

CHAPTER V

KATHERINE MAYO TO WALTER

LIPPMAN

"The programme of Gandhi and Congress follows a reported conference at Rangoon between representative Hindus and Japanese agents."—WASHINGTON POST.

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"Gandhi is for non-violence and creates violence. Gandhi is for the victory of Russia and China and strengthens Japan and Germany."—DOROTHY THOMPSON.

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"The problem of India is how the separate peoples of India can both be independent and united. This is a problem which the separate people of Europe have never been able to solve though they are politically more experienced than the Indians. No one has found a way to give the peoples of Europe self-determination and independence and at the same time to unite them in one European commonwealth."—WALTER LIPPMAN.

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"You can't sell rails or Ford cars to an

Anarchy. Pittsburgh and Detroit, which sell them to India under British rule, might think about that. Anybody (in America) who imports raw materials from India or exports manufactured goods there might think about it.—BRITISH ADVICE TO AMERICANS.

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Katherine Mayo is unforgettable as a black-mailer. She was the greatest modern defamer of India. But she was only the first of a long line of successors and the line has never ended. Some of the present-day American propagandists are more elegant than Miss Mayo, some as crude, all are either drain inspectors or distorters of truth.

One can easily find out the professional nature of this propaganda from the vile lies that they circulate against India. Here are some specimens:—

“The programme of Gandhi and Congress follows a reported Conference at Rangoon between representative Hindus and Japanese agents and the whole movement, doubtless, is being engineered from Tokyo.”

“Britain is a country that has never shirked her duty to humanity. *She has done more for civilization and democracy than every other country on the face of the globe combined. Nine-tenths of the worth-while things in America we owe to Britain.*”

ONLY 500 BRITISH OFFICIALS

"The fact is that less than 500 British are in the entire civil government of India, Indians having replaced Britons wherever practicable."

While the writer says that there are only 500 British civilian officers in India, Raman, the official propagandist of the British Government in a speech at New York on October 15, 1942, admitted that India provided 20,000 jobs to British people of whom 2,500 are in the civil service. This was three years ago. How many thousands of British refugees from Hong-kong, Singapore, Indo-China, Siam, various countries of Europe, how many experts from England and victims of air-raids and relations of British officials in India have found lucrative jobs in India during these four years, nobody knows.

INCITING MUSLIMS

The British editor of *Washington Post* editorially wrote:—

"Here in America we are apt to think that Mohandas K. Gandhi is India. The Mahatma, in fact, is the leader of the Hindu Congress party. And this party, on the last reckoning, numbered less than a per cent of India's population."

"It was as much in deference to Moslem sentiment as to the interests of the United

Nations that the British insisted on retaining the portfolio of War at New Delhi pending the return of world peace. Certainly the Muslims would not stand for a Hindu in that position. For it is the Muslims, not the Hindus, who provide most of the fighting strength in India, and they would regard themselves as the residuary legatees of the War portfolio."

British propagandists, like this editor, have been telling the Americans that it is the Muslims who form the majority of the Indian army and that, therefore, the British Government cannot bow to the demands of the Congress which might create a mutiny in the Muslim army. The truth is that the Muslims form only 30 per cent of the Indian Army and the Hindus 52 per cent, the rest are Sikhs whose culture and interests are common to the Hindus. This mischievous lie about Muslim preponderance in the Indian Army has been spread in official publications of the British propaganda services.

William Phillip Simms, a notorious British propagandist in U. S., wrote in the *Daily News*, "While the Hindus outnumber the Muslims by two or three to one, the Muslims are a fighting race and could at least hold their own against the passive resisters of Gandhi, Nehru and Azad, even if the Hindus took up arms." This was the declared policy of British propaganda in

U. S. during 1942 and 1943, to tell the Americans that the Muslims were dread enemies of Gandhi and the Congress and that civil war in India might break out any day as a result of the Congress movement. Luckily, there was not a single communal riot or hostile Muslim demonstration anywhere in India in the year 1942-43.

Mr. G. D. Birla received his share of malicious British propaganda. The *Washington Daily News* of August 14, 1942, carried the following interesting story :

"Laws freed Birla's slaves. Gandhi's money backer hates British reforms.—The money bags of one of the most important but least publicized men in Asia form a golden backdrop for the Indian independence movement. He is Ghasiam Das Birla, a multi-millionaire industrialist described as "A go-getter with a finger in every Indian pie"—and he isn't exactly one of John Bull's best friends. One reason G. D. Birla has a strong distaste for British rule is the factory laws Britain introduced in India. These give the workman some relief from long hours and microscopic wages. Birla employs an army of labour.

