



**Uneasy Truce** Youngsters investigate a trench in New Delhi, one of the many reminders that India is prepared for another attack by the Chinese Communists. In the background is Connaught Circle, New Delhi's marketing center.

(AP Newsfeatures photo)

**Despite Chinese Withdrawal**

# Red Attack Wrought Deep Changes in India

By HENRY S. BRADSHER  
Of the Associated Press

Dusty men in turbans chipped away at a brick wall and it tumbled into the narrow bazaar street of old Delhi. A symbol of the Chinese danger was gone.

The wall had been built half a year earlier at the peak of the fear that Communist China might send its warplanes over the capital of India. Delhi municipal corporation spent \$10,500 lining the sidewalks with walls to protect pedestrians from bomb splinters.

Some were made of standard cement and crumbled by themselves long before the corporation decided they were useless. Now the rest are coming down.

Silt trenches dug in grassy spaces that beautify New Delhi are filling up with refuse without ever filling with refugees from air raids.

Air raids have not come—yet. But the Indian government, thrown off balance by the Chinese voluntary withdrawal after their invasion victories, is still apprehensive that they might attack again. Fear of an attack this spring has, however, lessened since the Chinese began April 10 to return Indians taken prisoner last autumn.

**War Standing Remains**  
With the fading of fear, the sense of emergency too has dissipated, although the formal state of emergency remains on the government books. India is still under war regulations imposed without a declaration of war with China.

On the surface little difference is visible between India before Oct. 20 and the nation of today, six months after the Chinese attack.

But there is a major change in the image that India holds of itself and that others have of this ancient nation of half a million villages. The image reflects the internal change of mood.

The image had been that of a frail little man, Mohandas K. Gandhi, who preached a non-violent approach to a hostile world, and of his lieutenant, