

Berlin Crisis And Western Stand

by Adam Adil

AT least once since he assumed the top position in the Soviet hierarchy, did Nikita Khrushchev make a statement with which a good democrat could agree. He said that "there might be neutral nations, but there could not be neutral men." Although India is a neutral country subscribing to neutrality in the context of the world power-blocs (and not neutralism — as this term smacks of fanaticism and rigidity) — the citizens of India are called upon, from time to time, to decide their side on international issues.

The latest issue of international implications that has cropped up before the bar of world opinion is that of West Berlin — thanks to Mr. Khrushchev's recent threat that he would sign a treaty, unilaterally, with the East German Democratic Republic by the end of this year — a treaty which would seriously jeopardise the rights of Western Powers in West Berlin as well as freedom and security of 2,200,000 West Berliners.

This is the issue which every one interested in freedom and world peace has to judge impartially and objectively and speak out boldly. An impartial and objective assessment of the West Berlin issue will convince anyone of the legal and moral invulnerability of Western position on that issue and the high-handed gangsterism to which Mr. Khrushchev, who had no compunctions in dangling a shoe in the United Nations General Assembly, is threatening to resort!

As it is, the position of West Berlin as well as that of 12,000-man Allied garrison in that city has already become grave. The gravity can be realised from the fact that supplies to West Berlin — nearly 9.2 million tons last year — have to pass through 110 miles of East German territory. All civilian check points along the four highways, four rail-lines, two waterways and three air-corridors which have an access to West Berlin are operated by East Germans under the supervision of Soviet soldiers. The Soviet control over these check points operated ostensibly through East German personnel in itself gives rise to considerable tension and resentment amongst freedom-loving patriotic Germans.

Mr. Khrushchev's threat, however, that he would

sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany, altering the West Berlin situation, is not a new one. He gave that threat, initially, with a six-month deadline, in November 1958. He had said then that unless the Big Four signed peace treaties with West and East Germany and converted West Berlin into a demilitarised "free city", Russia would sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany.

The Allies, naturally, ignored Khrushchev's threat and showed their determination to fight it out. Moscow would not, however, precipitate a crisis. It extended the six-months' time limit, at first on the pretext of foreign ministers conference which met an abortive end and later on, that of Paris summit conference, which fizzled out in the wake of U-2 incident in May last year. Khrushchev had also hoped that the new administration in U.S. which would succeed that of Mr. Eisenhower — Khrushchev showed his preference for Democratic Administration — might play into his hands. Here, he was, completely disappointed.

Since his meeting with President Kennedy in Vienna, Khrushchev has been repeating his threats with all the bluff and bluster which is so characteristic of him. In Vienna he handed President Kennedy a memorandum setting the end of the year as the new dead-line for the acceptance of his old proposal on Berlin.

Again, on the occasion of the observance of the twentieth anniversary of Hitler's invasion of Soviet Russia, donning his bemedalled uniform as war-time lieutenant-general — a position which he was supposed to have occupied as a political commissar in the Red Army — Khrushchev said: "At the end of the year we.....will sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.....As regards those who try to threaten us with war if we sign a peace treaty.....they will bear the entire responsibility for their actions." The Soviet Premier described the Berlin problem as a "bone in our throat" and wanted to get rid of it. This description was understandable in view of thousands of East Germans deserting the communist "paradise" for "capitalist" West through West Berlin.

Khrushchev's tirade against the West has exceeded all bounds of decency and decorum. He has been behaving like a bully of first waters. For instance, when he met Britain's ambassador in Moscow, Sir Frank Roberts, recently, he boasted that he had all Western Europe at his mercy. Only six hydrogen bombs would be needed to wipe out Britain, he said, and nine more to destroy France. And at a dinner reception in Moscow in honour of Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah, Khrushchev declared "even if all

the countries of the world adopted a decision that did not accord with the interests of the Soviet Union the Soviet Union would not recognise such a decision but would uphold its rights relying on force. And we have the wherewithals to do this." Similar jingoistic statements by Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders, notably by the Soviet Defence Minister, Malinowsky, can be multiplied without number.

Fortunately, the West has not been taken in by the Soviet threats. The West has behaved with exemplary patience and calmness and tried to counter the Soviet threats with decorum and dignity. The Western attitude of reasonableness even under conditions of extreme provocation, their unity of purpose and determination to meet the challenge without losing their scruples and sense of dignity, has raised the status of the Western nations immensely in the eyes of the world. In the battle of words and wits, it is Soviet Russia which is losing and the world opinion is veering increasingly on the side of the West.

Legally, morally and politically, the Western case on West Berlin is undoubtedly a sound one. Moscow's threat of a unilateral treaty with the German Democratic Republic of East Germany, if carried out, will imply the repudiation of the Big Four agreements on Germany and Berlin, solemnly entered into after the Second World War. Such an action on the part of Soviet Russia, if connived at, would destroy the sanctity of all international treaties and understandings and shake the world's faith in the honesty and integrity of national behaviour on international plane. It is precisely such an impasse that the West is determined to prevent. Further, the West feels, and rightly, that separate peace treaty with East and West Germany would give a formal sanction and legal foundation to the permanent division of the country. On the other hand, the West is committed to the unification of Germany and desires to work earnestly towards that end. Again, a demilitarized "free city" of West Berlin would fall an easy prey to communist conspiracy of infiltration, subversion, and pressure. The East Germans would take over the formal control of all "civilian" as well as military access routes to West Berlin and resort to a series of harassments on those routes, which would jeopardise the security and freedom of West Berlin. This would pave the way for the speedy absorption of that city into the communist empire with all its totalitarian tyranny and political and economic regimentation.

It is clear that the Western Allies cannot repudiate their obligations to the people of Germany and West Berlin. They must hold to those obligations at all costs, even at the risk of nuclear war. To act otherwise, especially in view of the soundness of their legal and moral position, would be tantamount to failing in their moral and political duty to 2,200,000 West Berliners and to German people.

The only way to prevent the holocaust of a nuclear war is to present a determined challenge to Khrushchev's threats. Indeed, and it is gratifying to note that the Western allies have already adopted a firm attitude; but it must be hardened into readiness

to fight a nuclear war in case Khrushchev pursues his shortsighted policy. Only the West's supreme readiness to fight can save the world from the devastations of a Third World War.