"Birla is very close to Gandhi. He has been host to him in his Calcutta palace nearly every time the Mahatma has visited the city. The close tie is further underlined by the fact that

Gandhi's son, Devadas, is the editor of a great newspaper owned by Birla."

NOT SO SUBTLE

Here is a specimen of the subtlest and most poisonous propaganda by a famous columnist who is an occasional guest of the British Embassy in Washington. Walter Lippman writes in a special article entitled "India" :—

"India is a subject which is as remote from the political experience of all of us in America as Einstein's mathematics are from ordinary arithmetic. For no matter how many times we are told that 'India' is no more a nation than 'Europe' is a nation. It is not long before most of us fall back into talking as if the Hindus of the Congress party are India and Gandhi is the George Washington of the Indian nation demanding independence from King George III."

DOROTHY THOMPSON'S SERMON

Dorothy Thompson, America's ablest woman writer, a great admirer of Churchill, yet claiming to be the friend of subject nations, wrote as follows, on Mahatma Gandhi: "History cares nothing about Mahatma Gandhi's individual life. Mahatma Gandhi's personal purity is no justification for the confusion of his mind. He is for non-violence and creates violence: he is for non-

aggression and attracts aggression ; he is for the victory of Russia and China and strengthens Japan and Germany ; he is for the workers all over the world, and aids their enemies. And all because he hates the British Empire ! ”

“Because Mahatma Gandhi is confused, it is not necessary that we become confused. I am for the freedom of India—but not at the cost of the freedom of the rest of the world. And if Mahatma Gandhi is foolish enough to confront his natural allies with that choice, he is bound to receive only one answer ; we have sympathy for India, but we will not commit suicide for her.”

Major Fielding Eliot, famous military commentator and friend of British Imperialism, wrote in an article entitled, “Indian Government takes only action possible in Crisis”, as follows :

“The Congress party is demanding power for themselves...The Government of India has made the only possible choice, and, in that choice, should have the support of all Americans”.

An American supporting British repression in India and the arrest of democrats like Nehru should be ashamed but Miss Mayo's cousins are shameless.

CLAPPER'S CLAP TRAP

Late Raymond Clapper, well-known Ameri-

can journalist, wrote in the *New York World Telegram* as follows :—

“Secretary Hull says that nations will achieve their liberty if they earn it. The Indian Congress party, whatever its purposes, is acting as if it were a friend of Japan.”

Charles Brook Elliott, who claims to be a former member of the India Legislative Assembly from a Madras European constituency, wrote to the *New York Times* as follows :—

“Jinnah has some hundred million adherents, united solidly under one God, one flag, one Koran, one basic language, Arabic. Nehru’s followers, some unknown millions strong, are split up in many ways”.

GANDHI REPRESENTS ONE PER CENT

Defending British rule in India a Washington paper wrote :

“Those who think India should be granted her independence by England have these facts to explain and remedy before they go very far in making their demands :—

India has over 200 languages.

The number of religious creeds is large and they differ in essentials.

The most difficult problem to be solved is that presented by the caste system under which the Indians have lived for centuries and centuries.

This caste system is the antithesis of democracy. Caste is regarded as preordained and immutable.

Gandhi and the All-India party represent at most only four million people, a small percentage of four hundred million."

These facts are given by Gen. Sir Walter Venning, Director-General British Ministry of Supply Mission, now in the United States.

This is just one instance of a British official indulging in indirect propaganda against India. In Washington alone there are 3,000 British officials stationed during the war. Everyone of them is a patriot and naturally a propagandist for England and defender of her Imperialist policies.

Walter Lippman, the influential columnist, supposed to be an enlightened publicist on American and foreign affairs, reveals himself as either an ignoramus or a highly prejudiced person on Indian affairs. This is what he wrote in a special article entitled 'India':—

"India is a subject which is as remote from the political experience of all of us in America as Einstein's mathematics are from ordinary arithmetic. For no matter how many times we are told that "India" is no more a nation than "Europe" is a nation, it is not long before most of us fall back into talking as if the Hindu of

the Congress party are India and Gandhi is the George Washington of the Indian nation demanding independence from King George III.

Thus there are eighty or ninety million Moslems in India, as many as there are Germans in Europe. The Moslems and the Hindus are at least as much opposed to each other as were Protestants and Catholics during the religious struggles of the seventeenth century. There are also the "depressed classes," some sixty million—more than there are Italians in Europe—who are excluded from the caste-bound society of the Hindus. There are also ancient kingdoms in India, and there are a number of relatively small energetic nations, such as the Sikhs."

