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EDITORIAL

A REALISTIC APPROACH TO CONGO

CONGO is an enigma as well as a lesson to impatient idealists and unpractical visionaries. The country is in a constant state of turmoil and trouble, ever since it achieved independence. The late Mr. M. N. Roy was never tired of warning our Indian Patriots that independence from foreign domination does not necessarily mean real freedom for a backward country. He therefore emphasised the necessity of leaders of such a country carrying on a movement for an intellectual and cultural revolution at least among the intelligentsia side by side with its freedom's struggle. The baffling situation obtaining in Congo at present fully bears out the truth of this view. If Indians with all the training they received from the British, are now seriously concerned at the danger of national disintegration even after fifteen years of independence, one could easily imagine what would be the extent of disintegration now prevailing in Congo torn by tribal rivalries and feuds on the sudden disappearance of the Belgian rule from the country. No anti-colonialism of an idealist Nehru or a hypocritical Khrushchev could controvert this plain fact that Congo was least ready and equipped for self-government.

It is therefore a good augury that at long last the hot-heads among the anti-colonialists of the U.N. have after bitter experience seen the wisdom of the much-maligned policy of The United Kingdom which, in the words of Lord Home is one of "orderly attainment of independence in territories at the pace best calculated to serve the best interests of the inhabitants." This policy is distinct from that adumbrated by the flamboyant resolution passed by the General Assembly on 15th December 1960, under the heavy pressure of Afro-Asian groups, which demands immediate and unconditional transfer of power to the peoples of non-self-governing colonies. It was for this reason that Britain advocated a policy of peaceful negotiation, reason and persuasion in Katanga affair.

Recent events have fully confirmed the correctness of this approach. India particularly under the influence of Mr. Nehru was harshly critical of Britain's policy in Congo. In his usual emotional outburst, Mr. Nehru went to the length of describing such a policy as "amazing and scandalous in the extreme." But contrary to his expectations U. N. aggressive policies apainst Katanga have now come to a dead end, and is now reported that the U. N. authorities and Katanga Government have reached an agreement October 14 on the provisions of a "cease-fire pact". tilted more in favour of Mr. Tshombe. The agreement virtually gives permission to Katanga to defend itself against any aggression of the Congo Central Government and tacitly supports the separatist tendencies of the Katanga Government.

Thus there is a remote possibility of the whole of Congo coming under the sway of one Central authority. India's jet-fighters that are being sent there,

will only add to the odium that India has already brought on herself by sending her troops to Congo to fight, shoot and even to kill and be killed.

So far as Congo in concerned it is a sad tale of *The Three Cities*, Leopoldville under Mr. Adoula, Elizabethville under Mr. Thsombe, and Stanleyville under Mr. Gizenga. Thus everything in Congo points to a loose sort of Federation evolved by common consent and not a unitary form of Government forcibly imposed from without.

The Government of India, should, therefore, have a realistic approach to the Congo problem. Instead of involving itself too deeply in the Congo imbroglio it had better try to extricate itself slowly from its military commitments and depend upon peaceful methods", which it so much advocates on other fronts, for bringing peace and order to this unhappy land.

THE ROLE OF THE U. N. SECRETARY—GENERAL

Protracted negotiations are going on between the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States at the U. N. on the issue of appointing an interim successor to the late Mr. Dag Hammerskjoeld to the post of the U. N. Secretary-General. By virtue of the powers vested in him as the Secretary-General under Article 99 of the U. N. Charter "to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace", the late Mr. Hammerskjoeld swiftly acted in the case of Congo and prevented Russia from exploiting the unrest there for her own purpose. This roused the ire of Russia against him and his post. Mr. Hammerskjoeld's tragic death gave Russia a golden opportunity to make a supreme effort in the U. N. Assembly to curtail the executive powers enjoyed the Secretary-General, if not to abolish the post itself so inconvenient to the Soviet Expansionism. So Russia first brought what is known as "Troika" proposal of appointing three Secretaries-General representing Soviet Bloc, Free-world Alliance, and neutral countries, each endowed with veto power. This proposal did not command any support outside the Communist bloc. So this was followed by other proposals which in essence were the same. Russia has now climbed down a little, only to entrap the unwary in her net by proposing "a Cabinet System of Assistant Secretaries-General" to be selected on a regional basis, whom the Secretary-General will have to consult on major issues. That this is the thin end of the wedge, is very clear from Mr. Zorin's statement that this is only an interim arrangement and Russia has not yet abandoned the idea of the "Troika".

Great Britain and the United States and other Western European nations are opposed to fettering the powers of the Secretary-General. They want, as before, a strong independent General-Secretary, interim or permanent, with the fullest political stature and powers to expose aggression or menace to peace coming from any quarter particularly in the present international explosive situation. This need of the hour it is to be hoped wil not be lost sight of, especially by the neutral countries.

THE MUSLIMS OF INDIA

In the United India of pre-partition days the Muslims posed a grave problem. They then demanded Pakistan to fulfil their aspirations for a separate Islamic State as distinct from Indian National State. But experience has proved that the creation of Pakistan has left the question of the remnant of Indian Muslims who had also demanded Pakistan in those days, unsolved as ever. A majority of them have neither given up their Islamic extra-territorial Nationalism, a heritage of the Muslim League Movement, nor have they seriously tried to merge themselves with the broad common stream of India's National life. Caught between Islamic Nationalism and Hindu political revivalism as a counter-blast to it, the secularism of Indian politics has almost become a casuality.

In the meanwhile, the Aligarh Muslim Univer- seems to have become the rallying centre of all these Muslim reactionary forces. The University campus was the scene of the recent disgraceful student-riots which quickly developed into a veritable orgy of blood, arson and loot throughout the Uttar Pradesh from Aligarh to Darjeeling. The foreign links and ties of this sudden upsurge of Muslim reaction in India are clearly indicated by the way in which the Pakistani Government and Press are gleefully fanning the fire of Muslim Communalism in India, by their mendacious propaganda against the Indian people and their Government.

Even in face of this ugly manifestation of Muslim fanaticism, the Government of India as also the U. P. Government, is doing its best to protect the Muslim national subjects who form a minority against the counter-attacks of the Hindu majority in keeping with the best traditions of a secular, better still

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a 'civil' State. But its allergy to Pakistan's vile propaganda should not go so far as to make it ignore its primary duty to run down to earth the prime mischief-makers and trouble-creators of Aligarh.

Despite these heavy odds against them, the Indian progressive forces should not lose their equanimity but on the other hand, by showing a spirit of liberalism and catholicity towards the Muslims, they should help the latter's eventual evolution into true Indian nationals and thus neutralise Hindu retaliatory communalism.

The Muslims, on their part, can, if they so choose, lead quite a contented and happy life in India if they only lay to their hearts the profound advice given to them by the late Mr. Jinnah in 1942 when Pakistan was just round the corner. He said, "Muslims in the United Provinces are not a national group. They are scattered. *Therefore they can expect nothing more than what is due from any civilised government to a minority*". (Eastern Times, Lahore, quoted in "X Pakistan" by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar).

NATIONAL INTEGRATION INDEED!

Just on the heel of the session of A. I. C. C. at Madurai which concluded its deliberations amidst the thundering and pompous harangues of Mr. Nehru, calling upon the people in general and Congressmen in particular to compose their minor differences and work for National Unity, comes the news by way of anti-climax, that there is a complete stalemate among the members,—All Congressmen—of the Boundary Committee set up by the Central Government to explore the possibilities of resolving the Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute.

The real rub in this matter lies in the power politics of the Congress. The Congress wants to come back to power after the next General Elections in all the States and at the Centre at all costs. It is, therefore, reluctant to solve this problem of Belgaum—Karwar in an objective and dispassionate manner. The Maharashtra Government, it is reported, has accepted the principle of the village being considered as the basic unit in demarcating the the boundary between the two States on a language basis. The Mysore Government, therefore, would be well-advised to accept the same principle in view of the fact that it was greatly helpful in solving Andhra-Madras border dispute.

