

JUNE 1955

Bandung: A Step Towards Integration

by V. B. Karnik

THE emergence of the countries of Asia and Africa as sovereign independent nations is a very significant factor of the contemporary era. Comprising amongst themselves half of the world's population and about a third of its territory they are bound to exercise a considerable influence on the course of world events. The twenty-nine nation Asian-African conference which met recently in Bandung indicated that they are determined to exercise that influence not merely individually but also collectively.

There was in the beginning considerable misapprehension in Western countries about the emergence of this new force. It was feared that the new force would represent a violently anti-West and anti-White tendency which would be exploited by communists for their own ulterior ends. In the communist camp on the other hand there was jubilation and it was confidently expected that the new force would be solidly ranged against the West and all that it represented. The invitation extended to communist China to attend the Bandung Conference heightened that expectation.

As things turned out the communist expectation was not fulfilled. China did not resort to the usual communist practice of converting a conference into a platform for communist propaganda. Representatives of China adopted a very conciliatory and accommodating attitude and refrained from raising or discussing controversial issues. The tactic helped China to create a good impression. That good impression created amongst Asian and African nations may stand communist China in good stead in improving her international position. It may also prove dangerous to the cause of peace as it may deceive many nations regarding the real character of the communist regime. All the same, it was not an unalloyed gain

for China. China had to recognise the deeprooted antagonism of many Asian and African nations to communism and its aggressive tendencies, and that may be the reason why towards the end of the conference she came out with the offer to hold talks with the United States for settling the Formosan question.

Contrary to expectations, the Bandung conference turned into a powerful demonstration against communism, which was regarded by many participants as a new form of colonialism and imperialism, far more dangerous and savage than the earlier forms of European colonialism and imperialism. It was not of course the united voice of the Conference. The significant fact, however, is that the voice was raised, that the danger of communist aggression was pinpointed and the right of countries, which so desired, to take steps for collective security in cooperation, if necessary, with Western countries was recognised.

That, no doubt, is a significant development. But more significant are the ties established by the Conference with the world movement for international cooperation, democracy and freedom. The Conference did not set apart the Asian and African nations from other nations of the world but sought to secure the "common prosperity and well-being of all" through "cooperation in the economic, social and cultural fields." It accepted the United Nations as the central organisation for international cooperation and called upon Asian and African nations to work through its various agencies for the uplift and the progress of their peoples.

The Conference demanded a speedy end to colonialism "in all its manifestations." The Conference added: "The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the charter of United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation." This forthright denunciation of colonialism applies to its old as well as new variety. The Conference was equally forthright in condemning racial segregation and discrimination, but was careful to add that it

"reaffirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries; and pledged to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victims to the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it."

"Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations" is the first of the ten principles accepted by the Conference for the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. Nations which guarantee fundamental human rights to their citizens can never be in the camp of totalitarian communism, for communism has no respect for those rights. It is a commendable decision on the part of Asian and African nations to secure those rights for their citizens and to insist upon the acceptance of those rights as the first condition for any fruitful and harmonious cooperation between nations.

Economic problems naturally attracted a good deal of attention. One of the major bonds binding the Asian and African nations together is their common economic backwardness. Foreign domination which had so long obstructed economic progress was no longer there. Its elimination did not, however, automatically ensure economic prosperity; because there were many other obstacles such as social stagnation, lack of capital, absence of trained personnel and native vested interests. For these and various other reasons the new independent nations of Asia and Africa find to their distress that the rate of their progress is very slow. Communism steps in at such a moment and promises rapid economic revolution, provided its panacea of communist dictatorship is accepted. Experience of communist countries has uniformly proved that the promise is without any substance. And yet it has a deceptive attraction in industrially backward countries.

It must be said to the credit of the statesmen of Asian and African countries who gathered in Bandung that they did not fall a prey to deceptive communist promises. They adopted a long resolution detailing various measures they propose taking in their respective countries and in the region in co-operation with each other and the various agencies of the United Nations. The Prime Ministers were, however, careful to emphasise at another place that the countries of Asia and Africa urgently require "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." The phrase 'in larger freedom' deserves to be noted. It underlines the intention of the Prime Ministers to secure social progress and better standards of life without jettisoning freedom.

A step of very major importance that the Bandung Conference decided to take is to develop cultural co-operation amongst the participating countries. The Conference stated that "among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural co-operation." The countries have decided to "renew their old cultural contacts and to develop new ones in the context of the modern world." This is to be done, however, not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other

groups of nations and other civilizations and cultures. The Conference asserted: "Side by side with the development of Asian-African cultural co-operation the countries of Asia and Africa desire to develop cultural contacts with others. This would enrich their own culture and would also help in the promotion of world peace and understanding." It is clear therefore that cultural co-operation between Asian and African countries is to be pursued not in a spirit of parochial exclusiveness or antagonism to other countries and cultures but "in the larger context of world co-operation."

Countries of Asia and Africa have today very little in common amongst themselves. They belong to many races, they speak many languages, they profess many religions. They are on various levels of development from the most primitive to the most modern. Their social and political institutions are of various types and their ways of living and modes of behaviour are also of a diverse character. It would be ridiculous and also disastrous to seek to reduce all this diversity to a rigid uniformity. International cultural co-operation requires not the suppression of various cultures or the ascendancy of one culture over others, but the understanding of the various cultures by one another, the action and reaction of all cultures on one another and the greater understanding and awareness flowing out of that action and reaction. Today the peoples of Asian and African countries are strangers to each other and to each other's life and culture. Foreign political domination kept them away from one another. In this new age of political independence they can now establish social and cultural contacts with each other and develop through those contacts a richer and fuller life for themselves and also enrich the life and culture of the peoples of other parts of the world.