It must be realised that comparatively West enjoys a far better position especially in terms of nuclear strength than the Soviet Union. Making a realistic appraisal of the nuclear armament situation, the noted American Senator, Mr. Barry Goldwater, wrote in a recent issue of *National Review*, "any comparison of over-all American strength with over-all Soviet strength finds the United States not only superior both in present weapons and in the development of new ones that our advantage promises to be a permanent feature of US-Soviet relations for the foreseeable future."

In view of such a favourable position, the Western Allies must go ahead to meet the Soviet threat in a bold and forthright manner. This must be done with full confidence that Soviet Russia will back out before the combined might of the Western nations. With his insight into the psychology of totalitarian bullies, Mr. Goldwater even suggests that the West must take offensive to contain the threat of communism and to prevent a world conflagration. He says: "Since communism is organically expansive, it follows — given the laws of momentum and inertia — that we cannot succeed by attempting merely to hold on to what we have. The American policy must be geared to the offensive. Our appetite for communist territory must be every bit as keen as theirs for non-communist territory. Our effort to extend freedom behind the iron curtain must be no less vigorous than their never-ending campaign to spread the influence of communism in the free world." Those who are aware of the theory and practice of communism cannot help agreeing with Mr. Goldwater's formulation. That is the one effective means of bringing about the ultimate down-fall of communism.

The Western preparedness for war in meeting the present challenge of the Soviet Union would not only save West Berlin and Germany from communist totalitarianism, but would pave the way for the liberation of the East European countries from their present tutelage. It is obvious that the discontent against communist rule which resulted in the uprisings of East Berlin in 1953, Poznan and Budapest in 1956 must have been intensified immensely by now. Any indication on the part of the Western Allies that they would fight the Soviet Union on the West Berlin question would inspire the enslaved peoples of the East European countries to make a final bid for freedom; and they would lend their unequivocal support to the West to defeat the communist menace.

While meeting the Soviet challenge boldly and determinedly, the West, however, would have to take some factors into account. Firstly, in spite of enjoying the reputation of being the vanguard of the free world, the Western Allies often suffer from certain disadvantages on the political front, especially in the uncommitted nations of Asia and Africa. The

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Notes

Floods and Dams

FLOODS have ravaged many parts of the country. This year, the south has so far been the major victim. Kerala, Madras, Mysore and Maharashtra have suffered immensely. A number of persons lost their lives and the damage to crops and property has been very heavy.

The worst sufferer has been the city of Poona. Over a fourth of the city has been washed away and damage worth crores of Rupees has taken place. A number of lives have been lost. The disaster in Poona was due to the washing away of the newly constructed dam at Panshet and the breach that it caused in the old dam at Khadakvasala. A good part of Poona is now in ruins, and it will take years to rebuild that part and to rehabilitate thousands of families that have lost all their belongings including their houses.

The victims of all these floods deserve the support and sympathy of the Government and of the public. Relief funds have been started in a number of places and relief measures are already being taken. It is the duty of all citizens to contribute liberally to those funds and to help in all possible ways the relief and rehabilitation of the unfortunate victims.

The floods have also raised the issue of the utility of big high level dams for preventing and controlling them. The dams have been responsible in some cases for accentuating the intensity of the floods. It is not possible for laymen to pronounce any judgment on the issue. It must be stated, however, that the time has now come to consult expert opinion and the Government will be well advised to seek it as early as possible.

There are complaints that local authorities failed to warn the people in time about the impending calamity. The complaint is widespread particularly in the case of Poona. The Chief Minister of Maharashtra deserves to be congratulated on promptly appointing a commission to inquire into the complaints. The same commission will also inquire into the other complaint that political considerations, rather than expert advice, influenced the construction schedule of the dam. Similar allegations about politicians imposing their will upon experts have been voiced in a couple of other States. Those States will be well-advised to follow the example of Maharashtra. When complaints are made it is always desirable to investigate them and let the people know the truth. That is the most effective way of preventing unscrupulous persons from playing politics with the distress and misery of the people.

France and Tunisia

IT is highly regrettable that France should have forced a war on Tunisia on the issue of the naval

base at Bizerta. The war has been temporarily halted as a result of a resolution of the Security Council. It is to be hoped that the "cease fire" will develop into a permanent peace and that a way will be found to solve the issue in a peaceful manner.

The Tunisian President, Habib Bourgiba is known all over the world as the most pronounced of the supporters of the West. He has on many occasions championed the cause of the West and earned the displeasure of the rulers of other Arab countries. That France should have failed to conciliate such a person is an index of the unreasonable and unrealistic policies that she is pursuing in her relations with the countries of Africa.

The United States and other countries of the Western Alliance should not on this occasion adopt an attitude of indifference or unconcern. They must exercise all their influence on France and persuade her to adopt a policy of conciliation and accommodation. A naval base on the territory of another country without its concurrence is an anachronism in the latter part of the twentieth century. It can be rendered ineffective in no time. France must be made to realise this fact and to agree to the early evacuation of the base. A friendly Tunisia will be a greater asset to her and to the Western alliance than the naval base of Bizerta.

Crude Propaganda

PAKISTAN is not helping her cause or enhancing her reputation by the crude propaganda that she is at present carrying on against our country. One can understand and appreciate her annoyance and ill-temper at the failure to secure the solution of the Kashmir problem. But she should realise that anti-Indian propaganda or threats of raids and other violent activities do not help that solution. Any move against Kashmir will meet with immediate and stiff resistance and there will not be one person in our country who will not then rally to the support of the Government in their endeavours to resist the aggression. An early solution of the Kashmir problem is desirable, but it can be secured only through conciliation and consultation.

Pakistan should realise that India is keen on establishing relations of friendship and cooperation with her. If that desire were not there, there would have been no settlement of the canal waters dispute and of many other differences between the two countries. Enlightened public opinion in both countries must realise that India and Pakistan have to live together in this sub-continent and that it is only through united action that the two can preserve its independence and integrity. It is this over-riding consideration which should govern the long-term policies of the Governments and the peoples of the two countries.

We deplore the ill-advised and irresponsible propaganda that is now current in Pakistan. We must, at the same time, deplore the reactions in India. There are some in the country who have not yet reconciled themselves to the existence of Pakistan as a separate,

independent sovereign State. There are others who would like to utilise differences with Pakistan for turning away the people's attention from the far more dangerous activities of communist China. Both are keen on exploiting the present unfortunate state of affairs. The Government and enlightened public men of Pakistan should realise this danger and take immediate steps to halt the propaganda which is poisoning the atmosphere between the two countries.

A Lesson to Trade Unionists

THE Electrical Trade Union is one of the British Unions which has been captured by the communists. They captured it for the first time in the immediate post-war years when there was a general feeling in favour of the communists owing to the war-time alliance between Great Britain and Soviet Russia. Subsequent developments brought about a change in the feeling, but the communists continued to be in power owing to the apathy of a large section of the membership of the union. The communists were few, but they were active, while the non-communists who constituted an overwhelming majority did not bother to attend meetings or to cast their votes.

A challenge to the communist domination of the union developed in 1957 after the suppression of the Hungarian revolution. Democratic elements in the union began their efforts to snatch control from the hands of the communists. With free and fair elections the former would have succeeded in no time and driven out the communists. But with the office in their hands, the latter went on manipulating elections from year to year and frustrated the efforts of the former. There were complaints in the press about the "rigging" of elections, but nothing could be done as the communists were in full control of the machinery.

Matters came to a head in 1960 when the communist, Mr. Haxell, was declared re-elected the General Secretary of the union against Mr. Byrne, the candidate of the democratic elements. Mr. Byrne was convinced that he was defeated through "fraudulent and unlawful devices" employed by the communists and he decided to take the dispute to a court of Law. A suit was filed in the High Court. The suit has been just decided and a High Court Judge, Mr. Justice Winn, has found that the charges made by Mr. Byrne were true. Mr. Haxell's election was, therefore, set aside and Mr. Byrne was declared elected the General Secretary of the Union.

The facts found out by Mr. Justice Winn are of deep interest. He found that amongst 2,40,000 members of the Union, the communists numbered only about 2,000, but that they were active while others were passive, and apathetic. He found that the communists had manipulated the voting through "fraudulent and unlawful devices" and had declared their candidate elected even though the other candidate, Mr. Byrne, had received at least 1,150 more votes. The manipulation of the voting was done in an ingenious manner. The union has a rule that branch

votes which reach the head office after a certain date are disqualified. In the election in question, 109 branches were disqualified in this manner. In all but 3 of them Mr. Byrne had secured the majority of votes. It was alleged that the envelopes in which the branches had sent their votes were destroyed and some one went round Britain by car posting other envelopes in order to create evidence of late receipt. The Judge found that this had happened in at least 27 cases. He further found that the Communist Party managed and controlled the union and moved men in and out of office like pawns.

Mr. Byrne is now installed in office as the General Secretary, but the President and other office-bearers, who are communists, are putting many difficulties in his way. This will continue until September when the Executive Council is due for election. If the democratic elements win the election, the deadlock will be solved and the union will be rescued out of the hands of the communists. The aim can be easily achieved provided the members will shake off their apathy and take an active interest in the election.

The British Government are deeply concerned over the facts that have come to light as a result of the High Court judgement. They have no desire to interfere in the affairs of voluntary organisations like the trade unions. But they cannot, at the same time, allow a tiny minority of communists to seize control of vital trade unions through "fraudulent and unlawful devices". It will be best if the trade unions will themselves set their house in order. The British Trade Union Congress is now applying its mind to the matter and it is to be hoped that it will succeed in developing some reliable machinery for ensuring free and fair elections of officers and executive committees and councils of unions.

HOW TO OVERTHROW PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

— A Communist Blueprint

by D. F. KARAKA



Price 25 nP.



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Moscow Plans Subversion In Africa

Disclosures of an African Student

A RECENT article in *The Sunday Telegraph* of London has thrown revealing light on how international communism recruits African students and trains them for communist activities in their own countries. The article is written by a student from Nigeria, Mr. Anthony G. Okotcha.

Mr. Okotcha was contacted while he was studying law in London. He was sent along with his wife to study international law in the Friendship University in Moscow. His wife is the sister of Dr. Azikiwe, the Governor-General of Nigeria. This relationship increased Mr. Okotcha's importance in the eyes of Moscow. It would, Moscow thought, facilitate penetration in high government circles. Mr. Okotcha was in Moscow for four months. He was then sent to London to recruit African students and do some other jobs. In the course of that work he came to know of the plans made by Moscow for stirring up discontent in his country and subverting the established Government. This opened his eyes and he decided to break away from Moscow.

Mr. Okotcha was not sure if he should write the article. He was afraid of the measures that Moscow might take against him. He expressed his apprehensions as follows: "For some weeks I have been wondering whether I ought to publish the facts in this article. They expose a ghastly plan that Russia has for Africa, and I believe, I shall be in danger of liquidation by Soviet agents if I reveal it. However, after careful thought I have reached the conclusion that it is my plain duty to sound a note of warning to Africa and the West."

The article tells in the beginning how Mr. Okotcha met Mr. Leonid A. Rogov, the Second Secretary at the Russian Embassy in London. It was at a party organised for members of the Afro-Asian Students League. At the second meeting, Mr. Rogov told Mr. Okotcha: "people like you, if properly trained, can render great service to the cause of national liberation in Africa. I shall do all I can to help you."

A few weeks later arrangements were made for Mr. Okotcha and his wife to go to the Friendship University in Moscow to study international law. Mr. Okotcha narrates as follows the welcome that was accorded to them: "Members of the University staff, all of whom spoke English, met us at Moscow airport. We felt we had come to a happy place where we would achieve our personal ambitions in the shortest possible time without any of the usual financial worries. We were driven to the University and taken to our room. It was obvious at once that we were to receive special treatment. While other students slept five in a room, with one Russian student in each party, we, as a married couple, were given a room to

ourselves. It was not luxurious, but it was comfortable, and we had the distinction of a carpet on the floor."