It is not that this comparatively small matter which is hanging fire for the last five years does not lend itself to an agreed solution on the basis of universally well-recognised and well-established principles of determining boundaries. But as Jayaprakash Narayan once put it, such questions have been deliberately made to look complicated and difficult by the Congress out of narrow party considerations. This once again proves that problems, major or minor, will continue to baffle any constitutional and democratic methods of solution as long as the Congress is in power in the country.

HERE AND THERE

Though Nehru's socialism is widely divergent from Vinoba Bhave's Sarvodaya Order, there is one thing in common between Mahant Nehru and Sant Vinoba. Both know how to clothe their nebulous ideas in a most bewildering and highly confused verbiage. So sometimes they indulge in mutual adulation and praise. Now-a-days Mr. Nehru has been constantly harping upon Vinobaji's latest jargon "No more Politics but Science; No more Religion but Spirituality." For Vinoba, of course, Science means Khadi spinning and weaving and spirituality means campaign against Cinema posters. For Nehru Science means Five-year and Fifteen-year Plans and spirituality means not meek surrender to the will of God but to Nehru's omnipotent will which promises to create Affluent India out of nothing as Brahma created this world out of nothing.

At Madras Nehru dangerously treaded into the the field of law which he little practised at the Bar, He compared opposition parties with Plaintiff's Attorney, thus placing the Congress in the unenviable position of the defendant. In the ordinary course the Defendant's Attorney more often than not abuses villifies, threatens frets and fumes like Mr. Nehru when he cannot defend his client and effectively reply to Plaintiff's case.

A news item says that the U.P. Government is thinking of banning certain political parties as in its opinion riots are fomented by them to discredit the Congress. At last the cat is out of the bag. Riots will thus help the Congress more than other parties in the next elections. Is there now any doubt, who is the Agent Provocateur and for whose benefit he works?

Lal Bahadur Shastry the Home Minister for India said in Bombay that the Congress is compelled to take into consideration the influence of caste in elections since other parties resort to it first. So all parties undoubtedly want a casteless and democratic society. But the question of questions before all of them seems to be, 'Who is to bell the cat of casteism'?

"Mr. Rajaji is gone too old," says our 72 years young Nehru. The Biblical rule of three score and ten, it appears, does not apply to Congressmen like Nehru, who perhaps undergo *Kayakalpa*, (rejuvenation) under the influence of Congress *Chavanprash* (Youth Elixir) of Power and Plenty for the Chosen.

The Consumers' Association of India has complained that Consumers' case goes by default in this country and has protested against the inferior quality of many of the goods; the high incidence of adulteration and the high prices. The Association must know the Ministers and Officers are also consumers whom the Government always consults, but who never complain about these things. In socialist India, this expert section of consumers is the inheritor of this Earth and not others.

Education And Nation Making

By M. A. Venkata Rao

IT is no exaggeration to say that the most important task of leaders in society and state today in India is that of nation-making. It is true that Sri Nehru has initiated great changes in development in social spheres as well as in the economic, as is obvious from the legislation on Hindu marriage and succession and by the five year plans.

But as was recognised by the summoning of the conference on National Integration and its deliberations, (as earlier by the Indira Gandhi Committee of the Congress on the same subject), the leaders of Government and the ruling party have come to realise that they have failed signally in this basic mission of theirs namely nation-making. Hearing the serious outburst of communal riots originating from the intemperate acts of Aligarh university students, Sri Nehru exclaimed in Madras:

"What is this due to? Is there any defect in our work? Any lacunae in my own ways of handling things?"

It was a pathetic cry. But it is surprising that such a wide-awake and thoughtful person shows an inexplicable incapacity to learn from criticism to see himself as others see him, particularly the few vocal critics.

Of course the major responsibility lies on him for his failure to initiate nation-making policies in education and administration generally. He has known the better but taken the worse pathways.

However, it is high time that others both from the political and academic fields take up the problem seriously and create a consensus of enlightened opinion on the most fruitful methods of nation-making in the present and future.

It is true that nations, like artists and teachers, inventors and discoverers are *born, not made.* But a conscious direction of the nation's attention to creative ideals by honoured leaders in society goes a long way in canalising the people's energies to develop a full-fledged nation with social cohesion and common ideals sufficient for all the needs of social progress.

History presents many successful examples of such conscious fostering of nation-hood.

The first modern example is that of Germany in the early nineteenth century after its kings and princes fell like ninepins before the onslaught of Napoleon. This defeat aroused introspection and heart-searching on the part of national leaders, particularly those of Prussia, the leading State in Germany.

Prussian statesmen under their patriotic kings set about consciously to re-inspire their people to forge social unity and achieve great deeds in the science and the arts. Professor Fichte felt the humiliation of national defeat most acutely. He delivered a series of inspiring lectures to his students and the nation generally which had great effect to arousing patriotism and forming ideals of devoted work for society and state.

The result was that in a generation, Germany caught up with Britain and France in industrial and scientific progress. It also became hte foremost military nation in modern Europe under the Kaiser.

Though Hitler's aims were aggressive, it is undeniable that he and his colleagues succeeded in inspiring Germans to arise from defeat like a veritable Phoenix and challenging the great European and Russian Powers. The success of the nation-making effort is striking though the aggressive spirit led to disaster.

And after the last war, both Germany and Japan present us with examples of successful national rejuvenation under capable leaders. Education therefore when reinforced by society has shown itself capable of welding an imperfect nation into a more closely integrated nation. It has succeeded in eliciting devoted and arduous work for the nation on the part of millions. Education will be seconded by social psychology and history in creating or re-creating the national ethos (dharma in Indian terms) and launch a many-sided afflorescence of national effort. Education has two related aspects. First of all it consists in the presentation of *information* about the external world in graded stages to students at successive levels of the educational ladder, primary, secondary and university.

The information falls roughly into two heads—the humanities and the eciences.

In this part of education, the ideal of truth should prevail in an absolute sense. Man is great no doubt in the economy of the cosmos but his self-realisation or natural development will proceed sweetly and harmoniously only if he makes himself a mirror of objective truth. Personality is no doubt of the utmost value but it derives its power only when it becomes a vehicle of truth.

Neither the individual nor the nation, neither empire nor even humanity is an end in itself, entitled to exploit truth for their own ends. In the end such exploitation will be found to lead to disaster and frustration.

The second aspect of education consists in the *inculcation of values*—truthfulness, honesty, courage, non-injury, respect for others, devotion to nation and society and so on. The commandments or dharmas enunciated by the great religions should be included in a new modern code based on a fresh realisation of the human and social values they betoken. Modern philosophy may be said to be animated by a resolute effort to discover and establish a system of human values on the basis of reason and experience.

The physical sciences reveal a world of law and order in the universe at large, microscopic and macroscopic, the infinitely little and the infinitely big.

We see laws at a higher level in the course of biological evolution.

Modern ethical philosophy tries to found human values at the human level of social and individual self-effort and development, in terms that indicate the inherent *conditions* of health and progress for individuals and societies.

It reveals the panorama of human social evolution as a gradual expansion by stages of the moral consciousness from the family, kinship group, tribal federation, nation, empire or commonwealth and lastly to the beacon of world society under a federal government with the parliament of Man in full realisation.

It is this latter part of the education in which the task of nation-making falls Educational leaders should accompany the training in the apprehension of truth and the methods of its discovery in the humanities and the sciences with a method of appealing to social consciousness. They should show to young minds the position of their society in world history and indicate how every citizen should do his best, each in his own line, to contribute to the enrichment of social thought. The intellectual and moral capital of society should be enriched continually by each generation.

The needs of defence should be brought home to the young. The utter need of subordinating selfish schemes for individual enrichment or power to social good should be inculcated. Example, exhortation and participation in common tasks in camp and daily work are the ways in which the ideas, feelings and moral impulses forming national patriotism are nursed in the minds of the young.

For this purpose, the teachers should be well chosen. They should be those devoted more to truth and nation than to individual career. Social honour will induce many able men to devote themselves to this work, as in Germany and Japan. But they should be kept above the level of subsistence and free from fear of the wolf of want and poverty. They should have abundance of library and laboratory facilities with living quarters nearby.

With regard to the sciences, nation-making demands that in addition to detail, students should be presented with a picture of the universe as emanating from physics, chemistry, astronomy, mathematics, biology, psychology and sociology. The realms of order revealed by the sciences should be presented in a unified way. They should be taught to hold such opinions in a spirit of tentative hypothesis, for advancing science will entail a continual revision of the present vision of the universe of nature and energy.