The new independent nations of Asia and Africa could have as well chosen the path of nationalist and regional isolation and intense hatred of the West. They could have, as one of them has, painted nationalism red and followed the road of communist regimentation. The way that the Western nations

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THE INDIAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
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Notes

China and Trade Union Delegates

CHINESE Trade Union Federation's invitation to Indian trade unionists to attend the May Day parade in Peking and then tour the country for a month has now become an annual fixture. Some trade union organisations take advantage of the invitation and send their delegates for a free trip to China. The reward that communist China gets is that many of the delegates return as propagandists of the communist regime.

This year the Chinese Trade Union Federation, which is nothing but a department of the communist government of the country, overplayed its hand. After inviting Indian delegates on the innocent pretext of witnessing the parade and seeing something of the country it sought to involve them into an Asian conference to discuss trade union unity, atom bombs, peace and what not. The delegates who went had no mandate from their organisations to participate in any such conference.

In spite of this lack of mandate some Indian delegates, mostly of the communist variety, fell a prey to the suggestion of their hosts. Others, however, took a bold stand and refused to be drawn into the communist net. As the Chinese hosts would not give up the idea of the conference in spite of their opposition, those delegates cut short their stay, as a mark of protest, and returned to India.

The delegates who returned belong to such non-communist organisations as the Hind Mazdur Sabha, the Seafarers' Federation and the Dock Workers' Federation. They deserve to be complimented for boldly refusing to be hustled into a conference, which could have served no other purpose except communist propaganda. They have by their bold act enhanced their own as well as their organisations' prestige.

The episode shows how communist hosts catch their guests unawares and try to inveigle them into conferences and activities designed to serve communist ends. If the lesson is learnt the episode will have served some useful purpose.

Film Censorship

THE Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has not acted wisely in giving in to the clamour of prudes and moralists in favour of a more rigid censorship of films. Acting upon a representation of sixty-four Members of Parliament, it has recommended to the Government a stricter enforcement of censorship regulations.

The film industry is not opposed, as pointed out by Mr. S. S. Vasan, the President of the Film Federation of India, to censorship as such. But it is clear that unreasonable and unnecessarily rigid censorship

would mar the progress of the industry. Producers would then, says Mr. Vasan, shudder to touch contemporary themes and would go in only for stale stunts, folklore and mythology full of superstitions.

The cry against films is raised by narrow-minded politicians and social reactionaries who desire to improve the morals of the people through governmental regulations. They should remember the wise words of the Prime Minister quoted by Mr. Vasan: "There is danger in the Government taking upon itself the role of judging people's morals. I do not think it desirable for the Government to become a judge of this kind."

State Control of Education

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE, giving his evidence before Madras State Elementary Education Reform Commission, and Shri Morarji Desai, in his recent speech in Ahmedabad, have declared that education must be free of State control. We fully endorse their view, although, unlike Herbert Spencer, we will not go to the extent of advocating that education should not be even State-financed or State-subsidised. As recent experience of fascist and communist countries has shown State control of education ultimately leads to the denial of freedom in the field of education, with the result that even the type and content of education are determined in accordance with the exigencies of the political policies of the party-in-power. Plato's advocacy of the State control of education appeared legitimate as long as large masses of people remained ignorant and illiterate, but after witnessing what has happened in fascist and communist countries during the last thirty years, the world is compelled to change its opinion in the interest of freedom of education and conscience. We agree with Acharya Vinoba Bhave that the Government could at best give directions with regard to the general curriculum and assist the institutions to a certain extent. The Government should finance education, but they should have no powers to lay down the form and content of education.

Student Discipline

DR. JOHN MATTHAI, Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, while addressing the Senate has rightly stressed the need of helping students to develop a proper sense of discipline. He said: "There is nothing more important than that the students should be enabled to realise that on their sense of responsibility will depend the future of citizenship of the country." He made it clear that the sense of responsibility of the students meant the sense of discipline among them. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye also, in one of his recent articles, referred to the various forms of student indiscipline, diagnosed some of its causes, and made some useful suggestions for inculcating healthy discipline amongst students.

As a matter of fact, the increasing indiscipline amongst students is causing concern and worry to

many. True, at times, students have genuine grievances, and by all means those grievances must be redressed. But often the students get agitated on the flimsiest grounds, and tend to throw all discipline to winds, as recently happened in Uttar Pradesh. This is, indeed, very bad. Unless the students are imbued with a sense of discipline and a sense of proportion they will not emerge as fully responsible and useful citizens of the State. In the Pythagorean system of education, the student, for the first five years, was required "to keep his peace." This inculcated a sense of discipline and responsibility in him. The modern student can fruitfully emulate the example of the Pythagorean student in this respect.

The Kalmucks

THE disappearance of Kalmucks from the map of Soviet Russia and their reported deportation to concentration camps in Siberia must cause concern all over the world. The Kalmucks, who were Buddhists, numbered about 220,725 in 1939 and they inhabited a territory, called in the Soviet Constitution as the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Kalmuck. Somehow they appeared to have incurred the displeasure of Stalinist regime and all reference to them in Soviet literature was dropped from the middle of the nineteen-forties. To-day, for all practical purposes they have ceased to live except in the Orwellian "memory hole." The Soviet Government followed a ruthless policy of repression and extermination towards this small number of sturdy and independence-loving Buddhists, whose ancestors, during the days of Peter the Great, had provided the hard core of the Russian army.

