

The First Step

by V. B. Karnik

OUR position on the issue of Chinese aggression in Ladakh continues to be obscure and equivocal. According to the Prime Minister, "our appeal is a dual one, one is to go on strengthening ourselves and holding as far as possible the Chinese, and at the same time to explore such avenues as we can find to achieve a peaceful settlement of this difficult problem." A peaceful settlement is always welcome, but it cannot be a unilateral affair. The Chinese must be as ready and willing as we are, to ensure it, unless it is to be a surrender or a gifting away of our territory on our part.

At one time, the Prime Minister had stated that there would be no talks with the Chinese unless they vacated the aggression that they had committed. He reiterated that position in the course of his speech in the Lok Sabha; and, at the same time, effected a significant modification. According to the modification, "the Government of India is prepared to discuss what measures should be taken to remove the tensions that exist in this region and to create appropriate climate for further discussion." This discussion would be "preliminary" to further discussions for the settlement of the boundary question "on the basis of the report of the officials."

The country was all along under the impression and it had received solemn assurances to the effect that the only measure that would "remove the tensions" and "create appropriate climate for discussions" was the vacation of their aggression by the Chinese or in any case the withdrawal, as suggested by the Prime Minister, of both sides "to the lines of the other side". The Government has now given up that position. It will no longer insist on the vacation of aggression or on the withdrawal to the lines of the other side as a condition precedent to the initiation of talks. It may make a distinction between preliminary discussion and further discussion, but it is a distinction without a difference and is not, in any case, likely to be understood by the Chinese.

The Prime Minister has secured from Parliament a "free hand" to negotiate or hold talks with the Chinese. He is no longer bound by the condition precedent that he had himself laid down. This, it must be admitted, is a significant retreat from the earlier position. The retreat may not satisfy the Chinese and the talks may not be held. The Prime Minister himself stated that the prospect of serious

negotiations was "not good". But one retreat may lead to another retreat and in our anxiety to secure a peaceful solution of a difficult problem we may be tempted to make one concession after another.

The present retreat appears to be the result of the talks that our Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, had in Geneva with Marshal Chen Yi, the Foreign Minister of China. The idea may not have originated in that talk; it may have received then the final approval, earlier talks between others having laid the foundation. It is this suspicion which is at the bottom of the resentment in the country at the social intercourse which took place between the Defence Minister and the Chinese Foreign Minister. The objection is neither "infantile" nor "a relic of the caste system and untouchability" as described by the Prime Minister. It is the spontaneous reaction of a sensitive and self-respecting nation. No nation would like its representatives to shake hands or hold social intercourse with the Ministers or agents of another nation which has violated its borders and forcibly occupied its territory. A country's enemies cannot be the friends of its representatives.

The Prime Minister has himself admitted that the situation in Ladakh is "serious". "So long as this (Chinese occupation of a large part of our territory) continues", he said, "the situation is bound to be exceedingly serious." Military steps are being taken to change the situation. But they cannot be increased to the necessary extent nor will they be effective unless they have behind them the conscious and whole-hearted support of the entire people. The Government must now take steps to awaken and mobilise the people. The people will not regard the situation as serious as long as the Government will continue to blow hot and cold, will shift their positions and will think in terms of talks with the Chinese. If talks would produce the results, why need the people exert themselves?

It is high time the Prime Minister and the Government realise that their continuous harping upon talks and negotiations and lack of a firm position are having a demoralising and frustrating influence upon both the military as well as the people. If the Government is serious about recovering lost territory and repelling aggression, it must put an end to all talks and negotiations, which have so far proved worse than useless, and give an indication of the seriousness of its purpose by breaking off diplomatic relations with China. Breaking off diplomatic relations does not amount to a declaration of war. It is a refusal to have friendly relations with a country that

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Madhya Pradesh Scene

by N. C. Zamindar

I always write Madhya Pradesh as Mad (hya) Pradesh. Any observer or reader of Madhya Pradesh papers will endorse the correctness of the name as written by me. It is an extremely fluid state of politics which will baffle even the most eminent political analyst. There are wheels within wheels, creating a mess of the whole administration. Due to uncertainty in the Government it is natural that inefficiency and corruption should reach an all time high.

Open allegations have been repeatedly made against the Revenue Department and City Improvement Boards. The mess has become so stinky that even the local Congress has passed a resolution against the boards. In these Improvement Boards a Collector has been sentenced for the contempt of court; in a petition allegations have been made against another collector but still the political bosses are indifferent.

Discrimination has become a general policy in the administration. I have learnt on high authority how even the recommendations of the Public Service Commission were disregarded in the appointment of judicial cadres. Appointments are generally made on the recommendations of a particular set of persons. Thus talent is crushed and it is certain that this will lead to widespread discontent.

The Congress was headed by an organizational man, Shri Deshlehra. He has great ambitions and, capturing the Congress machine in the last general elections, he is alleged to have connived at the routing of his opponents in the organisation. It was openly talked that Dr. Katju was defeated because of his strategy.

One time strong man of the former Madhya Pradesh, Shri D. P. Mishra after serving as Vice-Chancellor in the Sagar Varsity entered into this middle with his own group. Dr. Katju became the patron of this group. Shri Mishra and his group resurrected old Dr. Katju from his self confessed political death.

Dr. Katju contested the bye-election in Narsinggarh. The young Maharaja who was elected on the combined support of the communists and the Jan Sanghis against the Congress now began supporting Dr. Katju. He issued posters with his bejewelled photo urging his subjects to rally round the Congress. When the ex-Congress President, Shri Sanjiva Reddy declared that Dr. Katju may not be the Chief Minister,

the Maharaja issued a counter-statement denouncing the Congress President. The Maharaja is an M.P. and, it is learnt, that he will be amply rewarded for the help he gave to the Congress.

Dr. Katju was elected but the present incumbent of the Chief Ministership refused to oblige the old man. In the meanwhile Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao was deputed to make enquiry into the State Congress affairs. Dr. Rao interviewed the Maharaja and made an adverse report against Shri Deshlehra and his group. Shri Deshlehra, fearing disciplinary action against himself, expelled Shri D. P. Mishra from the Congress on charges of bogus membership. The AICC felt insulted and compelled Deshlehra to resign from the Congress post.

Shri Deshlehra stepped down but now the fate of the present Chief Minister became uncertain. Confabulations are going in New Delhi and the Chief Minister to reassure himself issued a statement claiming full support of the Congress legislators. Before the ink on the statement dried, the Katju group sent telegrams to Delhi objecting to the statement.

The ruling party is thus a house divided against itself. One can expect any change any day. One party which is exploiting this rift is the Communist Party. The communists in the last general elections divided Congressmen and Jan Sanghis and got themselves elected. The progressive Congressmen known as the modern group and the progressive Jan Sanghis openly flirt with the communists. In the next municipal elections in Indore they are dreaming of capturing the Corporation.

There is also the battle for the Holkar Gadi. The communists are siding with one party in the Gadi battle. They raised the question in the Lok Sabha.

This hopeless disorganization of public life is a fertile field for the communists. No wonder they are taking fullest advantage of it. The democrats are all inactive and passive. If Mad (hya) Pradesh becomes another Kerala it will not be surprising.

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has stabbed us in the back and committed a grave breach of the code of conduct between civilized nations. It is in the tradition of the Gandhian doctrine of non-cooperation with evil.

If our China policy is to be firm and realistic, severance of diplomatic relations is the first step that the Government must now take in view of the continuous Chinese refusal to vacate aggression. The people will then realise that the Government is serious and will help it wholeheartedly in all other actions that may become necessary. The communist rulers of China will also take note of the new firmness of our Government and will then pay more attention to our words and actions.

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Hunger In South Africa

by Margaret Roberts

"THERE are no starving Bantu", wrote Dr. H. Muller, South Africa's Ambassador to Britain, in a letter to the *Times* on July 19, 1962. Just three weeks earlier, a group of white South African citizens announced the formation of a private, non-profit-making company to fight malnutrition and starvation.

The aim of the new company is to divert some of South Africa's vast agricultural surpluses to the growing numbers who starve in the midst of her plenty. The concern of its founders has been aroused by the publication of some appalling statistics. Nearly half (48 per cent) of the babies born in the Port Elizabeth Division in 1961 died before they were one year old. This was reported to this urban area Divisional Council in May this year by its medical officer of health, Dr. J. A. Richter. He explained that the mortality rate had risen in one year from 244.4 per thousand in 1960 to 481.9 in 1961.

In Cape Town an average of 40 babies are taken *every day* to one children's hospital suffering from last stages of gastroenteritis caused by malnutrition, according to Dr. O. D. Wollheim, Chairman of the Cape Flats Distress Association. In the eight main urban centres alone 10,000 babies die every year from the protein-deficiency disease of kwashiorkor. And for every case of kwashiorkor actually treated, it has been estimated by Dr. J. D. Hansen, prominent paediatrician and nutritionist, that there are seven other cases of severe malnutrition. 54 per cent of the attendance at his Cape Town hospital show signs of malnutrition or its attendant diseases — rickets, severe weight deficiency, tuberculosis . . . At a recent conference Dr. Hansen described the situation as "a severe crisis in child health", calling for immediate national action.

Nor can the situation be ascribed to national poverty. South Africa's natural resources are incomparably greater than those of any other African country — and, indeed, many European countries — and the standards of living of the whites is second only to that of North Americans. While statistics show that African children between one and four years old are dying at 25 times the rate of white children, that 66 per cent of non-white children in the Cape suffer from iron-deficiency anaemia, and 30 per cent from rickets, the South African government is embarrassed by huge surpluses of food. In one recent year, 370,000 gallons of skim milk were destroyed in the Transvaal alone — enough to have saved 80 per cent of the babies who died from kwashiorkor in that year. Fruit is piling up and rotting or being ploughed back into the soil; and millions of bags of maize are being exported at cut prices.

Hence the large-scale ambulance operation undertaken by private white citizens to rescue four-fifths of South Africa's population from the extreme poverty to which many have been reduced, and on the brink of which most of the rest teeter. Apart from the towns,

evidence of a desperate situation, aggravated by drought, has been coming in from the Reserves, where there are no accurate statistics. In July, Red Cross workers reported that 200,000 people in the Potgietersrust Reserve existed at "near-starvation" levels, and that pellagra was widespread. In Sekhukuniland, parts of the Transkei and Zululand, eye-witness accounts tell the same story; but only in the latter has the government taken relief action.

These starvation symptoms arise naturally from the economic conditions in which the non-white people live. A report (No. 172) of the Council for Social and Industrial Research showed that about half the African families in the main urban centres live below the poverty datum line. In Johannesburg, where the minimum required to sustain a family of five is £ 33 per month, the average unskilled wage is £ 16 per month. In Cape Town it is estimated that about a third of coloured (mixed descent) families, and 80 per cent of African families, live below the poverty datum line. It is the consequence of these conditions that 300 babies died in a single resuscitation room in a Cape Town hospital in 1961, and that over 4,500 others were saved only by emergency transfusions. These conditions account for the findings of Professor F. J. Ford of Cape Town University; that coloured children between nine and eleven years old have a mean weight equal to the lowest three per cent of the Boston child population (the Boston fiftieth percentile is an accepted yardstick for the medical measurement of child health by weight).

What conclusion is one to draw from all this? The complaint against South Africa has traditionally been against the racialism of its laws, the indignity to which its non-white citizens are subjected. The standard of living has been favourably compared with that in other parts of Africa, and much of the government's propaganda is based upon this claim. And it is true that the vast wealth of South Africa has drawn African workers from impoverished territories like Basutoland, Mozambique and Nyasaland. It is true that the country is potentially capable of providing a high standard of living for these and many others — from whom, of course, much of its wealth is derived. But the impression of African prosperity must now be drastically revised. Africans are totally integrated now in South Africa's industrial complex: their rural reserves are totally incapable of supporting even those who live there at present. This integration, together with the progressive exclusion of Africans from all but the least profitable means of livelihood, and the decline in business activity, have rendered the African helpless in the face of economic forces working uniformly against him. The result is slow strangulation from which there is no escape.

Predominance Of The Economic Factor

by M. R. Pai

AS a student of public affairs, and not as an economist, I see three good points in Indian planning during the last 11 years. First, while its methodology and contents give room to disagreements, at the same time it is an attempt to raise the standard of living of the masses who live in abject poverty. Secondly, it has aroused a consciousness in the country—the extent of this consciousness is debatable and vigorously debated—to improve economic conditions, mainly through industrialisation. Thirdly, planning efforts have, by and large, respected democratic institutions, although a serious dent is made in some institutions like private property through measures like nationalisation and amendment to Article 31 of the Constitution (whereby compensation to state-acquired property is made non-justiciable in a court of law).

The need for planning in India is conceded on all hands. Disagreements arise over the techniques and contents of the Plans, and their implementation. The present plans aim at providing a strong industrial base and promoting a socialistic basis by vesting the bulk of the economy, eventually, in the State. This emphasis is disputed by another school of thought which feels that agriculture should receive priority so that a viable industrial economy might emerge on the basis of a prosperous agricultural sector; further, all economic activities, while subject to overall planning of direction, targets and control should be allowed to be carried on by private citizens, state participation being limited to fields where private effort is incapable of delivering the goods or reluctant to take risks. This article will not examine the merits and demerits of these views. But I shall examine what seems to me to be an important aspect of planning, viz., the balancing of economic and political considerations in the operation of Indian planning.

The major objective of planning is rapid and large-scale economic development by mobilising scarce resources and putting them to the best possible use to yield the highest returns in terms of increasing national wealth in the least possible time. Planning in India has failed in this direction in several ways. This failure is due to predominance of political factors over purely economic factors. A few illustrations with reference only to one sector of the planned economy, state enterprises, are given here.

The first aspect is with regard to return on investments in state enterprises. It is to be remembered that the investments are made from the savings of the people drawn mainly by way of taxes, direct and indirect. Therefore, these scarce resources should be put to the best use, to increase national wealth. Otherwise, it would be tantamount to a drag on the national economy since those savings in private hands would have fructified to a much larger extent. The facts, as gleaned from a statement made by the

Finance Minister, confirm these fears. On an investment of Rs. 709 crores, in 73 state enterprises, the return was 0.3 per cent in 1961-62. The performance is not expected to improve during 1962-63. There is no doubt that many of these enterprises were set up for purely political considerations. In the bargain, economic considerations have been ignored, and thus the major objective of planning—rapid economic development—has suffered.

The operation of a state-owned bicycle factory highlights the gross neglect of the cost factor—a major economic consideration. This factory owned by Mysore Government produced only 18 bicycles in about 2½ years. The cost on each bicycle worked up to Rs. 16,000. The plant capacity is 72,000 bicycles a year. Thus, as against the use of resources to produce about 1,80,000 bicycles, only 18 have been produced—1/10,000 of the installed capacity. All talk of planning for economic progress in the light of these figures becomes embarrassing.

Another aspect is the monopoly nature of some state enterprises, such as the Life Insurance Corporation of India and the Indian Airlines Corporation. The crisis in air travel during 1961 tourist session, when tickets could not be obtained for weeks, not only highlights the plight of the hapless consumer, but also the loss to the economy by depriving people easy availability of one of the essential services needed in an industrial economy. The monopoly element introduces distortions in the economies of operation. There is no yardstick of efficiency to judge the performance of monopoly services like IAC and LIC. Were it not for the preponderance of political considerations, these services would not have been established on a monopoly basis thus ignoring economic considerations.

The third aspect, arising from the first two, is equally important. In the economical operation of any enterprise, one of the cardinal principles is to locate accountability. Apparently, this principle is completely ignored in state enterprises as well as other spheres of planning. Even where there is gross mismanagement and losses to the national exchequer, there is no location of responsibility for the lapses and misdoings and consequently no disciplinary action is taken against the guilty. The 42nd Report of the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament bears this point when it observes that "despite their repeated emphasis on prompt action in disciplinary cases, the position is still far from satisfactory."

This deficiency needs to be rectified immediately before the public is overcome by a feeling of frustration and gets reconciled to the thought that *how* rather than *what* is done in Government matters most.

The fourth aspect is that of political appointments. Unfortunately, chairmanships of state enterprises are

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Dogma Versus Development In Our Plans

by M. A. Venkata Rao

THE apparently startling statement of Professor Bauer (vide his *Indian Economic Policy and Development*) that industrialisation *per se* is not equivalent to economic development (page 98) will be seen to be meaningful enough, if we reflect that the construction of steel plants and other heavy industries at unconsciously abnormal costs does not represent economic wealth if their products are too costly for sale. Their high costs owing to official inexperience and the method of racing after targets at high pressure raise costs all round in all industries, and introduce a high-cost, inflationary economy which is bound to have grave social consequences and to create more problems than it solves.

As the late Imre Nagy, pointed out in his criticism of his predecessors' plans, there is a correlation between heavy industry and consumer industry which must be respected in guiding economic growth at unwanted speeds which was ignored before his regime. He proved the correctness of his diagnosis and the wisdom of his improved procedures (which gave greater scope to consumer industries and to peasant-proprietory agriculture) by the distinct betterment all round he achieved in barely 18 months of his authority.

The Five-Year Plans spell out the alphabet of development in accordance with the policy directions proclaimed in the Industrial Policy Declarations of 1948 and 1956 and reveal the orbit of socialist economy with the public sector growing apace far in advance of the private, ignoring its poor results vis-a-vis the economy of private enterprise in the areas left to it.

The essence of this socialist policy is the reservation of large lines and areas of the economy for State monopoly, e.g. "the commanding heights and key industries", transport and trading in essential export and import and internal consumption goods like food grains.

That such reservation will lead to the most rapid economic development possible is sheer dogma.

And the dogma is creating needless difficulties and bottlenecks and is functioning as a frustrating dog-in-the-manger policy.

The pause in progress in many industries, in government concerns like the steel plants and railways and power production not to speak of road expansion in the interior and primary education, is causing widespread anxiety. The latter sphere of government responsibility—roads, schools and medical facilities is being neglected for lack of funds which are pre-empted to prestige schemes *a la* Soviet patterns.