It is here that the spirit of objective, impersonal investigation taught in the laboratory in regard to minute details of fact (atoms, cells etc.) should receive amplification in cosmic vision. This will counter-act the tendency of the mind to rush to conclusions and to develop fanatical self-assertion. This is the truly liberal aspect of scientific education.

The purification of the public mind is brought about automatically, if the nation is full of such thinkers and citizens who have learnt to think objectively and are inspired by the vision of cosmic truth. The fact that every controversy has two or more *sides that no truth is wholly true and that no untruth* is *wholly untrue* will induce caution in the holding and urging of opinions on the part of the educated. Such a nation will become mature combining devotion to large ends with tenacity in pursuit of values and consideration for rival and opposing views and personalities. There is no other means of educating the mind out of narrowness.

The training to the humanities—(art, literature, history, the social sciences)—will guide the emotions and equip students with a scale of values based on and fortified by national philosophy.

Such education (given in the context of the contemporary scene full of danger from rival nations threatening war and aggression) will go far to create a generation of patriotic nationalists broad-minded without becoming empty and sentimental. They will preserve the social sympathies essential to social cooperation while being ready to defend the nation as matter of duty.

Their nationalism will be sweetened by humanitarianism and universality.

The specific problems of casteism, communalism, Muslim intransigence, language fanaticism etc. will all resolve themselves if such a catholic and scientific process of national education is inaugurated without delay.

In the absence of such a comprehensive scheme of national education using all the sciences and the humanities in the light of truth and values, current solutions of minority appeasement and exhortation by political leaders (who set examples of narrow communisam themselves in their policies and action) are *futile* and worse, for they only confirm the prevalent social evils.

CONGRESS BRAND OF "SOCIALISM"

The recent decision of a group of leading Indian industrialists to contribute large amounts of money to the Election Fund of the Congress should be a matter of great concern to those who want to build up a genuinely democratic movement in the country, free genuinely democratic movement in the country.

If the industrialists are thus allowed to pour their money into the Congress Election Fund, is there any chance for genuine democracy to prevail? Will any oranisation of ordinary men and women be able to fight an election and win it against such a powerful combination of the capitalists? The ruling Party has obvious advantages in getting lakhs from the capitalists. The Ruling Party has the gift of distributing favours. It controls the coercive machinery of the State. And with the extension of the regulatory powers of the State in Free India, the ruling Party's influence is tremendous..... So, as money can ensure votes, the ruling Party supported by crores of rupees contributed by shrewd businessmen, can continue to remain in power till the end of eternity.

—Bihar Herald

Conspiracy Against Jana Sangh

By M. N. Tholal

The communal disturbances in Uttar Pradesh in wake of the National Integration Conference are obviously due to the negligence of the Aligarh University authorities to supply the facts of the trouble to the public. That itself may be due to their conclusion that it is worse than useless to supply the facts before the miscreants are restrained. And why did the miscreants remain unrestrained for sometime? Because it did not suit Vice-Chancellor Zaidi's purposes —whatever they may be—to punish them at once or to have them put under restraint. Col. Zaidi has a pull in New Delhi. (In New Delhi everybody must have a pull to get something done.) The pull is believed to be in the person of Maulana Hifzur Rehman, who has emerged as Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Maulana Azad rolled into one for our Prime Minister. His friendship enables Mr. Nehru to believe that he is a nationalist and that Muslims will vote Congress. In time past it was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai who confirmed Mr. Nehru's belief in his own nationalism.

Preculiar Nations

The district authorities at Aligarh may be presumed to know a thing or two about Col. Zaidi's pull, which has been frequently mentioned in Delhi papers, and it woud not be surprising if they think discretion to be the better part of valour where Col. Zaid is concerned. So the trouble started with Col. Zaidi's inaction when action was called for. Every Muslim has the right to vote for Muslims even in University Union elections, but surely students within the University precincts should not be allowed to burn the effigies of defeated candidates ; much less thrash them when they are asleep. They also have no right to burn shops because their owners happen to belong to the community of the defeated candidates. But the students of Aligarh University have peculiar notions of their rights and these notions are decades old. For example, they have not been in the habit of buying railway tickets for their railway journeys to Aligarh for a railway employee at Aligarh would only ask for one from an Aligarh University student at the risk of being beaten up by a number of them, who are always present at the railway station, presumably to enjoy the sight of beauties in trains. The demonstration staged by them at the railway station against Maulana Azad is not an old occurrence. Sheikh Abdullah, when he was Prime Minister of Kashmir, was received by them with cries of "Billi-e-Kashmir Murdabad". (May the Cat of Kashmir die!) The result of all this has been that the grant for the University has been gradually increased from Rs. 2 lakhs to Rs. 5 lakhs. Disloyalty to the country has clearly been paying dividends. And why would it not increase when the Government itself is putting a premium on it? Prime Minister Nehru once declared that he believes in appeasement and what has been happening at Aligarh is nothing but the direct result of appeasement.

The recent debate in Parliament on Aligarh University (extracts from which appeared in Delhi Letter recently) left an impression of Government helplessness on the reader's mind, although threats were held out by the Education Minister in case the University authorities failed to carry out the recommendations of the Inquiry Committee. The tone and the contents of the debate could not but have emboldened the Aligarh University students, who belong to the same community as the Vice-Chancellor, and we have seen the result in a matter of days. It is the result of appeasement of fanaticism and emotional integration with Maulana Hifzur Rehman. The two can only mean the same thing for any one who knows what a representative Maulana can stand for.

Genesis of the Trouble

The source of the communal disturbances at Aligarh, which is being dishonestly attributed to the Jana Sangh, lies in fact in the revelations made about Aligarh University during the recent debates on it in Parliament. Those revelations were still fresh in the public mind when the Aligarh students misbehaved and set fire to shops near the University Campus, thus adding fuel to the smouldering fire which was the natural result of the revelations in Parliament. To prevent the reader from getting away with the impression that I am exaggerating, some extracts from reports of the debate, and the facts which emerge therefrom, are reproduced to make this very important ports of the debate, and the facts which emerge therere revelations were of inflammatory character.

The Education Minister, Shri K. L. Shrimali, said that members of the Inquiry Committee were deliberately picked from the minority communities. Prof. Wadia remarked that the Vice-Chancellor was present at all meetings and therefore the members of the Committee—he himself was one of them—had a feeling that some members of the staff were prevented from giving evidence because of the Vice-Chancellor's presence. Regarding his presence Mr. Dahyabhai Patel had observed that it was unique that persons who were accused could sit on the panel of judges, and that the Committee's report was "halting and half-hearted". Even these halting and half-hearted recommendations, instead of being accepted, were entrusted to an executive council which was appointed to go into them. This executive council refused to accept many of the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry.

The Education Minister declared that the University had knowingly appointed persons dismissed by the Gevernment of Uttar Pradesh on charges of

moral turpitude and for criminal acts. He pointed out that three professors belonging to the Muslim revivalist organisation, the Jamiat-e-Islam, had been appointed. He charged Communist professors of Aligarh University with indoctrinating students and with having their loyalties outside the University. (The fact that Communist shops were spared and not set fire to by Aligarh students bears out the theory that at Aligarh University there is an alliance between Communists and Communalists, the common ground being anti-national.) The fact also emerged that large amounts had been written off under the emergency powers of the Vice-Chancellor, whom the Education Minister took to task when he said that he should spend his time more usefully that in lobbying in Parliament and in supplying material to members.

That was the background of the disturbances, leaving one to conclude that the University authorities, like the University students, want to be above the law of the land, or law unto themselves. The debate in Parliament was not the handiwork of the Jana Sangh or the Hindu Mahasabha, nor did the main accusers of the Vice-Chancellor belong to either of these bodies. How can then the Hindu communal organisations or the Jana Sangh be held responsible for the disturbances?

