

Constructive Path To Disarmament

by Adam Adil

THE object of the organisers of the Anti-Nuclear Arms Convention which met in New Delhi in the third week of June under the impressive auspices of the Gandhi Peace Foundation was indeed laudable. It is well-known that, established in 1959, the Foundation has been seeking to promote "the acceptance by all peoples of the principles of truth and non-violence in the conduct of social, national and international affairs." Besides, the Foundation also enjoys the distinction of consciously eschewing partisanship in national and international affairs. The organisers of the Convention claimed to "express the hope of mankind that the nuclear arms race should stop forthwith so that the new discoveries of science are utilised for bettering the lot of the vast numbers of human beings who are today still in the grip of ignorance, poverty and disease."

Yet, while one sympathised with the broad objective of the Anti-Nuclear Arms Convention, one wonders whether it served any useful purpose in relation to the consolidation of the forces of peace and freedom in the world. On the other hand, one is afraid that, in the context of the cold war and the world alignment of forces, the Convention has in a way helped in weakening the will of the democrats to resist the forces of totalitarian communism which are seeking to overwhelm the world. Further, held as it did at a time when the United States of America was in the process of testing its new nuclear weapons, it served to project its appeal against the U.S. in spite of the fact that it was the Soviet Union which violated the three-year moratorium on nuclear weapons and the present U.S. nuclear tests were only the reaction to the Soviet violation. Therefore, while being theoretically non-partisan, in practice the Convention gave a boost to the Soviet side, especially in the uncommitted nations of Asia and Africa. For, while the Soviets would definitely ignore its appeal in their armament build-up, the Convention may be taken seriously by the common people of the free world. Actually the Convention sought to deal with the symptoms rather than with the disease by ignoring the basic fact that the armaments race was not the *cause* of the deterioration of relationship between

world powers but the *consequence* of the degradation of the human spirit brought about by a belief in the inevitability of force as the midwife of history. Further, it was rather intriguing that Mr. Kuo Majao, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese Peoples' Congress, should be invited to this Convention. Being a prominent Chinese Communist, Mr. Majao has no faith in a world without wars. The fact that Mr. Kuo Majao did not attend the Convention does not mitigate the position.

It should be noted that the Democracies have consistently expressed their willingness to put a stop to nuclear tests as well as to the production of nuclear arms and substantially to reduce their armaments provided the Soviet Union gave positive proofs of a similar willingness on its part. Consistent with this policy, the Democracies have proposed a series of disarmament plans, but the Soviet Union, on one pretext or another, has done nothing but frustrate them. The Democracies have rightly argued that, without an effective system of control and inspection, any plan of disarmament will remain utopian. The validity of this argument will be obvious from the fact that an underground nuclear test may remain undetected without proper inspection and may give a country, if it chooses to be unscrupulous, a chance to arm itself secretly with nuclear weapons. Acceptance of disarmament without effective control and inspection will primarily affect the democratic countries because, in a democracy, every item of expenditure has to be publicly accounted for, which is not the case in communist countries. Therefore, while the Democracies would suffer from this handicap, the Soviet Union would be free to build up the strength of its arms, both conventional and nuclear, without being detected. Hence, the wisdom of an insistence on effective control and inspection.

The Soviet Government has consistently opposed inspection on the ground that it would provide a cover for espionage on the Soviet territory. The untenability of this attitude is obvious. The plans for inspection offered by the West did not mean that only Soviet territory would be subject to inspection; it meant that all nuclear powers, including the U.S. and Britain, would offer themselves for effective inspection. If the argument of espionage on the Soviet territory is correct, U.S., Britain and other countries too would run the risk of espionage on their own territories.

The truth of the matter is that the Soviet Union has no faith in disarmament in relation to its own military strength, although it is anxious to create a

false sense of security in other nations and lull them into a disarmament programme. It must be realised that the foundation of Soviet dictatorship is the demonstration of force, both within and without. Remove force, and the Soviet dictatorship would collapse.

It would be logical to presume that the Soviet dictatorship cannot afford to disarm, and that for various reasons: political and economic. As Mr. Lorenz Stucki of Zurich, one of the most widely respected political commentators of Europe points out, the Soviet Union is far more anxious about the possible results of general and complete disarmament than the United States. Apart from its effect on the Soviet economy, the Russian leaders are more afraid of the political consequences of disarmament, especially the effect disarmament might have on the world-wide communist movement and on the peoples of Eastern Europe. A casual reading of the newspaper reports from Moscow since the launching of the first Sputnik in 1957 would show that at least since then Soviet foreign policy has been largely a matter of making large demonstrations or threats of force and then sitting back to watch the results. As Mr. Stucki observes: "Let us imagine a disarmed world where neither the Soviet Union nor the United States any longer disposed of nuclear bombs, long distant rockets or inter-continental bombers and where even conventional troop quotas were reduced so much that they were no longer capable of a war of aggression. In this case, America, which owes her prestige throughout the world, to her riches, her generosity, her economic resources, her high standard of living, her liberty and the dynamism of her spirit of enterprise far more than to her military might would suffer hardly at all from general disarmament. The prestige of Western Europe, whose military power in any case only inspires a very limited degree of confidence, would hardly be affected at all.

"But what would happen in Berlin, in Eastern Germany, in Hungary, in Poland? If political weight and power were henceforward to depend on economic factors, who would continue to tremble before a state to which on one hand the United States and on the other, community of Europe were both economically and infinitely superior? Why should the neutral pay their respects to Mr. Khrushchev when Mr. Hallstein (head of the European Common Market Executive in Brussels) represented far greater economic achievements?"

The Kremlin policy makers are conscious of the possible consequences of disarmament on their part. They are, therefore, more interested in paying propaganda lip service to the general and complete disarmament than actual dismantlement of their immense military installations. Behind this state of mind lies a deadly insecurity and doubt: that the victory of Marxism is not inevitable as was thought in the 19th and early 20th centuries. As the noted left-wing British socialist historian Mr. A. J. P. Taylor, has himself put it, "the legal Marxist doubted the central dogma of Marx's economics that capita-

lism was leading to increasing misery. This 'law' foretold the inevitable doom of the capitalist system. Experience did not seem to confirm this dogma; and from this more terrifying doubt followed—that perhaps the entire economic analysis was based on false formula. In this case, capitalism might be growing stronger, not weaker."