He then talks of his experience at a class on political science, the first one that was held. "A fat, middle-aged professor stood on the rostrum. In rather broken English he congratulated us on having come to the happiest and most progressive land on earth. Then he began to abuse the British Commonwealth and all it stood for and to argue that Western Democracy had outlived its usefulness. He went on to expound Marxist-Leninist philosophy and launch a vitriolic attack on Christianity. He declared that our duty in Africa was to learn how to organise a popular front and drive the plundering imperialists into the ocean. The Professor went on in this way for fully three hours."

The indoctrination went on from day to day and week to week. Mr. Okotcha talks of its effect on himself and other students. "How quickly the professors in the Friendship University can transform a rational being! To be frank, within eight weeks of our arrival in Moscow my wife and I were ready to declare an all-out war on Western democracy. We had learned the Marxist-Leninist fundamentals by heart. We had learned to hate what Russians hated and to love what they loved."

Mr. Okotcha then talks of another class that he attended along with two hundred students from Africa, Central America and Asia. It was a class for "self-defence". He writes: "It was a grim business. The class were instructed by serious-faced military men in uniform in target practice with pistols, rifles and sub-machine guns. I had never seen this kind of thing before. I watched these 200 students being shown how to dynamite a bridge, a railway train, a house and many other objectives. The class were shown how to throw a hand-grenade into a crowd, how to kill a man quickly with a dagger, and how to make surprise attacks at night. I told myself that the Russians really meant business."

Another class that he attended was on "occult science". It was a "witch-doctors" class arranged specially for African students. Mr. Okotcha tells of the training imparted in the class: "The first day my wife and I attended it, we found Professor Sofrunchuk surrounded by plastic human skulls and skeletons, plastic serpents of various sizes and many other queer-looking objects."

"He began by saying: 'As you know, in certain underdeveloped parts of Africa the people are highly superstitious, and it is only by playing on their superstition that they can be won over for political ends. Hence the need to adopt a system similar to that which sparked off the Mau-Mau rebellion in Kenya. One witchdoctor operating among primitive people can do more than a dozen political lecturers.

He can move the masses in any way he chooses. Well then, supposing he is a communist?"

"The professor proceeded to demonstrate his art. He placed a skull on the table and caused it to issue commands such as these:

"I am your ancestor speaking. I command you to go tonight, kill the British Governor and bring his head and hands to me. If you fail I will cast evil spells on you and your family."

"I am the spirit of God. I command you to burn that Englishman's house and rape his wife and daughter. If you don't you and all your family will be under the earth within seven days."

"I am Shango from the deep waters. I will fetch you if you refuse to join the Communist Party and do whatever its leader tells you."

"The professor showed how these voices were produced by radio microphones. He then taught us how to simulate spirit rappings, cause a phantom to appear in a cloud of smoke, produce weird sounds in boxes, make a skeleton walk into dark rooms, haunt the houses of enemies, and pretend that we were possessed by spirits."

After some months, to be exact on January 15, 1961, Mr. Okotcha was selected for a mission in England. The Rector of the University told him: "I have instructions to send a man to London to recruit African and Asian students for the University. I have observed the influence you carry among your own people. I am profoundly convinced that your communist convictions are unshakeable, and that England, where there are thousands of Afro-Asian students, will be a very good field for you to work in."

At a farewell party held in his honour, the Rector again addressed him as follows: "Comrade, I pin the greatest hope on you and your wife. In a few months we have turned you into fighting communists. Mark you, Okotcha, it is grim necessity that has forced us to do this. This is no time for dreams but for practical action. Think no more of tenderness or love. Do not rest until you have struck a mortal blow against Western Imperialism."

Mr. Okotcha then went back to London along with his wife and began his propaganda work amongst African and Asian students. In the course of this work he was met by many Soviet agents. Once a Soviet agent brought to him a student from Sierra Leone. "The student came with an order from Moscow that I should accompany him at once to Sierra Leone to take some working materials and money to the communist-inspired party, the APC, and remain there to do special work."

Mr. Okotcha was not able to go to Sierra Leone owing to the weak condition of his wife. For that default he received the following rebuke from the Soviet agent: "A true communist would not think of domestic affairs when duty called. This will be a serious blot on your political career."

Then he received the call to go to Nigeria. "My instructions were to reorganise the two disguised communist movements there, the Nigerian Youth Congress and a Left-wing Trade Union Congress." The

Soviet official who gave him the command told him that it was a very important assignment. As a cover it was suggested that he should open a beer shop.

Mr. Okotcha then tells of his visit to Soviet Embassy "to get full confirmation of the instruction." It was there that he was introduced to two members of the disguised communist movements in Nigeria. It is through them that he learnt in full of Moscow's plans for his country.

Mr. Okotcha writes: "These men opened their hearts to me. They told me that with the assistance of the Soviet Union it was only a question of time before Nigeria would become a Communist State. They expected great things of my wife and myself. My wife, being a sister of the Governor-General, would be able to infiltrate into Government circles and learn some of their secrets. Meanwhile it would be for me to coach selected members of the communist movements in the witchdoctor technique."

The two men had with them a blue-print of the whole operation. Mr. Okotcha writes the following about the blue print: "As I read it I was amazed to find that their plans included assassination, terrorism, arson, intimidation and all imaginable social unrest."

"In this blue-print I saw how the disguised communist movements would come to power, how their leaders would proclaim a state of emergency over the entire country, suspend Parliament, and, if necessary, invite the assistance of Russian troops, and how they would deprive chiefs and emirs of their stools and abolish the Constitution."

The blue-print gave detailed instructions about how to deal with various individuals in the national movement: "There were three principal personalities in the Parent Body with whom a compromise was hardly likely and who were capable of carrying the majority with them. They were Chief Okotie Ebo, Minister of Finance, Mr. Macwine, the General Secretary of the party, and Mr. T. O. S. Benson, Minister of Information."

"These men were too popular to be ex-communicated and too wealthy to yield to ordinary pressure. The only possible thing was their physical elimination. With them out of the way, socialism was certain of rapid progress in Nigeria."

Mr. Okotcha then describes his subsequent conversation with the two Nigerians. He writes: "I closed this booklet and put it on the table. Then I began to ask the two Nigerians for detailed explanations."