The case of the nationalisation of life insurance is a clear illustration of needless dogma. No economic case was made out for it. In fact, the Finance Minister at the time, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh frankly stated

that no case need be made out since it was a simple deduction from socialism!

The experience of ages that genuine competition is necessary to yield the best results for the consumer was unceremoniously dismissed in obedience to unproven dogma.

Even granting that State leadership has a role to play in economic development by way of setting an example of public spirit undistorted by the taint of private profit, there was no compelling need to establish a *monopoly* in insurance business. As in iron and steel, the State might have made a new entry on its own, made fraudulent companies dissolve themselves and given a stimulus to efficiency by its competition. But no. This was precluded by the Industrial Policy Dogma.

They have allowed the private concerns of the Tatas and Burns as an exception but with a Damocles' sword hanging over them. Their acknowledged efficiency makes no impression on the government because of its closed mind dictated by socialist dogma. It is rumoured that they would be nationalised in the next Plan, if not earlier.

In the first and second plan periods, the private sector has acquitted itself better by far than the public but the third plan ignores these actual results altogether and increases the proportion of investment in the State sector to two-thirds of the total. It is an increase from one-third of the second Plan for which there is no justification in terms of production and efficiency. The only justification is the conclusion already arrived at in Fabian Britain and Red Russia and taken over bodily by Indian leaders with the assumption of independent status in 1947.

Road transport by automobile is another instance of dogma coming in the way of economic development. This is a line in which according to the Policy Declaration, private and public sectors may co-exist. This co-existence is on all fours with the Leninist conception of co-existence as between socialist and non-socialist systems, with the former having the right to organise peaceful and conspiratorial subversion in the latter's domain!

And so we find state after state annexing larger and larger areas for its own monopolistic exploitation. Everyday we hear of new roads being taken over for State jurisdiction and private operators dismissed with scant compensation.

Rates rise with the State assumption of transport services but amenities do not show any improvement either.

And the private operators still left free pending nationalisation later are being taxed more and more heavily. Goods traffic and haulage is still left to private operators and their enterprise has established services covering vast tracts of country connecting

North, South, East and West. Their efficiency is affecting railway earnings.

The railways under government ownership cannot expand as fast as needed by development of trade and industry. Nor can they hope to cover the vast interior of the countryside opening it up to fresh business expansion. But the State is now allowing bus and lorry operators to fill the bill at their own cost and risk with a secure future. They not only make no demand on Government finances but contribute noticeably to them by their taxes.

But dogma is holding up such development for nationalisation is in the sacred book and must take place to round out the socialist pattern even at the cost of rapid economic expansion. The automobile haulage is so simple that even unlettered contractors start on it and develop big systems operating scores of units in large areas. It gives scope for capacities for management and initiative and industrial enthusiasm. It employs more people per unit of capital than many others.

Coal and electric power expansion is lagging behind on account of State reservation and monopoly. If experienced private concerns were allowed their lead, a great leap forward can be achieved, according to knowledgeable sources. Again the dog-in-the-manger policy comes in the way.

Our foreign policy with its pro-communist bias is creating difficulties in the flow of foreign aid from leading Western countries. But if we eschew dogma in favour of real results by way of rapid economic developments and facilitate private foreign investment of equity capital (in partnership with Indian concerns) more freely, the rate of investment projected in the Third Five Year Plan (Rs. 11,200 crores) can be tangibly exceeded without straining Government financial resources. Even permits for operation over a period of twenty years will bring in investments on a colossal scale. American Steel interests are not the only groups in the field. West Germany would rather assist private business to in-

vest in India in collaboration with Indians than offer from Government-to-Government Aid on loan basis.

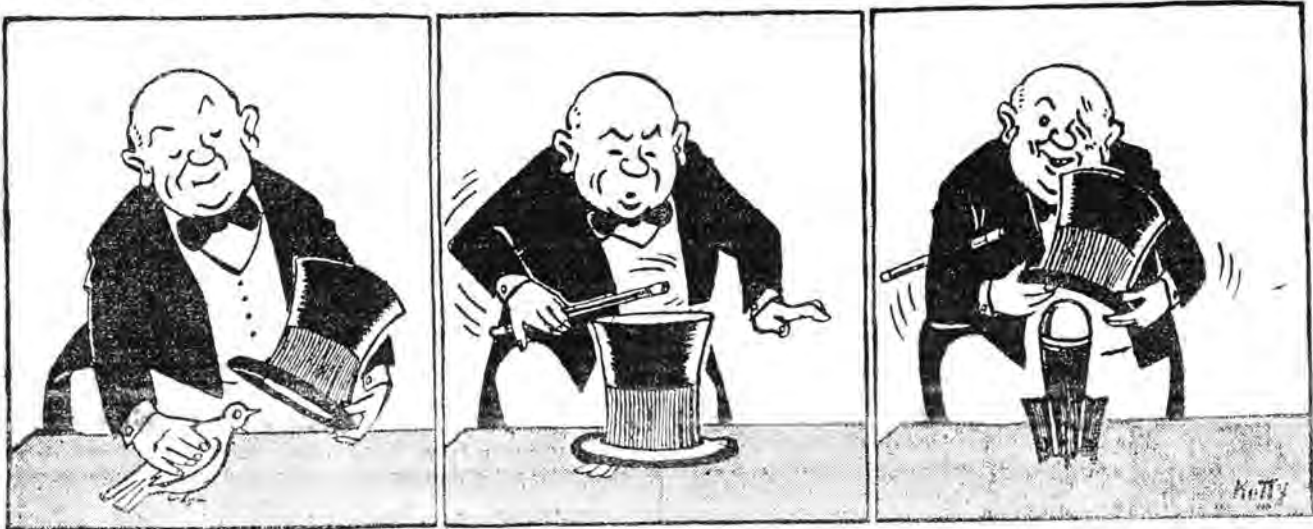
Our exports in plantation products can be accelerated significantly if the suitable lands available are given to planters freely at upset prices. But the dogma of ceilings is in the way. Spices, rubber, tea, coffee, coconut, areca nut, cinchona (for quinine) sandalwood can all be developed at great speed if private enterprise is welcomed. Even twenty years leases will bring planters into the field.

Even granting socialism to be desirable as a social system, a slower, piece-meal method of realising it, proceeding step by step, giving maximum scope for private enterprise for a period, say twenty years and with the State stepping in gradually as success is achieved is indicated as the path of wisdom. But today we find dogma hamstringing economic progress, sacrificing the present generation to a problematic future!

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used to provide berths to politicians without the necessary background. However good these persons may be as individuals, to put them in charge of commercial enterprises not merely violates economic considerations but also goes against social justice. Political influence rather than talent becomes the prime consideration of remuneration—a principle which is against social justice.

I have cited only a few aspects of our planned economy where political considerations predominate and overwhelm economic factors, thus defeating the objective of planning, viz. rapid and large-scale economic development through mobilisation and proper employment of scarce resources. More instances, in fields other than state enterprises, can also be cited, but that is not necessary to prove the point. Therefore, the sooner this distortion in Indian planning is set right, the better it is for fulfilling the major objective of planning.



THE MOSCOW SHOW

Malaysian Federation And Communists

(Contributed)

THE prospect of a Federation of Malaysia uniting the Malayan Federation, Singapore and the three British territories of Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo has aroused sharp opposition from local communists and Russia and China. This seems to be based on familiar communist hostility to any grouping that is likely to resist communist influence and infiltration. The Malaysian union may prove a serious setback to communist hopes of penetrating the nationalist movements in North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei (before they become independent) and of dominating the political scene in Singapore. Soviet and Chinese interests on this issue coincide at present, though there are some hints of future rivalry between them.

On July 31, agreement was reached in London between Malayan officials, led by the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, and British officials, representing the other territories concerned, on final plans for the federation. The federation project was originally put forward by the Malayan Premier in May, 1961, and later agreed on in principle by the Malayan Parliament. In August, the plan was endorsed by the socialist Prime Minister of Singapore who had earlier favoured a merger between the Malayan Federation and Singapore. Brunei's Legislative Council approved the union in principle on July 18. The public reaction in the two other territories, North Borneo and Sarawak, was assessed by the British-Malayan Cobbold Commission which is expected to publish its report soon. There have been some doubts among minority groups, especially the Chinese communities, which have been exploited by local communists (many of them Chinese). In a tactical move to delay its realisation they assert that any decision about a merger must wait until each of the countries has become fully independent.

Internal communist tactics to block a merger between the Malayan Federation and Singapore within a Malaysian Federation were described in *The Battle for Merger*—based on broadcasts by the Prime Minister of Singapore last autumn. Communist activities in the two territories after Malaya became independent in 1957, he said, had moved from the anti-colonial campaign and the "fight for independence" to an "anti-national struggle on behalf of international Communism". Mr. Lee drew particular attention to communist efforts in Singapore to turn popular feelings against the merger on the grounds that Singapore's Chinese population would be outnumbered in a larger unit. The communists' main objection to the merger, the Premier stated, was their fear that they would face stiffer security precautions, in line with those in the Malayan Federation.

The Malayan Communist Party (MCP) fully opposes the Malaysia plan, but being illegal tries to organise opposition through a united front—the

Malayan People's Socialist Front. The front is communist-penetrated and, while claiming to be multi-racial, is virtually run by Malayan Chinese.

In Sarawak there is a small but active communist group (the Clandestine Communist Organisation—CCO), which is also predominantly Chinese in membership. It too, tries to disrupt the proposed Malaysian Federation—in this case in co-operation with the Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP), which is also predominantly Chinese. The latter is the main nationalist movement in the island. Though the communists clearly would like to penetrate it and eventually take it over before Sarawak becomes fully independent, they apparently hold some reservations about its present leaders.

In all five territories involved new communist tactics will be formulated if and when the new federation materialises. The communists expect the worst setback in Singapore, where they would then probably continue to agitate against the present moderate left-wing government, mainly through the *Barisan Sosialis*. But neither the USSR nor China are likely to encourage any militant or terrorist communist opposition to the proposed federation, since this would provoke communal strife and reveal the communist movements for what they are—predominantly Chinese organisations, in spite of their professions of inter-racialism.

Probably in view of their massive Chinese membership, both the MCP and the CCO look to China rather than the Soviet Union as the pattern for Asian Communism and support Peking rather than Moscow viewpoints in the Sino-Soviet dispute. Not surprisingly, they have close ties with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) which also looks to China rather than the USSR.

In spite of President Sukarno's view that the Malaysian project does not concern Indonesia, the PKI has maintained a strong campaign against it. The campaign was launched in the PKI's newspapers soon after the Malayan-Singapore agreement of August 1961. In December 1961, the PKI Central Committee described the proposed federation as a form of "neo-colonialism" and called on the government and people to "heighten national vigilance" against it, since it would lead to a "concentration of colonial forces" near Indonesia's borders. In an interview with the Singapore *Straits Times* published on January 24, D. N. Aidit, chairman of the PKI, repeated this view, adding that it was important for the peoples of the five territories concerned to "first obtain real independence", since the Malaysian project in its present form was a "colonialist intrigue".

The Communist *blat* has varied the volume and tone of its attacks on the Malaysian project, but its basic hostility has never been in doubt. Because of the danger of discrediting predominantly Chinese

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World Youth Festival—A Failure

by Wolfgang Leonhard

ANYONE who attended the World Youth Festival in Helsinki for a whole week is bound to find it hard to assess it in a few sentences. Intense activity and indifference, serious discussions and the crudest calumnies, peace doves and military bands, splendid cultural offerings and the most primitive political propaganda, broad-minded awareness and the most stupid narrow-minded prejudice—were all to be found simultaneously during the Helsinki Festival.

First there were the obdurate and unbending members of the Communist youth organisations—including the great army of spies and inspectors—who churned out their so-called “views” barrel-organ fashion, immediately scented a “provocation” in every objective question and were hardly capable of discussing anything with anyone holding different opinions. Then there were ordinary members of Communist youth organisations, who, though taking the black-and-white opinions of their officials at their face value, were nevertheless ready and willing to listen to and discuss other points of view. There were also the non-communist youngsters who had come to Helsinki believing that the Festival offered the most suitable and the best opportunity for supporting the cause of peace and international friendship. They were either entirely or only partly aware of its complete one-sidedness.

