

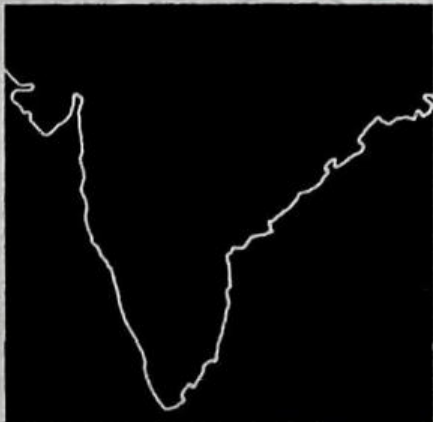
NOW THAT THE DUST IS BEGINNING TO settle, it is perhaps not too early to essay some sort of a balance-sheet of the gains and losses to Indian democracy as a result of the invasion of the country by Communist China and of the stalemate in which it has resulted.

Among the most considerable of the items to be placed on the credit side of the balance sheet is undoubtedly the tremendous process of popular education and national solidarity through which the country has gone during the past three months. 'We cannot fight what we do not understand,' said an Indian writer recently in a plea for carrying this process a stage further. Unquestionably the Indian Government were caught completely off-guard and were found to be in a state of appalling military unpreparedness because they had not adequately understood the nature of international Communism and in particular of its Chinese variant. Today it is possible to say that there is a better awareness of the nature of the Mao Tse-tung regime.

Test of friendship

One wishes one could say that there is also an end to the similar innocence that has prevailed about the Kremlin. Unfortunately, disillusioned by the brutal liquidation of Panchashila by the Chinese Communists, some of those who had earlier glorified the Chinese Communist regime, stressed its 'Asian-ness' and explained away its aggression in Korea, Vietnam and Tibet, have now transferred their illusions and faith to the men in the Kremlin. The internal contradictions within the Moscow-Peking Axis are being exaggerated and, despite indications to the contrary, the vain hope is entertained that India can count on Soviet goodwill and indeed a measure of protection from the Chinese.

The second credit item is the valuable demonstration that the events of the last few weeks have provided about the reliance that India can place on her friends and alleged friends in various parts of the



INDIA THE AFTERMATH

by
M. R. MASANI

world. The prompt and spontaneous manner in which the American and British governments and peoples rushed to the rescue has undoubtedly moved the common people greatly. It was also noted that, in the first few weeks of the conflict, the only other countries which lined up with India against China were Canada, Australia, West Germany and Malaya, none of which could be credited with seeing or practising the virtues of non-alignment.

On the other hand, the fact that Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Ghana, Cambodia and Egypt, members of the non-aligned club to which the Indian Government belonged, have all sat on the fence and been neutral between the aggressor and the aggressed has elicited the bitter comment that we are now being given a taste of the same medicine that we had earlier administered to Tibet, Hungary, South Vietnam, and West Germany.

While the fighting was proceeding, the unhappy stalemate in which India's relations with Pakistan had become frozen in the recent past began to thaw. An awareness of the fact that each of the two parts of the sub-continent needed the other for the security of the whole came to the

surface and began to find expression. It was recalled that two years back it was President Ayub who had made an offer of the joint defence of the sub-continent and that it was Prime Minister Nehru who had brushed it aside out of hand with the curious question: 'Common defence against whom?'

By November 20, it was possible to say that there was very little as against these major gains to place on the debit side of the balance sheet. True, the Indian army had taken a beating. We had lost some territory. On the other hand, U.S. and U.K. missions, led by Mr Harriman and Mr Duncan Sandys, were in Delhi ascertaining our requirements in the way of arms, aircraft and military advice that the Western Democracies could supply. There could be no question but that, as the enemy advanced on to the plains and as his lines of supply and communications thinned and the Indian army was re-equipped with the superior equipment that was then coming in, the tide of battle would turn.

Then, on November 21, a unilateral ceasefire was announced by the Chinese Communists. It was more correctly des-

cribed as an ultimatum by the leading daily newspaper of New Delhi. The initial Indian reaction was unanimous and intelligent. From the Ministry of External Affairs downwards, the Chinese move was described as treacherous, a trap and one to be rejected. But, as the days passed and New Delhi began to send out inquiries to Peking for 'clarification' of the ultimatum, it looked as if the Indian Government lacked either the capability or the will to fight on.

Sad and humiliating

On December 4, Mr A. D. Gorwala, a former member of the Indian Civil Service with a most distinguished record, came to the sad conclusion in his courageous little journal *Opinion*: 'Unless the Communist Chinese advance again, contrary to their previous decision, the Sino-Indian war is over. Badly beaten, Mr Nehru's government has accepted defeat. Sad and humiliating for all of us undoubtedly, but none the less true.'

With this compliance with the Chinese ceasefire, a new cycle of trends developed. The loss of territory and of lives was bad enough, but the humiliation of not fighting back after a defeat was much worse. It was as if Churchill had agreed to an armistice immediately after Dunkirk. The Army, straining to retrieve its honour, was denied an opportunity to hit back. If morale had been constantly rising during the days of military reverses, the acceptance of the Chinese ultimatum reversed the process. The full implications of that process have yet to unfold and the next few months will need to be watched anxiously.

It has been said that, having given the Indian army a bloody nose while all Asia looked on, Mao Tse-tung has put not only the border states of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan but all neutrals in Asia on notice that they had better play ball with Red China. The inability of the six non-aligned countries which met in Colombo

India needs allies—and friendship with Pakistan

in the second week of December to discern which was the aggressor and which the victim of aggression may well be considered by the Chinese to be a feather in their cap.

There is a real danger that now that the military threat has temporarily receded, sections of the Government and public opinion who are *New Statesman* addicts, might relapse into their old confused attitudes. Reeling under the impact of the initial shock, Mr Nehru had told Parliament on October 25 with rare and estimable candour that we were 'getting out of touch with reality in the modern world' and were 'living in an artificial atmosphere of our own creation'. On December 11, after the ceasefire had become operative, he sought to explain away that admission and make light of it by saying: 'I did not mean that we were pursuing a wrong policy. I had only wanted to point out that we had not been vigilant enough'.

They seek time

There are many in India who believe that what is required is time—time to strengthen our armed forces, to give them superior arms and equipment, to build up our air force and then to strike back at the enemy. Is this a realistic hope or will it prove to be a deceptive mirage? The day after the Chinese announcement of November 21 the *Hindustan Times* had written editorially: 'There will be no second round if the Chinese ultimatum is accepted. For the result will be complete demoralisation in the people as well as the armed forces and natural misgivings among our friends in committing more support to us.'

Preconditions to victory

Everything of course will depend on how the next few months between now and the Spring are utilised. There are certain basic

things by which the seriousness of the proclaimed intention to eject the invader from Indian soil will be judged, both in India and elsewhere.

The most obvious of these is the way in which and the speed at which the military balance is rectified. It has been said that India will need an army of around two million men and that some fifty new divisions will have to be raised. It is clearly beyond India's means to equip such forces and it is obvious India cannot resist Communist China by herself. She needs friends and allies.

These she must have, but those who jib at discarding the discredited and disastrous policy of neutralism find it difficult to accept American and British allies. A way out exists in a reference of the Chinese aggression to the United Nations with the plea that the Chinese Communist regime be branded as the aggressor, so that the arms and men coming in to help in the defence of India do so under the banner of the United Nations.

India cannot fight a war on two fronts. The second essential is therefore the achievement of understanding and friendship with Pakistan, which can only be achieved through the settling of the vexed question of Kashmir. It is not only that the country cannot afford to fight on two fronts, it is also that India needs Pakistan and Pakistan needs India for the common defence of the sub-continent. Assam would be difficult to defend against the aggressor without operating through East Pakistan, and East Pakistan would be

not, that is, if there were a Government with the moral courage to go further. For, by the resale of leaseholds to private developers of land compulsorily acquired under 'designation' procedure—that is, of land designated albeit with certain legislative changes, for comprehensive development of the New Town or Town Development character—most, if not all, or even more than all of the State's necessary expenditure could be recouped.