Dr. D. Naminow and Dr. S. Stepanow of International Kalmuck Brotherhood, during their recent press conference in Delhi, have drawn the attention of the world towards the tragic fate of these Buddhists in Soviet Russia. Their account must stir the conscience of the world. The freedom and liberation of the surviving Kalmucks must be the concern not only of the Buddhist countries, but equally of the rest of the world.

Aping the Essential

LOBBYING one's Member of Parliament is an important part in the mechanism of British democracy. It is a process whereby groups of constituents call on their M.P.'s and place before them their views on any issue likely to be discussed, or which should be discussed in the House. Those who prefer to be less demonstrative, and more individual, can either write to their M.P. or call on him either at his office or in the House. In the United States, the equivalent procedure is called "writing to one's Congressman or Senator" — as distances preclude the British method. "Lobbying," on the other hand, has a different connotation altogether. It is indulged in by representatives of various interests which may vary from bicycle manufacturers to butter producers.

In the infant democracy of India, however, such activities are somewhat undeveloped; although

people have been known to call on an M.P. to ask for passes to the visitors' Gallery. No doubt the distance of New Delhi accounts considerably for the absence of the British type of lobbying and large scale illiteracy for the absence of the American way. Thus, in our parliament while Erskine May reigns supreme in the House, lobbyists (British or American type) are not to be found.

This isolation of members during sessions of parliament is, however, not a state of affairs that can go on for ever and with the advance of literacy Members can expect to be deluged with letters and calls from constituents. Recently some Members complained that their living quarters in Delhi were being regularly invaded by monkeys, who not only spread destruction but also made off with food, clothing and drink. Since, as yet, universal suffrage does not extend to our simian ancestors, they cannot be classed as constituents. Nevertheless, this descent of the Apes upon M.P.'s cannot be lightly dismissed as a mere nuisance. The 'monkey problem' is an ever-present one in India. Last month the central government announced a total ban on the export of monkeys and it is possible that they feel rather strongly about this withdrawal of travel facilities — even if they be only in the interests of science. Or it could be that they have heard that poultry was completely ignored in the Five Year Plan, because the planners were all vegetarians, and fear that they may also be similarly ignored. At least no one will accuse our monkeys of being chicken hearted.

BANDUNG: A STEP TOWARDS INTEGRATION (Continued from page 2)

treated them and continue to treat some of them even now might have provided sufficient justification to adopt that course. But reason and commonsense prevailed over passion and prejudice and, thanks to the statesmanship of those who gathered in Bandung, the nations decided to adopt the course of co-operation amongst themselves and also with the countries of the West.

The integration into the free world of the new sovereign nations of Asia and Europe is the greatest problem of the age. This integration must not be of course confused with alignment with the Anglo-American bloc. To be a part of the free world it is not necessary either to join that bloc or to subscribe to its policies and actions. Countries of Asia and Africa will become important constituents of the free world by deciding to develop themselves as free societies. A free society is the best antidote against the rise or spread of totalitarian tendencies. Western democracies will secure Asian and African nations as their allies in the struggle for the preservation and extension of freedom and democracy not by enlisting them willynilly in their bloc but by enabling them to develop themselves as free societies. The Bandung Conference has declared their adherence to the cause of freedom and democracy and their faith in international co-operation. Bandung may well therefore prove an important step in the direction of that highly desirable integration of Asia and Africa into the free world.

Red Threat In Indonesia

by Hasan Muhammad Tiro

THE 80 million people of Indonesia—sixth largest nation on earth, third richest in natural resources after the United States and the Soviet Union—are on the verge of complete communist domination. The communists and fellow-travellers, their sympathizers and naive dupes already exercise virtual control over the army, police, government administration, Parliament and trade unions.

The present situation exists because the people of Indonesia have been denied the right to vote and elect representatives of their own choice. The present regime, headed by Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo, has been trying to avoid elections for years. The communists and their accomplices are aware that, if the people of Indonesia were given the opportunity to vote freely, they would almost certainly lose the election to the non and anti-communist *Masjumi* and Socialist parties. While postponing Indonesia's first free election, the Sastroamidjojo forces are tightening their grip on all power levers of government.

There has been a series of purges of high-ranking anti-communist Government officials. Among the anti-communist Army officers who have been removed are General Simatupang (Armed Forces Chief of Staff), Colonel Nasution (Army Chief of Staff), Colonel Gatot Subroto (commander of the Seventh Division), Lieutenant Colonel Parman (commander of the Djakarta police force), and Lieutenant Colonel Kosasih (commander of the South Sumatra Division). These and others were purged for demanding that the regime hold a speedy general election for a democratic government. The communists maintained that these officers had interfered in political affairs and that their actions constituted insubordination. But the communists had only praise for the pro-communist Army officers (Lieutenant Colonel Warouw in Celebes, Lieutenant Colonel Sudirman in East Java, and Lieutenant Colonel Kretarto in South Sumatra) who deposed and arrested their anti-communist superiors, simultaneously declaring their allegiance to President Soekarno. No charge of insubordination was raised against them. In fact, Soekarno soon recognized them as division commanders and promoted each of them to the rank of colonel.

As for the Government administration, the Governor of North Sumatra, Abdul Hakim, and the Mayor of Djakarta, Sjamsuridjal, were ousted after declaring their open opposition to the communist party. The Socialist Governor of Central Java, Milono, was also replaced by a fellow-traveller. On March 5, the regime removed Sosrodanukusumo, head of the Secret Police Department, to make way for the new Red chief of the newly-established Indonesian GPU. Sosrodanukusumo, a *Masjumi* party member, was accused by the Minister of Justice of trying to help anti-communist Chinese leaders in connection with the deportation actions taken against them.

Meanwhile, the public's clamour for a general

election gained momentum. To appease the public, the regime made a gesture in the direction of "preparing" for a general election by establishing a Central Election Committee in Djakarta. This body will be responsible for counting the votes if the election ever takes place. This Election Committee, however, is of strange composition. Represented on it are the PKI (the Communist party), the PNI (Soekarno's Nationalist party), the PRN (People's National party, whose leading figure, Minister of Justice Gondokusumo, prosecuted the anti-communist Chinese in Indonesia), the *Sobsi* (the communist-controlled federation of labour), the SKI (the People's Association party), the *Murba* (a proletarian party), and the *Perti* (a Moslem sect whose leader, Siradjudin Abas participated in the Peking Peace Conference). The anti-communist Moslem *Masjumi* party (by far the largest party in the country) and the Socialist party were specifically excluded from representation on the Committee. Thus, the chance for an honest election has been precluded from the start by Soekarno's adroit stacking of the cards in favour of the pro-communist forces.

Since the Sastroamidjojo regime took over the government more than a year-and-a-half ago, no open criticism against the communist party has been tolerated. Even the former Premier, Muhammad Natsir, Chairman of the *Masjumi* party, and Isa Anshary, prominent Moslem leader, were arraigned for interrogation by the Prosecutor General's office because of anti-communist speeches they delivered on September 23, 1953. The newspaper *Tindjauan* in Macassar was put out of business because it criticized the Red Defence Minister.

Three times in nine years, the communists have tried to take over Indonesia. Twice they were defeated. In 1946, a communist *coup d'Etat* failed. In 1948, the outright proclamation of a communist "people's republic" in Madiun, Central Java, under the leadership of Amir Sjarifuddin, a former Premier and Defence Minister and Soekarno's righthand man, met with failure. Among those convicted and sentenced to jail in the communist plot of 1946 were Iwa Kusumasumantri, a Moscow-trained communist, and Mohamed Yamin. Soekarno not only pardoned these men, but appointed both of them to high office. Yamin is now Minister of Education, and Kusumasumantri is now Minister of Defence. It is beyond understanding how the Indonesian people can defend themselves against Soviet encroachment when their Defence Minister is a communist party leader whose family, to this day, resides in Moscow.

Little consolation can be drawn from the backgrounds of other members of Sastroamidjojo's cabinet. Gondokusumo, the Minister of Justice, participated in the Budapest Peace Conference and, as already mentioned ousted the anti-communist Chinese leaders from Indonesia. Minister of Labour, Abidin

participated in the Peking Peace Conference. Minister of Agriculture, Sadjarwo represented a communist front organization, the Peasant Association. Foreign Minister, Sunarjo helped with the Stockholm Peace Appeal drive in Indonesia. The Minister of State Welfare, Siradjudin Abas also participated in the Peking Peace Conference.

Immediately upon assuming power in July 1953, the Sastroamidjojo regime took drastic steps to destroy all actual or potential anti-communist forces in the country. In August 1953, the Red Defence Minister sent his troops to Sumatra to arrest 300 anti-communist leaders there. The anti-communist leaders, under the leadership of Tengku Daud Beureueh, Governor of Sumatra, resorted to armed resistance. On September 21, 1953, a united front of all anti-communist Moslem forces was formed under the leadership of Tengku Daud Beureueh, backed by General Sanusi Partawidjaja in Java, General Kahar Muzarkar in Celebes, and Colonel Ibnu Hadjar in Borneo. The forces of these leaders are now in *de facto* control of North Sumatra, parts of West and Central Java, South and Central Celebes and part of Borneo. Ironically, these are the same Indonesian patriots who valiantly resisted Dutch colonial forces in the period of 1945-49 when most leaders of the present Sastroamidjojo regime were either in hiding or were meekly permitting themselves to be put in detention camps.

In January 1954, after suffering the brunt of the civil war which it had created, the Sastroamidjojo regime sought to legalize its action by asking the Parliament in Djakarta to declare the anti-communist movement under the leadership of Tengku Daud Beureueh an outlaw organization. The pro-communists, however, had to vote by themselves, because the *Masjumi* party and the Socialists refused to vote and walked out of Parliament.

The Sastroamidjojo regime has labelled the anti-communist forces "terrorists" and "fanatics," while in fact the Government itself employs terror as a matter of policy in order to intimidate the people. Massacres of anti-communist peasants and burning of homes by Government troops are daily occurrences in places far from Djakarta. The regime by means of the state-controlled radio and subsidized press, has blamed these barbaric acts on the anti-communist forces, while the latter have no facilities to make their voice heard by the outside world.

The writer of this article was privileged to present a list of violations of human rights by the Sastroamidjojo regime to the United Nations during the last General Assembly. Then anti-communist forces in Indonesia challenged the regime to permit an international investigation of these atrocities. Nothing has been done. The communists and their allies have effectively dropped a bamboo curtain over Indonesia. They have assumed power in fact if not in name. But the people of Indonesia, who fought successfully for their independence, will not permit their freedom to be lost again—this time to communism—if they know that they have the free world's sympathy and support.

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Dr. Lin Yu-tang And Nanyang University

THE Nanyang University was planned to be established in Singapore as an intellectual centre of the free Chinese, who do not owe allegiance to the communist regime in China. The famous Chinese scholar and philosopher, Dr. Lin Yu-tang, was invited from the United States to set up the University and become its Vice-Chancellor. He arrived in Singapore and immediately set to work. Communist elements directed from Peking began their opposition to him the moment he started. Within a short time they succeeded far beyond their expectations. Dr. Lin Yu-tang had to resign and return to the United States, giving up the project of building up the University as a centre of free education and culture.

In an article published on the next page, Mr. Edward Hunter, the author of *Brain-Washing in Red China*, gives some information about the communist manoeuvres which brought about the collapse of the project. Being a resident of Singapore, Mr. Hunter has firsthand information about what happened. Dr. Lin Yu-tang, the Vice-Chancellor, has also told the story in an article in the latest issue of *Life* magazine. It is a tragic story of how communist subversion succeeded in sabotaging a noble plan under the very nose of British authorities.

Dr. Lin Yu-tang could not tell the full story of his resignation until after he had left Malaya, because, he says, it "would have exposed me and my family to assassination by communist gunmen." Indeed, only a few weeks later, a foreign correspondent was assassinated in Singapore.

Dr. Lin Yu-tang was "forced to resign and Nanyang was destroyed as a free institution by direct communist sabotage arrogantly carried out within the shadow of the British land, air and sea headquarters for the Far East."

He writes: "I was an obstacle in the path of a monstrous conspiracy directed from Peking to capture the minds of all the 12,500,000 overseas Chinese scattered throughout South-East Asia. Like an invisible octopus this conspiracy already threatens to make Singapore as helpless today against subversion as it was in 1942 against Japan's surprise overland attack."

Explaining the significance of Nanyang, he writes: "Nanyang could have been a citadel of resistance to Peking's manipulations—and... was abandoned before the fight was fairly begun."

The following is the information Dr. Lin Yu-tang gives about communist machinations: "Some 60 hard-core communist teenagers... were all it took for the job (of infiltrating Chinese schools in Singapore). Working secretly, they first persuaded or terrorised the students... then their parents... then the teachers. The British discovered documents proving that a student was assigned to assassinate the Dean and Headmaster of one of the colony's largest

schools.... The Dean decided to stick to his job but only if the school would insure his life.... When this was refused, he resigned. The Headmaster became a puppet of his own communist-run students."

The requests that Dr. Lin Yu-tang made to the British authorities were the following: 1. Deport the 60 known communist students: 2. Deport—on "more than enough evidence available"—Mr. Lee Kong-chian, whom Dr. Lin labelled as the leader of the conspiracy against Nanyang University. 3. Not allow Nanyang to "become a communist tool to produce indoctrinated voters in the very nerve centre of Britain's whole Far Eastern position.. To attempt co-existence with communism in Singapore is a euphemism for surrender." 4. Stop the dry rot of defeatism and apathy among the Chinese, and encourage a will to fight for their own salvation.... The Chinese in Hongkong have demonstrated that this is possible."

The British authorities refused to respond and the result was the fall of Nanyang. In view of this suicidal indifference of British authorities towards communist subversion Dr. Lin Yu-tang foretells a gloomy prospect for Singapore. He says: "Singapore and the rest of that corner of the world will surely continue to slip away towards oblivion."

The destruction of the Nanyang University has not, however, brought peace to Singapore. Chinese students, egged on by communists, have indulged in rioting and street fights. The riots and fights have already cost four lives and destruction of much valuable property.

Faced with the rioting and strikes of students and transport workers the newly installed Labour Government of the colony had to reimpose emergency regulations. It is significant that the move to reimpose the regulations had practically the unanimous approval of the Legislative Assembly.

There is no doubt that the troubles are inspired by communists. The fact that they are restricted to the Chinese section of the population suggests a foreign hand behind the communist inspiration.

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The Sabotage Of A Noble Plan

by Edward Hunter

Author, *Brain-Washing in Red China*

PEKING issued orders to big Singapore backers of the proposed Nanyang University that its Chancellor, famed Chinese author Dr. Lin Yu-tang, must go. That is why he was in effect dismissed. The sponsors tried to compromise by setting up a control committee that would be dominated by the Reds in the same way as the Chinese-language high schools in Singapore are run. The famous Chinese philosopher, who was brought there from the U.S. to head the school, refused to agree to any such thing.

He declared emphatically that he would not head a "second-rate" university. What he really meant was that he would not act as a front for a Red-infiltrated university. Communism was of course the basic issue, but even reference to the guerrilla warfare conducted by the Reds in Malaya as "communist" is carefully avoided, so great is government anxiety not to offend Peking or to jeopardize London's recognition of it.

This, in brief, was the real reason for the bitter struggle that broke out over the new institution even before a building had gone up, or a class had been picked. This was part of the fight for the minds of the new generation of overseas Chinese youth.

The communists recognized rightly that Nanyang University would have been as important a base intellectually against them as Formosa is militarily. So long as any such base exists, even as a symbol of opposition, the Red Chinese regime feels insecure.

The link between Peking and Singapore, I am informed by incontrovertible sources, is provided by the Chinese Red millionaire Tan Kah Kee, now occupying a subversion job in Peking, whose orders are proclaimed by mail, courier and openly over the Peking radio. He has strong family and business connections in Singapore.

It was told, soon after Dr. Lin arrived there that the communist plan then was to let him set up the institution, but afterwards force his resignation through the innumerable annoyances the Reds are capable of fomenting.

Informed of this, Dr. Lin gritted his teeth and went to work to make the institution unassailable. The Reds, seeing that he was laying a solid foundation, knew that time would be on his side. That is why the pressure came to a head prematurely.