Faced with the frightening prospects of political, economic and spiritual insecurity, the Soviet Union is struggling to build up its armaments, even at the cost of general welfare of the Soviet people. Therefore, a drastic increase in defence expenditure and considerably increased investment in armament industries have been decided upon in Russia and in all the satellite states of Eastern Europe as a matter of "urgent necessity." The increased expenditure on armaments was, in fact, hinted at in the last Soviet budget and in the budgets of satellite countries but, because of the ease with which the truth can be concealed or even twisted or omitted in a communist budget, the extent of the increase has not been generally realised in the democratic countries. Before the end of this year, expenditure on armed forces of the communist bloc in Europe (excluding Albania) will increase by 37.7 per cent compared with the rate of spending last year. Speaking of Russia, by the end of the year, she will have increased her military spending by 44.9 per cent which is the highest rate of spending on military build-up compared to that of any country in the world. In other words, Russia, this year, will spend 13,409 million roubles on her armed forces—an increase of 4,154 million roubles over the figure for last year.

The double-talk policy of the Soviet Government towards disarmament does not represent a new twist in communist strategy. It is, in fact, in conformity with Leninist norms. Lenin had stressed that, until the socialist revolution triumphed throughout the world, the idea of disarmament was utopian (*Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, 1st ed. Vol. 48, p. 158); yet, he had advocated some unacceptable proposals for the propaganda purposes of "unmasking the bourgeois pacifists" like those who sponsored the Delhi meeting, in the eyes of the masses. As the *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia* states, "proposals by the socialist state on disarmament did not contradict the Marxist-Leninist principle that disarmament is impossible while capitalism exists. On the contrary, they were propaganda for this principle, designed for the toiling masses of the world." Lenin himself had declared: "Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie can it, without betraying its universal and historic task, scrap armaments altogether and the proletariat undoubtedly do this, but only then and under no circumstances before..." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th ed. Vol. 1, 1946, p. 845). This has remained the Soviet line all over these years.

In view of the feverish military preparedness of the Soviet Union and other satellite countries and also in view of the dual policy the Soviet Union has

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Notes

Needless Hysteria

THE hysteria that is being developed in the country over the latest Resolution of the Security Council on the issue of Kashmir is, to say the least, unnecessary and unjustified. The Resolution is harmless. The only material thing that it does is to urge upon "the Governments of India and Pakistan to enter into negotiations on the question at the earliest convenient time with a view to its ultimate settlement in accordance with Article 33 and other relevant provisions of the Charter of the U.N." It has asked the Government of India to do what it has always declared itself ready and willing to do. Why then this anger and passion against the Resolution and those who supported it?

The Government of India has known since long that nobody in the United Nations, except of course the Soviet Union and her satellites who for their own reasons adopt a different attitude, was prepared to accept fully the Indian case against Pakistan. One may dislike the position, one may fret and fume against it, but that is a reality one cannot run away from. It has been in existence now for the last fourteen years since we raised the issue in the United Nations. It is unrealistic and naive on our part to expect and demand any change in that position and to get excited when it does not take place.

We must also have some consideration for the international attitudes and obligations of others. They cannot indefinitely refuse a discussion when one of the two parties to it is persistently asking for it and when the discussion is opened cannot just close it without adopting some resolution. The utmost that they can do is to see that the resolution causes us as little harm and embarrassment as possible. And that is what has happened. We can easily see that if we do not altogether lose our sense of proportion and our obligation to be tolerant of differences of opinion.

It appears, however, that we have decided to be angry with, and resentful towards, all those who do not agree cent per cent with us. Our representative in the United Nations and our Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, set the tone when he declared in the Security Council that support to the resolution that was eventually adopted would be regarded as "an unfriendly act". The Prime Minister also spoke very harshly in the Rajya Sabha. He went to the extent of saying that the two great powers, the United States and Britain were "invariably against us in matters which concern us greatly and about which we feel passionately". As if taking their cue from those sentiments held in high quarters, newspaper correspondents responded by writing alarmist reports and characterising the Resolution as, among other things, a "stab in the back" and a "frame up."

It must be said that the situation is being exploited

very cleverly, if the purpose of all this outcry is to inflame public opinion against the U.S.A. and Great Britain and to lead the country in the direction of the communist camp. Without such a purpose, all this excitement and denunciation of the Western Democracies would appear to be senseless. As a mature nation, we should learn to take such resolutions in our stride. We cannot always expect all nations to agree with us. Let us realise that it was not the U.S.A. and U.K. alone which did not agree with us. A number of smaller powers, including Ghana and the United Arab Republic who abstained from voting, also did not go along with us. Russia and Rumania alone supported us. That should give us some food for thought. To be alone in the company of those two totalitarian powers should not be a matter of pride for any democratic country.

It is also necessary to address a note of warning to U.S.A., U.K. and other Western Democracies. They must realise that these clashes in the United Nations between India on the one hand and the Democracies on the other are gravely imperilling the cause of freedom in Asia. They must therefore exert themselves to remove the causes of such clashes, so that interested parties may not be able to exploit them for driving a wedge between India and other democratic countries.

Kerala Coalition Crisis

THE Communists in Kerala have never been able to forget nor forgive the fact that in the successful generation of a mass movement, the Communists did not enjoy a monopoly in Kerala. They have been applying considerable pressure on the coalition over issues in the shrewd calculation that the coalition is not such a close-knit group against them as it is usually projected.

The Communist Party is not far wrong in its calculations about the Congress and P.S.P. coalition. The democratic political parties in Kerala have displayed traditionally an amazing capacity for self-destruction politically. This has resulted in a situation where practically all the political leaders of Kerala stand discredited to some extent or the other. The tragedy of the Congress Party, with a comfortable majority in the Kerala legislature is its incapacity to find a leader who could be a successful Chief Minister. The tragedy of the P.S.P. is that its only asset in Kerala is the dubious good fortune of having Pattom Thanu Pillai as its leader, and Pattom alone being capable of being a successful Chief Minister, to make which possible, there has to be an inevitable coalition, apart from other considerations.

Pattom Thanu Pillai is thus at once the cementing factor for the coalition as well as its destroyer. Pattom has always dominated the Kerala political scene as a powerful personality and because of this has an infinite capacity for generating opposition from among his own partymen as also from outside. Without his leadership, the P.S.P.'s bargaining power with the Congress in the coalition would be reduced to nil.

and with him the P.S.P. incurs division of its own ranks and erosion of its strength.

In this background, there have recently been rumblings in Kerala that almost threatened to end the coalition violently. Already one component of the coalition, viz. the Kerala Muslim League, was unceremoniously and cynically ditched by the Congress and P.S.P. in deference to the pressures of the Congress High Command against communalism. The Communists celebrated this, as the Muslim League of Kerala, from being an ally in the coalition, became a bitter opponent as a result of the treatment it received from its erstwhile "friends."

The P.S.P. then had its share of rifts and divisions arising out of Pattom's alleged autocratic behaviour towards his own party leaders and ranks. Many veteran P.S.P. leaders quit the party, and Pattom himself faced a blow to his prestige and influence, when his son, set up as a candidate for Parliamentary elections from Trivandrum, was defeated by an independent candidate.

The Congress partner in the coalition, watching these developments, has been itching to repeat history. A convenient issue emerged. This was in the demand for a revision of the existing policy of the Kerala Government in the matter of education. It was demanded by the Congress Party, supported strongly by powerful Nair and Christian community interests, that new primary schools should be freely allowed to be set up by private organizations. It is alleged that the Chief Minister, without so much as a reference to the Cabinet, summarily rejected this demand and decided against permitting the setting up of primary schools by private bodies this year.

This issue created a serious crisis, threatening at one stage the break-up of the coalition. The Communist Party, facing its own divisions and factions in Kerala on the basis of caste and geographic loyalties, found this rift in the Government coalition a welcome relief to its own troubles. The Congress partners of the coalition swore that they were out for a showdown with the P.S.P. Chief Minister on this issue and the matter went up to Delhi. On the basis of a firm mandate from the Congress High Command, however, the Congress has been advised not to precipitate a crisis in the coalition, and for the time being, the issue has been temporarily resolved.

But the wounds generated in the present dispute are not likely to be healed early. With all the proclamations that "the coalition will run its full term", it faces almost perennial stresses and strains. So far, the dire consequence of the break-up of the coalition does not seem to have dawned upon the coalition partners sufficiently well to make them evolve adjustments and compromises over conflicting positions in the face of a fundamental threat.

Thou Shalt not Travel

IT has been said that, of all forms of control, the control of foreign exchange is the worst and most futile since, like water, the real value of any parti-

cular currency finds its own level and no artificial dam or dyke can distort the reality. The truth of this is illustrated by the recent ban on foreign travel by Indian nationals except with the by-your-leave of Government through the Reserve Bank of India which, apart from its dubious constitutional validity, is worthy only of an authoritarian regime.

It is well known that, even when foreign exchange was freely given earlier for foreign travel, the total amount spent by Indian nationals abroad did not exceed Rs. 2.50 crores a year. With all the prohibitions in force in recent years, that amount had probably dropped to Rs. 1.50 crores. Compared with India's colossal gap in foreign exchange, this is mere bagatelle. The fact that such a ban should have been thought of, while hundreds of crores of foreign exchange are being wasted otherwise, shows in what an illiberal groove the mind of the "New class" in New Delhi is working.

A much greater saving in foreign exchange could be effected by just stopping Mr. Krishna Menon from going abroad and alienating India's friends.

India is an adherent to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and is thus committed to the proposition that "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." [Article 13 (2)] This commitment made by India to the United Nations is now being dishonoured.

While protests made by Mr. Samuel Mathai, Secretary of the University Grants Commission, in the cause of the development of education and by various commercial institutions on behalf of India's international trade are to be welcomed, it is a pity that not a single Member of Parliament has so far denounced this step down the slippery slope of authoritarianism.

The ban on foreign travel by Indians, except with the permission of Government is a concrete proof of the general proposition that excessive economic controls must, willy nilly, truncate individual liberty to an undesirable extent.

M. I. G. Folly

WE give below some extracts from an article appearing in the latest issue of Mr. A. D. Gorwala's *Opinion*. We agree with it wholeheartedly. We hope that even at this late hour wiser counsels will prevail and the folly of the transaction will be realised:

"Should India buy M.I.G. planes for its Air Force from the Soviet Union? Should India get the Soviet Union to assist it to make M.I.G. planes in a joint Indo-Soviet venture?"

Anyone attempting to answer these questions should bear in mind the following facts. India is a democracy. The Soviet Union is a totalitarian Communist dictatorship. According to the Communists, India is still not truly independent. It has to be 'liberated', and liberation can only come by the establishment of a Communist government and regime in the country. The Soviet Government is pledged to assist Communist Parties in countries not

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Refugees From China

by V. B. Karnik

A FLOOD of refugees swept into Hong Kong for about a fortnight in the month of May. Every day the flood rose to a greater height and, at the end, there were about eighty thousand refugees in that tiny island of Hong Kong. It was naturally impossible for Hong Kong to absorb them as it is already full to the brim. The poor refugees were rounded up and thrown back into the prison from which they had fled. They were back again from where they started with the doors firmly locked now to prevent another attempt at escape.