"Olabami assured me cheerfully that many heads would roll under the executioner's axe, and many Nigerian political leaders would suffer for all they had been doing."

"This measure might strike at my brother-in-law Dr. Azikiwe?" I ventured.

"Well, it could, but what about it?" replied Olabami. "I don't see why that should upset you. You are a Communist trained for underground work. The present administration must be destroyed if the Soviet star is to rise in Africa."

The reaction was immediate. Mr. Okotcha describes

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Review

Indonesia In The Modern World

by Takdir Alisjahbana, Congress for Cultural Freedom,
New Delhi, Rs. 4/-.

MR. TAKDIR Alisjahbana is not the usual run of nationalist leaders who are found in plenty in the newly-independent nations of Asia and Africa. He has drunk deep at the fountain of modern civilization and culture and desires his country to absorb those values and to rebuild its society, now that it is free to do so, on the basis of "20th century humanism, which has done so much to break down the barriers between nations, races, societies and cultural traditions". The question that worries him is: "Can we change the essential core of our nationalism from a destructive hatred of colonialism into a constructive force for recreating Indonesia as an integral part of a new world order?" He is critical of the course that nationalism has pursued in his country. He writes: "How many needless difficulties, how much unnecessary ruin and misery this shortsighted emotional nationalism has caused! We have had so many opportunities to demonstrate humanity and maturity in the conduct of our young nation's affairs—and we have wasted them all."

A person holding such views and fearlessly expressing them cannot be popular with authorities in a country which even after winning independence insists on pursuing an ultra-nationalist line. That may be the reason why Mr. Alisjahbana is now in the United States teaching and studying at one of the universities instead of actively working in his country for building up the new social order after his heart. Mr. Alisjahbana is an eminent scholar and writer. He has a number of books to his credit, written in Indonesian as well as European languages. He was a professor of Indonesian literature and cultural philosophy at the National University of Djakarta. He was also a member of the Constituent Assembly which was later dissolved by the Government. It is this long and varied experience that is at the back of the penetrating analysis and diagnosis of the Indonesian situation that Mr. Alisjahbana has attempted in this book.

The book under review is a small volume of about two hundred pages. It consists of a number of essays on topics ranging from the development of Indonesian culture and language to the integration of the country into a unified modern world. The essays are not of a uniform standard and some of them repeat well-known facts about the growth of human society and the rise of European civilization which could have been easily avoided in a book about Indonesia. One would have liked Mr. Alisjahbana to give more information about present conditions in Indonesia and to delve deeper into the causes and the course of the cultural crisis in the country. All the same, the story that he has told of the imposition of successive

Hindu, Islamic and modern cultures on the early indigenous Indonesian culture is full of interest. It helps one to understand better the confusing variety that exists in the country and the many problems that arise out of it. The problems that arise out of this diversity are naturally many and complex.

Many of the problems that the new nations of Asia and Africa have to tackle are similar. All of them have to face the challenge of the modern technological civilization. All of them have to take vigorous and rapid steps for developing their industries and improving their agriculture. All of them have to reconstruct their age-old social and cultural set-up to suit the needs of the new world in which they find themselves. All these give rise to a large number of similar social, economic, political and cultural problems which they will have to solve if they are to retain their individuality and independence. The nations can, therefore, learn from one another and any thinking done in one country on the solution of the problems will be of interest in other countries.

Mr. Alisjahbana has discussed in this book many problems of economic, social and cultural development in Indonesia. Some of the observations that he has made have a peculiar relevance to conditions in India. He has pointed out how the implementation of the plans of economic development is hindered by the cultural backwardness of the people. He writes: "It is no use providing good seeds and teaching improved methods of cultivation; it is no use demonstrating the advantages of using fertilisers and tractors, etc., unless the villagers' attitude to life, and ways of thinking, and indeed their very values of life, are changed." The most important problem, he says, is "to change people's attitude to life and ways of thinking". In our country we are also slowly realising this fact after our bitter experience of many a well-meaning scheme for the improvement of agriculture and village life. We may draw the appropriate lesson from the following conclusion of Mr. Alisjahbana: "The first prerequisite for establishing any kind of economic organisation along modern lines is a change of attitudes. Until this prerequisite is met, the whole physical paraphernalia of modern economic life is like a seedling, transplanted into alien soil, unable to take root or develop as it ought to until the surrounding soil itself is changed."

It is this line of thinking which has led Mr. Alisjahbana to make a deep study of the cultural background of his country and to suggest a revaluation of traditional values and institutions. He writes: "The core of the problems is to sift our cultural patrimony and pick out those elements which can be fully integrated into a new modern culture, which will itself produce new values, new attitudes to life, new perspectives, and new ways of thinking and acting." We face the same problems and that is why this small book outlining the views of a modern man with a cosmopolitan outlook on the problems that his country has to tackle will prove of benefit to us.

V.B.K.

Plans And The Common Man

by M. Devadas Kini

WHAT difference a decade of planning in India has made for the common man? At best it has made no difference; at worst it has reduced his standard of living by increasing his cost of living. A steady inflation has corroded his purchasing power. A steady rise in taxation, both direct as well as indirect, has reduced his income. Of course national income has registered an increase; so also population. It will not be surprising if people feel that our slogan is not plan or perish but plan and perish. The* books under review analyse the economic development during the two plans, problem of resources for the third plan and that of deficit financing.

The fact is our plan, especially the second, is based on the Soviet model, based on the so-called "strategy of unbalanced growth" with a disproportionate emphasis on capital goods industries. This means, in an economically under-developed country with very little savings or savings-potential, government makes use of the printing press. Since the emphasis is more on capital goods, there is no corresponding increase in consumption goods to hold the price line. This precisely is happening in our country. Prices of all commodities have shot up. The only redeeming feature is the comparative stability of the prices of food grains.

Our planners have resorted to deficit financing with the best of intentions. (It was 26 per cent in the second plan period.) But good intentions are not enough and with the best will in the world one can not prevent the consequences of deficit financing. They are in a hurry to reach what Prof. Rostow has called the "take-off" stage. They want to increase the pace of development of the economy to reach early the self-sustaining stage where it can move on its own momentum. They want to build a prosperous India for the unborn generations. They do not mind if the present generation is sacrificed—as if it is so much chattel to be sacrificed. And this is in spite of, or because of, socialist pattern of society.