I saw the smear drive start shortly after he arrived in Singapore when a key figure at a big Chinese Chamber of Commerce reception for Dr. Lin stood at a strategic corner of the hall, remarking to group after group in a casual voice, "Look at him; he shows more interest in the Americans than in his own people." Actually, there were rarely any Americans in sight.

The entire Pro-Red apparatus was brought into play to make Dr. Lin's position untenable. The final stage of this carefully planned drive was marked by

protests, supposedly by Chinese high school students (though lodged two days before the students in whose name they were issued were informed about the protests!). The teacher who sent me a copy of the mimeographed statement as distributed in his class, was terrified lest he be detected disclosing the date. Teachers have been disfigured, with acid for life for much less.

Perhaps the most sordid phase of this Red campaign was the exploitation of the thousands of taxi drivers, dancehall girls and other poor Chinese, who contributed half of the total funds raised for the university.

That the extremely poor contributed as much as Malaya's numerous Chinese millionaire rubber and tin magnates was the first scandal.

The second scandal was that the main Red pressure was exerted through the rich.

The third was that the Reds, in their usual manner, claimed to represent the workers—who, they said, did not care whether the new university was first rate or not. This was untrue!

Lost somewhere along the way was the original idea that Nanyang was to be a refuge for Chinese throughout this part of the world, not merely in Singapore, who do not want to go to Red China for pro-Communist education, or receive no education at all.

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Review

The Umbrella Garden

by Maria Yen, Macmillan, New York, \$4.

EVEN those familiar with inside accounts of communist ways in different parts of the world will find much to astonish them in Maria Yen's *The Umbrella Garden*—a picture of student life in Red China. It is a transparently sincere and honest book written in a simple and lucid style appropriate to tragedy. The honesty is clearly demonstrated in the author's treatment of those facts which can most easily be used for sensational purposes. For instance, she says that sex does not play "a big role in the lives of young people in New China. Anybody who tries to tell you anything else is only trying to cater to your taste for the lurid." If any beliefs about communist methods are contrary to her experience she sharply discounts them, thus strengthening at least the plausibility of her main account.

Another notable feature of *The Umbrella Garden* is that it is strictly confined to a concrete and minute description of what the author saw in China as a student among students. No attempt is made to draw "any serious parallels" between the Chinese experiment and similar happenings in any other country. This again reinforces the reader's faith in the accuracy of the picture she outlines.

After a brief description of Chinese university life before the Reds took over, she reports the behaviour of the occupation soldiers. It was exemplary. The orders were: "Return what you borrow"; "Pay indemnity for any damage you cause"; "Don't beat or scold people." On the whole, with a few comic exceptions, these orders were obeyed. Then began the first of those encroachments on personal life and reversal of criteria into a totalitarian pattern. The old communist stand was that there should be no interference in academic life. The new became an enforcement of participation in politics and acceptance of state directions as a patriotic necessity. "Democracy" was introduced by making students vote on professorial competence and awarding rations to university teachers according to student grading. The grading was public. One boy shouted: "You scolded me in the past when I didn't deserve it. You cut down my marks. Now I cut down your millet."

Next follows "voluntary" manual labour and the development of an elaborate mythology to enforce it. The old government gave subsidies to students, who were always asking for more. Now a new system of People's Study Aids is set up and so severely doled out that the majority gets less than what it was getting before. Acceptance of this was through public discussions at which it was proved that most students did not really need assistance! One student who wanted a Grade B aid is asked to reduce her demand to Grade C because "her past life has not produced

any positive political viewpoint. . . ." The "progressives" shared the bulk of People's Aids between them!

Austerity came in almost simultaneously with the Revolution which promised a better time all round. It was justified as a transitional measure but had a psychological motivation too. This was seen in the increasing use of grey uniforms on the campus. The Soviet "influence", culturally repulsive to the Chinese, is officially the only progressive influence. The excited students rush to see Soviet textiles flooding the market. Supreme irony: "They appeared bourgeois to us. . . . with neither sobriety nor real gaiety, without elegance or quiet good taste." A communist student is obliged to defend them as "durable."

Gradually the free and easy life of "pre-liberation" days is stringently organised. On each floor of the student hostels, "life managers" are appointed. "Communal living" is insisted upon, which meant never being by oneself, never reading anything except Marxist texts and participating in an endless series of parades, demonstrations and political meetings. And spying begins, even at picnics. The Youth League leader explains: "There are still plenty of counter-revolutionists around." The "re-education" of the students is thorough, extending even to love of the landscape and the architectural beauties of the past. The correct sentiment is: "The more beautiful the scenery, the more violently it stirs my class hatred."

Who has not seen photographs of massive Chinese political meetings to applaud the leaders of the revolution? "Policemen called at each house the day before to note down the name of the person or persons expected to attend." And if one did not attend, the criticism is publicly made: "In not joining the parade Miss Chang clearly revealed her free, undisciplined, petty bourgeois way of living."

The same control is extended to athletics, and to physical exercises. The curriculum was revised. Law courses were found to be "reactionary." In the Department of Western Languages, a translation of "Mao Tse-tung's Thought" is prescribed. Professors are made to support all these changes in discussions with students led by the communists. The Department of Philosophy was abolished. "Collective Study" classes are begun. Chaos is introduced into colleges by virtually demolishing the status of teachers. One chapter is entitled: "Who Teaches Whom?"

Relentlessly, the progress of regimentation is hailed "voluntarily" as revolutionary progress. Soviet films are shown to increasingly empty halls. Soviet books replace the classics of both East and West. And after this long tortuous process, when the student has finished his "education" he is assigned to a job by the Government regardless of his taste and talent and that settles his fate for ever. And all this is persistently glorified as the "new life", the "dawn of a new life." Maria Yen's book is an objective account of this most insidiously tyrannical process in history as it runs its course in China today.