The refugees were from mainland China where Communism was supposed to have solved the problem of hunger and misery and inaugurated a new era of plenty and prosperity. Agriculture was supposed to have thrived under the Communes and the Great Leap Forward and food production was supposed to have increased five fold and ten fold. That was the claim of the communist rulers of the country. It was accepted without any verification by a number of well-meaning gentlemen who visited the country and enjoyed the hospitality of its Government. Some of them were experts like Lord Boyd Orr and some others were political leaders like Lord Attlee. They were highly respected in their own countries and some of them had also a reputation in other countries. They echoed and reechoed the claims of the communist rulers and put on them the stamp of their authority. Coming from such highly respected quarters, the statements were accepted as true and any one who expressed any doubt about their authenticity was branded as a reactionary and what not.

Then the bubble burst sometime in the latter part of 1960. There was news about famine. There was news about acute shortages of food. There was news about starvation deaths in many parts of the country. The Government themselves then declared that the figures that they had published earlier, which were the basis of the eulogistic reports and articles written by many experts and commentators, were wrong and highly exaggerated. A new set of figures was published. It removed a little of the gloss that was put upon the picture. Far more significant was, however, the struggle to procure foodgrains from wherever they were available. They were procured even from countries like Canada and Australia. It proved that Communism had signally failed in solving the problem of food. Natural disasters, no doubt, played some part, but the peasants would have been better able to withstand them if they had not been herded into Communes and deprived of all their incentives to work. The poor innocents who had in actual fact functioned as apologists and

propagandists of communist rulers were dumbfounded by these developments. They realised that the picture that they had painted, relying upon the reports given to them by their hosts, was false. It is to be hoped that this experience will have some sobering effect upon those who will follow in their footsteps.

The failure of agriculture has continued since then. The communist rulers have been unable to hide the fact. They have been thinking furiously for over a year about the steps to be taken to improve the situation. They have not succeeded so far. What has happened in the Kwangtung district from where the refugees flowed into nearby Hong Kong may be typical of the conditions prevailing in the rest of China. The world came to know about the distress in Kwangtung because the peasants of that district could run away to Hong Kong. That escape route is not open to others. And, in spite of this flight of thousands upon thousands of poor, hungry peasants, nobody yet knows what exactly happened in that area to compel them to leave their homes and hearths and run away to a foreign country. It is clear that it is hunger which drove them. Politics or political differences had nothing to do with it. Those simple folks had no interest in politics. For centuries upon centuries they had done nothing but toil and toil and toil. But somehow they had managed to eke out a miserable existence. They fled when they found out that even that was not possible under the communist regime. That surely is a grave indictment of the regime. One can understand the running away of political opponents and dissenters. They pay the penalty, howsoever undesirable and unlawful it may be, for their political opinions and actions. When the common people—those who have nothing to do with politics—run away it is the failure of the Government as a human institution. A Government that is guilty of that failure cannot claim any moral right to existence.

In other parts of the world, in days of distress, people leave one part of the country and go to another. They never think of leaving the country. It is in communist countries alone that they take the desperate step of running away from the land of their birth. It appears as if the people are waiting to leave. As soon as they find a way of escape they take to their heels and run away as fast as they can from the prison houses of their countries. This has happened in Europe, in Asia and in America in countries under communist domination. If a count were taken it would be found that over 25 lakh people have fled from Eastern Europe, about 10 lakhs from North to South Korea and about 9 lakhs

from North to South Vietnam. Another 10 lakhs have poured from Red China into Hong Kong. The flight from East to West Germany was a daily continuing process until it was stopped by the raising of the wall in Berlin. But by then the number of refugees had swelled to more than 40 lakhs. It is estimated that about 2 lakh persons left Cuba since Castro established his dictatorial regime. India also has her quota of refugees. We have living with us on our soil over 75,000 Tibetans who had to run away from their country when the communists took it over. The Chinese refugees from the district of Kwangtung were following that well-trodden path when they rushed into Hong Kong. They were not, however, as fortunate as the rest of the refugees. They had to go back to the place from where they had run away.

The refugees from Kwangtung were subjected to what one journalist has described as the "fantastic badminton game". Hunger drove them into Hong Kong and Hong Kong dumped them back into Kwangtung. It was no doubt a painful operation for British authorities in Hong Kong. They had to round up the refugees, feed them for a while and then send them back into China. Ultimately, they had to put up a long barbed wire fencing along the border to stop the flood. It is difficult to blame Hong Kong for the steps that it took. It is physically impossible for that tiny Crown Colony to absorb any more Chinese refugees. There is no place on that island where they can be located and rehabilitated. But then are the refugees to be dumped back into the dungeons from which they fled? Are they to be driven back to their old life of servitude, misery and hunger? Are they to be forever denied a place in the free world?

The free world will have to ponder deeply over these questions. It is true that the United States of America is prepared to help the refugees with food and other requirements. It is even prepared to send large quantities of foodgrains to China to relieve the misery of the famine stricken people. It is the communist rulers of the country who, on political grounds, are refusing to take advantage of this offer of help. But these relief measures will not be enough. There must be some plan for the absorption and rehabilitation of refugees. It is inhuman to throw them back into the countries from which they ran away. Countries of the free world should be intelligent enough and generous enough to find places for them where they can begin a new life in freedom and security.

Fleeing away from their homes and hearths and seeking shelter in another country is the severest and most explicit verdict that a people can pass upon the Government of their country. The people in communist countries have passed that verdict upon their Governments many a time. The flight of thousands upon thousands of Chinese peasants from the Kwangtung district is a fresh verdict of the same type. They have voted with their feet against the regime of Chairman Mao. The regime may not pay

heed to that vote, but it has exposed as nothing else had done so far the oppressive character of the communist rule and the hollowness of the communist claim to have solved the problem of hunger and misery. It is to be hoped that this exposure, heartrending as it was, will cure China-enthusiasts of at least some of their illusions and delusions.

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yet ruled by the Communists to establish Communist governments in them, and the Communist Party of India is today receiving guidance, support and aid from the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Second most powerful Communist state in the world, Communist China, is engaged in hostilities against India. It has seized and occupied over twelve thousand square miles, and is busy with infiltration into and overawing of friendly countries along India's northern frontier.

