

BHARATIYA JANA SANGH



Presidential Address

by

Acharya Deva Prasad Ghosh



Bharatiya Pratidinhi Sabha Session

Delhi, [redacted] August, 1963

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भारतीय जनसंघ

Dear Friends,

You all know the circumstances which have brought me before you once again as your Chief. The circumstances are indeed tragic. Our elected President for this year (1963), Dr. Raghuvira, suddenly died as the result of a car accident in the middle of May last, while proceeding to Farrukhabad in course of a Parliamentary by-election campaign there. It was a terrible disaster, and caused a shock all over India. In our own ranks of the Jana Sangh, an aching void was created.

Election Of Myself As Acting President

A month after Dr. Raghuvira's demise, our Working Committee met at Allahabad in the middle of June last. It was at this meeting this election of an Acting President was decided upon; and I was called upon to shoulder the burden. Of course, as you all know, I have been identified with this great National Organisation, the Bharatiya Jana Sangha, ever since its inception twelve years ago; and for four years in succession (1956-59), you did me the signal honour of electing my humble self as your President. But to-day, with advancing age—I am now running 70—I really felt overwhelmed at your renewed mark of confidence in me; and I could not but accede to your unanimous request. So here I am once again before you, addressing you as your President.

Dr. Raghuvira Died A Martyr

Dr. Raghuvira's sudden disappearance from our midst and from the scene of his activities has been really a calamity. It naturally recalls the poignant memories of the sudden death of late Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee while in detention at Srinagar ten years ago (on June 23, 1953)—also in the middle of the year—that had come as a bolt from the blue. Dr. Raghuvira was essentially a scholar and a teacher—full of reverence for Bharatiya culture and steeped in India's ancient lore. Later, he was drawn to the arena of politics because of

his Nationalist instincts, and joined the Congress, which had once been the forum of all Nationalist forces in the country striving for freedom from foreign domination. But Dr. Raghuvira, soon felt disillusioned at the falling off in Congress ideals and its growing policy of appeasement of hostile forces at the sacrifice of the Nation's honour and dignity, and betrayal of the Nation's interests. The climax came about two years ago, when the supine and cowardly attitude of the Congress Government in the face of China's overrunning of Tibet and subsequent aggression on India herself, shocked him. It was too much for Dr. Raghuvira to swallow, and he resigned from the Congress in sheer disgust. Naturally, thereafter, he joined the Bharatiya Jana Sangha, whose sturdy Nationalism, fearless independence and deep reverence for the Indian way of life and thought, made an irresistible appeal to him. We of the Jana Sangha, on our part cordially welcomed his joining our ranks, and looked upon him as an acquisition and an asset; and only a year later, he was unanimously elected as our President. And directly he took over charge, he started his work with a seriousness of purpose and dynamic enthusiasm that surprised most of us. For the six months that he was spared to us, he made it his business to acquaint himself with the state of affairs throughout India at this critical period of her history, and toured extensively; and in May last, when the Parliamentary by-elections turned into "Prestige Contests", he joined the campaign heart and soul; and it was in course of this strenuous fight that he laid down his life. Dr. Raghuvira died a martyr. The decrees of Providence are indeed inscrutable—we humble mortals can only bow to them, and pray that the soul of this gallant fighter in India's cause do rest in peace.

The Parliamentary By-Elections And Their Back-Ground

These Parliamentary by-elections in course of which we lost our President—why did they become so important, why did they turn into "Prestige Contests" to which the eyes of the whole of India, and even outsiders, were turned? A brief study of their background would be useful in answering the question.

China's Invasion and Government's Unpreparedness

In autumn last, all India was startled at the massiveness of Communist China's invasion across the Himalayas, and shocked at the Congress Government's utter unpreparedness to meet the same, and the resulting debacle of India's armed forces. It was all the more shocking because Red China's hostile and aggressive attitude was not a new and unexpected thing. Indeed, it had been discovered as early as July 1954, soon after the *Pancho Sheku* Pact, and since 1959, China's hostile activities in Ladakh and NEFA had been well-known. Then why this unpreparedness and this humiliation at the enemy's hands, which surely India's armed forces—who had earned fame for valour in all the battle-zones of the world—did in no way deserve?

Krishna Menon's Exit

The whole Nation was indignant; and Nehru, our Prime Minister, though much against his will, had to remove his favourite Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, who had let the country down. Some other consequential changes in Army Staff had also to be made.

Nation's Response

The entire Nation rose as one man for the defence of the Motherland—forgetting all the quarrels that had been raging before—and rallied round the Government in spite of its past laches and remissness, and called upon the Government to wage unrelenting war against the enemy till he was expelled from India's sacred soil.

Nehru's Vacillation

But alas! the Nehru Government fumbled and faltered, squealed and whined, and engaged in endless talks about Non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, Colombo proposals, etc., etc. In the meantime, it tamely submitted to the terms of the insolent "Cease-Fire" proposal of the Chinese, thereby tacitly

accepting the same, and began dancing to the tune of China's order to India to advance thus far and no further in the war-zone. On November 14 last, India took a solemn pledge in Parliament not to rest or relax her endeavours till the last of the invaders are driven out of India's soil. But that pledge was clean forgotten in Nehru's chronic *pouchant* for talks and still more talks—while China is still in aggressive possession of huge chunks of India's territory. Further, despite China's base and treacherous attack, diplomatic relations with China were not severed; and traitorous elements in the country (mainly represented by the C.P.I.) were not banned.

Nation Bewildered: Confidence In Government Lost

The Nation felt aghast and bewildered at this lukewarm, vacillating and ambiguous attitude of the Nehru Government. People began to suspect that Nehru does not mean business, that he does not intend to take any effective steps to expel the Chinese from her occupied area, and that he is really contriving to get the people used to the fact of Chinese occupation, so that in several years' time, they will forget all about it—just as Nehru has contrived in the case of Pakistani aggression in Kashmir. There, for the last 12 years and more, Pakistan has occupying one-third of Kashmir (on the other side of the "Cease-fire" line) and people in general have ceased to worry about it—taking that area of India, as definitely lost to Pakistan. It is loss of the people's confidence in the *bonafides* of the Nehru Government in the matter of India's effective defence that is the most disturbing factor in the present crisis—for it is sapping the Nation's morale. Naturally, the tempo of the Nation's zeal and determination that astonished the world—friends and foes alike—has well-nigh vanished; and for this deplorable state of things, the Nehru Government's weak-kneed policy is alone responsible.

North-East Border Line Demoralised

Very recently—only last month—I had been to the North-Eastern borders of India—to Siliguri, the Dwoars, Kalimpong and Sikkim border—in order to study the situation there. I

found the same tale of surprise and uncertainty at the attitude of the Government and consequent demoralisation—resulting in the resurgence of communal and separatist forces in the tribal areas of the zone.

Communist Activities In Tripura And West Bengal

In Tripura, the latest position is alarming. It appears that two-thirds of the State is under the domination of the Communists, nearly all of whom are pro-Chinese who are building up a Volunteer Force (called "*Lal Sena*"—Red Army) some 50,000 strong, of whom 10,000 are ex-soldiers trained in use of war-weapons; and their objective is to join hands with the "Liberation Army" of Red China when it makes its appearance. Needless to add, hostile propaganda amongst the tribals is going on apace. The current "Sino-Pakistan" *entente* is making the position still more serious, for Tripura is the happy hunting-ground of Pakistani Muslims (just like Assam—faced too with almost similar problems). In West Bengal itself, pro-Chinese Communists have again reared their heads and are on the War-path—due to the Nehru Government's supineness and molly-coddling.

The Vinoba Bhave Nuisance

No wonder, people are surprised at the Government's masterly inactivity—they are puzzled and perplexed about what the Government's real intentions are. To add to their puzzlement, they find Vinoba Bhave, roving all over the place, and being treated as "State Guest", with receptions officially organised at enormous expense and what does this precious saint of Bhoo'can fame preach, what message does he bring to the Nation faced with invasion by a ruthless enemy? Wonder of wonders, he preaches that India should not procure arms from friendly Powers to defend herself, that she should love the Chinese, for their magnanimity in withdrawing though victorious and to cap it all, he advises that we should send to meet the Chinese aggressor not any army, but hands of little children who by their prattle will presumably shame the Chinese into withdrawal and retreat. This sort of twaddle—and mischievous twaddle at that—has made people look upon Vinoba Bhave as a perfect nuisance.

Peace-Marchers To Peking

The so-called "Peace-Marchers to Peking" (headed by Shankar Rao Deo) are no better—they too are shouting similar demoralising slogans and sending forth similar messages. Fools and cranks one may tolerate, but surely not noxious nuisances of this type in this hour of the Nation's peril. Just imagine these nuisances being boosted and pampered by the powers-that-be at public expense? The Nation has ample reason to feel indignant at the Nehru Government's antics.

Internal Situation—Economic Crisis

Then comes the internal picture of India's affairs. Of active military preparations to expel the invader, people sees very little, but there are the Defence of India Rules dandled before them just to remind them that the "Emergency" still subsists. And heavy taxation, Gold Control orders, Compulsory Deposit Schemes, soaring prices, food shortages, etc. etc. are making the people painfully aware that even if the Nehru Government does not intend to fight seriously the enemy outside, it is quite serious about fighting its own people—fleecing and squeezing and making the lives of people miserable inside the country. The position has become intolerable. Naturally, a wave of acute discontent is sweeping the country-side and a spirit of revolt is simmering.

Gold Control And Destruction Of Gold Industry

Gold Control orders have been promulgated by our Finance Minister. While they have signally failed to achieve what they ostensibly meant to do, viz. reduction of Gold prices, prevention of gold smuggling, bringing out of hoarded gold, etc., they have had the effect of virtually throttling India's Gold Industry. People feel aghast that a National Government set up on the suffrages of the common man can be so callous and thoughtless that it can introduce measures which bid fair to destroy the Gold Industry of India—an Industry for which India has been renowned through the ages—and which have

practically thrown out of employment some 25 lakhs of skilled workers and led some 150 Gold artisans to commit suicide. Morarji Desai, our Finance Minister, a sou-green incorruptible, like the famous Robespierre -does not mind it all; he calmly advises the displaced Gold-artisans to take to the plough.

Desai And His Boss To The Plough As Twin Bullocks

One feels tempted bitterly to remark that Morarji himself had better set the example—he and his boss might just get yoked to the plough as twin bullocks. That might promote intensive cultivation and somewhat relieve the food situation. I hope Morarji as a Congress Minister will not take any advice amiss, for "twin bullocks" constitute the election symbol of the Congress itself.

Nation On The Verge Of Revolt

I was speaking to you of the recent Parliamentary by-elections; and in that connection have had to give you in brief a picture of the background thereof. The simmering revolt of the Nation against the effete and corrupt Congress regime made itself felt in the by-elections; and I feel proud that the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has the courage and determination to act as the spear-head of this revolt in the campaigns.

Congress-Communist Axis

In all these recent by-elections, there was one remarkable common feature, viz. the close Congress-cum-Communist cooperation. In fact, as an aftermath of Chinese aggression in India, a veritable Congress-Communist axis has developed. The C.P.I. has formally declared that it will be supporting the Congress, in order to save the country—not from China's aggression; oh no!—but from what it is pleased to call "Right Reaction."

"Right Reaction"

We still believe however in the Newtonian Law, "Action

and Reaction are equal and opposite"; and we are not prepared to admit that "Left is Right and Right is Wrong": so that the reaction of Nationalist India against the dark forces of disruption and surrender that the Congress-Communist Axis represents is indubitably right; and the Jana Sangh is proud to be in the van of Nationalist India at this hour of crisis.