N. E.

Bandung: As Others See It

THE Bandung Conference of 29 Asian and African nations was not an event of world-shaking importance. It was, however, a conference of some historical significance and as such it will be desirable to have a look at the Conference, more particularly through the eyes of the international press. The Indian press gave a large coverage to the Bandung Conference, but as the Bombay weekly *Current* pointed out, "It is difficult to get a correct idea from the Indian daily papers of what has happened in Bandung, as the press reports only the part Mr. Nehru played in the conference."

Beachcomber of *Thought* had a similar caustic comment to make on the way in which the special correspondents of Indian newspapers covered the Conference. "Barring a few," he writes, "most of them seem to have scrupulously avoided objectivity and responsible reporting." He adds, "for days together most of the Indian correspondents made it appear that the universe at Bandung was willy-nilly revolving around Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon." A perusal of the Indian press does not, therefore, give a correct idea of what happened in Bandung. It is necessary to supplement the information from other sources.

The *New York Times* was represented at the Conference by Mr. Tilman Durdin. His dispatches throw a revealing light on the persons who met in Bandung and what they did there. In one of his earlier dispatches he writes: "The Bandung Conference does not express already existent Asian solidarity or even similarity. Rather it is a step forward toward creating Asian (with African) unity." Continuing, he writes, "There is no single Asian voice. There is Nehru and Chou En-lai and Magsaysay. There is yet no such thing as Asian opinion."

Reporting on the Conference, he says: "The Conference has not developed along expected lines. There has been open as well as implied criticism of the United States, but there has also been frank defence of the United States along with vigorous castigations of Communism, some aspersions against neutralism and little inclination on the part of the pro-United States powers to be apologetic over the orientation of their policies." About Mr. Nehru's role at the Conference he states: "For Mr. Nehru and likeminded Asians and Africans the chief purpose of the Asian-African Conference was to promote the thesis that co-operation of other nations with Communist China is possible." Summing up the result of the Conference Mr. Durdin writes, "On the whole the United States has figured in the Asian and African conference with more support and interest than appeared likely or possible before the Conference began. Friends of United States have been loyal. Chou En-lai has been less effective in generating anti-United States, anti-West sentiments than many observers had thought to be the case."

Another correspondent Mr. Robert Aldon has some interesting things to say in the *New York Times*

about some of the important personalities in the Conference. About Mr. Chou En-Lai he writes: "He came here with certain objectives, to consolidate his position as far as India was concerned, to woo Indonesia, to edge Cambodia and Laos away from the free world and over into the neutral bloc and to win sympathy wherever else he could find sympathy. He succeeded in doing all of these things." In contrast, according to Mr. Aldon, India's Prime Minister although he had been in the centre of the stage from the very beginning had failed in everything he attempted to do. Mr. Aldon writes; "Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon who is Mr. Nehru's right-hand man in foreign policy matters suffered alongside his chief. Mr. Krishna Menon was not pleased with the way Mr. Nehru was handling Conference matters." Mr. Aldon reported that at one time Mr. Menon was overheard telling Brigadier General Romulo "You will have to excuse the way my boss is acting here. He really is quite inexperienced as far as international conferences are concerned."

According to Mr. Aldon, impressive in a different kind of way was Burma's Prime Minister U Nu. "The man with a kindly round face U Nu moved quietly but effectively behind the scenes. Though he adhered to the broad policies of Mr. Nehru during the week,

(Continued on page 11)



The Minneapolis Star

Letters to the Editor

The Role of Muslims in India

Dear Sir,

Since 1947 the Muslim citizens of India as a whole have withdrawn from the political and social life of the country. The reason for this is that there is confusion in their minds about the role they have to play in India. They appear to be unaware of the privileges which the Constitution of India confers on all citizens irrespective of their religion, and they seem to be negligent of the duties expected of them.

This deplorable state must now end, and it was, therefore, timely that a meeting of some of the leading Muslims of Bombay was held to discuss and find ways of inducing Muslims to take a healthy interest in the local and central affairs of their country.

The convener of the meeting, Mr. Saif F. B. Tyabji, said that India is a secular democracy, and the power resides with the people. It is the duty, therefore, of every Indian to know his political rights and privileges, and to exercise these rights and privileges. The meeting decided that the first and most urgent necessity was to impress on all sections of the community the value and importance of their vote, and to rouse the people from their apathy, so that they could exercise their votes to the best of their intelligence. The meeting wisely decided that it was not desirable to form a new organization to further these objects; the co-operation of existing organizations together with individual effort would be sufficient to fulfil these ends.

ZAFAR FATEHALLY

Bombay, 5th May, 1955.

Fire Brigade or Hand Pump?

Dear Sir,

At the beginning of this century, when a fire broke out in a neighbouring area in my home town, we children gathered on the terrace of our ancestral house round a hand-pump, with a hose attached to the well in the courtyard, gleefully awaiting the fire. Later when we found that the fire brigade had put out the fire, one fireman and a gallant neighbour injured in the process, we felt the whole idea of a civic fire engine was waste of energy not to be compared to our own home hand-pump.

