

Kripalani Vs. Menon

by A. G. Nair

THE contest between Acharya Kripalani and Mr. Krishna Menon in the North Bombay parliamentary constituency will be the most significant contest in the General Election of 1962. It will be significant not only because of the personalities involved in it but also because of many issues of programme and policy which will form the basis of the contest.

As between the two personalities, there can be no comparison as men between Acharya Kripalani and Mr. Krishna Menon. There are few in the country who can equal or surpass Acharya Kripalani's record of national service. He was in the thick of the national struggle for over thirty years and occupied during the period many positions of trust and responsibility including those of the General Secretaryship and the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress. After Independence, he could have obtained any position that he liked in the Government or public administration but for his independent thinking and adherence to principles. He is one of the few disciples of Mahatma Gandhi who remained true to his teachings and tried to practise them both before as well as after Independence. He is well-known all over the country as a man of courage and convictions. His integrity and his sense of public duty are beyond question; it is this latter which persuaded him to forego his safe seat in Bihar and take upon himself at the advanced age of seventy-four the burden of contesting against Mr. Krishna Menon in Bombay.

Mr. Krishna Menon's record of public service is, in contrast, of a very poor order. During the whole period of the national struggle he was conveniently away in London, far from the battle which raged in the country. It was only after the battle was won that he came near to share the spoils. He has held many offices since then, including his present office of the Defence Minister. In all the offices that he has held he has all along been the centre of keen controversies. His representation abroad did not win friends for the country; it alienated many of her old friends. His handling of the Defence portfolio has not strengthened the country's defences; it has created dissatisfaction in the higher ranks of the defence services and weakened their morale. His administration of public affairs has given rise to many scandals which have

exposed him, to say the least, as an inefficient administrator. He has no support or standing in the country and also in the Congress organisation. His only support is the Prime Minister who has chosen to impose him upon the country and the Congress. The other support on which he relies is the support of the communists; but that by itself disentitles him to the support of all democrats and nationalists.

It is not, however, merely a conflict of personalities. Personalities are important because they represent two divergent and incompatible lines of thought and action on most important problems facing the country. The voters will have to make their choice of one or the other line and the choice that they make may prove decisive for the country. One choice will strengthen the forces of freedom and democracy, while the other will hasten the process of communist domination.

There is very little doubt now about the communist sympathies and orientation of Mr. Krishna Menon. During his long stay in England he was very closely associated with the Communist Party of Great Britain. He used to write for communist journals and speak from the platforms of communist front organisations. On the crucial issue of the attitude towards the second world war and the "Quit India" movement his actions and policies were very similar to those of the communists. As the official representative of the country at the United Nations and other international conferences he has all along followed the same line and set at naught the professed policy of neutrality and non-alignment. He is always seen aligned with Russia and other communist countries. This can be easily seen from his vicious and virulent condemnation of the misdeeds of Western nations and his apologies for and justification of ten times worse crimes of communist rulers. Hungary as well as Tibet are so fresh in the public mind that it is hardly necessary to labour the point. His attitude towards China provides further corroboration. For about two years the country was kept in the dark about Chinese aggression and occupation of over twelve thousand square miles of our territory. For many months thereafter there was a studied refusal to describe the Chinese action as aggression. And months and months have passed since then and no action is being taken to expel the aggressor.

Mr. Krishna Menon is now being used by the communists for extending their influence in the Congress. Having realised that as communists there was very little chance of their making any headway in the country, they have now decided to worm their way into the Congress and try to take it over by backing

the so-called progressive elements as against the so-called reactionary elements. Mr. Krishna Menon is the doyen of those so-called progressive elements who, it is hoped by the communists, will one day hand over the Congress to the communists. Mr. Menon has all along received their most loyal and enthusiastic support. In 1957, they were prepared to give him a safe seat in Kerala and, when he actually contested from North Bombay, many of them actively worked for him in spite of the Communist Party's commitment to work for the success of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti's candidate. In the ensuing election, the communists have declared their intention to work wholeheartedly for the success of Mr. Menon. This should clinch the issue and set at rest the doubts of even the worst sceptics.

It is this communist colour of Mr. Menon and the danger that it represents to national security and to the free institutions in the country that have persuaded the three disparate parties like the Praja-Socialist Party, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party to keep back many differences that separate them and to come together to sponsor the candidature of Acharya Kripalani. A large mass of non-party and, many of them non-political, citizens have rallied to his support precisely for the same reason. Many Congressmen are also worried by the recent trend of events and more particularly by the communist attempt to infiltrate the Congress. Many of them resent the way in which Mr. Menon's candidature has been imposed upon them disregarding the wishes of a large

majority of local Congressmen. They have promised their support to Acharya Kripalani. Acharya Kripalani is thus in a real sense the candidate of the people. The people of all sections and classes and of varying political opinions are with him; while arrayed against him are the communists and a section of Congressmen who for one reason or the other cannot afford to displease the Congress bosses.

The issue involved in the contest is the issue between democracy and communism. Is India to progress along the path of democracy, or is she to be hustled into accepting communism? Is her foreign policy to be truly neutral, non-aligned and independent, or is she to join the band wagon of Russian and Chinese satellites? Are her economic policies to be oriented towards the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the people, or is she to run after the mirage of national greatness built upon the quicksands of a forced pace of industrialisation? Is she to enjoy a clean and efficient administration, or a topheavy bureaucratic one which is bound to be corrupt and inefficient owing to the vast powers concentrated in its hands and the multitude of tasks undertaken by it? These and many other issues of crucial importance are involved in this contest between Acharya Kripalani and Mr. Krishna Menon. The voters in the North Bombay constituency will decide them not only for themselves but indirectly for the country as a whole. That is the responsibility that is cast upon them. It is to be hoped that they will discharge it wisely and conscientiously.

The Forgotten People

by Tibor Meray

WHAT burst of joy that was five years ago, back in October 1956, when the Hungarian workers and students marched through the streets of Budapest to besiege the radio station and overturn the statue of Stalin! For a few days radio announcers all over the world enthused about the Hungarian Revolution. Correspondents from all the big cities of the world streamed to the Danubian capital and sent back despatches which were splashed on the front pages of their papers. There were demonstrations of sympathy in all the great cities of Europe, the Americas and even Asia. Diplomats and students of Soviet affairs declared that the Soviet Empire was shaken to its foundations and messages of sympathy came from all corners of the world to the Hungarian people, which had risen against its oppressors.