A point which emerged in the debate needs farther emphasis. Col. Zaidi, the Vice-Chancellor, should have realised that his presence in the inquiry Committee, when his subordinates were giving evidence, vitiated the proceedings, inasmuch as they could not be expected to come out with the whole truth—at least the whole truth against him—in his presence. Having realised that, he should have withdrawn from the Committee during the examination of his subordinates. He did nothing of the kind and prevented the whole truth from coming to the surface. It was not a momentary lapse. It continued for a period of time long enough to make any sensible man realise its implications. If Col. Zaidi did not realise it, he is not intellectually fit to be Vice-Chancellor of a University. If he did, and still persisted in attending the meetings of the Inquiry Committee, which was recording the evidence of his subordinates, he is morally unfit, as a man who does not want the truth to come out or to see justice done. The first thing the Government should see to, under the circumstances, is to have him sacked. There is ample justification for the cry of the U.P. students that Col. Zaidi should go.

Appeasement

All these things have been happening in Aligarh University or to be more correct, have been allowed to happen. After all is said and done, Government is functioning at Aligarh. Or has it ceased to function? The impression has been growing in the public mind that Col. Zaidi has been doing what he has been doing, and the Aligarh students have been doing what they have been doing—because Prime Minister Nehru can be depended upon to ignore their lawlessness. (There is no other word for it.) The Hindus are not prepared to stand this nonsense, the Prime Minister may. That is what the riots mean. And why is the Prime Minister standing all this nonsense? Because, as he once publicly admitted, he believes in appeasement. Mr. Nehru is not in the habit of arguing things out in his own mind, otherwise, surely, the question would have cropped up at least once in a blue moon, appeasement of what? Of arrogance, of lawlessness, of fanaticism, of goondaism? Why can't he, I have often asked myself, persuade himself to believe in justice and fairplay as his father did?

Of course Mr. Nehru's appeasement is not without cause. He is no fool. His appeasement is always intended to strengthen his own hands. It may let down the country. It may desert the principles for which he is supposed to stand. It may undermine the forces of democracy, as it is indeed doing, but it is always aimed at raising his stature in the world. Today, as always, it is not a question of right or wrong. The question is whether by further appeasement of the miscreants of Aligarh or the Jamait Mr.Nehru would stand to gain or lose in the coming elections. It is not for nothing that Minister Charan Singh has fallen foul of Maulana Hifzur Rehman of all people. His diatribes at him are only meant to tell Mr. Nehru to beware of Hifzur Rehman or Utter Pradesh will refuse to vote Congress into office next February. That is in fact the dilemma before Mr. Nehru. Surely Mr. Charan Singh does not imagine that Mr. Nehru is unaware of the fact that the Jamiat-u-Ulema is a communal organisation!

It is therefore obvious from te narration of events beginning with the debate in Parliament on Aligarh University, and involving the revelation of unsavoury facts which should not have been allowed by Government to go unpunished, and which all together have been rightly taken by the public to be the result of the policy of appeasement of Prime Minister Nehru, that if anybody is directly or indirectly responsible for the disturbances, it is policy of the Congress Government headed by Mr. Nehru. That of course cannot be admitted by any Congress leader or minister. The best thing to do under the circumstances is to throw the blame on the communal parties, particularly the Jana Sangh which is coming out in the North as the main challenger of the Congress. The opportunity has been ceased for demanding the banning of communal bodies.

The reader may take it that it is not moral scruples which stand in the way of the Jana Sangh being banned. Victory at the polls by hook or crook is the Congress motto and the only question is whether a ban on the Jana Sangh will result in the elimination of that party from the political field or the ban will only persuade the people to defy the Government for its highhandedness by voting for any supported by the Jana Sangh. It is a question of gain or loss, involving intricate considerations which have to be deeply gone into, absolutely irrespective of their moral aspects. But we should not fail to admire Congress tactics which always transfer the blame for their own sins of omission and commission on to the shoulders of others—generally on the shoulders of those with whom they have reason to be particularly

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Indigenous Art Forms Of Kerala: Velakali

By-K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy, B. A. Associate Editor, "Rhythm"; Regional Editor, "Folk Lore"; Art Editor "Divine Call."

A SPECTACULAR and fascinating entertainment during the *Utsavam* (Festival) season in the Sri Padmanabhaswamy Temple at Trivandrum, the *Velakali* is a war dance peculiar to Kerala. It was originally instituted as a peace-time martial exercise with a high fighting and entertainment value. In this dance of war, who so sits to the feast of life must drink the cup of death. In the golden martial traditions of the State the cup held both the music and romance of life.

A MAJOR EMBELLISHMENT

The ten-day *Utsavam* in the Anantasayanam Temple takes place in March-April. *Velakali* is one of the major embellishments of the season. The gleaming swords, the ornamental shields, the quaint and impressive custumes of the actors and the vigorous martial music to which they dance, lend a rare old world appeal to the performance.

As a well known writer has put it, "The subject matter and technique of *Velakali* point back to a period in the history of Kerala when the conjoint military discipline and folk relaxation came under growing influences of the culture that had established itself in North India and proceeded southwards, carrying with it the philosophical ideas and religious conceptions and observances of the Aryan Seers; carrying also what is more apposite our subject, the imaginative embodiments of deific powers and processes, in the Puranas whose stories became the inexhaustible source of the arts of Hindu India, and have remained so to this day".

COSTUME AND MAKE-UP

The *Velakali* actor holds in his left hand an ornamented shield and brandishes a sword-like stick with the other. The circular shield is a work of art. The short sword-stick curves on end.

The actors wear armlets and anklets and adorn themselves with garlands of multi-coloured beads, shells, and spangles. The headdress is a red turban tied into a cylindrical knot on left and set with gold or silver lace. They wear two clothes, one snow-white reaching down to the ankles, and the other a triangular piece of scarlet silk carrying silver stars and rings. A belt-strip of white cloth is tied round the scarlet silk. Before the performance, they bathe and worship at the shrine. They smear on the forehead, shoulders and chest sandalwood paste and holy ash, and rub their eyes with black dye. The martial jauntiness and poise of the actors reflect an old tradition.

THE BATTLE OF KURUKSHETRA

The Velakali actors represent the hundred and one Kauravas, the enemies of the Pandavas. In fact, the performance is a symbolical presentation of Kurukshetra, the epic battle described in the *Mahabharata*. The battle is staged on the wide approach to the temple, twice daily, in late afternoon and in the night.

The Pandavas are towering wooden images set up on either side of the approach. Some are twenty and thirty feet high. The proportions are modulated and impressive. The costumes are quaint and picturesque. The head-dress of the Pandavas is profusely decorated with beads and shells. The skirts are scarlet and voluminous. The Pandavas are portrayed as giants with black flowing tufts, long and pointed finger nails, round and bulging eyes. The quintuplet is, indeed, formidable.

The Pandavas except Dharmaputra are in standing posture. Dharmaputra is seated with one leg over the other, serene, dignified and calm, watching the battle. Bhima's image is the biggest and most spectacular. He looks a veritable giant with his huge mace poised carelessly over his broad shoulder. Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva stand behind the 'big brother' wielding smaller but none the less formidable maces. The costume and make-up of the Pandavas bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the *Kathakali* actors. The images of the Pandavas are of such gigantic dimensions that they are set up and dismantled with the help of an army of men and a number of elephants! The wood carver has done his 'bit' for these stupendous statues. The artistry is intricate and sumptous. There is strange dignity and perfection in the very exuberance and riotousness of the work. The Pandavas look determined and confident. They tower up like defiant giants instilling terror into the minds of children and curiosity and admiration in the minds of elders. The enormous but life-like effigies seem actually engaged in battle.

The 'Pandavas' are images and immobile; the 'Kauravas' reproduced by the '*Velakali*' actors play

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displeased, as they have at the moment with the Jana Sangh. It is natural to ascribe all the ills which confront you to the doings of those you hate, even when they are the direct result of your own misdeeds, for to acknowledge misdeeds in the political field is to play the enemy's game. Indeed, I would not be surprised if, in the intensity of their hatred against the Jana Sangh, Congress leaders really believe that it is the Jana Sangh which is the root cause of all evil. For, the reader must remember, their hatred is as intense as their brainlessness and the two together are suggesting again and again that the shortest and the surest route to success in the elections is a ban on the Jana Sangh.

their part with great gusto.