The discrepancy between the organisers on the one hand and the participants on the other—very many of whom were not in the least prepared to accept the one-sidedness of the Festival—was the reason for what was probably the most important aspect of the Helsinki meeting: the Festival failed to run according to plan. Again and again the Festival directors were confronted with unforeseen and unplanned incidents. The Festival Committee in Helsinki had expected an attendance of 18,000 young people. This was explicitly confirmed at the opening Press conference. Only 13,000 actually arrived. The youth organisation of Ghana cancelled its participation at the very last minute. A great sign-board with the inscription *Turkey* stood unused outside the stadium; the Turks had not come. Instead of 500, only 50 young people had arrived from the United Arab Republic, and from Ceylon too only half the expected delegation appeared. There were similar examples among the delegations from Africa and South America.

The Festival management got round the problem of the missing participants simply by introducing students from the Lumumba University in Moscow as “delegates”—and not surprisingly this aroused indignation among the real delegates.

The Chinese delegation, which at the previous World Youth Festival in Vienna in May 1959 represented the second largest of the whole Festival, consisted this time of only 110 members—and of these

two thirds belonged to the Chinese folk dance group.

Most interesting and instructive, however, was the self-assured appearance of many of the young people from the non-aligned underdeveloped countries. Many of them made it quite clear that they regarded themselves as citizens of neutral countries and had come to the Festival to work for peace and international friendship in the truest sense—but not to be taken in by one-sided communist propaganda. Some of them, like the U.A.R. delegation, for example, made this clear even in the opening procession in the stadium, by shouting the name “Nasser” instead of the prescribed slogans.

All attempts, however, even to express a neutral standpoint in the political seminars, were always strangled. There was no really free discussion even at a meeting which was announced as a “tribune of free discussion”. The one-sidedness and intolerance led to protests in many delegations, including Ceylon, Indonesia, Dahomey, Nigeria and Uganda. The Indonesian Nazir left the Festival on the third day, the Youth Secretary of the Democratic Party of Uganda resigned the leadership of his country's delegation, and finally, at the week-end, 44 members of the Ceylon delegation registered their disapproval by leaving the Festival.

Since the long-winded, one-sided political seminars offered no opportunity for discussion, the most interesting political conversations and discussions took place outside the official meetings. The problem discussed most frequently was whether in future representative youth organisations from Western and non-aligned countries should, or should not, take a bigger part in the Festival. Some who advocated stronger participation pointed out that this would be the only way of ventilating other points of view and of overcoming the political one-sidedness of the Festival. Those who opposed stronger participation thought the prospect hopeless, since by adroit tactics and skilful management the organisers of the Festival would in any case prevent the spread of other ideas, and stronger official participation would merely lead to the Festival organisers being able to embellish their own show with the names of influential Western or non-aligned youth organisations.

The “constructive alternative” was also frequently discussed. Several people suggested the idea of organising a really all-embracing Youth Festival—possibly under the patronage of the United Nations, of UNESCO or of non-aligned youth organisations—where all points of view could be represented in complete and unrestricted freedom. In this way the Festival could perhaps become what it has so far only been in name: a festival of the youth and students of all countries, for peace and international friendship.

Review

Guilty Land

by Patrick van Rensberg, Penguin Special, (sh. 3/6)

MOST of us are familiar with the inhuman treatment offered to the coloureds in South Africa. Recent years have seen an intensifying of these measures against the non-white population. Excepting Nazi Germany (and now it can be regarded as moribund) South Africa alone has the dubious distinction of having a government that officially supports these policies.

Mr. Van Rensberg's theme is the working of these policies of the Government, how they originated and how their challenge is being met by the affected people and their sympathisers. He was born an Afrikaner and early in life was sympathetic to the obscurantist doctrines of his race. Entering South African Government service, he soon was to be disillusioned and resigned after having occupied junior but responsible positions. The first part of the book is a sensitive description of his early childhood and youth leading up to his disillusionment with the regime and its policies and eventually his resignation. The narration is poignant; there is great understanding of the Afrikaner stand but no bitterness towards them.

Born and bred in this intolerable tradition, the author next attempts a brief history of the genesis of the apartheid movement, beginning from occupation of South Africa by the Trekkers. The early history is pregnant in significance with later happenings. He develops the story of apartheid and the policy of the Boers towards natives to the latest times. The chapter detailing the recent steps of the Government towards the unfortunates will make any reader indignant.

Those affected by these inequitable laws have not been slow to organise themselves against the regime. The third part of the book narrates their activities and also of the Liberal Party of which Mr. Rensberg is an important member. It is a tragic story with internal dissensions among the different parties hopelessly put down by the Government in power. The communists have as usual been taking advantage of the situation—once again indicating how every failure of democracy is an opportunity for the anti-democrats.

Mr. Van Rensberg sees no future a mere violent overthrow of the existing inequitable laws—and satyagraha is essentially not very effective in a Government run on lines similar to that of South Africa. He hopes that world opinion and an embargo on both exports and imports can be effective. This will be a difficult thing and, if the future of the coloureds depends upon the help of foreign nations, perhaps they may have to wait long for their liberation.

Lucidly written and within the reach of everyone

this book should be read by all friends of the non-whites in South Africa.

African Political Parties

by T. Hodgkin; Penguin Books (London) 1961, p. 217 (sh 3/6)

OUR generalisations on political processes all over the world are derived from the experiences of politics of the Western countries. The political scientist has been finding these inadequate to study the politics of the new states. For instance, the pattern of organisation which we know is ideal for parties (derived from our reading of Lowell, or Newmann) just does not fit in the countries of Afro-Asia. Books such as Mr. Hodgkin's will become the basis for generalisation on political behaviour ten years hence.