Several days later this burst of joy was replaced by an even stronger wave of indignation when the Soviet Army put down the Hungarian Revolution on November 4, 1956. Protest meetings were held almost everywhere and in several capitals the windows of the Soviet Embassy were smashed. Many of the public figures invited to receptions in honour of the Rus-

sian Revolution (on November 7) stayed away and the U.N. Assembly condemned the Soviet intervention by a large majority. The newspapers printed cartoons showing Khrushchev with his hands dripping blood. It then seemed that no representative of a real democracy would ever agree to shake his hand.

Two years later another burst of anger swept through the world when Imre Nagy, the Prime Minister of the Revolution, and his closest aides, were condemned to death at a secret trial and immediately executed. It was A. Kripalani, Secretary of the Indian Praja Socialist Party who best summed up these feelings of indignation: "The execution of Imre Nagy is a calculated affront to the liberty and dignity of mankind. Soviet Russia continues to show stubborn contempt for the fundamental rights of liberty, and this assassination of the Hungarian patriots is a challenge to all those who love the liberty and independence of the human spirit. To be silent about the agony of Hungary would not only be giving in to evil, but also becoming an accomplice of the crime of enslaving the Hungarian people".

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Notes

Choice of Freedom

ANOTHER noted German philosopher has made his choice for freedom. His name is Ernst Bloch, the most important and original thinker of the communist world. Ernst Bloch was a professor at the Karl Marx University at Leipzig. While on a visit to the Tübingen University in West Germany he decided not to return to East Germany in view of the latest repressive measures of the Ulbricht regime.

The communist regime was never at ease with Prof. Bloch. His philosophical views which placed man at the centre of all social developments and made him "the hinge on which the door to freedom swings" were not in accord with the official doctrine of dialectical materialism. The Government was afraid, however, to touch him owing to his eminent position in the world of thought and letters. In 1956-57 it arrested a number of his pupils, amongst whom was Prof. Wolfgang Harich who was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Prof. Bloch was then discharged from the University and forbidden to publish or travel.

In a letter addressed to the East Berlin Academy of Sciences, Prof. Bloch has explained why he decided not to return. He writes: "After the events of August 13, which make one expect that there will be no more room to live and work for those who think independently, I am no longer willing to expose myself and my work to undignified conditions and to the threat, by which alone these conditions are being maintained, at the age of 76. I have decided not to return to Leipzig." He has also mentioned in the letter how during the last few years there was an attempt to "bury me in silence", how he was driven into isolation, how he had no chance to teach and how his best pupils were persecuted and punished.

This testimony of Prof. Bloch throws a flood of light on the suffocating atmosphere in which even men of ideas and letters have to work in communist countries.

Terrorising Tactics

THERE can be no doubt that in the matter of testing of atomic weapons the communist rulers of Russia are acting like a big bully. They resumed the atomic tests violating a solemn agreement entered into by all atomic powers not to carry on the tests. This is a breach of faith which deserves the severest possible condemnation.

After carrying on about two dozen tests and fouling the atmosphere with dangerous radio-active elements, Russia has now threatened to explode a fifty megaton bomb, the largest nuclear weapon to be tested so far. The explosion of such a huge bomb is bound to have a very deleterious effect on the health of large masses of population all over the world. No area of the world will be safe as winds may carry the fall-out in any direction and wherever it reaches it will poison the atmosphere and cause irreparable damage to living men as well as to generations to be born.

Alarmed by this grave danger many have appealed to Mr. Khrushchev to desist from exploding the bomb. Amongst those who have made the appeal are legislatures of such widely separated lands as Norway and Japan. The Political Committee of the United Nations has also made the same appeal. The resolution embodying the appeal was carried by 75 votes to 10, the ten opposing it being the nations of the Russian bloc and Cuba. It will be soon endorsed by the General Assembly.

If Russia disregards this resolution, as it appears it may, it will show again its cynical contempt for world public opinion. The world would be then faced with the grim prospect of other atomic powers embarking upon their own tests. For they cannot sit quiet while Russia perfects its own atomic weapons. The prospect is grim, but it must be remembered that it is the communist rulers of Russia who have forced it upon the world.

This barbarous and, as Mr. Nehru has characterised it, "uncivilized" action of the Russian rulers should once for all shatter the illusions about their peaceful intentions. They are, it appears, intent upon terrorising the world. But civilized humanity must not fall a prey to these terrorising tactics.

Another Front Organisation

COMMUNIST fellow-travellers have brought into existence one more front organisation. It bears the innocuous name of "The Council of National Studies" and has associated with it a number of eminent persons as a screen for the activities of the communist clique which will control it. The inevitable and the indefatigable Dr. A. V. Baliga appears to be closely associated with it. The organisation was inaugurated, as usual, by the Prime Minister. The organisation has been just launched. Let us watch and see how it behaves.

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(THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE—Continued from page 2)

Those who would blame others today no doubt seem to be cranky egotists. So much has happened since then: the events of Iraq, Laos, Korea, Turkey, Cuba, the Congo, Bizerta, Berlin and Syria, so many military putsches and decisive elections, so many emancipations of former colonies, and then the conquest of space. Never have newspapers had such a wealth of interesting events to report and never have their special correspondents had such a plethora of choice when their editors have asked for a series of articles. How could the world remember — in this whirlwind of revolutions and counter-revolutions, of high-level negotiations and atomic explosions — the crushed revolt of a small people of Central Europe, which lasted a fortnight or so?

Moreover, the news now coming out of Hungary is not even very disquieting. Western tourists who have spent several days on the banks of the Danube report that in Budapest people are reasonably well-dressed and fed, and that the cafes, restaurants, holiday resorts and night clubs are overflowing with people, and that in the bookshops one can purchase some of the works of non-communist Western writers, and that in the theatres and cinemas one can see a number of plays and films favourably received in London or Paris, while in political life one can no longer detect the signs of the "personality cult" that prevailed in Stalin's time.

All this is perfectly true. However, what the tourists do not realize is that these concessions have for the most part been wrested from the authorities by the suppressed revolution, and furthermore, that the regime is gradually whittling them away one by one. The tourists only rarely visit the peasants, all of whose lands have been confiscated in the last two years, and who have been pushed by force into co-operatives. People who stay at luxury hotels reserved for foreigners only rarely see the long queues of housewives sometimes standing for hours — and sometimes in vain! — in order to buy meat or other foodstuffs which have disappeared since the forced collectivisation. People who only spend a week or two in Budapest are generally unaware that quite recently the Kadar Government has modified the Hungarian Five-Year-Plan by raising the workers' work norms — which means a lowering of the standard of living — and has increased military expenditure and arms production.

Tourists know even less about what goes on in Hungarian prisons. While it is true that a number of detainees have been released in recent years, nevertheless, five years after the suppression of the revolution, one of the most outstanding figures of Hungarian intellectual life, Professor István Bibó, and a certain number of "revisionist" writers, journalists, and scientists are still behind bars. Their names? Professors Ferenc Merej and György Adam, noted intellectuals like István Markus, Gabor Tanczos, Pal Lösefi, Sándor Fekete, Gyula Obersovszky, László Kardos, and trade union leaders like Sándor Rác, János Kibzely, and many others.

It is of course true that other countries as well as Hungary have their troubles, and have their prisons and gallows. It is also true that the peasants of India are worse off than those of Hungary, that the workers of Catalonia eat no better than those of Hungary, that the Negro intellectuals of South Africa have even less rights than their Hungarian counterparts, and that the U.N. has no more prevented the murder of Lumumba than that of Imre Nagy. In the world in which we live, if one crime does not justify another, it at least "neutralises" it to a certain extent.

Nevertheless, what a silence greets this fifth anniversary! Actually, what right do we Hungarians have to ask the world to stop a moment and remember the Hungarian Revolution? At the very most, the only right we have is that of despair.

As a matter of fact, the former or present European colonies in Africa and Asia have begun or continue their struggle for liberation, with the certainty that their efforts will sooner or later be crowned with success. On the other hand, the Hungarian revolutionaries have not only fallen back under the same foreign occupation as formerly, they have lost all hope of being able to cast off this yoke in their lifetime. In a sense they have become a living illustration of the myth of Sisyphus as retold by Albert Camus. This is both their tragedy and their significance.

They wanted to free themselves from an empire which gives no independence to its colonies; they wanted to proclaim themselves neutral when only those who free themselves from the other side can be neutral; they wanted to build a socialist regime in their own way, when in Hungary one is forced to conform to foreign dogmas. It is now five years that they have received no help, and now they can no longer hope for help. The only thing that they can still hope for is that people who are freer than they will not become, by their silence and forgetfulness — to quote Mr. Kripalani again — "the accomplices of the crime of enslaving the Hungarian people".

HUNGARIAN REFUGEE MISSING

VIENNA, Oct. 15. — Dr. Aurel Abrany, a Hungarian political refugee and journalist, understood to have been a close friend of Dr. Nagy, the former Hungarian Prime Minister, disappeared three days ago, police report. The police believe that the 47-year-old journalist, editor of the Trans-continental Press Agency, was the victim of a political crime. He was known to have been invited by telephone to the home of another Hungarian refugee, Laszlo Geroe, but Geroe has also disappeared and bloodstains were found in his apartment.

—The Times, October 16, 1961

Why I Contest From North Bombay?

by Acharya J. B. Kripalani

YOU know what I have stood for and what I stand for in the public life of the country. I believe in Gandhiji's philosophy of life for the individual and the group. I believe in the basic moral values, which he kept before the nation for achieving national freedom and for laying the foundation of a new social order based upon freedom, equality and non-exploitation. Also, unlike many others who followed Gandhiji in life, I believe that after independence the conditions in India have not so changed as to make his philosophy of life and his schemes of work for the establishment of a new social order, out-moded or out-of-date. Gandhiji considered his movement for Swaraj as one of national self-purification. Is there no need of such self-purification today?

Take again the question of national integration. Can it be solved on any other basis than that we, the politicians, the administrators and the educated, who are the leaders of the people, reform our personal and public life and exorcise first the devil of disunity within ourselves before we think of reforming others? Was this not the way of Gandhiji?

Take again the question of unemployment and the consequent poverty of the masses. Have these been successfully tackled? The Planners themselves are constrained to admit that so far as the landless labourers are concerned, both the work and the real wages they get have diminished after the working of the last two Plans. These form 21% of the population. The condition of those having uneconomic holdings, owing to rising prices, cannot be any better. The condition of the lower middle class is miserable indeed. The former Congress President, Shri Dhebar, was constrained to say that under Swaraj the rich have grown richer and the poor poorer. Gandhiji's Swaraj was not meant for the rich or the powerful. They, in a sense, had it already. It was meant for the poor. He said at the Second Round Table Conference that all interests, whether foreign or Indian, must yield place to the interests of the starving masses. When the conditions of poverty and unemployment remain the same as before independence, how can one say that Bapu's schemes for the removal of these, which we had accepted before Swaraj, have no relevance today?

I, therefore, believe in Gandhian moral values for the individual and the group and his social goals. I do this not in words only, or with a view to win an election, but in my public activity. Through the Gandhi Ashram, Uttar Pradesh, which I have organised, I produce Rs. 2 Crores worth of khadi every year, giving employment to 4,000 organisers and 25,000 craftsmen and a couple of lacs of spinners. Most of the Bhoodan and Gramdan work in Uttar Pradesh was done by the workers of the Gandhi Ashram. Mine is

the biggest organisation in India doing constructive work on Gandhian lines. This is my main occupation. Politics for me is only a subsidiary but necessary activity.