How then should Indians answer the questions? Communists, crypto-Communists, fellow-travellers, innocents deceived by the popular sensation-mongering Communist press, will answer "Yes". All thinking Indians to whom is dear the independence and integrity of their country, and the freedom of its people, cannot but answer "No". This they will do in spite of the possession by the Pakistan Air Force of one or two squadrons (the reports vary) of jet-planes superior to any in the Indian Air-Force, for they realise that it is the height of folly to prepare to oppose a foe's likely hostile action by falling into the grip of a far more powerful and deadly opponent. True, it would have been infinitely better if the United States government had not given these planes to Pakistan, at best a very luke-warm ally, as recent events, including the refusal to send even a token force to Thailand, have once again shown. It erred, or assuming the worst interpretation, was vicious and mischievous. But moved by anger, even legitimate anger, against it, shall we begin to cut our own throats? For that is what getting mixed up in such transactions with the Soviet Union means.

When India takes M.I.G. planes into its Air Force it is not just entering into a commercial deal; here are the planes, there's the money, thank you, goodbye. Nothing of the kind. It is laying the Indian Air Force open to the Soviet Union's Air Force, establishing between the two a relationship that is bound to be highly favourable to the Communist purpose of 'liberating' India. And the connection becomes all the stronger and deeper in case a joint Soviet-India concern for manufacturing M.I.G. planes is also set up. The two combined amount in effect to establishing with our own hands in the very heart of our defence forces and system a stronghold of the Communist enemy's, from which it can at the proper moment move with effect to fulfil its deadly purpose. Mr. Krishna Menon may see nothing wrong in this. He may indeed rejoice in it, rightly regarding it as a great achievement. And for him, the crypto-Communist, it would undoubtedly be achievement of a very high order, bringing the fulfilment of his and the Communist aim much nearer."

Principles Of National Integration

by M. A. Venkata Rao

NATIONAL consciousness is a natural stage in the advance of society to a more universal form of the social union and social consciousness. If the word "nation" is felt to be inadvisable on account of its abuse by nazis and fascists in recent history, the social reality sought to be represented by it may be referred to by the words, society, social consciousness and social unity. Social evolution proceeds, in spite of reactions and set-backs, from smaller units to larger units of the social union — from the primitive food gathering horde with a minimum differentiation into sub-groups to clan and tribe with greater division of labour and more numerous occupations characterised by the emergence of classes and castes. But differentiation is limited by an overall consciousness of social kinship or "consciousness of kind" operating as a permanent disposition in the minds of all members, rising to the level of explicit consciousness on rare occasions when confronted by other societies outside its fold.

Every state of society is inevitably accompanied by its own sense of a "We consciousness" which makes their members refer to others as "they". The territorial contour becomes identified with the psychological frontier.

The problem in India today is the piloting of the social mind to the next stage represented by the nation as a felt unity including in its psychological boundary the entire population from Kashmir to the Cape and from Gujerat to Assam.

The national liberation struggle particularly in its last phase under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi registered a distinct achievement to this process of national integration. An all-India national consciousness did develop to an impressive degree. But it was mostly a negative product with the stress against the rule and domination of the foreigner. Social cohesion corresponding in internal life to a life "consciousness of kind" in daily life and social interaction did not rise to any appreciable extent or depth.

The transfer of power to Indian hands by the British in 1947 released competitive energies among the leaders and followers in every nook and corner of the country to an inordinate length for the spoils of the office. Existing social groupings of caste and linguistic affinity and regional bond were instantly made use of for betterment.

Economic and social interest by way of income and status is certainly a powerful adjunct of national consciousness and there is nothing wrong inherently in people seeking to better themselves. But there is a right way of doing this and a wrong way.

The flaw to pre-independence politics under the veneer of national consciousness was the encouragement given to backward classes and castes to claim

rights on the ground of castes and religious communities. Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Hindu and Muslim and Christian were set against each other as *social entities* in the struggle for the favour of the rulers.

This led leading members of each backward group to exploit caste for their own advantage. Injustice was done not only to the community discriminated against but also to individuals of the backward groups themselves, for it was not the best and most highly qualified members of such favoured communities that received preferment but the most influential.

The greatest shortcoming of Congress leadership and administration in party and government has been an unfortunate inability to overcome this antisocial heritage. They had a field day to exploit caste and religion. In this behaviour they intensified caste exclusiveness and religious communal rivalry to the ninth degree so that today the social poison thus generated and fostered is threatening national solidarity so necessary in some degree to sustain the national independent State not only as the agent of social co-operation but also as the organisation for defence and law and order. If overall national consciousness is a first principle, second principles are necessary to tame subnational or caste or communal hostilities.

One such would be the discontinuance of the nefarious practice of offering preferential treatment and facilities to students in schools and colleges on the ground of community. Poverty and merit as two principles of the second order will bring relief to *all* who need it and to all who deserve it by their capacity for distinguished contribution in later life. This would allow social groupings to sink to the rear of the consciousness allowing the larger national consciousness to emerge as the dominant disposition in the mind and character of the people.

In regard to the openings in the administrative services, merit should be unflinchingly enforced and the old pre-independence practices of caste claims and rivalries ignored and discouraged. This has been a notorious failure of the present ruling groups — Congress party and Government.

In civil conflict between the communities, Hindu and Muslim and so on, the factor of community should not be taken into consideration in meeting out justice to the breakers of law and order. There is no gainsaying the grim fact that in too many cases, the favoured community gets away without paying the full penalty of the law. This is destroying confidence in the administration and encouraging *goondaism* or lawless resort to group vendetta and the nursing of feuds.

Officials showing favour to caste or community in the matter of police action and legal justice should be

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Letter to Editor

WHO BETRAYED INDIANS IN CHINA

Dear Sir,

INDIANS were a peaceful, industrious and a happy community in China for over a century. They passed through many changes, regimes, local wars as well as the dreaded Japanese occupation, and with each adversity came out more resourceful, more powerful, more harmonious and more prosperous.

In the year 1949 the communist hordes, hungry and tired, marched down from the North right across the continent and the great cities of Peiping, Tientsin, Hangkow, Soochow, Foochow, Canton and the great metropolis Shanghai fell in their hands like ripe plums.