BATTLE-PLAY

'Velakali'—literally meaning Battle Play commences with a flourish of trumpets and drums. The *Kombu* (horn), *Kurum Kuzhal* (clarion), *Thakil* (kettle drum) *'Thappu'* and *'Maddalam'* (hand drum) make the military band. As the trumpets, the drums and the band play up, the warriors muster. In the rear are the standard bearers; in the van the warriors muster. In the aer are the standard bearers; in the van the warriors. It is a battalion of youth with a sprinkling of elders. The infantry is accompanied by effigies of birds and beasts employed in olden days for military purposes. Bullocks, swans etc., made of wood, paper and cloth carried by retainers come last. In serried ranks, some eight or nine abreast, the *Velakali* actors surge along the broad approach to the foot of the flight of steps leading to the temple.

SPIRITED TATTOO

The encounter is regulated by custom and convention and no deviation is permitted. The army of the Kauravas (the *Velakali* actors) prance like furious war steeds and engage in duels and solo exhibitions of martial prowess such as fencing and jumping. They march in battle array from the encampment against the giant 'Pandavas'. Te 'Kauravas' enact the battle for an hour or so and retreat panic stricken over the flight of steps leading to the temple. The spirited tatoo provides thrilling entertainment to the large crowds of sightseers and pilgrims who gather inside the Fort at Trivandrum during the festival season. The picturseque peonons, in various colours and shapes, of the *'Velakali'* actors shine resplendently in the glow of the evening sun.

AN OLDEN TRADITION

This war dance brings to life the ancient achievements of the Nairs in the battlefield, famed in history and legend. The Nairs were the war lords of yore in Travancore.

Luis de Camoens, the Portuguese Virgil ,in his epic poem The 'Luciad', describes the Nairs with whom he became personally acquainted four centuries ago, thus:—

"By the proud Nairs the noble rank is claimed
The warrior's plumes their baughty brows adorn;
The shining faulchion brand' sh'd in the sight;
Their left arm wields the target in the fight,
Of danger scornful, ever armed they stand
Around the King, a stern barbarian band".

And only Nairs take part in the *'Velakali'* performance. It is the hereditary right of certain old families in the Karunagapally taluk in Central Travancore to participate in this indigenous military game. These families enjoy liberal endowments of tax-free land from the Maharaja and the temple.

The *'Velakali'* is enacted before the temple as an art of adoration to the God. The battalion of *Velakali* actors is commanded by Mathur Panikkar, a wealthy landlord, whose ancestors were hereditary Ministers and Captains of war under the Rajahs of Ambalapuzha before that principality was subjugated by Maharaja Marthanda Varma.

The *'Velakali'* actors have to undergo a course of strenuous physical training under reputed masters to become proficient in this military game. Their movements are amazingly quick and vigorous but not obtrusive. They dance to the loud drums, gongs, cymbals and trumpets. It is thrilling to watch and hear the simultaneous rattling of swords and shields with the loud beats of the drums and the gongs and the blare of trumpets. The drummers are masters, passing from high pitch to low with lightning effect.

A GREAT HERITAGE

There is an epic grandeur in *'Velakali'* which is a glorious heritage, a remnant of a great nation's martial prowess and artistic eminence.

An eminent scholar hits of *'Velakali'* thus:—"During the play days of the age of chivalry in Malabar, this game supplied an amusement to the patriotic sons of the soil which modern military review with its bright uniforms and glittering panoply, its splendid cavalry and powerful artillery, its waving ponnons and musical band, fails to afford. It stamped a force of character, a spirit of self-confidence and a readiness for action on the people which form the life blood of national existence and supply an incentive to further progress. Who can contemplate the decay of such institutions without a sigh?".

University with A Dubious Past

That the events of Aligarh, Meerut and Chandausi should have closely followed the resolutions of the National Integration Conference is no tragic irony, for it only highlights the need for integration. It also disproves the thinking of Mr. Nehru that there is no immediate danger to India from the separatist and revivalist tendencies. The danger is real, acute and immediate..... The Aligarh University, in particular, has a dubious past, of supplying the ideology for Pakistan, and to have expected it to change its thinking overnight, because Pakistan has become a separate State was a bit of naive thinking. The problem of Aligarh itself is easily solved. Islamic studies can be undertaken in other universities in the country, and Aligarh can become an ordinary secular university without any pronounced bias towards any community.

The real bane of the present situation is the feeling of rootlessness amongst the Muslim intelligentsia. This is a sentiment that has been fomented by rank communalists, of course, but that the existence of that feeling has to be recognised. In adjusting this emotional imbalance, however, the Muslim intelligentsia has to be clearly told, that there is more room for manoeuvring for jobs by playnig up communal differences, and by emphasising their differences with the majority community have a special responsibility in being liberal and tolerant, the minority communities need not brush aside these virtues just because they are minority communities.

—Shanker's Weekly

The Tragic Plight Of Students

By S. R. Narayana Ayyar

IT is most depressing to read the details of the lties of our students to get admission, not only to the highest classes but also the lowest ones, through out our Motherland. The photoes published show how anxious and depressed are those young faces, waiting at the doors of colleges and schools, not to get *free* education, but with a readiness to pay all the the dues-lawful and unlawful—demanded from them for their education. In this tragic struggle, the worst sufferers are the students of the middle classes. The sons of the rich and those of the Politicians easily get admission, either in the ordinary Institutions or in the English medium ones. Certain other sections get admission because they are considered to be backward. This tragedy will sure to become more and more severe, when the Politicians carry out their blind policy of medium of Instruction in the higher classes, to its logical conclusion. Then those, who are educated in their own languages cannot usefully step out of their States into any other State not to speak of going outside India and so will be creating severe and bitter competition, within the State itself. Even within India, educated students of one State will be foreigners and strangers in a neighbouring State, and the latter can justifiably ask them to go to their own "home States" as they cannot be of much use to that State. This trend is visibly expressed, though not without some humour, in the proposal made in a State that beggars, who do not speak the language of that State, should be deported to their respective States! Our linguism has reached such a height of idiocy.

It is inconceivable that the Authorities are unaware of the fact that serious corruption on a large scale has crept in this admission "business", in our country. In some States, the private managements have raised the admission fee, very high while demanding the regular fees also. Further those, who are in a position to pull the strings from behind in 'admissions', demand private 'fees'. No doubt, they get the clue from those Institutions, which demand heavy amounts called "donations", as a pre-requisite for admission to the professional Institutions, such as medical, engineering and teaching colleges. When the poor teachers get themselves trained and when they apply for posts, the private managements ask a lump sum amount for appointing them as teachers, on the plea that they have to open new classes, in extra buildings for giving employment to the teachers. In local bodies "the appointing committee members" demand amounts as compensation for giving jobs, since they had spent large amounts in getting themselves elected by popular votes! In certain places, the "Correspondents" of schools demand that the first month's pay, soon after a teacher is appointed, should be given to her or him as the case may be, by the teacher. In the selection committees, shamefaced corruption based on communalism, linguism, casteism, and so on is rampant. It is, therefore, no wonder that the students, becoming fully aware of these, should get brain shocks and allow bitterness to rise in their hearts. Hence they cannot be expected to grow up, as men and women with the ideals of priority and integrity, with moral fervour in them and with faith in public justice. This monster of corruption is stalking abroad throughout India in, all walks of life, after Independence. It is strange, startling and perplexing to see this state of affairs has arisen in our land, the moral basis of whose culture Gandhiji had called the world's all special attention to, through out his life. In fact, this corruption in the educational departments and Institutions need not have existed, if our Government and Universities could only abolish the rule, which insists that before students were allowed to appear for examinations, they should have put in attendance at some recognised Institution equipped with a huge building and all the stipulated pompous paraphernalia.

Evidently, the Authorities are unable to provide seats for all those, who have qualifications to be admitted into the classes. But if this stumbling block of this rule is removed all corruption in educational Institutions will vanish, in no time. It is a serious *crime* against the youth of our country to insist on their studying in recognised Institutions, when there are no sufficient facilities for admissions to the highly qualified from amongst them. The reasons which are given, with crocodile tears, by some, are that the students cannot successfully and usefully train themselves by private studies and that they cannot get the benefit of "academic atmosphere", unless they are compelled to meet together in a specified building. Such an "atmosphere" as every body knows, is only conspicuous by its absence in our educational Institutions at the present time. We have never before witnessed so much indiscipline amongst students as in the last 14 year in our country. The close contact between the teachers and students has become a physical impossibility, under the existing circumstances. The Authorities must have some mercy for the future generations of our land and allowing even students, who have not studied in recognised Institutions, to be tested in the same way as those, who study in them. If the "private students" pass the tests, let them be given the certificates of Universities.