CPI Clings To Nehruji's Sherwani

The Communist Party of India which owes no allegiance to India, our Motherland, but takes its directive from Peking or Moscow, was in jitters at the time of the National upheaval in November last and would have been swept away in the tide of public indignation at their treasonable activities, tried desperately to save itself by clinging to the *Sherwani* of Pandit Nehru, who blandly assured it his benign protection. As a result, the C.P.I. became *plus royaliste que le roi*, more devoted worshippers of Nehruji than even his Congress henchmen; and so, chameleonlike, the C.P.I. changed colours overnight and joined forces with the Congress in fighting the Nationalists.

Congress Blesses The Communists

The Congress bosses in their turn—faced with the opposition of an indignant public—welcomed whoever might help them, and accordingly blessed the Communists; and pompously declared that these by-elections were "Prestige Elections" that would go to show whether the people were with them or against them—for with Communist cooperation, the Congress felt cock-sure of victory.

No Method Too Mean For Congress

No stones were left unturned to ensure success for the Congress—no method was considered too mean for adoption. Casticism, communalism, parochialism—indeed all that came in handy was pressed into service. One example will suffice.

Amroha Elections—Woeing Of Muslims

At Amroha, Acharya Kripalani was the main opposition candidate; and he has been an unsparring critic of Nehru's imbecilities before and after the Chinese invasion. Hence the Nehru brigade decided that on no account must he be allowed to enter parliament. At once, two of Nehru's favourites, Krishna Menon and Keshav Malaviya—two dark and sinister figures of India, South and North—set to work. As a result, the estimable Hindu gentleman previously nominated as the Congress candidate at Amroha was brushed unceremoniously aside, and an old Muslim gentleman—and a Union Minister to boot—was put up in his place, in the hope that the Muslims in that constituency (about 40% of the electorate) would vote for the Muslim Minister *ex blow*, and thus ensure Congress success and floor Kripalani.

Mullahs And Moulvis Imported In Shoals

Besides, the Congress ostentatiously secular and non-communal—brought down shoals of Mullahs and Moulvis and Pirs and Muslim Divines and Ministers from all over India to sway the Muslim voters. The entire Government machinery was mobilised at Amroha to ensure Congress success there; and of the Congress bosses practically everybody was there, save only Pandit Nehru, but then his amiable daughter Smt. Indira, was sent there to deputise for him. But alas! the best laid plans of mice and men (to quote Robert Burns) went all ugly; and the Congress met with a thumping defeat at the hands of the electorate at Amroha.

Repercussions Elsewhere

Further, this defeat had its repercussions elsewhere, at Farrukhabad (in U.P.) and at Rajkot (in distant Gujarat), and the Congress was also defeated there with equally thumping majorities. The "Prestige Contests" challenged by the Congress have indeed been fought, and Congress Prestige lies low in the dust.

Nation Expected Nehru To Resign But He Declines

One would have naturally thought that with the "Prestige Contest" lost, the Nehru Ministry would resign; and that would have been in the right Democratic tradition. But no! Nehru would not budge; he would not oblige the Opposition by resigning; for who forsooth would ensure the safety of Mother India in the way he has done—in his absence? So, out of sheer Patriotic sense of duty he has decided to cling leech-like to his *Guidée*. What a noble but pathetic pose?

Nehru Now A Pathetic Figure

One really cannot but feel pity at this once noble figure—a valiant Nationalist fighting for India's Freedom—now a doddering old man of seventy-four—not in the best of health and floundering in a quagmire of imbecilities—still posing and attitudinising and orating in his usual Hamletic vein—with his carefully built-up international image as a world-leader shattered to pieces through the good offices of his erstwhile "*Bhai-Bhai*", the Mao-Chou brothers of Communist China—and a butt of ridicule all over Afro-Asia as a nincompoop and inflated gas-bag, who cannot defend his Motherland, but goes about hat in hand trying to appease all and sundry, China and Pakistan, Ceylon and Indonesia, Burma and Egypt. The image of Mother India has been woefully besmirched—thanks to the cravenness and imbecility of Nehru; and one feels that so long as this gentleman continues to be at the helm of affairs of India, that image is not likely to improve—for a leopard can not change its spots.

Pakistan's New Role—Wooing Of China

I have just mentioned Pakistan, and thereby hangs a still more surprising and interesting tale; for lo and behold! Pakistan—the strongest buttress against Communism in Asia—an esteemed member of the CENIO and SEATO—has, despite the warnings of her distinguished patrons Britain and America, struck up overnight a cordial alliance with Communist China. Inevitable, this reminds one of the sudden *volte face* of

Communist Russia on the eve of the Second World War, when she entered into a pact with Nazi Germany. The Ayub-Mao *entente* is really no less startling than the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Who Is Pakistan's *Dushman* No. 1? India

Why this strange transformation? Well, the good old adage, "My enemy's enemy is my friend". And who is Pakistan's enemy? Of course, India—out of whose womb Pakistan was brought out by a Caesarian operation 16 years ago. Pakistan—that geographical monstrosity—in two wide-apart sections, East and West, separated by the vast land-mass of the Republic of India—a veritable abortion in fact—can never forget that operation; and so India is her *deshdair* (enemy) No. 1. When Red China invaded India last autumn and crumpled up her forces, Pakistan gloated and chuckled. Since then many months have passed and now the militant leaders of Pakistan are repenting that they did not make a grab at Kashmir, when China was overrunning NEFA and menacing the plains of Assam.

Sino-Pakistani Entente

Anyway, better late than never; and so Pakistan is now courting Red China's good graces; the Radios of both these new-found friends scream alike anti-Indian propaganda; and Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Bhutto, asks his fellow-Pakistanis not to be afraid of India's Military might likely to be augmented by Western Powers, and assures them that China will come to the rescue of Pakistan if she is attacked by India.

Indo-Pak Talks On Kashmir

A curious spectacle indeed! It was with this Bhutto (leading the Pakistani delegation) that the Nehru Government indulged in prolonged talks—no less than six times last spring—and offered the occupied one-third of Kashmir (and even more) to Pakistan on a silver platter. And these precious talks came to naught only because Pakistan would not be satisfied with a part of Kashmir but would like to have almost the whole of it.

Pakistan Demands The Whole Of Kashmir And Cites Nehru In Support

Pakistan asks, is not Kashmir a Muslim majority area, and was not India herself cut up on communal majority lines 16 years ago, with Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the leading Surgeons at the operation? Besides, had not Nehru himself pledged "Plebiscite" to the Kashmiris, when late Maharaja Sir Hari Singh of Kashmir offered accession of his State to India? Did Nehru not repeat that pledge before the United Nations? How can then Nehru, of all persons, wriggle out of all this—his being a party to the partition of India on communal lines on the basis of Jinnah's two-nation theory and his pledge of plebiscite in Kashmir? That is what Pakistan's propaganda broadcasts to the world at large. The world is impressed thereby and is inclined to think that on the Kashmir issue India is wrong and has no case. And all this because of Nehru's betrayal of the nation's interest in 1947. Old sins are now over-taking the old man.

Jinnah-Nehru Conspiracy In 1947 Felled By Savarkar And Syamaprasad

This is however something of ancient history now; but future history is also in the making. When the Jinnah-Nehru conspiracy was planning in 1947 the outright transfer of the Punjab and of North-Eastern India (Bengal, Assam, Tripura and the rest up to the Burma frontier) to Pakistan, it was Veer Savarkar and late Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, with a determined band of Nationalist friends, who stood in the way of these dark designs, and mobilised public opinion against these, with the result that East Punjab, West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and the rest were wrested from Pakistan and successfully salvaged and saved for Hindustan.

Jinnah In Rage

On being thus balked of his prey, at least partially, Jinnah was in fuming rage; he shrieked out, "I do not want this moth-eaten and mutilated Pakistan; I shall have none of it." But he

had to swallow it, for he was hoist with his own petard of the principle of communal majority, and Hindus were definitely in a majority in the areas saved by Dr. Mookerjee's efforts.

Pakistan Persists In Her Designs

But though Jinnah had to accept this mutilated Pakistan, neither he nor his successors ever gave up the original programme. Slowly but surely, Pakistan has been pursuing her game, viz. creating Muslim majority in Assam and Tripura and elsewhere as far as possible.

Massive Infiltration Of Muslims In Assam And Tripura

Infiltration of Pakistani Muslims into these areas has now reached alarming proportions—thanks again to the imbecility and hush-hush policy of the Congress Government, which is trying its best to minimise the extent of this infiltration. In the Pakistan National Assembly, demands have already been raised for getting Tripura into Pakistan; and as to Assam, the leading Congress bosses there are all pro-Pakistani Muslims, some of whom were Jinnah's henchmen in pre-Partition days, and one of whom had to be kept interned as a security prisoner for having hoisted Pakistani flag in Assam Territory even after Partition. Nehru knows all about this but keeps quiet; for these Muslim bosses in Assam are his pets; and it was these pets who, along with others of the Assam Congress, engineered the transfer of Sylhet District from India to Pakistan by joining hands with the Muslim League at the time of the "Referendum". The latest census figures are ominous: spectacular increase has taken place in the Muslim population of Assam, so much so, that the Muslims now constitute about a third of Assam's total population. If the present massive infiltration of Muslims from Pakistan is allowed to continue, it would not be surprising if at the next census the Muslims become the majority in Assam. And then automatically, on the communal majority principle on which India was partitioned in 1947, Pakistan will demand Assam, just as it has been demanding Kashmir. That is however a future prospect; but

even at present, as it is, Assam is under the *de facto* grip of Pakistani elements.

Eviction Begun But Slowed Down At Nehru's Instance

Another curious development has taken place in this connection. This steady and massive Pakistani infiltration has been drawing public attention for some years past; the local public has been vocal in the demand for its stoppage. In some cases, as in Tripura and to some extent in Assam, goaded by the public outcry, even the Congress authorities there began to take some steps for eviction of Pakistani infiltrators. At once, Pakistan—wide-awake as she ever is to her own interests raised a hue and cry, and as usual, Nehru immediately succumbed, and practically ordered stoppage of the evictions, advising the local authorities to go slow. The local authorities are naturally now in a quandary.

Pakistan Threatens To Bring Evictions Before U.N.

Encouraged by her success in brow-beating Nehru, Pakistan has now gone further ahead. She has taken up the pose that the evicted Muslims are not Pakistanis at all but Indian Muslim citizens who are being squeezed out of Indian territory on communal grounds. Curiously enough, these Pakistani allegations have been echoed by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema (a Congress Muslim organisation) at its meeting held at Meerut in June last, attended by many eminent Muslim Ministers of the Central Government who did not utter a word of protest. Pakistan now threatens to take this matter to the United Nations. If Pakistan really does so, at one jump she will be stealing a march upon India and influence world-opinion in her favour; for Pakistan always denies that the Hindu minority there are ill-treated and ruthlessly and steadily squeezed out.

Pakistani Atrocities On Hindus Suppressed

Reports of atrocities on Hindus in Pakistan are

scudulously suppressed—not merely by the Pakistan Government, but strangely enough also by the Nehru Government in India. Nehru apparently believes in nothing but appeasement and hush-hush and suppression of unwelcome facts. Before the world-forum, accordingly, the net result is that Pakistan gets a clean bill and India is marked out as the villain of the piece.