It is, therefore, natural to ask why I am accepting the help of parties with whom I do not agree in politics. It is not I who have sought their help. It is they who have invited me for a cause which they feel is common to us all. I believe if Congressmen were free, many of them would associate with this cause. I hope they will consider this as a matter of conscience, which transcends party politics and party loyalties. Only so can we prove true to ourselves and the country. The parties who help me know me and my views. They are all united in helping me; but everywhere else, they will be contesting against each other on their own programmes. They help me for a cause which they consider is common to us all. Gandhiji, in causes that were common, invited the co-operation of all, the capitalists, the moderates, the social workers, etc. This did not mean that he had given up his basic principles or they theirs. Recently, our Prime Minister called for the co-operation of all parties in the integration conference. The biggest capitalists were there. Some of those who were there I see here. He even invited those who believe that their supreme aim, to work for the world revolution, can be brought about most quickly through international and internal strife and conflict. I, therefore, in accepting the help of the different parties, voluntarily offered for a cause which is common to us all, am sinning in good company. Or is it that our Government is like a lotus leaf which can, without contamination, hobnob with capitalists, take their money and award to those who apply for Congress tickets?

In some quarters, it is asked why I am contesting against the Defence Minister. Is he not following the policies laid down by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet? The question, though uninformed about the working of Governments, is relevant. Every Minister is supposed to follow basic policies laid down by the Cabinet. But the Ministers, in conducting their departments and in fulfilling important missions entrusted to them, can give a twist to the general policies, as was not contemplated by the Cabinet. If this were not so, the Central Cabinet will not be divided, as it is generally believed to be, into a right wing and a left wing. This came out clearly during the election of the Deputy Leader, which, however, was never held. However, I and the parties which help me hold and many in the Congress believe that Shri Menon does give a twist to our national and international policies, away from what was contemplated. For example, in the International field, India has declared itself as an unaligned nation. But the Prime

Minister has often declared that where injustice and tyranny are concerned, India is not neutral. Such a conception of our neutrality is accepted by the whole nation and by all the political parties. It will always side with the oppressed and the suppressed. In the case of the Hungarian revolt, while Shri Nehru called it a 'Popular rising', Shri Menon likened it to the linguistic riot in Ahmedabad. When he said this it was not only foreigners who doubted our neutrality, but we ourselves, including many Congressmen, felt humiliated. We felt that the land of Gandhi was siding with the oppressor as against the oppressed. I also believe that Shri Menon's temper and his handling of international affairs are such as have lost us the goodwill of many nations in Asia and Africa, which we enjoyed before. In the matter of the invasion of our territory by Communist China and its occupation of 12,500 square miles of it, Shri Menon's attitude does not square with that of the nation. While the whole nation considers that our greatest danger comes from Communist China, Shri Menon persists in thinking that it comes from Pakistan and he therefore loses no opportunity to denounce that country in vehement terms.

In internal matters, one has only to go through the reports of the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament and those of the audit, to find that in the matter of spending people's money, Shri Menon does not exercise the care that is expected of a man of average prudence. This characterised the jeep negotiations by him when he was in England. We also believe that his management of the army has been far from satisfactory and has created cliques among the high officers.

Shri Menon's attitude to the Communist Party of India has always been very friendly. This Party, in return, never criticises him or his department in the Parliament, though all other ministers including the Prime Minister and their departments, are subjected to their reasonable and unreasonable criticism. They often spring to his defence. Communists cannot be friendly to Shri Menon without a purpose. These are briefly the reasons for which I and my helpers and many others who have nothing to do with politics but are concerned with the good of the nation, are against Shri Menon, not personally, but what he stands for in internal and international politics. In this matter, I am inclined to accept the judgement of the late Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad, who were known to be good judges of men. They did not want Shri Menon in the Government. They thought he gave bad advice to the Prime Minister. They had some knowledge of the attitude he had taken in England towards the "Quit India Movement" without which we could not have attained Swaraj. So hostile was his attitude to the National Movement that many Indians who differed from him had to form a separate association of their own.

I was asked at the Bombay Rotary Club, why, with my political differences with the Prime Minister, do I not contest against him. It is to my mind not a

question that is asked of a candidate in a democracy. But I must answer it. I feel that the Prime Minister has the support of the people and more specially of the masses. But every Minister whom the Prime Minister appoints may not have the support of the people! I am not sure that Shri Menon has the support of the people, not to talk of the masses, about whose condition he knows little. I also believe that he has not the support of the majority of Congressmen. Most of the questions in the Parliament about him and his department are asked by Congressmen and not by the members of the Opposition. In his constituency, he failed to get the majority Congress vote. Anyway, in a democracy, ministers in charge of important departments have every one of them to be judged on their own merits and not of anybody else.

In the present contest, I believe I am not fighting the Congress. As a matter of fact I never had differences with the basic policies of the Congress as laid down by Gandhiji. My differences, even when I was in the Congress, were with the Government and with the way the policies of the Congress are implemented or rather not implemented. I feel, in the present case, I am helping the Congress. I consider Communism as the greatest danger to this or any other country. It is opposed to values which the nation has held as dear and sacred through its history and more so under Gandhiji. The communists have despaired of defeating the Congress at the polls. They, therefore, want to penetrate into the organisation directly and through fellow-travellers, more dangerous than avowed and open communists. In this, I believe they are helped by our Defence Minister.

I feel that I am also doing a service to our Prime Minister, though he may not realise it and may get angry. In spite of political differences, we have not ceased to be friends. My regard for him remains the same as of old. I believe I am helping him, for often it is on account of Shri Menon that his policies and intentions are misunderstood.

Now that I have accepted your invitation to contest for Parliament from North Bombay, I would want the contest, which is one of principles and not personalities, to be carried on through clean means. No underhand methods or the influence of political power, should hamper the free exercise of his vote by the Citizen. I would also request the press, at least that section which proposes to work in my favour, that it should not spice any news with the flavour of sensationalism, even in my favour. I would also not like any unseemly slogans to be used in this campaign. Having said this, I leave the verdict in the hands of God. May He guide the voter to vote according to his inner voice, according to his conscience. I shall be content with the opinion of my countrymen, whose interests I have considered as supreme throughout my life. I believe I have been the watch-dog of their interests inside and outside the Parliament.