Such a recoupment would, economically, be a necessary counterpart to the incurring of such public expenditure. And such an expenditure would be necessary for the refashioning of the City Region. Which Government is likely to have the courage of its convictions in this respect?

The need for such courage does not end there. To fashion the City Region not only requires the concentration of new developments at certain specific points and consequently their prohibition at many others, but also demands that those developments that do occur should be both larger and more comprehensive in character than they would be if the Government took no action. It would be logical if making such an attempt, to fashion a City Region within its existing confines and to do so most economically for the State.

In other words growing points must be seized upon; existing communities within the City Region must be asked to undertake comprehensive development.

Unfortunately these local bodies are neither equipped, designed nor competent themselves to undertake this kind of development. In any case, the solution of this all-embracing problem can no longer be left to the haphazard decisions of particular local authorities to carry out comprehensive developments. To increase the carrot of grants for these purposes would be, by the same token, an inconceivably wasteful expenditure of public funds. It can be argued that the unwillingness of Conservative governments to impose developments upon local authorities has, as much as anything, negated

whatever potential the Town Development Act had.

This is a point of view one can respect. But in face of the situation now before us, objections like this must crumble away. The logic of the situation points to the creation of a Development Commission for each City Region, as Professor Myles Wright has suggested, and, for London itself, to have a number of sub-Regional Development Commissions.

Even though the friction with Local Authorities that such Commissions would involve could be reduced in comparison with those experienced from the New Town Development Corporations, it would still require courage to establish them. Which political party has the vision that might generate such courage?

Indeed, one comes always back to this question of vision. For, without it, this generation cannot justify itself; it can survive, perhaps, but not worthily.

If the Liberal Party is indeed concerned to embrace concepts and new social forms, it must surely be driven by its convictions of civic responsibility to explore, with hard-headed realism, the meaning and possibilities of the City Region, the civic environment of our times.

read
the
**LIBERAL
NEWS**

6d. Weekly

Our contributor, M. R. MASANI
is General Secretary of India's
Swatantra Party.

quirements for re-location of employment without risking the individual efficiency of the business constrained to move? One school of thought has held that there is no limit to the distance from the city at which employment might be established, that the attractions of the city were merely a matter of fashion or of custom. But surely this is a dangerously irresponsible attitude and evidence collected about dispersion of industry suggests it is a false assumption.

Moreover, since it is not new businesses but branches of old ones upon which one must rely for the mass of employment re-location, the physical separation of new development from old has more obvious limitations.

The pattern

Clearly one should first attempt to re-deploy the workers within the existing boundaries of a City Region. And as the simplest propositions of geometry show, that scope can be found within those limits for a decent ordering of our civic needs.

Put concretely, and to use the London Region as an example, this means that we can take for our prototypes the eight existing New Towns around London. Whether intended to become so or not, these communities are now indeed parts of the London Region. Conversely, one might say that the establishment of New Towns, (though not necessarily with the same form or origins as the existing ones), is the chief tool for fashioning the City Region. Here are the communities of our time: this is the way life should be lived today: here is the dynamism and the liberation of spirit that will ensure our future: this is the pattern that a modern Liberalism should be concerned to establish.

In hard facts, what does this imply? To continue with the London example, it is now becoming recognised that within the next twenty years about two million people will want to be accommodated in the London Region, but beyond the outer

limits of the Green Belt. This is why the matter is coming to the forefront of the political stage. It is only comparatively recently that the Ministry of Housing and Local Government has shown awareness of the pressures that are building up. A decade has been wasted in an attempt to make the Town Development Act work to fill the gap—an attempt that those with a bias towards action might be excused for regarding as a hypocritical pretext for complacent inactivity.

There are now some signs of panic on the Government's part. The New Towns of Harlow and Stevenage have been asked to consider the possibility of doubling their population targets. But what is likely to happen when the new Regional Planning organisation within the Ministry produces its 'suggestions' to the local Planning Authorities? Certainly, a great deal more land will be released for house-building beyond the existing Metropolitan Green Belt. But will this be where 'Planning' ends? One has reason to fear so.