Terrible Pogrom Of Hindus In East Bengal In 1950

Even in the face of the terrible pogrom of Hindus in East Bengal in the spring of 1950—as a result of which about 50,000 Hindus, men, women and children, were murdered and about 50 lakhs of Hindus had to flee for their lives from Pakistan and seek shelter as refugees in India, Nehru did not inform the United Nations and took no action whatsoever. On the contrary, he invited Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's Premier at the time, to Delhi, cordially shook hands and signed a pact with him throwing the Hindus in West Bengal to the tender mercies of an Islamic State. That lion-hearted leader of India, Dr. Syamprasad Mookerjee, who was then in the Central Cabinet, resigned in disgust. Some time after, the Lion was entrapped in the cage of Nehru's favourite chum, Sheikh Abdullah of Kashmir, and later quietly disposed of while in detention. That terrible crisis arose in 1950, and if resolute action had been taken by India at the time, Pakistan would have been liquidated then and there and there would not have been any Pakistani problem any longer.

Nehru Fails To Save Hindus In Pakistan

But Nehru failed the Nation then, as he always does whenever called upon to face a crisis. The oppression of Hindu minorities in Pakistan and squeezing them out have gone on merrily and systematically ever since, but has any one ever heard Nehru approach the United Nations about them? Now it looks as if Pakistan will be doing what Nehru failed to do all these years—only the boot will be only the other leg. It will hit Nehru like a boomerang, and will add one more feather to Nehru's diplomatic cap.

Piecemeal Crumbling Of Nehru's Cabinet

A little while ago, I was talking of the possible resignation of Nehru and his cabinet under public pressure; and Nehru's evident desire of straddling over the shoulders of Mother India, like the famous Old Man of the Sea on the shoulders of Sinbad the Sailor, so long as he possibly can. But it appears that his huge and bloated ministry—reminiscent of the classic team of Ali Baba and the forty robbers of the Arabian Nights—is still crumbling down, though piecemeal, Nehru's best efforts notwithstanding. In November last under the impact of the massive Chinese attack, Krishna Menon had to quit. In June last, under the impact of his Andhra defeat, Hafiz Ibrahim had to quit; about the same time, under the impact of the Serajuddin scandal, Keshav Malaviya (another Nehru favourite and Communist darling) had to quit. Five years back, under similar circumstances, viz. the impact of the Mundhra scandal, Krishnamachari had to quit—though Nehru has managed to include him again into his cabinet. It thus looks as if sheer attrition will bring down Nehru's cherished monolithic structure.

Corroding Canker Of Corruption

But the corroding canker that is now eating into the vitals of the top-heavy structure reared by Nehru is most serious—more serious possibly than even China's invasion and Pakistan's sabre-rattling; for, after all, these are menaces from outside which may be successfully withstood if the Nation's morale is sound. But if that morale itself is sapped by this canker of corruption, beginning from the highest ranks and spreading down to the lowest if all sense of moral decency is lost, if there come about what the Germans call "*Umwertung alles wertha*" (the up-setting of all values)—then the future of the Nation is indeed dark; and to be frank, that is the dark outlook that is facing us. Corruption of various types and modes seems to be rampant; highly placed officers, Ministers both in the Centre and in the States—not to speak of the lesser fry—appear to have caught the infection.

Depressing And Dismal Picture

The picture throughout the country of the corruption

in high places is really depressing and dismal. In the Punjab, Chief Minister Kairon has been openly charged with corruption and coercion of various kinds by Congress legislators and others before the President himself; and Bhimsen Sachar, a former Chief Minister of the Punjab, has asked Kairon to resign. In Orissa, almost the same picture; Dr. Harekrishna Mahtab, ex-Chief Minister, and Bijoyananda Patnaik, the present Chief Minister, are publicly engaged in mutual mud-slinging. In Kerala, Chief Minister Saekar and another Minister have been charged with corruption by the Kerala Congress President himself. In Andhra, the present and the former Chief Minister—both Presidents of the Congress, past and present—are at loggerheads. In U.P., the Chief Minister charges a colleague of his with moral turpitude and calls for and forces his resignation. In the Madhya Pradesh, things are no better, and the Mandloi cabinet is facing great trouble at the hands of dissident Congressmen. In Kashmir, elections are alleged to be shamelessly rigged and public terrorised by the Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed administration. These are the reports that have come out and have become public knowledge. One knows not how much more is still to be revealed. It is a long and sickening tale. The public are disgusted at this nauseating spectacle.

Serajuddin Affair

Then there is the Serajuddin affair which has been drawing into its net a shoal of Ministers and other highly placed people, both in the Centre and in the States. Keshav Malaviya (now resigned from the Centre), Bijoyananda Patnaik (now a rising star in the Nehru firmament) and Biren Mitra (in Orissa)—all Ministers—and many others, appear to have their names in the roll of honour inscribed in Serajuddin and Co.'s books. Indeed, this Serajuddin, whose name was unknown to the public even a year ago, has suddenly shot up to an eminence rivalling Nawab Serajuddowla himself—thanks to the secular dispensation of Nebrustan.

NEFA Air-Lift Scandal

Reports have it that an Airways Co. of Orissa (with which

the Orissa Chief Minister is alleged to be connected), entrusted with duty of supplying stores to Indian Soldiers in NEFA, did not think it worthwhile to proceed to far, but preferred to unload the same in Calcutta, and disposed of them in the Black Market.

Near-Famine Conditions In West Bengal

I am now just coming from West Bengal, where near-famine conditions are prevailing. A storm is blowing over the State on account of food shortage, soaring prices, Goldsmiths' plight and shameless racketeering. The local State Government, far from taking any effective steps to stop racketeering, has taken up an attitude which practically encourages the same. To give a definite instance, it would suffice to say that, to the latest directive of the Central Government to apply Defence of India Rules for the rounding-up of profiteers, black-marketers and food-racketeers, the Chief Minister, Prafulla Sen, haudly replies that this simply cannot be done until there is fixation of prices, and fixation of prices cannot be done until the supply-stock is estimated and assured, etc. etc. His attitude is one of absolute *non-possumus*. That is how Sen proposes to bring down prices and punish the Black Marketers.

Racketeers' Contempt For Congress Ministers

Naturally these racketeers hold the Congress Ministers in utter contempt; for they feel that they are the biggest contributors to the Congress Funds, and so the Congress bosses cannot afford seriously to punish and antagonise them. That is the real picture of moral corruption all round. We seem to be aggra removed from the days when Prime Minister Nehru in his reforming zeal, put on a brave face and thundered that he would hang Black Marketers, by the nearest lamp-post. Indeed, it seems that the long rope that he has willy-nilly given to the corrupt elements in the Government and outsiders will prove a noose round his own neck at the end.

Nehru In The Company Of Moral Lepers

It seems curious when one comes to think of it, that all

the corrupt elements whose names stink in the nostrils of all decent people—because of their having been involved in various scandals, like the Jeep scandal, the pre-fabricated houses scandal, the L.I.C.-Mundhra scandal, the Serajuddin scandal, etc. etc.—not to speak of people, like Sheikh Abdullah and others, confirmed traitors to the Nation's cause—all these moral lepers flock round Nehru and bask in the sun-shine of his favour; and Nehruji himself seems to feel very comfortable in their company, and is extremely loath to part with any of them. Well, a man is known by the company he keeps; and if Nehru cannot shun their company and get rid of them, he himself cannot escape the contagion.

How Macmillan Dealt With Profumo

No doubt, in other countries also, such moral crises overtake Nations from time to time, as very recently has happened in Britain herself over the notorious Profumo-Keeler affair. But there, public opinion is forceful and democracy does work; and so Premier Macmillan of the United Kingdom has dealt with the matter in the manner it deserved, and finished War Minister Profumo forthwith. Look at this picture, and that. If India is to survive this spate of demoralisation and corruption all round, she must give up the degrading habit of idol-worship and personality cult, make her democracy a living force that will compel its Government to bow to its will, and cleanse the body-politic of this foul and corroding canker.

Russian-Chinese Rivalry And Virtual Rupture

Of late, there have been some developments in International affairs which have naturally drawn public attention, viz. rivalry between the two leading Communist Powers, Russia and China and virtual rupture between them, and the recent signing of a partial Test-Ban agreement between America, Britain and Russia. These developments themselves are inter-connected. Red China—under Mao's leadership—is increasingly chafing at the bossing of the Communist world by Russia; she feels that as the leading Asiatic Power and with a population about 3 times that of Russia, she must have a share in the bossing, and

she thinks she is by now sufficiently powerful to assert herself. It is all the old story of *Machipolitik* (as the Germans say) i.e. Power-Politics—however disguised it may be by the camouflage of Communist jargon about Revisionism, Dogmatism and all the rest of it. That struggle for supremacy in the Communist world has now come out into the open—the “Brothers” of yesterday have turned into the “Enemies” of to-day. That is how *Welt-politik* works in this predatory world. China is now busy stirring up colour and race-prejudices against Russia; she points out that after all, Russia is European, and White, while China herself stands as the champion of Asia and Africa and all the coloured peoples of the world: she even appeals to Latin America to shake off the shackles of the U. S. A.; she taunts Khrushchev over his withdrawal from Cuba under Kennedy's threats as an act of cowardice and capitulation; in short, in her propaganda China has gone all out in her anti-Russian blast. As a result, the recent Russia-Chinese Conference held at Moscow somehow to patch up these differences and present to the Capitalist bourgeois world a monolithic facade has ended in a fiasco—the gulf between the rival contestants has only been widened.

Partial Test-Ban Agreement

This has had its repercussions on the other Conference, viz. the Test-ban Conference among the three members of the “Nuclear Club”. The discussions regarding Test-ban agreement have been proceeding off and on for five years past, but with hardly any result—Russia not agreeing to Anglo-American terms and *vice-versa*. What then is the reason that Russia has suddenly agreed to Anglo-American proposals? The reason lies in China's rivalry. Russia feels that her supremacy is being seriously challenged by China, and Khrushchev himself feels personally insecure under Mao's threats—and Khrushchev knows that Mao is a tough chap. So he feels that it is high time that he makes up with the West on the best terms available just now and fortify his own position. Russia cannot afford to fight on two fronts—the Capitalist West and Communist China. That is why at the fateful hour, an agreement on Test-ban—partial though it be—has been reached. So far so

good; and all those anxious for the future of humanity will heave a sigh of relief at the signs of the lifting of an imminent catastrophe. Of course, one cannot be too sure of the future, for the Communists have a code of morality of their own—quite Orwellian in fact—and do not believe in the bourgeois virtues of truthfulness, of honesty—as was evidenced by Russia's suddenly breaking a Test-ban moratorium by the explosion of a 50-megaton bomb two years ago on September 1, 1961.

The Nation's Duty

In the context of the present developments, both inside India and abroad, what is the Nation's duty? What is the programme that the Nation should follow? That is the burning question which we must adequately answer. Speaking from the platform of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, I feel that our programme should be clear, definite and unambiguous—not covered over with a mess of verbiage.

India's Defence; First Priority

We consider India's defence as the first priority. Menaced as India is with China and Pakistan, and possibly with both working in concert, India's Armed Forces must be greatly expanded and strengthened—both in quantity and in quality. Arms and equipments which India is not in a position to produce herself must be procured from all friendly Nations able and willing to supply them. Faced with a tremendous concentration of Chinese forces (with Air bases in Tibet and Sinkiang) adequate air-defence in India has to be organised.

Non-Alignment Prattle Must Cease

No dogmatic logic-chopping and idle prattle about non-alignment and neutrality, etc., must be allowed to stand in the way. Talks about India's neutrality and non-alignment in the present day's context are all irrelevant; for India is virtually at war with Red China, and hence very much aligned against her. It is for other States to decide whether they will remain non-aligned in the Sino-Indian struggle (like the Colombo Powers,

for instance; or not. India has no choice but to fight with all her might and main, if she is to safe-guard her independence and integrity. That is plain commonsense—self-evident to every patriotic citizen of India.