None was safe and nothing was sacred. Properties were attached and heavily taxed. Occupants too were taxed. Neither business nor any sort of trade was allowed. All business and trading activities were taken up by the Chinese trading agencies appointed by the respective organs of the Government.

To this, the Indian business houses were no exception. Slowly the Chinese with cunning and ruthlessness brought pressure on Indian business houses and also on individuals as well as on retired Indians. Junior officials at the Shanghai Indian Consulate tried their utmost to assist Indian Nationals and did all in their power to relieve their agonies. But they did not receive any support from top officials and the Ambassador in Peking. He had neither time nor desire to go into the stories of pains and sorrow of his community. Sardar Pannikar, the Ambassador, was busy with his rounds of lunches and dinners with the new rulers of the country. If he had but raised his small finger to assist the Indian community, the treatment meted out to us would have been much less harsh.

For quite a few of us, it was quite a nightmare as the Chinese pressure grew in tempo. None got any assistance and nothing could be saved. Those who lost jobs left the country while the going was good. Those with larger interests had to remain behind and face the Chinese wrath. The Gakonis (black devils), as the Indians are addressed by them, were too rich to be allowed to leave the country, and all efforts were made and devices exercised to bleed them white before exit-permits were given.

Not a finger was raised against the Chinese ruthlessness by the Indian Ambassador. He was too busy making merry, too busy selling Tibet to China. He had no time to look after the interests of his own people for which he was paid for.

While business houses were systematically wiped out, penalised and terrorised, the religious institutions were no exception. They were interfered with equal cunning and persistence. Their funds were checked, taxed and kept under constant observation. Even the peace of the dead was disturbed. An Indian cemetery at Foochow Road in Shanghai was ordered to be dug up as the place was too valuable to be left to the

dead. That was strongly objected to by the community. Ultimately, under pressure, this beautiful piece of land with a magnificent prayer hall and residential quarters had to be handed over to the Indian Consulate for protection.

Even a small country would have protested against this type of treatment meted out to its nationals. But India kept silent, believing in the slogan "Hindi Chini Bhai-Bhai." The result is that Indians in China are ruined and India has China on her northern doorstep waiting to pounce upon the Himalayan region.

Yours truly,
PILOC

(NATIONAL INTEGRATION — Continued from page 7)

brought to justice irrespective of their relationship to influential persons and rank and social status which are all nowadays determined by nearness to the Congress hierarchy. There is no agency of national or social integration stronger or more indispensable than justice between man and man. The group factor should *not operate at all* in this field, to any extent.

The principle of "one language, one State" has no doubt a great democratic virtue as it makes government transparent to the people in the working and favours fuller participation of the people in the democratic process of self-government in all spheres.

But the second principle of not allowing it to become supreme and destroy the overall unity of the nation is also vital.

For this purpose, second principles like not allowing it provincial domicile to compete with all-India citizenship should be carefully formulated and enforced.

In the matter of government favour whether in education or commerce or industry, no provincial domicile should be recognised. The whole of India should be recognised in practice no less than in theory and sentiment to be one open field for competition by individuals. The Kashmir law disallowing non-Kashmir Indians from purchasing property in Kashmir recently defended by the Prime Minister is pernicious and should be discontinued.

But here a certain modification can be usefully allowed viz. the preference to local persons and seekers of office *up to a certain level* such as clerkships and minor jobs. Only the superior services should be recruited on an all-India scale. Local talent should be encouraged, other things being equal.

The principle applicable to all these fields of social integration is the discouragement of the smaller grouping as the entity for consideration of patronage, whether caste, community based on religion, or provincialism or language. In the field of administration — the services, education, economic patronage such as trade permits, candidature for parliament etc. no quarter should be given for the smaller *entity* as a *social unit* as basis for preferment or discrimination against. It does not look as though the present leadership is yet prepared to go the straight way and relegate resolutely inherited groupings of all kinds to the non-political background.

A Basic Fallacy Of Socialism

by N. C. Zamindar

IT seems to me that Marxian socialism's basic fallacy is that it regards life as a matter of compartments and not as a matter of modes. Even there it only looks life at its biggest compartment that is the economic compartment. Now this compartmental view does not explain the various modes of life. It avoids the complexities of human life and oversimplifies economic issues.

To put it in Indian terms, it tries to concentrate on Vaishya and Shudra varnas. It does not take into account the Kshtriya and the Brahmin modes of life. One may say that the Kshatriyas and Brahmins are the haves because they are not agents of material production. The contention that every man is an agent of material production does not fit in an integrated and realistic approach to life.

The modes of life therefore assume primary importance in our outlook towards life in general. This outlook also explains the pluralities in the various associations found in the social complex.

The idea of a Society State, that is to say where society and state become interchangeable terms, gives birth to totalitarian trends leading to the cult of Big Brother. You cannot accept Marxism without the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Harold Laski has tried to quibble with the concepts of dictatorship of the proletariat and dictatorship for the proletariat. In fact these subtle distinctions exist only in books and ideas. In fact — dictatorship of or for does make little or no difference in the tyrannical processes generated by it.

With the advent of dictatorship one has to accept that military power alone sustains it. To put it in Indian terms the dictator becomes the Raja with the Kshatriyas defending the Rajya. The dictator then follows his Swabhava and that becomes his swadharma. A tyrant has tyranny as his swadharma. Now dictatorship thus seen becomes the apex of a pyramid which we can call a communistic pyramid. This pyramid cannot be rationalized on the concept of equality. We will have to imagine a hierarchy with a camouflage of equalitarianism.

The modes of life exist and they cut across the compartments of life at several points. This then hits at the concept of class war. A class war is a civil war. In this war both sides have hierarchies; soldiers remain soldiers and generals remain generals. We cannot imagine that the proletarian armies will have no generals and the capitalistic armies will have no soldiers.

This basic fallacy definitely makes Marxism defective. We have to accept social reality and then proceed further.