There is no doubt that we have to run fast to stand where we are, as our population is growing fast and economically developed countries are growing faster. So naturally our aim should be rapid economic development. But our government has failed to give enough incentive for individual initiative, both indigenous as well as foreign. "It appears that in India, with the narrowest base in the savings sector, the maximum use has been made of practically 15 out of the 19 kinds of direct taxes so far known in fiscal practice of advanced countries, compared to only 4 to 10 in any other country". "The incidence of com-

pany taxation is also the highest compared to the prevailing rates in other countries, the combined incidence of taxes on income and dividends being about 56 per cent in India, compared to 45 per cent in West Germany and 39 per cent in Japan." "The investment in India leaves available only 20.35 per cent for the foreign investor and this compares unfavourably with the yield on investment opportunities elsewhere. The comparative yield is reported to be 50 per cent or more in developing countries in Africa, Australia, the Pacific and South America. It is understood that an enterprise in India must be 2½ to 3 times more profitable than similar enterprises elsewhere before foreign capital is likely to be attracted."

Increased tax revenue has not proportionately increased the flow of fund into development activities. A good deal of it has been absorbed by non-developmental expenditure. "The committee considers that in view of the phenomenal rise in non-plan expenditure in spite of the reasonable size envisaged by the Planning Commission in that direction, it would be most desirable for the Planning Commission to have special study made of the disproportionate rise and make suitable suggestions to see that such expenditure is kept under control and will not expand in the third plan as it has done during the second plan period." (Estimate Committee, 1959-60, Growth of Civil Non-Plan Expenditure.)

During the third plan period, raising the necessary resources, internal as well as external, is the crux of the problem. "The total of payments by way of interest on loans raised by the end of the second plan and the new loans to be raised for the third plan would amount to Rs. 252 crores. On the capital side, provision has to be made for the repayment of about Rs. 420 crores, on the liabilities incurred in the second plan. A further sum of Rs 40 crores is estimated for repayment on loans to be raised in the third plan. Thus there would be a net outflow of Rs. 500 crores on capital account taking into account other transactions as well." We have to add a sum of Rs. 2100 crores to this for machinery and equipment for the projects in the plan, for components, intermediate products for increasing the production within the economy. Thanks to President Kennedy, foreign exchange may not become an insuperable problem. But not so the problem of raising internal resources. Taxation seems to have reached the dead-end. In fact diminishing returns seems to have started. There is only a limited and marginal scope for an increase in the agricultural taxation. "In the present tax structure, the rural sector which has a share of nearly 70 per cent in the national income, does not make a contribution to the tax effort, proportionate to its share. The land revenue at present (round Rs. 90

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* *Inflation in a Developing Economy. A Resources for the Third Plan. A Research Study and Analysis.* Prepared by S. Tirumalai and Published by The Indian Merchants' Chamber Economic Research and Training Foundation, Bombay 1.

Without Comment

Congress And Communists

2,000 PUNJAB REDS JOIN CONGRESS

Over two thousand communist workers in the Punjab have joined the Congress, Mr. Mehr Chand Ahuja, General Secretary of the Punjab Congress, said.

Mr. Ahuja, who was speaking at the fourth annual Congress of the Kisan conference, held at the village of Chohasa Sahib, said that these communists had revolted against the present policy of the Indian Communist Party with regard to China.

—*Malabar Herald*, July 1.

500 AMRITSAR COMMUNISTS JOIN CONGRESS

Amritsar, July 1 — Nearly 500 communists of Majitha area of this district today announced their decision to leave the Communist Party and join the Congress.

This announcement was made by seven prominent communist workers at two public meetings held in Makowal and Budhatheh villages.

Dr. Prakash Kaur, Deputy Minister for Health, who addressed these meetings, welcomed their decision and warned the people to beware of the dangers of disruptive slogans raised by communists and communists. She said the Government was determined to maintain peace and order in this border State. Despite natural calamities like floods, Punjab had made remarkable progress.

—*Hindustan Times*, July 2.

55 BHATINDA REDS JOIN CONGRESS

Bhatinda, July 10 — The Communist Party has suffered a landslide in its ranks in Bhatinda district. Fifty-five communist workers, mostly Harijan kisans of Faridkot sub-division led by Mr. Harpalsingh, former president of communist-sponsored PEPSU Dehat Sudhar Sabha here, joined the Congress.

They were welcomed in the Congress organization by Punjab Irrigation Minister Gian Singh Rarewala yesterday at a conference in Jhakharwala village near Bajekhana.

Speaking at the conference, Mr. Harpal Singh stated the Communist Party was dominated by land-owners and they had failed to honour its promises to the landless class. On the other hand the Congress had given lands and numerous other concessions to Harijans.

Mr. Rarewala said the communist philosophy was out-moded and unsuitable to the Indian people and the problems.

—*Hindustan Times*, July 11.

ALL (RED) STAR CAST

Bombay — Dr. A. V. Baliga, the well-known Bombay surgeon, gained admission as a primary member of the Congress.

Local Congressmen view the event with alarm. They claim it is part of the new strategy adopted by the Communist Party of India at its Vijayawada meeting—to align itself with progressive forces within the country, with the ultimate aim of gaining overall control.

Dr. Baliga is associated with several communist causes and is the President of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society.

Congressmen here anticipate an influx of prominent city personalities with leftist sympathies and a host of lesser fellow-travelling fry, into the Congress.

Among the better known personalities who are expected to follow Dr. Baliga into the Congress fold are lawyers Rajni Patel and A. S. R. Chari, journalist Ramesh Sanghvi, and film stars Raj Kapoor and Balraj Sahni.

Congressmen admit the difficulty of checking the infiltration. They are aware of the danger to the Congress organisation, but plead helplessness to do anything about it. "The Congress cannot shut its doors to anyone who wants to join the Party," they say.

—*Current*, July 12.