Joint Air-Exercises

Yet, what do we find? The egregious Vinoba Bhave loftily reproves the securing of arms from abroad; and the C.P.I. (whom a complacent Nehru has given a 100% patriotism certificate) is raising an outcry against the very limited arrangements for joint air-force manoeuvres and Radar Training with Britain and America, as sabotaging the precious Nehru policy of non-alignment. They have thus aligned itself very definitely with the enemies of India, echoing the voices of Chen-yi and Bhutto, the Foreign Ministers of China and Pakistan, the new-found friends.

India Must Be Saved

The Nehru Government, too, seems to be almost apologetic about its spokesmen striving their best to make out that these arrangements do in no way infringe the non-alignment policy—as if it is not India that requires to be saved, but non-alignment. Ridiculous! The Jana Sangh feels that our sacred Motherland has to be saved and the aggressors expelled from her soil without delay—alignment or no alignment. India cannot be made a victim of foolish fetishes and stupid shibboleths.

Liberation Of Tibet And Sinkiang

This is the immediate programme for effective defence of India. But long-range objectives have also to be kept steadily in view. Communist China has shown by her conduct that she is an unscrupulous, treacherous, and predatory power—striving to follow in the foot-steps of Chengiz Khan; and hence India cannot afford in future to have on her borders a State like Communist China: China's borders must be made to shift to her ethnic frontiers; and so Tibet and Sinkiang must be liberated

from the shackles of Red China and made into Independent States. In fact, both these countries are already in a state of revolt; and in the case of Tibet at any rate, her liberation is a sacred duty imposed on India, if she is to expiate the sin that she committed under Nehru's misguided leadership, in handing over Tibet to China by the notorious Pancha-sheel pact—which Acharya Kripalani has very properly described as a "Pact born in Sin over the Rape of Tibet". That is the Jana Sangh long-term solution of the Chinese problem.

Pakistan: Vacation Of Aggression In Kashmir And Reciprocity

Then as to Pakistan, the immediate task before India is to recover the one-third of Kashmir occupied by her aggression; and so long as Pakistan exists as a separate State, India must see to it that Hindu minorities in Pakistan are decently treated, and in all matters India must follow a policy of strict reciprocity and not of appeasement as the Nehru Government has done up till now. But that does not finish India's task—she must look further ahead into the future.

Partition And Its Consequences

As you all realise, most of the ills from which the Indian sub-continent is suffering from the last sixteen years is directly traceable to the Partition of 1947, when the great Indian Nation was sundered into twain on the basis of the two-Nation theory. For once, Nehru blurted a truth when he said at Hyderabad the other day: "After all, we were once one Nation". The fact is that the hopes if any, entertained by the sponsors of the Partition have not been fulfilled. Relations between Hindus and Muslims have remained as bitter as before: sixteen long years have passed since Partition, but unutterable atrocities are still being perpetrated on the helpless Hindu minorities of Pakistan; the whole moral basis of the Partition (if there had been any), viz. decent and honourable treatment of minorities, has broken down in this Islamic State. Even now hostility towards Hindus, and Hindusthan, is the rallying cry of Pakistani leadership—despite the constant changes of Government there, Martial Law, Basic Democracy, and all the rest of it.

East Bengal In Ferment

Inside Pakistan herself, affairs are moving towards a crisis. East Bengal—which finds herself reduced to a colony and a happy hunting-ground of West Pakistanis who look down upon East Bengal people both Hindus and Muslims, and which finds the bulk of the revenues of Pakistan to which East Bengal is the main contributor diverted to West Pakistan and herself—is in a state of ferment. Her eyes have been opened and she has been chastened by her bitter experience since Partition.

Partition A Blunder, And Must Go

The fact is the Partition has benefited none—neither the Hindus nor Muslims of the Indian sub-continent; and it has been responsible for most of the troubles that both these Succession States are suffering from. It is thus clear that the Partition of 1947 was not only a crime but a blunder (to quote Talleyrand's telling phrase). Anyway, India cannot afford to have a professedly hostile State (born out of her womb) on both sides of her. East and West—constantly fanning Muslim truculence inside India herself and intriguing with hostile forces outside. The Partition therefore must go; and the two portions of India—ruthlessly rent apart by disruptive forces sixteen years ago—must be re-united; and in this re-union lies the salvation of all—Hindus and Muslims alike.

Indian Settlers Overseas

Another big problem remains, viz. that of Indian settlers overseas, whom the Nehru Government in its policy of appeasement all round, has practically disowned and left to shift for themselves. A virile self-respecting India cannot tolerate this state of affairs. Millions of our kith and kin are involved in this problem all over the world—in Burma, Ceylon, Malaysia, South Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Guiana, Fiji, etc.—where they are being maltreated, ostracised and threatened with expulsion; and it was these Indian settlers who by their work of centuries had built up the economy of most of these regions. India must ensure that they get honourable treat-

ment in these countries and allowed to pursue their peaceful avocations without let or hindrance.

Economic Front

On the economic front at home, the Jans Sangh programme is equally clear. All these idle talks of Socialism and Capitalism, Public sector and Private sector, etc. etc. must cease. The people of India have to be decently fed and clothed, sheltered, their children educated, their health looked after and their able-bodied workers employed. These are the minimum demands of the Nations—and not mere dogmas or ideologies. Present conditions, as you all feel, are appalling. Food prices are soaring to a level ten times higher than even twenty-five years ago, other essentials are following suit, educational expenses, Railway fares, Postal charges—in fact, everything that affects the common man is sky-rocketing, and the Government stands idly by and almost pleads inability to do anything about it.

Failure Of Food Policy

As long ago as 1951, Nehru declared that there would be no food-shortage thereafter, that India would be self-sufficient in food, and there would be great saving in Foreign exchange thereby. Brave words these; but what do we find? Every blessed Food Minister goes out to America pleading for release of food stuff (under P.L. 480), and when he succeeds he comes back and proclaims it as an achievement.