Let us then take the next concept of materialistic interpretation of history. Bertrand Russell has re-

marked that if we accept the materialistic interpretation of history then the philosophy of dialectics becomes false and if we accept the philosophy of dialectics as correct then the materialistic interpretation of history becomes incorrect.

The modes of life do not lend easily to a materialistic interpretation of life. The existence of the spirit of altruism and charity in human heart negates the strict materialistic outlook. The interplay of the spirit of charity and altruism has given birth to great movements and noble acts which have become the glories of mankind.

History can show innumerable examples where different motives have given birth to great revolutionary forces.

The example of Lenin can be cited as a proof. Was Lenin motivated by personal economic considerations? Is Khrushchev motivated by personal economic considerations? The sincere Communist must reply in the affirmative, but he will not, because it will lower the two great men to the level of the common proletariat which they are not.

Lenin's mode of life was not solely guided by personal economic consideration. How can economic motivation explain the zeal and fire of his great life-consuming mission?

What is true of Lenin is true of other great men, right from Chanakya to Rajaji and Jawaharlal Nehru. It will be foolish to say that these persons work and labour for economic motives. It is their mode of life.

And these various modes of life make history in their own way. You cannot put life in neat formulae. It is too large and big to be contained in a few words.

We now come to the third principle of dialectical materialism in which it is said that the Hegelian triad of thesis anti-thesis and synthesis work inexorably towards the final stage of society.

This is an entirely fantastic view of life and history. One has to go on cutting important facts to put history and life in these categories. Obviously, it does not and cannot explain the various modes of life. Even taking a small survey of a section will show that the various modes of life give birth to very different reactions. Men and events produce very different reactions in every man. There is no identity of reactions. To say that this jumble of various reactions is all dialectic is absurd. They are born because man has an individuality and it finds expression in the various modes of life.

We must remember that denial of Marxist socialism does not mean the denial of social service, social welfare or social justice. They are very different concepts and one can accept them without accepting the strait jacket fatalist philosophy of Marxism.

Without Comment

SALVADOR GIVEN 30-YEAR SENTENCE

David Salvador, leader of the Labour Section of the 26th of July Movement throughout the Cuban revolutionary struggle against Batista, has recently been sentenced to 30 years in prison by Castro. Salvador was the first elected leader of the revolutionary Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC-R) after Batista was overthrown.

Salvador resigned as secretary-general of the CTC-R in March 1960 in protest against the Communist takeover being directed by Castro. In November 1960 he was imprisoned without trial and has remained in La Cabana fortress, along with 700 other political prisoners, since that time without being tried or charged.

Seven others were sentenced with Salvador, including a former revolutionary army commander, Jaime Vega, and two other former revolutionary labour leaders.

For over a year after Salvador had been arrested the CTC-R had no elected leader. Finally, last November, Lazaro Pena was put into the post. Pena, an old-time Communist labour boss, set up the CTC in 1939 during the Communist-Batista coalition. He remained out of the country during the struggle against Batista and returned only after Batista had been overthrown.

Salvador first went into the anti-Batista underground in 1952. He was imprisoned by Batista in 1958 and freed when the revolution triumphed.

—Newsletter, Labour Committee, New York.

FORCED LABOUR IN ANGOLA

The basis for forced labour perfected by the Portuguese in Angola is the "Contrato" or contract labour system. With this system what is in fact slavery can be practiced under another name.

Using the "contrato," the Portuguese sell Africans to farms and industrial concerns in South Africa and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland for a set period of time. The prices range from 1,000 to 1,200 escudos (£12-15 or \$34-40) per person for a year. In this way the Portuguese contract out to other countries 100,000 to 120,000 Angolans each year.

To those who sell and buy the contracts the system is highly profitable. The usual working day for forced labourers is 12 hours long and the shortest possible contract is for 12 months. The labourers are made to work to the point of near-exhaustion, and many develop sicknesses.

When the contract period is up the labourers are allowed to return to their native villages with their year's earnings — 1,000 to 1,200 escudos. From this the colonial government then deducts taxes, so that the worker has little to show for his labour but broken health.

The colonialist government's disregard for health is flagrant: in Angola there is only one doctor for every 500,000 natives; in three-quarters of the country there are no doctors at all. The World Health Organization has estimated that the infant mortality rate in Angola is 45 to 50 per cent.

—Newsletter, Labour Committee, New York.

NOURISHING DIET OF MOSCOW RADIO

Moscow Radio does indeed provide a nourishing diet to its listeners. A physical instructor wakes you up at 6.30 a.m. to the accompaniment of music and directs you to take different kinds of exercises. Having braced you up physically, it offers you a stiff intellectual treat, the leading article in *Pravda*. Almost every hour, news is broadcast, carefully sterilised so as to confirm your faith in the beauty of Communism and the iniquity of capitalism. There is a children's hour both in the morning and in the afternoon. Not only are children listeners, but they are performers over the radio. There is, of course, exquisite music, light and heavy, popular and classical, eastern and western, vocal and instrumental. Every now and then, there is a lesson in science and literature; and there are frequent exhortations as to how one should behave in society.

One day, I heard a dialogue as to the proper use of the right hand in polite society. When you meet someone, said the radio, you should raise your hat with the right hand, not with the left. It is only with the right hand that you should shake hands; invalids alone, whose right arm is out of order, may use the left. If the right hand is wet or dirty, do not shake hands at all; simply say: "Sorry, my hand is dirty." In shaking hands, too much pressure should not be applied; in fact, pressure should be regulated according to the person you shake hands with. And always, in shaking hands, look into your companion's eyes. Thus Moscow Radio strives hard to make a Soviet citizen a better man and a stauncher Communist. Whether it actually does so or whether its paternalist propaganda drives a man to join the ranks of Nibonichos — a term coined to denote those who care for neither God nor Devil (ni bog ni chort) — is a question which I cannot answer.

—K. P. S. Menon, *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, June, 10, 1962.

How Communists Destroy Democracy

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(CONSTRUCTIVE PATH TO DISARMAMENT — Continued from page 2)

deliberately followed since Lenin's days, is it not suicidal that genuine democrats and sincere believers in freedom and the dignity of man, like those who organised the Anti-Nuclear Arms Convention in Delhi, should preach disarmament, and call for the banning of nuclear weapons without simultaneously demanding effective inspection and control?