During the last fifty years with Western ideas of civic sense, collective responsibility and theories of materialistic civilization drummed into my ears from Socrates to John Stuart Mill, these childish ideas were discarded. Now I confess to my errors. My instincts were correct and actually my childish ideas, born of an ancient spiritual heritage, I am convinced, will not only save my home town but the whole world through a wise international foreign

policy. We should not really bother if Formosa goes out, then Okinawa and then Japan; these islands and the peninsulas of Indo-China and Thailand are matters to be locally dealt with by individual hand-pumps fitted to a local well. As a descendant of the Rishis, I feel that it does not matter if I am frustrated in Ceylon, harrassed by Salazar, the Middle and Far East go their way, Malan rejects me, America regards me as slightly potty, my spiritual doctrines, so utterly true, must prevail in the long run, even if they take a century here or there.

RAMAN DESAI

Patna, 13th May, 1955.

BANDUNG: AS OTHERS SEE IT (Cont'd from page 10)

he seemed to gain in stature as the Indian liberal faltered."

According to the *New York Times*, three competent forces are bidding for the allegiance of the newly independent peoples of Asia and Africa: "the West led by the United States, the Communist block led—in so far as Asia is concerned—by Communist China and the neutralists led by India. These three forces were engaged in open, occasional bitter struggle in Bandung." The following is the evaluation of the *Times* of the result of the struggle:

Pro-Western : Mr. Nehru sought to prevent public declarations by delegation chiefs of their positions. He was over-ridden. Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Thailand, Pakistan and Philippines all condemned communism as a new form of colonialism and defended their alliances with the West.

Pro-Communist : Premier Chou had gone to Bandung determined to walk softly and present a picture of Communist China as moderate, co-operative and misunderstood.

Neutralist : One of the most surprising developments at Bandung was Premier Nehru's inability to keep the conference on the course he had charted for it."

Concluding, the *Times* writes: "Fears that the dominating trend would be anti-Westernism had not materialised. On the credit side was also the fact that the Asians had denounced communism at the conference sponsored by Asians. On the other side of the coin there was no blinking the fact that communist China had enhanced its influence and prestige at Bandung. However tentative the first steps might have been, a new locus of diplomatic power clearly had been created, whose orientation was at the best uncertain, at worst a potential foil for communist policy."

Summing up the result of the Conference *Insaf* wrote in *Hindustan Times*: "The various countries of Asia and Africa and their leaders have had the opportunity to assess their relative position, stature and role. It cannot now be said that Mr. Chou En-lai or Mr. Nehru or anyone else singly speaks for Asia or that any one country matters more than the rest." That could be a fair summing up of the results of the Bandung Conference.

With Many Voices

Moans round with many voices. Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world."

—Tennyson.

As a French lawyer has recently said, the obligations of democracy do not include the duty of suicide or nonresistance.

—M. Raymond Aron in the
New Leader, May 9, 1955.

The Chinese Prime Minister does not appear as bad as he is made out to be. I hope he is as good as he looks.

—Sir John Kotelawala, the *Free Press Journal*,
April 27, 1955.

I kept thinking of Adlai Stevenson's famous remark that 'there was nothing wrong with our foreign policy that a good case of lockjaw wouldn't cure.'

—Mr. Philip W. Bell in the *New Leader*,
May 9, 1955.

Obviously the Government of India first speaks and then thinks.

—Editorial, *Times of India*,
April 20, 1955.

"Avanti! Avanti!" cried Mussolini to his Blackshirts. "Avadi! Avadi!" says Nehru to his white caps. It is all much of the muchness.

—Onlooker in the *Times of India*,
May 9, 1955.

Countries which feel attracted to communism because of colonialism are jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

—Mr. Mohamed Jamali, ex-Prime Minister, Iraq,
Free Press Journal, May 23, 1955.

Backward races of the modern world are not the coloured people, but the white people who seek to keep the coloured man in perpetual servitude.

—Editorial, *News Chronicle*, London, May 23, 1955.

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More often than not Asian revolutions are led, not by hungry peasants but by frustrated middle-class intellectuals.

—Mr. Chester Bowles, former American Ambassador to India, *Times of India*, May 24, 1955.

Intellectuals may be citizens; they may even, as such, have to become soldiers; but it is not their business to be recruiting-sergeants.

—Mr. H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Encounter*, May, 1955.

The Western invitation sought a quick beginning with the work. Is *Pravda* playing for a delay?

—Editorial, *Manchester Guardian*, May 23, 1955.

It would be utter folly to assume from recent 'feelers' that the Soviet Union has modified its long-range objectives.

—Mr. Chester Bowles, former American Ambassador to India, *Times of India*, May 24, 1955.

Nationalisation of agriculture could be done by posting policemen in every home. But that was possible only in totalitarian countries like Russia and China, and not in a democracy like India.

—Mr. U. N. Dhebar, *Times of India*, May 28, 1955.

The Bandung Conference of Asian-African nations had been useful. It has had some very good results. Some of the things that were said by Asians and Africans about communism would have been discounted if they had been said by Americans or Englishmen or the French. But you could not discount them coming from the Asians themselves.

—Mr. Lester B. Pearson, External Affairs Minister, Canada, *Times of India*, May 26, 1955.

It has been at times questioned whether the Russian leaders were not suddenly beginning to look favourably upon a lowering of tension in the West because they foresaw the heightened tension in the Far East.

—Editorial *The Times*, London, May 24, 1955.

If any country needs a friendly warning from India it is Russia and not America.

—Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, in the *Times of India*,
May 24, 1955.

Once we hoped for Utopia; now, in a chastened mood, we can at best hope for a reprieve; pray for time and play for time.

—Arthur Koestler in *Encounter* May, 1955.

It is a mistake to play trump if you do not take a trick with it.

—Lord Vansittart, *Times of India* May 25, 1955.