If this is done, then a very large number of private Institutions will spring up in the country, even to teach professional courses. There are a large number of Retired Lecturers and Teachers, who will be very glad to group themselves into private teachers for a certain limited number of students, in different places to teach the students. Thus their experience and knowledge will not be lost to the country and at the same time they can get some income to help them in these days of high costs of essential articles. They and their students can, if necessary, be directed to formally register their names in a school or college of their own choice, as a token that they are "private

students", studying wihtout the help of recognised institution, which can give them library and playground facilities. Other necessary and practical details can be worked out, after the Authorities have agreed not to insist on attendance in Schools and Colleges, for appearing for tests of the Universities. By agreeing to this, Government will be reducing to a certain extent at least, the amount spent on education in a State. For instance, suppose the Law College at Madras is abolished, while allowing all graduates to appear for the law examinations, as if they had studied in a Law College, none can say that a large number of students will not be able to pass the examination, by studying privately, under practising lawyers of our State. The study in a Law college is not absolutely essential to pass the examiations. For instance, about 40 years, ago, I know that a kind lecturer in a Law College used to allow any student to be absent from College, if he only previously sent a note to him "Please mark me present". All these students, I am personally aware, passed their examinations and became Lawyers. The same practice can safely be adopted in other professions also.

After Independence, every education Minister when he comes to power has been introducing some change or other with results, which can only be described by the students and the teachers themselves. So above change pleaded for by me, will not in any way affect detrimentally the students at large, though the suggestion is from an Obscure—non-Politician. Let those in authority give a trial at least for one year and allow all students, who are not able to get admission in schools and colleges, *for no fault fo theirs*, to appear for the tests and examinations.

To those who may feel that this is not feasible, I ask in which colleges and schools, did the authors of the glorious Upanishads, the Ramayana and Mahabharata (the latter two in various languages of our country) study? Where did our three great Acharyas the learned Saints, the famous Poets, like Tiruvalluvar, Kamban, Tulasidas, Kabir, Nanak, Alwars and Nayanars etc study? Where did the Engineers, who had built our famous Temples, Rock-cut caves, with artistic figures, which all stand as if they were built yesterday, though they had all been built some centuries ago, study? Even in Ayurvedic and Unani medicines, our country has produced many famous men, who had never studied in crowded colleges. In other Sciences also, we have had great men, who had never entered the premises of a college. We have music colleges under modern methods and yet we have not yet brought to prominance any modern Thyagaraja, Shamssastri, Purandaradasa, Tukaram or a Tansen etc. All these great musicians had only studied *privately*, under their gurus. What is essential in this matter, is proper guidance and regular study of the subject whether a private, public or governmental institution.

The point that I wish to stress here is that we need not look on helplessly at our young men and women not being able to prosecute their studies for want of seats in educational institutions, where students are crowded within the four walls and where the teachers and the taught do not come to know one another intimately. On the other hand, if the old rule, which was introduced by the British is abolished, our old *Guru-Sishya* relations might be reviewed in a form suitable to the needs of the present times. This will instil into the minds of all, a stern inward discipline, with moral and spiritual fervour of all enduring values of life. Therefore Professors, Lecturers, Teachers, and especially the suffering students and their parents will do well to devote some thought to the points raised by me and find out a solution to the predicament in which our younger generation of students finds itself today.

COTROL OF FLOODS

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu

THE Flood in Bihar with a thousand dead and one lakh houses destroyed completes the story which began with Konkan, Kerala, Madras, Maharashtra, Orissa, Assam. The total damage may run to a 100 crores, while the loss of food crops may put up prices in a bigger amount. Since 1954, the Government has been concerned about Flood Control and has spent 51 crores on 66 major and 607 minor schemes. A Central Flood Control Board, 13 State Boards and any number of Committees have talked and tackled while every year the floods have become worse and worse. Such is their complacency that in the Third Plan, while other expenditure has been doubled that for Flood Control has been raised only to 61 crores.

Floods require to be considered in the context of many other factors. The most important is that Indian agriculture is a gamble in rains, too much or too little of them. This makes the impounding of water an objective of the highest priority. At present only 19.5% of the utilisable water is impounded for irrigation. Inspite of the colossal expenditure during the two Plans, the increase in the irrigated area has been of only about 10%, from 515 lakh acres in 1951 to 557 lakh acres in 1958. More has to be done but gigantic projects are not only outside of our means but as Hirakud, Panset and now Kharagpur have shown, may increase the danger from floods. This means that our Planning must revert to that of our ancient kings, of building new tanks and deepening existing ones for gradually but generally taking up as much of the water as now flows to the sea or ravages as flood. This is a big task because in Madras it has been calculated that it will take fifteen years even to desilt the existing tanks. It is nonetheless a task which must have precedence over gigantic projects which combine electric power development and have for that reason crowded out minor irrigation which not only increases irrigation throughout the country but reduces the danger from floods by spreading the surplus. Since the total number of people unemployed and under employed in the country adds up to 60 millions, such plans for minor irrigation will also solve the problem of unemployment, without foreign loans. The only question is if the Prime Minister and the Planning Commission can see the greatness of small and necessary things done well and for the interest of the greatest number?

Traitors Hand-in-Hand

(From Our Correspondent)

EVERY one who matters seems inclined to blame the spreading of rumours for the communal rioting in Uttar Pradesh, but no one seems to realise that rumours are bound to spread, and to be exaggerated in the process of spreading, if the officers on the spot fail to supply the official version. Even in cases in which thousands of pounds of explosives have been unearthed by the police, the public is not informed who have been arrested for the offence or in whose houses they have been found. It may be readily conceded that a Government, which can keep the invasion of the country a closely-guarded secret for years, can without any compunction withhold information in regard to (comparatively) very minor incidents. But how is the public to judge who, as between the communities, is in the wrong if major facts are withheld? In a democratic country the people are supposed o be the rulers. But how are the people to judge if the facts are not made known to them? The facts are not made known to them, it is said, so that there may be no communal excitement or incitement. But it is obvious now, from the Uttar Pradesh disturbances, that withholding information can only lead to the spreading of false or highly exaggerated rumours which lead to rioting—apart from the fact that it is unconstitutional, inasmuch as it deprives the people of their right to have the basis on which to form their opinions. Surely, the people are not expected to form their judgments on the basis of the judgments of the members of the ruling party, who are in the know of things but whose judgments will naturally be based on political considerations, particularly on the eve of a general election.

BREEDING PLACE OF RANK COMMUNALISM

Addressing a Press Conference in New Delhi, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, Secretary of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, asked the U. P. Home Minister to substantiate his charge that there was a "political conspiracy" behind the recent riots in some towns in U. P. He said it would be difficult to give credence to the charge, particularly since it had been claimed that the aim of the conspiracy was "to discredit the Congress among both the Hindu and Muslim masses", for the Congress was discredited enough these days. According to him, and every unprejudiced man is inclined to agree with him, the immediate causes of the trouble in Aligarh were, first, the Vice-Chancellor's failure to take action against those responsible for the clash in the Ziauddin Hostel and, secondly, the authorities' failure to furnish full and authentic information to the people to prevent the spread of rumours. He said that an inquiry committee set up by the Jana Sangh had reported that the demonstrations in various towns in the State were spontaneous. That has been pretty obvious.

Mr. Vajpayee also demanded the suspension of the Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University and the investigation of the University's affairs by a Visitor's committee with wide terms of reference. It is high time the Government did so. But whether the Government of India must also, as he demanded, "reorientate its approach to problems of the University and shed its notion that the University can be allowed to retain its Muslim character without jeopardizing national interests and the principles of secularism" can safely be left to the advice of the proposed committee.