For to plan in the full sense of the word, to ensure that new development is both compact and comprehensive, to create either more New Towns or town developments that largely contain their commuting potential, involves unpopular decisions that are all too easily avoided and passed on to the next generation. Harlow and Stevenage, accordingly, may have to bear an undue brunt of what passes for Planning.

To fashion the London, or any other City Region, requires both State finance and political courage. The finance required from the State, however, could be far less than that which has been put into the post-war New Towns.

By admission of the private developer—nowadays only too anxious to be brought in—the proper overall cost to the State of this kind of comprehensive development could be reduced, it has been estimated, by about two-thirds per head of population of what has been accepted.

But this is not the end of the matter—

equally difficult to defend without the assistance of India.

Almost all intelligent Indians now realise that it was the surrender of Tibet to Communist China in 1950 that made possible the invasion of India. It has been well described as the 'original sin' from which all our troubles stem. The recognition of His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the head of the Government of Tibet, and the arming, through such a government-in-exile, of the Tibetan guerillas who have been bravely struggling against Chinese occupation for the past two years, would not only be an act of restitution for the wrong done by India to Tibet, but would also be a measure of enlightened self-interest.

Opposition's support

Whether Indian democracy will show the maturity to ensure that these policies, which are pre-conditions to victory, are accepted and carried out is the question. Mr Rajeshwar Patel, a leading Congress MP, posed the problem in the course of a debate in Parliament on 10th November when he said: 'The mere removal of Mr Krishna Menon is not going to help the country. The entire machinery which thinks in those terms has to be recast or realigned and overhauled.'

In this context, while the Communist Party professes, tongue in cheek, to give unconditional support to Mr Nehru's policies, the other Opposition parties are at one in adopting a posture appropriate to their role in a democracy. This is one of giving all out and unstinted support to the defence effort while keeping their freedom of action to judge each policy of the Congress Government on its merits.

The attitude of the British Liberal and Labour Parties towards the Chamberlain government during the first months of World War II has been cited as a precedent to follow. The obligation of Opposition parties to exercise such vigilance is heightened by the fact that the Congress Government secured the support of only 45 per cent of the electorate at the polls last

February, and that the Opposition parties and groups along with Independents, but excluding the Communists, polled between them as many as 44 per cent of the votes.

That the need for guarding our nascent democracy is a pressing one is proved by the unfortunate arrest in Delhi in the second week of December of three patriotic young public workers under the Defence of India Act, reportedly for writing an Open Letter to Members of Parliament criticising Mr Nehru's policies in regard to China, Tibet and the Indian Communists.

Playing to rules

If this is indeed their offence, there has clearly been a gross misuse of the emergency powers given to the government. This aberration notwithstanding, it can fairly be claimed as of this writing that both the Indian Government and the Opposition have, by and large, played the game according to the rules and have so far provided an encouraging example of an Asian democracy at war.

Make sure of your copy of *New OUTLOOK*. Order it now. Please fill in this coupon and send it to: Circulation Manager, *New OUTLOOK*, Mitre House, 177 Regent St., London W 1

I would like to take out a subscription for 12 months/6 months.

Subscription Rates (post free)
12 months £1. 0. 0. 6 months 10s.

Name

Address

EDUCATION

HOW TO CURE THE SNOBS OF OXBRIDGE

by LYNDON JONES

EVERYONE IS FAMILIAR WITH THE SENSIBLE shoes worn by horse-faced Tory women. The Liberal Party Education Committee Report may be likened to such footwear. Although excellent for the purpose intended, it is dull, uninspiring and hardly likely to excite the imagination of the young. Of course, one could argue whether the Committee's aim should have been to prepare something akin to a Civil Service blue print or a thought-provoking radical document, a little impracticable for immediate implementation, but offering a longer-term goal. Incidentally, any attempt to have taken this step was ruled out by the Committee's terms of reference.