It should be realised that the Soviet Government is now using every "peace" propaganda device to delay United States' needful testing. If it succeeded, the result would be to give it a substantial period of absolute superiority in the armaments race. What the Soviet Government needs is a few obstructionists in the right place to cause substantial delays in the programme of Western arms build-up.

In these circumstances, the only sensible course open to genuine democrats is not to undermine the preparedness of the Democracies to resist the communist design for world domination. It should be noted that whenever faced with some resistance, as in Korea, Azerbaijan and during the Berlin air lift the Soviets have shown resilience. It would be fatal to forget that, without a substantial nuclear deterrent, the Democracies would be helpless and this fact would endanger the freedom and security also of all democratic and free countries of Asia and Africa. The West as well as the free Asia and Africa will face overwhelming Sino-Russian conventional forces, against which all democratic countries, both of West and East, are lamentably unprepared and weak. That is the present situation between Communist China and democratic India.

The real problem is not one of disarmament but of arms control. History teaches that men only lay down their arms when a stronger authority emerges to guarantee their security. Thus, the village republics, city states, and barons had disarmed only when the King and the Nation State came forward to undertake the role of guaranteeing security. Similarly, the sovereign States of today can only be expected to lay down arms when assured of protection by a World authority and a World police force. The bringing of such an authority into existence is the immediate task. In the absence of such safeguards, to talk of complete disarmament and the

banning of nuclear bombs would be peacemongering and not the real service of Peace.

Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the British Labour leader, recently drove this point home when he said: "We all want to stop the nuclear tests which poison the atmosphere. But they will not be stopped except by agreement—agreement which can be relied upon and, therefore must be subject to international verification. What a pity it is that people do not concentrate their protest against those who refuse to make such an agreement."

It is precisely here that the Anti-Nuclear Arms Convention failed. The Convention did not press for an agreement nor did it concentrate its protest against those who refused to make such an agreement. Many of the speeches at the Convention, inspite of best of motives, were unrealistic and were in the nature of pious exhortations to world powers to desist from nuclear production. Certain suggestions made at the Convention, such as that an Indian ship should be sent to the venue of U.S. testing, were even positively dangerous. In short, as *Thought of Delhi* puts it, "The conclusion is inescapable that vague emotionalism and loose thinking have had precedence where sturdy realism and uncluttered reason should have prevailed."

Some men have sought to confuse the moral issue by stating that they would prefer to be red than dead. On the other hand, Mahatma Gandhi the greatest contemporary prophet of peace, often said that he would prefer a man to fight with violence rather than see him behave like a coward. It is not life as such and under any conditions that is of value but what the Greek philosopher Aristotle had described as "the good life." Life is worthwhile only when it is meaningful.

Review

Mahatma in the Marxist Mirror

by Satindra Singh, Siddharth Publications, Rs. 1.50

This is a collection of communist declarations on Mahatma Gandhi and his role in the national movement. The earliest is from 1921 and the latest belongs to the year 1961. They are from various sources, high and low, political and sociological, polemical and theoretical. The conclusion is, however, one and the same, namely, that Mahatma Gandhi was a friend of the capitalists and the imperialists and that the role that he played was that of a reactionary. In recent years, the tone is not as harsh as it used to be. Some minor good points are also being discovered, the reason being the desire to lure India into the net. There is, however, no change in the fundamental attitude. Mr. Satindra Singh has done well to make the collection. Siddharth Publications deserve to be congratulated on the nice printing and attractive get-up of the booklet.

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With Many Voices

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

Hong Kong is the West Berlin of the Far East.
— P. Y. Tang quoted in *Time*, June 1.

American foreign policy is friendly to neutrals,
neutral to enemies, hostile to friends.
— Sebastian Haffner — quoted from
The New Leader, April 2.

✓ Despite the curses against his name, Stalin still
lives in the social and spiritual foundations of Soviet
society.
— Milovan Djilas in *Conversations with Stalin*.

"...unlike Walter Ulbricht's hated Berlin Wall, the
new barrier was not built by the Communists; it was
erected by the British last week to keep hungry refu-
gees from the Red Chinese mainland out of the
dangerously overcrowded Crown colony of Hong
Kong.
— *Time*, May 25.

When will Mr. Nehru and his henchmen who duti-
fully echo his economic and political incantations
realise that they are at least three decades behind
the times and that they do not lead the vanguard of
thinking but bring in the rear?
— Frank Moraes, in *The Indian Express*, May 28.

"We find it incomprehensible that you receive less
support from the U.S. than the neutralists."
— President Macapagal quoted in *U.S. News &
World Report*, June 11.

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I offer a toast to the only nation that has waged
war but not worshipped it, that has won the greatest
power in the world but not sought it, that has
wrought the greatest weapon of death but not
wished to wield it.

—Andre Malraux (in the U.S.) quoted
in *Life*, May 25.

I am proud to provoke the hatred of those who
hate freedom.
— Gaitskill (at Glasgow) quoted in *Time*, May 18.

Impartiality is not neutrality — it is partiality for
justice.
— Stanislaw J. Lec in *Unkempt Thoughts*

There are four things every 'new nation' seems to
want: a steel mill, a national airline, an eight-line
highway and a chance to make a speech before the
National Press Club in Washington.
— U. S. official, quoted in *U. S. News & World
Report*, June 11.

It is strange that a state which was the first to
invent the Sputnik has not devised a satisfactory flush. ✓
This reflects the exact relationship between heavy
industry and consumer goods in the Soviet Union.
— K. P. S. Menon, the *Illustrated Weekly of India*,
June 10.

Neutralism is the gateway to Communism. ✓
— President Macapagal in *Time*, June 8.

Ehrenburg will surely have earned the gratitude of
the regime for his skill in the homeopathic treatment
of critical moods amongs the Soviet intelligentsia.
— *Survey Bulletin*, June 1962.

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