India Reduced To Bankruptcy

Similarly, when a Finance Minister takes office, his first duty is to go out with a begging bowl to all the Nations of the world, East and West America, Britain, West Germany, Russia, Japan, etc. etc. for loans; and when the beggar returns with his begging bowl somewhat filled up, it is another great triumph. The whole financial future of India has been mortgaged upto the hilt by megalomaniac Plans, with budgets running to astronomical figures—to be derived from these loans, heavy taxation, deficit financing, and still the gap remains wide.

And this Government which has reduced India to bankruptcy by its rickety progress directs people who cannot afford two meals a day to take to "compulsory saving" in the midst of soaring prices!

Socialist Bunkum

All these precious Plans—so dear to the heart of Nehru and his socialist henchmen of all Parties (C.P.I., P.S.P. etc. etc.)—cannot provide more employment nor produce more food. This socialist bunkum leads us nowhere. Naturally, in this inflationary milieu the Black-Marketers and Racketeers alone flourish and reap a rich harvest. Indeed, these are the most prosperous people now-a-days. So, under Nehru's Socialist dispensation, the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. That is the stark economic fact—all embroideries and statistics notwithstanding.

Socialist Panacea—Nationalisation All Round

To cure these ills, our Socialist friends have one unfailing nostrum to prescribe—apparently they have a pathetic faith in it as the panacea for all the ailments of our body-politic. And what is this precious nostrum? Of course, Nationalisation and still more Nationalisation—State management, State control, State monopoly. Our Socialist doctrinaires (whether of the Congress or C.P.I. or P.S.P. brand) seem to look upon self-reliant business enterprise of the people as almost a crime. Energetic, enterprising people attempting to stand upon their own legs and eke out a living by their own toil and labour and Capital are dubbed reactionaries. And the Government itself is practically sailing in the same boat. The jungle of rules and regulations, permits and licences and quotas, and interminable red tape have made the life of a private businessman almost miserable and turned it into a night-mare; no wonder he feels depressed, disgusted and disillusioned.

Public Sector's Sorry Record

Even all these might have been condoned, if the enterprises

already taken up by the State, i.e. undertakings in the so-called Public sector (and such undertakings are numerous and daily increasing)—if these had been a shining success. But what actually do we find? A few instances will be revealing. The West Bengal State Transport Corporation is a State undertaking; recently it has begun clamouring for increase in Bus-fares; and to hush its demands, it has declared that for years it has been running at a loss of lakhs of rupees, and it cannot afford to continue in this manner. Then there is the National Coal Development Council (N.C.D.C.) which is exploiting the coal-resources of the country in the public sector; and what is its record of works and profits? While in the much-maligned Private sector of Colliery-owners, the production of coal was 449 lakh tons in 1960-61, 453 lakhs in 1961-62 and 247 lakhs in the first six months of 1962-63, the output of N.C.D.C. was 80 lakh tons in 1960-61, 60 lakhs in 1961-62 and 36 lakhs in the first six months of 1962-63. As to losses, these were Rs. 31,56,000 in 1960-61, 76,16,000 in 1961-62, and losses in the last six months are not known yet. On these figures, all comment is superfluous. And this is nothing surprising—*Makins* may be all very good sitting on chairs as administrators, but they are a misfit in business. Besides, losses in the Public sector are met from the tax-payers money and not from one's own pocket—so, where is the incentive for efficiency and economy? It is as clear as daylight to men with a grain of commonsense. Still the cry of the socialist brigade—whenever anything goes wrong or gets out of hand—is, Nationalise Banks, Nationalise Transport, Nationalise Food-Trading, Nationalise Agriculture, etc. etc. *ad nauseam*.

Our Objective—"Economic Freedom And Democracy"

The *Jana Sangh* is against these crazes—which instead of leading to economic uplift and betterment, leads to the reducing of workers and peasants, traders and businessmen, all to the position of mere serfs and *Sarkari nonkars*. A Socialist economy leads inevitably to a Slave State. And this is no mere theorising. The world has seen Socialism in action—it has seen the reign of National Socialism in Hitler's Germany,

of Bolshevik Socialism in Stalin's Russia, and Mongolian Socialism in Mao's China. This is the picture of Socialist States in actual operation—not a theory or a fantasy; and the world is horrified at the picture. India will have none of it.

Syamaprasad's Political Foresight

My long and somewhat rambling discourse is almost at an end. I should like to close my speech soaring with you some of the feelings surging within me in this critical hour of the Nation's history. I feel poignantly the absence from our midst of the great Founder of our Bharatiya Jana Sangh, late Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. I had been to various parts of the country and met people of all shades of opinion, and have found that most people feel that if only Dr. Mookerjee's life had been spared and he had been in our midst, most of the trials and tribulations through which the country has passed during the last ten years would have been avoided: for not merely was he a valiant patriot, but he was also a far-seeing statesman—with political foresight and realistic grasp of affairs and not living in fool's paradise. As early as 1952, Dr. Mookerjee told Nehru that the latter had done a very foolish thing by letting China take over Tibet, and warned him that once having consolidated her hold on Tibet, China would probably invade India herself. But Nehru would not listen: he pook-pooked Syamaprasad's warning with his usual cliché as "fantastic nonsense". Yet, Syamaprasad's prophecy has proved true—and not Nehru alone but the entire Nation has had to suffer and will possibly have to suffer still more for not having listened to the solemn warning of the great leader.

Follow Syamaprasad's Ideal

But alas! Syamaprasad is no more with us. What can we humbler men do? What is our duty? I feel that our duty lies in following his foot-steps and working steadfastly on the lines laid down by him. We have to strive unceasingly to realise the ideal for which Syamaprasad lived and died, and build up a mighty Nation in the *Akhanda Bharat* of his dream—where Hindus and Muslims and Buddhists and

Christians and all others will live together in amity like brothers—where a virile and progressive society will be ushered in, which individual liberty and democratic equality will flourish, and the glory of our Ancient Motherland—once the wonder and admiration of the world—will be revived in all its splendour. May God's blessing be with us in this our endeavour.

BANDE MATARAM