Given this, the Committee, thanks to their hard-working and extraordinarily able Chairman, Professor Bruce Pattison, did a good job. Their proposals for the reforms in primary and secondary education are already gaining support and provoking thought and discussion in educational circles. The delay in transfer from infant to junior school until eight, where children

would remain until thirteen, has much to commend it. Likewise, by transferring to common schools at the age of thirteen—the years eleven to thirteen would be diagnostic years which would permit a process of continuous selection—a controversial examination of the '11-plus' type could be avoided and the 'backwash' effect of it upon the work in primary schools would be eliminated.

As far as further and higher education are concerned, the Committee's proposals are sensible and practical. Their views on how to train more and better apprentices and make the whole system flexible would command the support of any person familiar with the problem industry faces. Similarly, it is axiomatic that the number of places in higher education should be increased.

On matters such as the salary-negotiating machinery for teachers, the proposals to improve the standing of the profession and to reduce friction between teachers in different sectors of the educational world, were like the flat-heeled shoes of our county types.

Only on matters relating to the finance of education and its control did the Committee really take a distinctive line, following very much the pattern of earlier Liberal Report on Education, better known as the Ross Report.

That that Report was a practical document signposting the way for an immediate advance in education may be seen from the fact that some of the recommendations it contained are now being implemented. Take the case of teaching foreign languages in primary schools. In South-East Essex and certain other parts of the country, a start has been made. At my own college, Thurrock, we are giving fifty primary school teachers a 'crash' course in French before introducing the teaching of French, based on the Tavor system, in selected primary schools from January. In one school where a continuous experiment has been in progress for some three years, astoundingly good results have been

Skyscraper flats and
an underpass for
cyclists only at the
New Town
of Harlow, Essex



of romantic appeal. It is not simple; it does not embody the whole of a man's aspirations; it is not ideological; like the personality itself, it is complex. Indeed, if it has any of the old sort of appeal, this is because it is in some sense a mirror of our lives which, under the impact of technology and the opportunities it presents, become, if ever richer, yet more complicated and more tense. Any political party that tried to over-simplify these realities would be suspect. In fact, the contemporary appeal of the City Region must be only relative, if still significant: it must be to the remoulding, indeed almost to the re-establishment, of that aspect of our lives and responsibilities that we name civic.

To recognise and fashion the City Region is the proper and realistic means of reinstating civic responsibility to a society that would be the poorer without it; it is the means of giving order not least to the day-to-day community—the community that caters for the still-enduring everyday wants that we have, those to which the newer possibilities in life are, after all, still but a thinly spread sophistication. Similarly, to fashion the City Region is to cater for the great world, the world of ideas and fruitful social intercourse in every sphere. This is why modern Liberalism cannot ignore the phenomenon of the City Region, why it cannot tolerate an endless urban sprawl and cannot support a policy of *laissez-faire*. To do so would be a surrender of civic responsibility.

The City Region lends itself to our ordering of it, if we seize upon the capa-

bilities of communications of all kinds—the very things that are creating this more loosely structured social form from the older conurbation. We must exploit to the maximum the mobility of employment.

Mobility of domicile has created the 'exploding metropolis'. The family has been the social form with priority here. Now, in the interests of civic decency, we need to consider how to re-locate firms and businesses within the limits that modern inter-communication makes possible.

To some extent, employment is tending to re-locate itself. Some firms, for reasons of cost and space in the centre of cities, are re-locating themselves, or establishing new branches, on the outskirts of cities. The interests of the civic community now require that these firms move a little further and take the mass of their employees with them. This is why: a move of a firm alone to the outskirts generates other requirements for civic space—for employees and transport to move to and fro, maybe from the other side of the city where some of them must inevitably have lived—out of all proportion to the space taken by the new business itself.

If the City Region is to be fashioned consciously therefore, public action must be taken to establish compact and comprehensive new developments at some little distance beyond the peripheries of the old city or 'conurbation'. Since no one business should be penalised by requirements such as these, the public, in one of its guises as Planning Authority, must in a sense act as landlord.

But how far can one press these re-