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Home Minister, wants the names of denominational institutions to be changed. But, asks a corerspondent in a newspaper, will a mere change in names accomplish anything? He wants to know why communal rioting has never occurred at Benares Hindu University or at the D. A. V. colleges, or at any of the Christian colleges. He asks, "Why not face the fact that Aligarh has always openly been, and frankly continues to be, the breeding place of rank communalism?" Even Mr. Shastri, he observes, may find it almost impossible to change the denominational character of these institutions. He recalls Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's own words regarding Benares University: "The University will not promote narrow sectarianism but a broad liberation of mind and religious spirit which will promote brotherly feeling between man and man. Unfortunately we are all aware that the absence of sectarian religious universities....has not prevented the growth of sectarian feeling in the country...There will be no disqualification on the ground of religion in the selection of professors. No restriction is placed upon students of any creed or any class coming to the University. It is proposed that they should receive a sound grounding in liberal education..." And he asks, "Will somebody please enlighten us as to the parallel ideals of tolerance of the older institution, Aligarh Muslim University?"

It is indeed strange that while there has been a good deal of talk of banning the Jana Sangh, on the part of Congress leaders and Ministers, there has never been any suggestion on their part to place a ban on parties whose extra-territorial patriotism even they are not inclined to question. That reveals their patriotism and their political frame of mind. In such hands are the reins of government all over the country. No wonder the unpatriotic forces are inclined to think that they can get away with their unpatriotic activities so long as the Congress headed by Mr. Nehru is in power. If the people cannot assert themselves even on this vital issue, all that need be said is that we do not deserve our freedom.

PAYMASTER CALLS THE TUNE

The Commuist Party's election manifesto, released the other day, is an interesting document betraying traits of a guilty conscience at many places. It declares that the Communist Party has stood for the territorial integrity of the country and fervently hopes that the threads of negotiations with China will be picked up—for political discussions—to bring about a peaceful settlement in the context of "Afro-Asian solidarity, maintenance of world peace and the struggle against colonialism.". Since there is no mention of Tibet in the manifesto—to say nothing of the Baltic states and the East European countries under the iron heel of Soviet Russia—we are left in no doubt as to the kind of world the Indian Communists want. It is only in regard to India's approach to the China issue that the manifesto gives its unqualified approval of the Government's policies, although from its stand for the "territorial integrity" of the country, one would have expected the Communist Party of India to offer every full-blooded Communist of age to the Government of India for military training so that the Indian Communist Army may advance northwards to wrest the Indian territory seized by China from her hands. I am inclined to think that the Communist Party has made a great mistake in not doing so. For the Government of the country would never have accepted the offer, for fear of the Indian Communist Army reaching the northern border and inviting the Chinese to advance and seize more of Indian territory with their help, until China is in fact what it is shown to be on her official maps. (That reminds me that The Communist Party which stands for the "territorial integrity" of India has never condemned the Russian and Chinese maps showing large chunks of Indian territory as Chinese.) But the offer would have had good propaganda value for the general election, and might have rehabilitated the Communists in the eyes of patrioic Indians. The Communist Party's confidence that the non-existent "negotiations with China will bear fruit" will take some beating but then the Communists are always confident of their opinions.

The repeated bitter attacks on the USA make one wonder if the manifesto was drafted in Moscow, whose munificence supplies the funds for Indian Communists. Even if that is not so, it is only in the fitness of things that the Communists, while drafting the manifesto, should not have forgotten who it is that supplies the sinews of war to the Indian Communist chest. The US administration is blamed for "war-mongering" and "imperialism" and for posing a "brazen threat of nuclear war" against Russia and other Communist countries. The resumption of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union goes unnoticed. One wonders why no attempt was made to justify the same, since the Party believes that the "breath-taking achievements" of Russia and other Communist countries have strengthened the "cause of peace". I understand on the most reliable authority that these breath-taking achievements do not refer to the conquest of Tibet by China or of Hungary by Soviet Russia. Lest the readers of the manifesto misunderstand, that point should have, in my humble opinion, been made quite clear.

Very amusing emphasis is given to the rights of the minorities, particularly the Muslims, who "suffer from many disabilities and discriminations—often in silence". This is obviously a bait for Muslims, offered before the Muslim communalists of Uttar Pradesh decided to put up their own candidates for the general elections. "Their just grievances are not even looked into," says the manifesto, "much less redressed". This appearance of Communists as the champion of Muslim communalists can also help us understand the alignment at Aligarh University. No one can deny tha they have one great thing in common —extra-territorial patriotism. What makes me suspect that the manifesto was drafted by the paymasters in Moscow is the sentence "OUR people expect that as a result of these elections, the progressive, patriotic and secular forces will grow stronger and the struggle for the democratic transformation of our society will gather greater momentum." Since the Communists in India are a small minority, they can hardly, even in an absent-minded mood, claim to speak for the people of India. "Our people" can therefore correctly refer only to the voiceless Russian people in whose name the Russian Communist Party only is allowed to speak. That is what happens sometimes when manifestoes are drafted abroad by foreigners for the benefit of export to less enlightened comrades.

HIFZUR REHAMAN Vs. CHARAN SINGH

Maulana Hifzur Rehman has been exchanging blows with the Home Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Mr. Charan Singh. The quarrel began with Mr. Charan Singh including his paper, the Jamiat, and his organisation, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, among those who have been fomenting communal trouble or standing "in the way of identification of the Muslims with the larger entity of the Indian nation" and "fostering isolation of the Muslims". The Maulana retorted: "I can assure him that the Jamiat has in its fold hundreds of workers whose words and deeds to bring about national integration are in no way less, if not more, than Mr. Charan Singh's." Hundreds of Jamiat workers apart, I sometimes wonder if Maulana Hifzur Rehman himself can genuinely work for national integration. He can set my doubt, which is shared by a large number of people who know something about his religion, at rest by answering a simple question; "Does he or does he not believe in Kufr?" If he does, and as a Muslim, I understand, he has to, then he does not believe in the freedom of thought and belief which is the basis of our Constitution, and he cannot honestly work for national integration. National integration can only be founded on "live and let live". Those who do not or cannot believe in this principle can only pay lip service to national integration. Indeed, I make bold to say that if the Maulana publicly denounces the concept of Kufr and all that it implies, including Jehad, he will have to resign from the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and join the Rationalists, whose nobye cause The *Indian Libertarian* is nobly espousing.

Book Review

A SOCIALIST EMPIRE: THE INCAS OF PERU, by Louis Baudin, 44 pages, D. Van Nostrand Company Princeton, £8

Reviewed by Palmira Valentine

TODAY when Latin America is tugging with a new cycle of evolution, this book by Professor Louis Baudin, eminent representative of French economic science, is of great interest. After many years spent in study of the social and economic conditions in South America, he became imbued with the spirit of the ancient Peruvian empire of the Incas and presented it with a palette rich in tones and hues from its beginning to its grandiose destiny. "Everything here was inferior except man himself," he wrote.

Three successive philosophies form the political history of Peru—the socialism of the Incas, the democratic republicanism of the present and the Cuban "Castroism" and Argentinian "Justicialism" with which it is contending. The latter received their impetus as the result of a movement born in 1923, known as APRAism (Alanza Pro Revolucion Americana). The leader of the APRA party, Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, bases his revolutionary theories on the ideas of Pachacutec, the first organizer of the proposed Union of Pre-Columbian empires, which was to have included the Incas, Aztecs, Mayas and the Scirys of Ecuador.

Basing his description on extensive scholarly research, Professor Baudin reconstructed the rigidly hierarchized static society of the ancient empire in a study tied rigorously to historic truth. He describes the collectivist regime of the Incas as a source of admiration to the civilised world, an empire which was to be taken as a model by many writers of Utopian socialism.

Here we can see the intellectual and moral consequences of an economy planned to the smallest detail and despotically co-ordinating all material and spiritual forces in a minutely detailed regimentation. Result: the gradual effacement and degradation of the individual, the paralysis of initiative, the strangulation of ambition, the drying up of charity, the devitalization of art, the killing of inventiveness, and economic stagnation.

The author examines in detail the elaborate apparatus by which the authority of the state was made to extend to every department of life, harsh discipline, compulsory marriage, obligatory labour service, the regulation of leisure, establishment of production quotas, stockpiling of reserves, the forcible uprooting and transplanting of whole populations, and the building under state control of cities, fortresses, roads and canals.

