetry was discussed. We do not know what sort of poets—the two comrades are.

—Behar Herald.

One wonders what will come out of this meeting of the Marxist poets. Perhaps, an inspiring 'Bhai-Bhai' song on Ladakh, the holy battleground (Kuru-kshetra) of two ancient countries! Jai Panchashila!

### RESOURCES AND CONGRESS ELECTION VICTORIES

In a statement issued on recent Congress election victory in Orissa, Sadiq Ali, the Congress General Secretary says:

"Resources by themselves do not bring victory if the mood of the people is unfavourable to a party."

"It is nothing catastrophic if the Opposition parties take some time to grow and win the confidence and goodwill of the people. It is because they wish to see quick results that they often go wrong in their estimate of the situation and then blame the Congress for poor results."

But people think otherwise. They believe that only vast resources can bring victory in elections particularly to the party in power when it has heavily suffered in public esteem by its own doings. Though this may not be 'catastrophic' for the Congress, it is so for the future of Party-Democracy in India.

### NATION IS FACING A CRISIS, SAYS HINDU MAHASABHA CHIEF

New Delhi: The All-India Hindu Mahasabha could not be a silent spectator to the "nefarious, anti-national" activities of certain communal Muslim organizations in the country, Mr. Digvijai Nath, president of the Mahasabha told newsmen.

He said it had come to light that there were about nine Muslim communal organizations in Uttar Pradesh alone, which were indulging in conspiratory activities, threatening the security and integrity of the country. Some of these organizations, he said, had extra-territorial affinities and had branches abroad.

### LURKING DANGER

He said holding of the Muslim convention synchronized with the movement for organizing a Muslim commonwealth. It was a pointer to the Indians to be aware of the lurking danger.

He emphasized that the Hindus were not a community, but a nation. The nation was faced with a crisis and it was imperative to make the Government take preventive measures.

He said a number of prominent Congress leaders had confided to him that they were concerned at the certain sections of Muslims and favoured holding a Hindu convention.

## WILL CONGRESS DARE HEED THE ADVICE?

"But in spite of the inherent difficulties of reorganization, urgent steps have to be taken to clear the Congress of the dead-wood which it has collected over the years. One way is to intensify the screening of older candidates to the legislatures, ruthlessly dropping those who have not shown any interest in parliamentary or legislative activity. It is equally necessary to scrutinize the background of those new entrants into the political field who are expected to supply the dynamism that is now absent from the party."

—Hindustan Times.

Will the Congress dare heed this advice? We think not. The dead wood of listless legislators and careerists is on the other hand verily the prop and strength of this putrefied organisation and of its self-complacent and flattery-loving dictators. Dynamism is a virtue long forgotten and lost within its precincts and has been replaced by Jo-Hukumism.

### PRESIDENT AYUB FEARS GROWING MILITARY STRENGTH OF INDIA

The Times carries an interview by its correspondent in Pakistan with Gen. Ayub, who is quoted as having expressed dissatisfaction with Britain's aid to Pakistan. Gen. Ayub also said that the terms on which British credits were offered were "extortionate."

### ALLY NEGLECTED

The interview with The Times also underlines the Pakistan President's present obsession about the friendly relations of the West, particularly the United States, with India. He expounded to The Times correspondent the new familiar theme of the West neglecting an ally like Pakistan to woo a neutral like India. He expressed concern at the U.S. moves to liberalize supply of arms to friendly countries which he thought would "open the floodgates of armaments for India."

### FORD FOUNDATION GRANTS FOR EDUCATION AND FAMILY PLANNING

Grants totalling \$1,152,000 (£411,430) are to be made by the Ford Foundation for education and research in connection with the family planning programmes of the Governments of India and Pakistan: \$603,000 (£219,000) to India and \$549,000 (£196,000) to Pakistan.

Other Ford Foundation grants include \$700,000 (£250,000) to the Universities of Michigan and Pennsylvania for training and research on population problems in less developed countries, and \$95,000 (£33,857) to the London Zoological Society to provide the long-term services of a director of a research programme in animal reproductive physiology.

### ISRAEL LAUNCHES ITS FIRST ROCKET

Tel Aviv: Israel launched its first space rocket and put a sodium cloud into the ionosphere 50 miles up over the Mediterranean coast.

The launching of the arrow-shaped rocket adds Israel to the Club of space-rocket nations—Britain, the U.S., Russia, France, Italy and Japan.

Defence Ministry officials said the rocket was not guided.

## Letter to the Editor

### VOTE OUT, CONGRESS; VOTE IN, SWATANTRA.

Sir,

The elections are ahead of the voter a year hence. And it is his duty to look round, observe, adjudge, and put the right party in power, to get a safe, stable and sensible government, to replace the present one, which is its very antithesis.

Despite protests and denials from men of status in the Congress hierarchy, its record is inadequate to deserve a continuance. It has forfeited the confidence of the people.

For one thing, corruption is rampant in some form or other and is slowly spreading. Few in Congress official hierarchy, and at government levels, have escaped its baneful influence. There is no intention to give a good government at all and its motivating impulse is merely to perpetuate itself by the exercise of methods, and propagate devices adopted by Communist institutions—to seize citadels of power and finally succeed as a one party government, for ever and ever.

The Congress government has the trappings of democracy without its essence.

The foreign policy of Shri Jawaharlal is a failure. He refuses to judge things from commonsense standards. His Panchaseela, Neutralism, etc., have lost us 12,000 square miles of our Himalayan area, and he dares stand up in public forum, and can talk glibly and confidently. What else is the reason—except the confidence he derives from the brute majority he commands at the centre and provinces? The British defied the natural aspirations of the Indian citizen. In a similar way the Congress defies the people and can merely shout slogans. It is the worst communalist body that any party can develop into.

Holding the price line is a metaphor, and remains an idea more to be translated into action. It cannot be otherwise. The free economy is given up for a communist economy for the realisation of unattainable dreams of social perfection.

It is difficult to bring within a short compass, the bad record of this government, but he who runs may see from the short appraisal herein contained, that it deserves to be removed.

What then must we do? We must vote the right party into power.

There are a few parties, the Communists, the Praja Socialists, the Congress, the Janasangh and the Hindu Mahasabha, the D.M.K., and the D.K., and the Swatantra. The Communist, the Praja Socialist and Congress talk the same thing in different languages but they are the same in ideals.

The Swatantra Party stands for minimum government, for in the opinion of that party "that government is best which governs least". Let us voters not vote for the Congress, or its allies. Let us freely vote for the Swatantra Party and its allies.

Madras.

A. N. Cabri.

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