And it is to be hoped that more books similar to Mr. Hodgkin's will be written on other political matters as well. Clarity in writing, an amazing capacity to simplify complex traditional patterns, and to focus them to meaningful explanations are the gifts of the author. The parties in Africa north of the equator which the author analyses have been mainly post-war parties though there are notable exceptions. They may be regarded as the new tribal renaissance of modern times which seems to be alive to the new problems posed by the twentieth century. Neither are they only made of tribal chiefs, though the older social-structure seems to have worked their way into the parties. Many middle class educated intellectuals too have an important part to play in the parties. There have been monolithic as well as multiple parties in all the regions depending upon the colonial rule.

Followers of the doctrines of Jayaprakash Narayan will find that in Africa the machinery of elections necessarily brought in parties as an inevitable feature in these regions. The parties have not been purely local in their inspiration—foreign ideas have had an important place. One of the influences seems to be Marxism with its advantage of a coherent set of ideas greatly attractive to the new intellectuals. The anti-Marxist theories lack this great advantage of a well built, sustained and self supporting set of doctrines ready to explain every event.

Mr. Hodgkin's finding has been that most of the parties have abjured violence and are believers in persuasion and constitutionalism. The influence of Gandhi seems to have been profound on the new African *elite* that leads the parties. But these do not mean that sporadic acts of violence are exceptions—such accidental outbursts are not uncommon. They indulge in a variety of social activities which perhaps parties of Western countries do not even think of!

Mr. Hodgkin has amassed a great wealth of information not easily to be found within the covers of one book. It should be made required reading to all those interested in politics. Africa will be the continent of the future and no one can ignore the politics of the new nations of Africa. The book has a valuable appendix and a bibliography which will make it an indispensable work of reference as well.

R.S.

Without Comment

'CZECH POLICE POISONED FOOD' NIGERIAN STUDENT'S ALLEGATION

A 31-year-old Nigerian who has been studying medicine in Czechoslovakia for three years claimed in an interview with the Sunday Times that he was told Czech security police in Prague had tried to poison him.

The paper quoted Mr Christopher Anwadike as saying that since reaching London in June he had been trailed by Czechoslovak Government agents who had tried to persuade him to return to Prague.

The paper said he had asked Scotland Yard for protection.

After studying in London and Dublin, Mr Anwadike obtained a United Nations scholarship and went to Prague in February 1959 to begin a six-year course to become a doctor.

The Sunday Times story said:

"He says that the poisoning attempt lasted from early in February this year until May. It followed a series of measures against him, apparently designed to force him to leave Czechoslovakia voluntarily because of his refusal to co-operate politically."

The paper went on to relate that Mr. Anwadike, as the Prague students' president, carried complaints by African students about their accommodation and treatment to the authorities in 1959. His action was represented as an attack on socialist countries and the rumour was spread among the students that he was a British spy.

On March 17, a sympathetic employee of the secret police told Mr. Anwadike that on official instructions all the food eaten by Mr. Anwadike for the previous three weeks had been poisoned.

The paper said: "Anwadike was told that the object was to induce heart failure, so that at the autopsy no symptoms of poisoning would be obvious."

Mr. Anwadike finally obtained an exit permit after telephone calls to Nigerian Foreign Minister Wachuku, in Lagos.

RUSSIA, THE BIGGER LOSER

Nuclear war, we are told, produce no winners — only losers in varying degree . . . In study after study the result is the same—Russia is the bigger loser.

Khrushchev's nation would be destroyed for 25 years. Europe, destroyed in part, would be ready to fight any effort by Russian troops to move in, if that were Khrushchev's scheme. The U.S. furthermore, with a strong force of bombers and weapons remaining, would hold the rest of Russia as "hostage." Red satellite states would be ready to rebel. Red China would be ready to rebel. Red China would be standing by to take over leadership of world communism.

Khrushchev, it is clear, cannot win. He may have enough to start a war, but not to finish one.

A look ahead. In another year, Khrushchev will have many more missiles. Experts foresee a first strike by Russia at that time as doing vastly more damage to the U.S.

But the U.S., too, will have more missiles. These will not be "soft" and easy to knock out. Future Atlas and Titan bases will be "hardened" against attack. Minutemen by the hundreds will soon be coming in. The Polaris fleet will grow to 41 submarines. The U.S. at this time is building to a force of 1,200 virtually invulnerable ICBMs, 1,200 bombers and 656 Polaris missiles at sea.

Khrushchev, thus, can never hope to escape devastating reprisal. The Soviet dictator is confronted with a harsh fact.

The fact, as spelled out just recently by Secretary of Defence Robert S. McNamara, is that the U.S. possesses, "even in the face of massive surprise attack, sufficient reserve striking power to destroy an enemy society if driven to it."

Khrushchev knows that overwhelming military power stands behind the McNamara warning. It is clear and unmistakable. A gamble on surprise attack would leave Russia devastated.

Khrushchev, despite his threats and bluster, still wants Russia to survive. Authorities, banking heavily on that, see that desire as a brake on Khrushchev's ambitions to conquer the world through arms. They see no chance of big nuclear war. What the situation boils down to, in their view, is this:

The U.S., for its part, will not strike first. Khrushchev faced with hard facts, does not dare.

U. S. News and World Report.

CHINESE BREAKTHROUGH

For instance, what does one make of the Chinese breakthrough in Galwan Valley? Not to beat about the bush, it only means that, despite all the wonderful defence we have built up, the Chinese had no difficulty in taking advantage of this year's campaigning season to push further forward into our territory—and as far as they chose. And I don't think anyone has as yet claimed that the Chinese have suffered any casualty. How could they? We are such adepts at getting encircled non-violently! If yet there's today a confrontation in Ladakh between our boys and the Chinese soldiers, that is simply because the Chinese have halted us where they wanted.

The tragedy is that much more than the political future of the Defence Minister or even of Mr. Nehru is at stake. The very integrity of our soil has been violated and our freedom itself has been put into peril.

Thought

MOSCOW'S RISING PRICE INDEX

Let us suppose that a free government anywhere suddenly and arbitrarily decreed a 30 per cent increase in the price of meat and a 25 per cent rise in the price of butter. Surely such an announcement would provoke nationwide turmoil and the loud commu-

nists would be striving to organize and lead the agitation.

Consider, then, the plight of the Russian communists who have just been given this news by their government. They can neither picket nor parade in protest; indeed, it is their function to tell the rest of the populace that this decision reflects wisdom and statesmanship in high Bolshevik places.