This book is fascinating even for the layman. "It is difficult to draw the line between the free man and the slave in an almost socialist system," the author states. Freedom of the individual is the central theme, but Professor Baudin concludes, "there is no such thing as historical inevitabilty. It is incumbent upon us to take action if we do not wish to become the subjects of a now Incas empire."

At a time when the advance of statism, socialism and centralization all over the globe is increasing, this study offers an instructive lesson for all of us. If we look calmly at the political chaos through which we are passing, the prospect of what may be in store for us awakes in us new and strange feelings. This volume supplies for us an enlarged magnifying glass through which we can more clearly interpret the catastrophes to come.

Gleanings from the Press

WHAT INTOXICATES NEHRU?

After the National Integration Conference Nehru's speeches display an exaltation almost suggesting inebriation. While he could be pleased that 150 hand-picked notabilities agreed to wordy conclusions at the same time when Tara Singh was humiliated to break his fast by a severity never before shown to fasts, things in India are far from well to allow jubilation. Floods still continue to devastate the country while prices are rising, production is falling and foreign exchange is nearing bankruptcy. When he was boasting at Chandigarh that clumsy parochial walls were crumbling, the worst ever communal riot was taking place at Aligarh with ten dead and 40 hurt.

Nonetheless, next day at Madurai, before a wanton display of arches and pandals plastered with 6 lakhs of flowers, put up by T. V. S. and others, who on permits and licences have minted money from poor passengers using their own buses or those built by them, Nehru reached a peak of exaltation. He claimed that India ranked high in the world and was honoured, and her voice respected. He forgot that the Republican leader, Goldwater had just called him a professional neutral, who was phoney, that not one country has supported our claims against Pakistan on Kashmir, that Indians are being pushed out of all countries, several being in prisons in Ceylon and Burma, merely because they are Indians, that our rupee has only two thirds of its face value in foreign countries and that if foreign countries withheld their aid, our people will starve and our industries grind to a stop.

He claimed that the echo of Gandhiji's voice was still with the Congress and there was still a little of the integrity that he taught. Just how faint the echo and how little the integrity, people may decide at the General election.

—*Insight*

NATIONAL PLEDGE

Drafts of an Indian National Pledge have been sugested by Gen. K. M. Cariappa, Sir C. D. Deshmukh, Mr. Jai Prakash Narain and others. Mr. P. Kodandarao of Bangalore suggests the following for being considered along with them:

> "I pledge allegiance to the Republic of India. One Nation, indivisible, with freedom and justice and equal opportunity for all."

News & Views

DRIFT TOWARDS TOTALITARIANISM

Shri B. Rama Rau, former Governor of Reserve Bank of India, said here that the country was drifting towards "some kind of totalitarianism", especially as a sequel to the Avadi and Nagpur resolutions of the Indian Natonal Congress.

Shri Rama Rau, who was addressing the Rotary Club, said the people would have to choose in the near future between democratic and totalitarian principles.

The Swatantra Party's policy was more consistent with Gandhian principles than those of the Congress Party, he said.

Shri Rama Rau stressed the importance of an effective opposition in democracy and said that an opposition party with constructive policies could certainly serve as a check on the present totalitarian tendencies.

RETAIN ENGLISH AS VARSITY MEDIUM C. D. DESHMUKH

Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, former chairman of University Grants Commission, has urged the retention of English as medium of instruction in Indian universities.

"If we want to keep pace with scientific and other developments the world over," he said, "it will not be a practical proposition to replace English by Hindi."

Dr. Deshmukh, who was laying the foundation stone of the Madras University department buildings and the post-graduate hostel here, yesterday, said, by the time Hindi developed well enough to replace English, other regional languages would also have developed to a greater extent and it was therefore difficult to imagine a stage when Hindi would be the medium of instruction in all universities of India.

Not All Russians Are Heroes

What happened in London on the night of September 4 may be a small episode in times pregnant with big events and even bigger bangs. Yet there is a deep moral in it. So it is worthwhile to dwell on it in search for the details. The occasion of the first showing of the Soviet film—"With Gagarin to the Stars", which provided a quick retreat from the limelight sans glory, of the Soviet Ambassador in London, Mr. Soldatov. It was strange contrast to the heroism of the celebrated spaceman.

When the first news of the Ambassador's impending visit became known an anti-Communist organisation calling itself as "Friends of Free Russia" and giving its address in Glasgow, had the following leaflet printed which disclosed the names of six Soviet spacemen who had died during the Soviet attempt to conquer outer space:—

In Memoriam

Lest we forget. On the occasion of this first showing of the epic film, "With Gagarin to the Stars" by the British capitalists of the Associated British Picture Corporation to selected members of the Soviet Union's 334-strong London Embassy, we wish to remember those space pioneers who went before:—

The late *Alix Ledvosky* 1957
The late *Serentyi Schiborin Feb.* 1958
The late *Andrei Mitkov Jan.* 1959
The late *Alix Belokonev, Ivan Kachur,* and *Alexis Grachev,* May-Sept. 1960

Like Major Gagarin's four uncles, shot in 1917, these men are NOT Heroes of the Soviet Union. Without their glorious sacrifice the USSR could not have achieved in 1961 manned sputniks of carrying military playloads so impressive as ten megatons. They gave their tomorrow so that we might have our today.

"Friends of Free Russia"
210 Holme Street, Glasgow.

How the news of the enlightening handbill campaign reached the Soviet Embassy nobody knows, but the effect was electrifying. The Ambassador's appointment at Regal was cancelled, and instead he went with his entourage to a small private cinema with only 34 seats somewhere in the cellars of Dean Street.

—Freedom First

Forces Behind Aligarh University

"We know something about this Jamiat-e-Islami. It is preaching dangerous ideology in the country. They want to set up a theocratic State in the country. And we know that in the Aligarh University, at present there are various kinds of forces that are working.

I wish to make one thing very clear, namely that the Government will not tolerate, and will not make any compromise as far as this basic issue is concerned, that it expects cent per cent loyality to the Constitution and the State. If there is anybody, who in any way, makes an attempt to do anything which undermines this loyalty, the Government will take firm action in the matter, academic freedom or no academic freedom."

—Dr. K. L. Shrimali Education Minister In Lok Sabha

Commision To The Finger—Tips

Right up to the present year of grace, 1961, no Hindu has dared to contest for any post of office-bearer (in the Students Union). This year they (Hindus) did. Neither the Muslim students nor the authorities were prepared to suffer this. In unholy complicity they manoeuvred to defeat the Hindu candidates. The defeat was followed by murderous attack on sleeping Hindu students "to teach the *kaffirs* a lesson."

Reproducing extracts of the FIR—first information report—to Police by two Hindu students—Mr. B. K. Sinha(M.A. student who contested for the Presidentship and Mr. R. K. Goel (III year Diploma student who stood for the Union Executive), both of whom were assaulted and wounded on the night of the elections, the *Organiser* further states:—that in the meeting held on the 30th evening to draw up the agreed list of Muslim candidates to defeat the Hindu candidates, *top University authorities, including the Vice-Chancellor and the Proctor were present.* It is undeniable also that a majority of the Muslim members of the staff actively canvassed for candidates of the Jamaat. The Muslim University belongs to the

Muslims, no Hindu can be permitted to hold office here was the keynote of the campaign. "NO HINDU, NO GIRL" was the slogan in brief (the stand being that participation of women in public affairs was un-Islamic)"

—Organiser

After this, with what cheek and audacity can the Vice-Chancellor say that the Alligarh University has been folowing the best liberal traditions associated with educational institutions? Aligarh University has been for years, even from the start, has been the hot-house that has bred a long line of Islamic fanatics in country. Pakistan mentality is the product of Aligarh University.

Time has come for smoking out this Islamic den of infamy and givng the Order of the Boot to the "distinguished" Vice-Chancellor Col. Zaidi, for his alleged complicity in the whole shameful episode at Aligarh.

NOTICE

Our Allahabad readers may obtain their copies of "The Indian Libertarian", directly from:

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ATTENTION !!!

OUR GIFT OF THE MONTH

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BY SITARAM GOEL

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