Nasser And Nkrumah

by S. Sharangpani

BOTH Nasser and Nkrumah resemble each other in respect of the character of their leadership and ambitions which motivate their actions and which transcend the boundaries of their own countries. They both represent the type of aggressive leadership which thrives more on its successes abroad than on its achievements at home. While Nasser claims to be the sole leader of the movement for Arab unity, Nkrumah's goal has been the unity of all African peoples into a grand United States of Africa with himself as its unchallenged leader. Thus Nasser considers himself as the embodiment of the ideal of Pan-Arabism embracing the whole of the Arab world stretching from the Atlantic to the Indian ocean, Nkrumah sees himself as cast in the role of the *Osagyefo* — the Liberator — not only of the Ghanaians, but of the whole of the African continent. "Our people", Nasser wrote last March to King Hussein, "have been chosen by destiny to be both the vanguard and the base of the Arab struggle." Similarly, according to Nkrumah, "the liberation of Ghana will be meaningless unless it is linked up with the liberation of Africa." Thus both visualise their roles not as national leaders, but as "men of destiny" to lead the people of their respective areas to "freedom".

Their concept of "freedom" or "liberation" is necessarily anti-West and negative in its content. This, of course, is quite natural, as these leaders, until a few years ago, were dominated by the hatred of imperialism of the West which was a dominant fact of their country's political life. They, therefore, as a reaction, now passionately desire to assert their independence at every turn and in every sphere. And this fierce assertion of independence naturally throws them many a time into the willing embrace of the communist powers. This reaction, though unjustified on many occasions, can at least be understood and excused as inevitable. But what has been objectionable is their usurpation of the role of the sole leader of this movement of liberation of their people and their identification of the forces of nationalism and unity that have been sweeping through their areas with their own leaderships. Nasser was at least justified, to a certain extent, in claiming for himself the role of the undisputed spokesman of the Arab people as he wielded predominant influence in the Arab world. He could always, in moments of crisis, command the active loyalty of the Arab urban masses and the university students in various Arab countries. But Nkrumah had no valid claim to the role of the sole spokesman of the African people as there were already many others, like Kenyatta, in the field who were more powerful leaders than Nkrumah in their own right.

These ambitions prompted Nasser's and Nkrumah's

Governments to take upon themselves the obligation to marshal their resources for revolutionary activity throughout the areas of their influence and this frequently involved their governments in foreign spending for the sake of international and prestige commitments in order to keep their countries in the forefront of the Arab and African revolutions.

In 1958, Nasser's dream of Arab unity under his own leadership seemed nearer fulfillment than ever. Syria joined Egypt to form the United Arab Republic with Nasser as the President. Of course, the Syrian nationalists hastily brought about the union of their country with Egypt because of the rising communist influence in Syria which threatened to overwhelm them rapidly. They sought the union with Egypt as a protection against the communist danger. But most Syrians supported the union on the assumption that the changes would be largely nominal and that their country would continue to lead its separate existence and retain its own distinct identity. Many facts suggested that this would have been a wiser course for Nasser to follow. There are fundamental, racial, religious, social and economic difference between Syria and Egypt; in fact, Syria has much closer social and economic ties with Iraq and Lebanon than with Egypt. But Nasser, in the face of these facts, tried to integrate Syria administratively with the Egyptian State, perhaps thinking that the merger would be immediately followed by the larger confederation of the Arab States. This was a distinct possibility at that time. But this expected Confederation failed to materialise. On the contrary, Nasser suffered heavy reverses in Iraq, Jordan and elsewhere in the Arab world. He thereafter abolished the provincial Government in Syria and tried to Egyptianise the Syrian army and government administration. These attempts at Egyptianisation naturally gave rise to much resentment and fears of domination by the Egyptians in the Syrian mind, and that sealed the fate of Nasser's Pan-Arabism. The Syrian army, which had played a strategic role in Syrian politics before 1958, reasserted itself and brought about the collapse of Nasser's dream. It is significant that this time there was not much resistance to the army's *coup* from the university students and the urban masses in Syria. If anything, the press reports suggest that the Syrian people's reaction to the *coup* was a sigh of relief — relief from the Egyptian domination.

Nkrumah, like Nasser, has tried to effect union of Ghana with other African countries like Guinea and Mali. But this union is more phoney than real. Nkrumah, since the attainment of Ghanaian independence in 1957, has striven hard to pursue his grand design of African unity. He has, for the purpose, taken

the lead in calling many international conferences. In Ghana's Constitution has also been written a remarkable clause allowing her to abrogate part of her sovereignty in forming unions with other African States. Nkrumah has similarly established the Pan-African Secretariat for directing and financing the liberation movements in the rest of the African colonies. He even tried to achieve the control of the internal affairs in the Congo last year through Lumumba, but without much success. His activity has only evoked strong suspicions in the minds of leaders of other African countries, who do not relish Nkrumah's attempt to usurp the leadership of Africa. This has naturally resulted in the formation of rival blocs in Africa — the one of Casablanca powers and the other of Monrovia powers. Neither of these blocs, however, has any really effective organisation or programme and neither of them can command the powerful influence among the Africans.

But, for Nkrumah, like Nasser, to justify his claim to the African leadership, the basic pre-condition is that he should command the allegiance of at least the majority of his own people and should be able to provide a stable government enjoying the free support of the people in his own country. Ghana, after independence, began with a Legislative Assembly based entirely on the Westminster pattern, her political structure also patterned on the British model of two-party system. There were the ruling Convention People's Party and the United Opposition Party. But Nkrumah was too much in a hurry to achieve his personal ambitions and the slow-moving democratic processes with their checks and balances were not suited to his purpose. In 1959, therefore, Nkrumah announced his plan for organising "democratic centralist" state and for setting up an Ideological College to train party workers in Pan-Africanism and African Marxism. With this system of democratic centralism, which was based on the idea of the State and the Party being one and the same, began the process of building up of the one-party State in Ghana, the Opposition existing totally at the mercy of the ruling party. To make sure that the Opposition understands the implications of his "democratic centralism", Nkrumah, in 1958, armed himself with the powers of Preventive Detention. This Preventive Detention Act enabled him to sweep into prison without trial all those who opposed the course of his regime. Then followed inevitably rigged elections and the consequent steady accumulation of power in Nkrumah's hands. And as if, this was not enough to perpetuate his leadership, a systematic campaign to foster the cult of Nkrumah's personality was started by his henchmen by various methods. As a result, Nkrumah became not only the Prime Minister and *Osagyefo*, but also the centre of the party and the focal point for the nation's adulation. Today, as a result, Nkrumah is the Secretary-General of the Party and in the words of his sycophants he is also His High Dedication, the Nation's Fount of Honour, the Dynamic Leader, the Immortal and the Messiah.