"The Problem of India is how the separate peoples of India can be both independent and united. This is a problem which the separate peoples of Europe have never been able to solve, though they are politically more experienced than the Indians. No one has ever found a way to give the peoples of Europe self-determination and independence and at the same time to unite them in one European commonwealth. Any American who thinks he knows how to solve the Indian problem ought to find the solution of the European problem child's play. For what has never been done in Europe, both the Hindus and

the British have been trying to do in India. They have been trying to keep all of India under one government and yet to assure the Hindus, the Moslems, the depressed classes and the Indian kingdoms the privilege of independence.

How difficult, and perhaps impossible, it is to achieve this dual result may be judged from what happened in the provinces of India which between 1937 and 1939 had complete self-government under the rule of the Congress party. Every year the Moslems who were ruled by the Hindus solemnly observe the end of this experiment by celebrating "deliverance day." Their leader, Mr. Jinnah, who is to the Moslems what Mahatma Gandhi is to the Hindus, has ever since demanded separate Moslem states—called Pakistan—which would be as independent of the Hindu states—called Hindustan—as France from Germany."

"So well do the Congress Hindus understand how well-nigh impossible it is for India to be both unified and independent, that when the British used to promise them independence as soon as Indians could unite, they charged the British with insincerity. They said that since the British were offering independence under the one condition—namely, unity—which could never be fulfilled, the British never meant to get out of India.

It was not until the Cripps mission that the British government faced this dilemma and said that India could be independent even if that meant the end of the unity of India. Under the Cripps proposal, the Moslem regions do not have to become part of an India ruled by the Hindu majority.

It is clear, so it seems to me, that the real cause of the present Hindu revolt is not the disbelief that the British will leave India but the realization that they are certainly going to leave India. Ever since 1935, when the British began their withdrawal from India, the struggle between Hindus and Moslems has become sharper. It was bound to become sharper the nearer the Indians got to independence. For once it was certain that Britain was going, and going fairly soon, a terrific struggle was bound to ensue as to whether the Congress Party Hindus were to rule all of India.

The stakes are tremendous. The stakes are an empire. And Gandhi's demand that his party be granted immediately the control of the war-time government of all of India is the one way in which a Hindu empire might be established and consolidated.

But to yield to the Congress Hindus' demands would be to place in their hands for the domination of the whole of India all the dictatorial war

powers plus the military support of the United Nations. This would call for the abandonment and, in effect, the betrayal of the Moslems in order to obtain the collaboration of the Hindu party. This would have been a mighty poor bargain, considering the fact that the Congress party is led by men who have no stomach for resisting a Japanese invasion and are prepared to negotiate a separate peace."

Can there be greater misrepresentation of the Congress case or distortion of facts than this? This is naked propaganda for Pakistan. Cocktails speaking, Mr. Lippman !

I don't mean to insult an esteemed writer but I have in my possession the original copy of a British Information Bureau's Background Release, which has been reproduced by Walter Lippman in the above article—and he forgot to put in the quotation marks! No wonder C. Rajagopalacharya says "I am sorry for America."

And here is the crowning folly of British-subsidised propaganda in an American newspaper in Pittsburgh :

Under the title "India, Detroit, Pittsburgh—All Worth Your Thought", the paper opposed Indian independence in the following sermon to Americans :

“As India, China and Russia are half of the world, America can afford to take an interest in them, when not too busy with politics, prize fights or other cosmic matters.

Britain is tired of India and the white man's burden, and would like to get rid of that burden if she could.

She already has got rid of two empires—one in 1776, the other when she granted equality to Canada and Australia.

She could get rid of India and still have enough to keep her busy in Africa and several thousand other places, mostly islands in the sea.

Getting rid of India, however, would be different from getting rid of America or Canada or Australia.

America, Canada and Australia know something about democratic self-government, and have done fairly well with that knowledge.

India knows nothing about it, and will know nothing about it for centuries, if ever. If independent, her best hope would be a despotic emperor supported by one of the fighting races of the Punjab, who might keep some sort of order. The only alternative would be anarchy.

You can't sell steel rails or Ford cars to an Anarchy. Pittsburgh and Detroit, which sell

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them to India under British rule, might think about that. Anybody who imports raw material from India or exports manufactured goods there might think about it."

This is naked British propaganda asking American business to mind their cents and dollars and leave India to the care of the British.

Long live John Bull !