KISAN WING DOMINATED BY "FORMER" COMMUNISTS

Last week the Kisan wing of the Pradesh Congress held its fourth Annual Conference in village Cholla Sahib in district Amritsar. The significance of this Conference lay in the fact that the kisan workers of the Congress asserted their views on some of the burning problems facing the peasantry and did not merely act as the rubber-stamp of the Government.

The Conference was dominated by former communists and among them one could see many of those who were the organisers and builders of the Communist-led Kisan movement for more than a decade. It appears that the Kisan wing of the PCC has two main immediate objectives in view. Firstly, it wants to mobilise the peasantry for the Congress in the coming elections on economic issues. In this, the Kisan wing may partly succeed because of the orientation of its cadres working among the peasantry. The second objective seems to be to secure Congress tickets for some of the Kisan workers in the coming General Elections. Harbans Singh Karnana, Moscow-returned, once an important figure in the communist movement of Jullunder Division, has already applied for Congress ticket from Nawanshehr constituency. How far the Kisan wing of the Congress would succeed in this matter is anybody's guess. The top Congress leaders are manoeuvring very fast to get

the largest number of tickets for their respective factions. It is yet uncertain if Chief Minister Kairon would be able to resist their pressure and allocate tickets on the basis of the socio-economic outlook of the Congressmen.

—Link (pro-communist weekly), July 9.

SOFTENING UP IN KERALA

It appears that Congress bitterness against the Communist Party is getting softened under the leadership of Mr. C. K. Govindan Nair (newly-elected President of the Kerala Congress Party). He made common cause with the communist leader, Mr. A. K. Gopalan, on the Amaravathi situation against the Congress-dominated Coalition Government of the State. It is alleged that Mr. Nair and his new executive, which includes only his own men, have started a whispering campaign that Communism is a lesser evil than Communalism. If this is true, it will amount to a negation of the policy followed by the previous leadership of the Kerala Congress and cut the ground under the feet of the non-communist alliance that controls the administration of the State today. However, the Communist Party has started showing friendly gestures to the Kerala Congress. It has offered unconditional support to the Congress in fighting the Muslim League.

Mr. Govindan Nair's recent statement blaming the Government for the Amaravathi situation has further worsened the relations between the administrative and organizational wings of the Kerala Congress. The administrative wing takes it as open censure. The leaders of this group who suffered a debacle in the recent election of the PCC president say that if Mr. Nair and his group go at this rate there is every chance of group rivalries reaching breaking point. Some prominent members of the CK group have already started talking in terms of the Congress getting out of the "uncomfortable alliance" and forming a Government of its own.

—Hindustan Times, July 17.

WE HAVE BEEN WARNED

Evidently New Delhi has been thinking it over, and on the eve of the General Elections when China's aggression will doubtless figure as a prominent issue, Mr. R. K. Nehru has undertaken his journey to Canossa. For some time now the communist grapevine in India has been busy whispering to all and sundry that the rift between China and India would soon be closed. The return of the Secretary-General for External Affairs will be awaited with much interest and trepidation.

Meanwhile, history is repeating itself on our home front. As far back as 1935, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, meeting at Moscow, called for a comprehensive change in Red

strategy the world over in order to meet the menace of Hitler's Germany. The Indians Reds were instructed to infiltrate into the National Congress and by joining forces with the so-called bourgeois nationalists to create a broad anti-imperialist front. They were asked to penetrate into the nationalist citadel and from within it appeal to the rank-and-file membership while simultaneously promoting joint action with those elements of the nationalist leadership inclined to the left. This is a familiar communist tactic, a combination of the united-front-from-below and the united-front-from-above stratagem.

Today the Reds, checkmated by the aggression of their Chinese comrades and nervous over the headway made by Rightist elements and groups, are attempting to stage a political-comeback by the same methods. In various, widely spread parts of India prominent fellow-travellers along with other communist creatures have applied and are applying for Congress Party membership and it would not be surprising if some of them succeeded in standing for election on the Congress ticket. Inside the Congress Party they have friends in some of the highest echelons of the government and through them they plan to subvert a sizeable section of the Congress rank-and-file.

The Congress cannot say it has not been warned. If, despite this, it continues to welcome Red fellow-travellers into its ranks it is indulging in a form of political hara-kiri which might conceivably see not only its own conversion and possible extinction but the handing-over of this country to a Red hegemony masterminded by Moscow and Peking.

—Frank Moraes, *Indian Express*, July 17.

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU AND LADAKH

Thanks to the Prime Minister, the name of Ladakh conjures up for the common man vast expanses of barren land of no use to anyone except the obviously foolish and foolhardy Chinese invaders. "Not a blade of grass grows there", we have been told repeatedly by the Prime Minister. But Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party, who has returned this week from an extensive tour of the border areas, has a different story to tell about these tracts. "There are bright prospects, both for agricultural and mineral development, in this area," Dr. Ram Subhag Singh said. He added: "Borax, sulphur and copper mines could be explored and commercially exploited. SOME PARTS OF THIS AREA ARE FAMOUS FOR SPICES LIKE JEERA. Then, there are places, which could be developed into very attractive hill stations."

—Organiser, July 10.

BERLIN CRISIS & WESTERN STAND - (Cont'd from page 2)

partners of the Western alliance, especially Britain and France, are sought to be branded as imperialist nations for some of the colonial pockets they still hold in Asia and Africa. The fact that the Soviet Russia and Communist China have enslaved more people after the end of the Second World War than the Western nations have released from the yoke of imperialism, has not been sufficiently highlighted. As a result, the cause of the West suffers by sheer default. Again, it is generally complained that although United States offers economic and military aid, it does not inspire respect among people of recipient nations as it supports reactionary and corrupt regimes there. With the result, the economic and military aid does not have any appreciable political results favourable to the United States.

These weaknesses on the part of the West must be removed forthwith and its political status in the eyes of the world must be raised to the requisite level. All the benefits, which the West has conferred on backward nations by granting them political freedom and economic aid must be sufficiently spotlighted for the edification of the world. The colonial pockets in Asia and Africa, which the West still holds, including those of Portugal and Spain, would have to be released from bondage without any loss of time. Simultaneously, the new communist imperialism which masquerades in the name of peoples' democracy and working class will have to be exposed systematically and forcefully in the backward countries of Asia and Africa, thus tearing to smithereens the so-called "moral appeal" of communism. Also, U.S. officials in Asia and Africa must change their usual habit of cultivating only representatives of the higher classes or what is called the "gentry of the society", and should start contacting and influencing people lower down: the workers, the peasants, the students and those who constitute the men in the street. If these measures are taken it is certain the West would strengthen its political position manifold in the eyes of the world.