But unfortunately, all this verbosity of his propa-

gandists and the exuberance of Nkrumah's own ambitions have been in sharp contrast to his achievements at home in the field of economic or political progress. In domestic affairs, the combination of misfortune and Nkrumah's extravagance has brought only steady deterioration of the rule of law and misery to the people. Two-thirds of Ghana's foreign earnings come from the sale of cocoa and the world price of cocoa has dropped steadily last two years from £230 a ton to its present record low level of £140. The result has been the greater balance of payment deficit this year than that of the last year.

All this has forced the Government to adopt an austerity programme. The new austerity Budget introduced in June has imposed taxes and import duties to discourage consumption and a universal compulsory saving scheme to raise additional revenue. Consequently, the cost of living in urban areas has risen by 20 per cent in two months. These new hardships have naturally resulted in widespread discontent which culminated in a nationwide wave of strikes by workers in the past two months.

But instead of mending his ways, Nkrumah has resorted to further repressive measures to curb this discontent. He has now arrested practically all opposition leaders. There are, besides, more drastic bills before Ghana's Parliament that would give Nkrumah unlimited power to establish full personal control over his country. But this repression has not eliminated the discontent, it has only driven the latter underground and created an explosive situation in the country. It is now feared that the unorganised popular discontent might spark off nationwide violence any time. Many discerning observers have expressed their apprehension that Nkrumah's Government might be overthrown by a spontaneous outbreak of violence at any time. Today Nkrumah, one time popular hero of his people, remains heavily guarded in his residence; he has made no public appearance in the past month. The much-publicised Liberator of the African people has today every reason to fear the wrath of his own people.

Nasser has also recently arrested many Egyptians ostensibly to purge the political life of his country of opportunist and reactionary elements, but in reality to nip in the bud any possible challenge to his authority from his opponents who might be emboldened to conspire against his rule after the Syrian debacle. Nasser, unlike Nkrumah, is still popular in his own country and there is the least likelihood of his authority being openly challenged by any group inside Egypt. But the Syrian breakaway has thwarted Nasser's ambition of establishing his claim as the only spokesman and the Leader of Pan-Arabism. In the arena of Middle-East politics, whoever controls Syria can lead the Middle East. The dissolution of the United Arab Republic has therefore dealt a deadly blow to the myth of Pan-Arabism. Similarly the growing discontent in Ghana has seriously undermined Nkrumah's prestige, both at home and abroad, and has exposed yet another myth — that of Pan-Africanism.

Rethinking U.N. Policy In The Congo

by M. A. Venkata Rao

TSHOMBE and the Katanga have brought the UN to a standstill in their operations in the Congo. The UN now faces a cross-roads situation there and must do some radical rethinking if further headway is to be achieved in the solution of the intricate and complex problems that have erupted in the Congo ever since the Belgians conferred independence on the country.

What is the deadlock due to? A diagnosis should precede a revision of policy.

The crisis and failure of the UN so far is due to a grave neglect of the economic dimension of the Congo situation. The hair-brained character of the late Lumumba who accepted alliances and assistance from all and sundry beginning with an American businessman, the UN, Ghana and other African States and finally ended up with Russia and its satellites, hustled the West to use the UN to support President Kasavubu in his feud with Lumumba. Dr. Kasavubu at least knew his mind and stood firmly by the West.

The motive of further steps in the tortuous and inconsistent policies followed by the UN since, was clear and to lovers of freedom correct. For if Katanga was allowed to secede, Lumumba's province will also do so and fall into the hands of Russia!

They also stood out for the unity of the Congo in accordance with the terms of independence granted by the Belgians. It is manifest that unity should take precedence over disintegration in an endeavour to find and give effect to the general will in the new State. The unitary State will in time weld the peoples into sufficient social and national cohesion to sustain a modern progressive State.

The UN authorities were also right in deciding to use force in the circumstances on behalf of the unitary State to be realised. It is Sri Nehru's contribution to the solution of the problem when he was led by the higher potentialities of the general will, (still in embryo) and backed the Constitution and agreed to use force in its support and sent a substantial body of armed contingents to which the latest addition are six Canberras.

But the defect in the strategy adopted by the UN and its supporters was a *neglect of the economic factor*.

The breakaway Katanga province under Tshombe is the economic plum of the Congo. It has vast mining and other industrial enterprises developed over some 25 years by an interlocked system of authorities with the Belgian government having a major interest. The British and other nationalities too have substantial interests. It is said that the main Mineral Company in the Katanga with M. Sengier the founder-director

at its head makes an annual profit of some twenty million pounds sterling. This cluster of mining and other concerns contributes more than half of the revenues of the entire Congo country.

The UN authorities and their backers have assumed that this reality of economic affluence and power whose byproduct has been law and order and modern living to large areas and large numbers of Africans could be made to vanish by a UN Resolution. After all, politics are but economics from a long range point of view.

To ask the owners of such large economic interests, even if they are called imperialists in abuse, to commit *hara kiri* and ruin themselves without a word as to compensation is a tall order and bespeaks immaturity in the UN approach.

To call them mercenaries is only to beg the question. It should have been abundantly clear that Tshombe's Katanga had sufficient resources to collect and equip vaster armed forces than the UN. The UN bluff is now called.

Either the UN should go forward to undertake full-scale war with every necessary preparation or change its strategy.

It should not be necessary to destroy Tshombe and the foreign economic interests together with the social order they have established in Katanga, destroying the only oasis of modernism in the Congo. This is communist in method—destruction first.