In fact the move partially dramatizes the continuing chaos in Soviet agriculture. But it also, as the Russian leaders assert, is a product of the high price the Soviet economy continues to pay for military expenditures. The villain is "American imperialism"; Moscow's portrait of America will grow increasingly harsh in the coming days as Mr. K seeks to justify the fantastic burdens imposed on the Russian people.

MOSCOW TURNS "YES" TO "NO"

While being interviewed by a group of American newspaper editors, Nikita Khrushchev asked them if they had been "restricted in any way" while touring Russia. The editors chorused, "Yes!" In the official Soviet transcript of this interview, issued four days later, the answer appeared as "No!"

CUBA RATIONS SHOES AND CLOTHING

Shoes and clothing are in short supply in Cuba and will be rationed, Premier Castro announced. Food is already rationed, other consumer items scarce. Castro gave no details of the new rationing plan, said only that "those who work" will have priority in purchases. *U.S. News & World Report*

INDIA-TIBET ROAD

Nearly 400 workers lost their lives over the last 12 years during construction of the Hindustan-Tibet Road, according to Mr. Raj Bahadur, Union Minister



Courtesy: Press Digest, Spring 1962

for Shipping in the Ministry of Transport and Communications.

Mr. Raj Bahadur was addressing the sixth Punjab Provincial Postal Employees' Conference.

One hundred and seven miles of the road, which passes over a difficult rocky mountain, have been completed. The Minister inspected the road work.

By the end of 1964 the road will be made usable up to Rampur, about 80 miles from Delhi.

Times of India

(Continued from page 7)

local Communist Parties, Peking's propaganda has been cautious and indirect.

Soviet propaganda has been more outspoken. *Moscow Radio*, on May 12, quoted Aidi's interview with the *Straits Times* to reject the proposed federation as a form of "neo-colonialism" inspired by the former colonial authorities and their "puppet régimes". It went on to describe the activities of the "peoples" in Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Brunei in "fighting colonialism" and its remnants and in opposing the federation. The "colonialists", it asserted, were "trying to create a federation on the ruins of an empire", so as to "delay the upsurge of the national movement" in North Borneo and "divert the struggle" for complete independence" by the people of Singapore and Malaya.

A *Tass* commentary of July 18 claimed that "neo-colonialists" in the City of London, and not the Malayan Prime Minister, had originated the idea of the federation and that they had promoted it through "feudal and comprador circles in Malaya". The Malayan Premier was described as "a kind of tout" for the plan, and the Singapore Prime Minister as "another pro-English politician". *Tass* concluded that in view of the opposition the project would "hardly be long-lived or durable".

In face of the progress now being made towards the Malaysian Federation, the Soviet and Chinese leaders are increasingly pinning their hopes of establishing bases for communist expansion in South-East Asia on neutral States such as Indonesia and Burma. Thus, numerous Soviet broadcasts in Indonesian have stressed the "threat" that a united Malaysia, with bases in North Borneo, would present to Indonesia.

While Indonesia seems to have replaced Burma as a major target of Soviet penetration among the Asian neutrals, China has exploited both this fact and her own proximity to Burma to extend her influence. The 1960 Sino-Burmese frontier agreement apparently did much to allay popular Burmese fears of China, economic ties have grown rapidly and China now plays a major rôle in Burma's economy. Both China and the USSR have established friendly contacts with General Ne Win's "Revolutionary Council" which came to power last April. They have, however, shown little enthusiasm for the Council's manifesto, "The Burmese Way to Socialism", perhaps because although it contains open borrowing from Chinese sources (and support for extensive nationalisation) it also borrows from Yugoslav and Egyptian examples and advocates the use of communist methods rather than aims.

With Many Voices

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

The alternative to neutrality is not anti-Sovietism; the alternative is collective security, the willingness of a people and its government to stand up and be counted in active behalf of the common security.

—Roscoe Drummond, *Herald Tribune*, July '62

Since 1959, Red China has been working hard to undermine traditional Indian influence in Nepal, Burma, Laos and Cambodia. While grabbing off Indian territory, the Reds have made big-hearted concessions both to Burma and Nepal.

—Phil Newsom, *Press Digest*, Spring 1962

Mr. Khrushchev called Stalin a "fool who did not understand anything" during his recent talks here with Austrian Chancellor, Mr. Gorbach.

—*The Hindu*, July 17.

Perhaps the only people who understand him (Mr. Krishna Menon) better are the Chinese and Soviet bloc.

—Mr. S. N. Dwivedy, M.P., in Parliament, *Times of India*, August 14.

Intelligent people do not enter politics, or, at any rate, they do not become Opposition leaders.

—*Hindustan Times*, August 3.

The delegates from India and China (at the Moscow Disarmament Conference), whose military forces seem on the point of clashing, spoke as if their nations were both utterly devoted to the cause of peace.

—Kingsley Martin, the *New Statesman* (London) July 20.

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Our second largest industry is the production of speeches, interminably long and full of illusions and delusions, platitudes and attitudes.

—Sudhakar Dixit, the *Indian Libertarian*, July 1.

We are not going to be one of the countries which call themselves neutral if that means making friends and allies of the communist countries. We believe that we cannot co-exist with the communists.

—Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya, *Hindustan Times*, August 3.

Communism — perhaps a different form of communism — could be an alternative to the Congress, but not the Swatantra Party or the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

—Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Minister without Portfolio, *Times of India*, August 4.

The World Youth Festival brought many people of diverse races together in Helsinki, but apparently in order to provide a platform for some restless, disgruntled elements from Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas to mechanically vilify and castigate "imperialism, colonialism and capitalism" and to pledge unalloyed allegiance to Marxism — Leninism.

—Melvin Jones, *Forum Service*, August 18.

Fellow-travellers in our city, recent infiltrators into the Congress, have been heard to urge "What is 16,000 square miles of mountainous and barren country compared with the friendship of 600 million Chinese? Only the foolish would hold on to the first and lose the second." Mr. Nehru's thinking seems to be very much in line with theirs.

—*Opinion*, August 2.

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