Secondly, the West must seriously make a reappraisal of its strength in conventional arms and military man-power. As stated earlier, the Western strength in terms of nuclear power is superior to that of the Soviet Union. Yet much has to be desired in case of the Western strength in conventional weapons and military man-power. If local wars break out wherein the West and the Soviet Union are parties, the lack of requisite strength in conventional arms and military man-power would prove a serious disadvantage to the West.

The Red strength in conventional weapons and military man-power even in Eastern Europe is considerable. For instance, the communists have 1,485,000 men equipped with conventional arms there, including 490,000 Soviet troops organised in 26 divisions. Twenty of these divisions are in East Germany alone. In addition, the Soviets have another 40 divisions West of Urals. The total Soviet forces are now estimated at 3,000,000 exclusive of the internal security

forces. According to latest reports, the Soviet Navy has increased from the total tonnage of 600,000 in 1940 to 1,600,000 at present. This makes it the second largest fleet after that of United States. The Soviet Union possesses 2,000 war planes including turbo-jets and jet-propelled troop-carriers which are closely coordinated with the requirements of the Soviet civilian air-lines; it has nearly 430 sub-marines and some missile carrying submarines. In addition to those, the Soviet Union has a small number of 8,000 mile ICBM's, a slightly larger number of two types of 1,800 mile ICBM's, 200 to 300 heavy bombers and 500 medium size bombers. Although Khrushchev once sneered that "air-planes belong to museums," there is evidence that Soviet Russia recently staged a display of its new airplanes. Commenting on this the *Time* magazine stated "The Russian display was a cause for concern although not necessarily for alarm. It was yet another spur to Washington's current reappraisal of U.S. military planning to determining whether the U.S. had the hardware necessary for its defence. But the best answer to Russia's new planes may not be the better plane, but the new rocket or more polaris sub-marines."

Although, the over-all strength of the West is superior and the West can defeat the Soviet Union even on the basis of its present strength, the lesson to be drawn from the Soviet preparation is that the West must increase its strength not only in the nuclear sphere but also in the spheres of conventional weapons and man-power.

Coming back to the Berlin issue, the more determined the Western Allies are to the challenge of the Soviet threat, the more will they undermine the Soviet will to precipitate a crisis over West Berlin. Already, the Western determination has had an effect on Khrushchev's attitude. He has slightly softened his line on West Berlin. He has now begun to state that the West would have an access to West Berlin provided they have treaties to that effect with East Germany. If the Western allies could continue their firm and determined stand, the Soviet bluff would be called and peace and freedom would be safe.

MOSCOW PLANS SUBVERSION - (Cont'd from page 6)

it in the following words: "I could not imagine how they could call themselves true Nigerians and plot such dreadful things. Suddenly I realised that not for all the gold in Russia would I agree to send my country into a bloodbath.

"When I got home I told my wife what had happened. My mind was already made up. I would sever all connection with Communism. I would never have anything more to do with the Russians who were privy to such ghastly plans. I cursed the day I ever went to Moscow.

"I resolved to go back to Nigeria and do what I could to warn my people."

Mr. Okotcha is now back in Nigeria. He has "vowed to expose and fight Soviet treachery before it has a chance to triumph there."

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

I hear it said that West Berlin is militarily untenable. So was Bastogne. So, in fact, was Stalingrad. Any dangerous spot will be tenable if brave men will make it so. We do not want to fight, but we have fought before. And others, in earlier times, have made the same dangerous mistake of assuming that the West was too selfish and too soft and too divided to resist invasions of freedom in other lands.

—President Kennedy, *The Hindu*, July 27.

Even if all the countries of the world adopted a decision that did not accord with the interests of the Soviet Union and threatened its security, the Soviet Union would not recognise such a decision but would uphold its rights, relying on force. And we have the wherewithals to do this.

—Nikita Khrushchev, *Time Magazine*, July 21.

The heaviest Soviet satellite weighs four tons. China is too heavy to become a satellite.

—Chen Yi, Red China's Foreign Minister, *Time Magazine*, July 14.

Neutrality is incompatible with any anti-Soviet stand: it can only mean opposition to Western imperialists.

—Rabotnichesko Delo of Bulgaria, quoted in *Thought*, July 22.

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The Communist Party is defending itself, not defending any portion of India.

—C. R., *Swarajya*, July 29.

There is no more of a split to be found in Chinese-Soviet Unity than could be found in the shell of a duck egg.

—Chen Yi, Chinese Foreign Minister, *Hindu*, July 4.

Large number of people are now joining the Congress with ulterior motives and have pushed veterans to the background. The sense of sacrifice and devotion to duty which once characterised the Congress are now lacking. In fact, many of them believed that controlling the mandal Congress is a sure way to obtain bus permits or any such concession.

—Sanjiva Reddy, Congress President, *Hindustan Times*, July 4.

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crores) is less than 1 per cent of the net production of agriculture. The problem of mobilising surplus rural resources is not however simple and the location of the surplus cannot be made by the application of economic criteria." Only solution for this is a reduced third plan or an extended one. If deficit financing is made to fill the gap it will only distort the cost structure. Deficit financing may help to reach financial targets but not the physical targets.

After a decade of planning we have not been able to solve the food problem. Our government has put more emphasis on institutional changes than on technological changes. Our food minister has tried to raise more food in America than in India. The employment position has worsened. A practical plan for India should tackle these two problems first. After all, first things must come first. It is a fallacy to argue that in a economically under-developed country the government is more equipped than the people to industrialise the country. A government which builds what is called infra-structure or social and economic overheads like dissemination of education, both technical and general, measures to increase the health, laws to prevent exploitation of labour, a good system of communication and transport, contributes better for industrialisation than a government which indulges in building industries itself. A government should like a good manager, see that things are done properly than do it itself.