The thing to do now is to start negotiations with Tshombe and his foreign backers—the holders of economic power for a Treaty which would guarantee the continuity of the economic enterprises in the hands of present holders subject to the political supremacy of the New Congo Government in its regulatory and human aspects.

Tshombe and his friends in the provincial government should be assured of places in the new Union Government. Or if a federation is formed, they can run the provincial government for a period specified (say five years) until new elections can legitimise the new federal set-up.

The Mines will give a royalty to the new government and its present owners will be given an opportunity of disengaging themselves over a period transferring their shares to Africans, governments and private individuals. They can be asked to train Africans to hold responsible positions so that in ten or twenty year's time, they could run the enterprises themselves.

Such a move will reconcile the economic interests and save the old order in Katanga and will enable it to contribute to the Congo Federation.

This may obviate the need for any further use of force on the part of the UN.

Without Comment

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION

The Communist Party is now infiltrating the Congress and will soon be in a position to exert its influence from inside as well as outside. If, at this stage, all citizens who believe in democracy and freedom do not organise themselves and create a powerful Opposition party that can effectively counteract communist influence, we shall soon be sliding down the slippery slope that will land us in a totalitarian system.

—Benegal Rama Rao, former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, *Indian Express*, October 18.

TROJAN HORSE—I

The systematic desertion of experienced and veteran Communist Party workers in Warangal District, once considered to be the bastion of the Telangana Communist armed insurrection, is causing considerable anxiety in the Andhra Pradesh Communist Party.

What is more intriguing is the eagerness of these communists to swell the Congress ranks in the district. The biggest defection so far reported is from a group engaged in different trade union fields of Warangal District. All of them are card-holding members of the Party.

For some time past, the desertion from the Communist Party in the District was confined to top leaders who, for one reason or the other, could not see eye to eye. But now the desertion to the Congress ranks has increased rapidly.

—*Indian Express*, October 18.

TROJAN HORSE—II

Under the heading "ALL (RED) STAR CAST?", *Current* in its issue of July 12, drew attention to the infiltration of Communists into the Congress. A beginning was made about that time by Dr. A. V. Baliga, a Red sympathiser and President of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, who became a primary member of the organisation.

Now comes news that another known Red sympathiser, author Mulk Raj Anand, the recipient of Soviet awards and encomiums, has joined the Congress as a primary member.

The membership of Mr. Anand is in keeping with the Vijayawada resolution of the Communist Party to infiltrate and subvert the 'Progressive' party in the country.

The inclusion of Dr. Baliga and Mr. Mulk Raj Anand in the Congress Party is designed to assist in Mr. Krishna Menon's election campaign for the North Bombay Lok Sabha seat. Other Communist support-

ers are expected to follow them into the organisation before the election campaign is intensified.

—*Current*, October 21.

PRICE OF PANCHSHEEL—I

When Tibet was invaded by the Chinese Reds in the winter of 1950, the Nehru Government and its kept press dismissed the news as "rumours" started by "Imperialist agencies". But as soon as Lhasa was occupied, the same Government and the same press accepted the news as an accomplished fact against which India could do nothing! There was an effort in certain quarters, to which the Dalai Lama had appealed, to raise the Tibetan issue in the UNO. On this side, the Nehru Government used its good offices to persuade the Dalai Lama to go back to Lhasa and sign a peace with Peking.

The public opinion in India was, however, all along exercised about Chinese occupation of Tibet as, besides being imperialist and inhuman, it meant a threat to India's own security. The endless endeavour of some patriots belonging to all political parties resulted in the formation of a Tibet Committee in 1953 under the leadership of Munshi Ahmed Din, Shri Gurupadaswami and Prof. Tilak Raj Chadda. But as soon as the news of this Committee appeared in the press, the Prime Minister's denunciation also appeared with it. Nehru personally ordered all Congress M.P.s to dissociate themselves from it immediately. The AICC also sent a circular to all its units instructing them not to have any connection with the Tibet Committee. And in spite of the fact that ten members of Parliament were still on the Tibet Committee, the use of the Constitution Club Hall, which is let out even for marriage purposes, was refused to this patriotic organisation. The Nehru Government used all its influence with the press to suppress the news about the activities of the Tibet Committee. Comrade Feroz Gandhi, the son-in-law of the Prime Minister and a Director of the Goenka group of newspapers at that time, ordered these papers not to publish any news about this organisation.

But the work of the Committee continued in spite of all these difficulties. After sometime, it was reconstituted into a Himalayan Border Conference to prepare Indian public opinion against Chinese designs towards India which were becoming all too clear even at that early date. More than a thousand people marched in the streets of Delhi demanding vigilance on our northern borders. But the Nehru Government's attitude towards this patriotic effort became stiffer still and responsible officers of the External Affairs Ministry re-echoed only stories published in Comrade Karanjia's yellow sheet and the traitorous communist press.

A regional meeting of the Himalayan Border Convention was held at Patiala. The then Chief Minister of Pepsu, Col. Raghubir Singh, sympathised with the Conference from the very beginning. He made a hall and other facilities available for a meet-

ing. But just on the eve of the meeting he received the "right" instructions from the External Affairs Ministry at New Delhi. He had to cancel his permission for the use of the hall and withdraw all other facilities. Privately, he regretted this forced decision on his part and confessed that he could not publicly offend the Big Boss.

—*"Ekaki", Organiser, October 9.*

PRICE OF PANCHSHEEL—II

The agreement signed in Peking yesterday between China and Nepal for the construction of a highway from Tibet to Kathmandu must be of great significance to India in respect of her defence strategy.

The official Hsinhua report announcing the signing of the agreement did not reveal any details beyond stating that the highway would link "China's Tibet area" with the Nepalese capital.

The presence of a motorable highway from Tibet to the Nepalese capital will call for drastic revision of India's defence strategy in the north. Although the road agreement may not in any way affect the friendly Indo-Nepalese relations, from the strategic point of view, the natural buffer that Nepal has provided must now be regarded as having disappeared. No more can the Indo-Nepalese border be taken for granted and India's defence planners will now have to think in terms of defences along this border also.

Under the Sino-Nepalese boundary treaty which was made public last week, China now legally enjoys joint ownership of Mount Everest and other Himalayan mountains although, actually, the Chinese have already exercised control of the northern parts through their domination of Tibet. Another significant gain for Peking was the highway construction agreement. In addition, according to yesterday's joint communique, the two sides have agreed "to extend economic co-operation particularly in industries, road building and communications", which means the growth of Chinese influence over many spheres of Nepalese life.

—*Hindu, October 18.*

PRICE OF PANCHSHEEL—III

Already there is a sharp clash of interests and purposes between the democratic forces and the communists who have tended to concentrate in the northern districts of Nepal. There are sufficient indications that they are in close touch with their opposite numbers in China and that they are in possession of large quantities of modern weapons.

The dilemma seems to be that, if the nationalist forces start an armed revolt, the communists, too, may stage an armed interlude whose pattern may well be on lines which have become familiar in Korea and Vietnam.

With geographical propinquity, road links, etc., Nepal might well become a country sharply divided along ideological lines between north and south. The nationalist forces thus have not only to fight the new

autocracy but also the communists, who have already gained as a result of the new treaties with China.

—*Statesman, October 20.*

IN COMMUNIST PARADISE

Shopping difficulties and, in some places, an insufficient number of stores, are among the complaints seen increasingly from communist countries. Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria are particularly vocal on this subject. At a housewives' meeting specially held in Prague to vent their grievances a woman said she had to spend almost every morning queuing for eggs and potatoes. Cooking ingredients were often not available for days at a time and to buy fruit one had to go from one shop to another. To obtain spares for domestic machines such as refrigerators a householder has often to travel to another town. Bread was readily available but often loaves were short in weight and quality was below standard.

—*Statesman, October 5.*

MR. NEHRU'S CRITICISM

Mr. Nehru today told moneyed people not to make donations to the Congress election fund if they did not have faith in the ideals and aims of the party.

He added: "I say it quite openly that if any rich man gives money to the Congress and to two or three other parties, it shows he has no faith in the Congress, in its basic principles and aims. I do not want such people to have 100% faith in everything that the Congress does. But they should at least have faith in the basic things that the Congress stands for."

—*Statesman, September 25.*

NO RE-THINKING FOLLOWS NEHRU'S CRITICISM

Mr. Nehru's recent statement in Kanpur that the Congress should not accept donations from individuals who have no faith in the organization has not led to any re-thinking on this problem among members of the High Command, it is learnt.

The Congress, however, has already taken two measures to dent Opposition criticism that the Congress fights general elections on the strength of "big money".

First, a provision has been made for "built-in funds" which will be available to the provincial units for the general election. Second, the collection method has this time been decentralized and is now the responsibility of the State units.

A Central—and sizeable—election fund, has been provided for to take care of expenses such as Central leaders' election tours, publicity and other requirements. It is also realized that Assam—and perhaps one or two other States—will require some Central financial assistance for the elections.

(Continued on page 12)

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

There are men in India who are as freedom-minded as Nehru, who have fought him on similar issues — his reluctance to speak out plainly on Hungary, for instance — and to whom the West owes at least the courtesy of saying that they are right and he is wrong.

—A. M. Rosenthal, *New York Times*,
September 24.

There are values more important than peace. Freedom and justice for example. I am prepared to sacrifice peace for them.

—Rev. Williams B. Downey, *Time*
Magazine, October 13.

Every vote cast for Mr. Menon is a vote for Chinese occupation in this country.

—K. M. Munshi, *Indian Express*, October 17.

Mr. Menon of course has no party affiliations with the communists in the sense that he does not carry a communist party membership card. But experience has proved that a Trojan Horse is more dangerous than the original equine species.

—*Indian Express*, October 18.

Mr. Kripalani, whatever party or non-party position he may occupy, is pre-eminently a Congressman — just as Mr. Krishna Menon, by whatever label he goes, is a communist.

—S. Natarajan, *Indian Express*, October 20.

Though China has swallowed up 12,000 square miles of Indian territory the communists have not dared till today to call China an aggressor. They want India to resort to military means to liberate tiny Goa. But will they advocate similar methods to recover the 12,000 square miles of our soil?

—Sanjiva Reddy, Congress President,
Current, October 21.

If we can be purposeful, we shall be neither Red nor dead, but alive and free.

—President Kennedy, *Newsweek*, October 23.

Speaking in the Senate, Mr. Barry Goldwater termed Mr. Nehru a "wishy-washy neutral" and saying that putting him in Mr. Hammarskjöld's job would be worse than accepting Soviet's "Troika" proposal. I could think of no one less suited "unless it be Russia's Gromyko".

—*Indian Express*, September 24.

The car is becoming merely a status symbol. The only purpose in getting in one is having to stand in traffic jam while empty trains go by.

—Richard Crossman, *New York Times*, October 13.

Now I consider myself to be a Socialist without a party and a Christian without a church. I still feel bound to the ethics and idealism of each, but I can no longer have any part of what the State has made of Socialism and the Church has made of Christianity.

—Ignazio Silone, *Encounter*, October 1961.

The only real danger to peace lies in a communist miscalculation about our determination to resist.

—*Socialist Commentary*, October 1961.

(Continued from page 11)

It is learnt that an application fee, which every Congress candidate has to deposit when applying for a ticket, will alone yield about Rs. 15 lakhs. Besides the deposits of Congress candidates for the Assembly and parliamentary constituencies are estimated to yield another Rs. 30 lakhs.

This, nevertheless, leaves a still sizable amount of money that will be collected by the State organizations, particularly Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madras and West Bengal. It is learnt that some of these State organizations have kept their collection targets at nearly Rs. 5 lakhs.

It is significant that the system of application fee has been reintroduced after it was discontinued in the last election. Partly, this decision seems to have been influenced by an apprehension that, with the emergence of the Swatantra Party, "big money" might not be forthcoming to the extent it has been until now.

Two essential election items—jeeps and loudspeakers—are being purchased centrally but will be ultimately paid for by the State organizations. It is learnt that the Requirements of new jeeps for the party are likely to run up to 1,000 or more. And the party's needs for new loudspeaker units have been estimated at 5,000.

—*Statesman*, September 11.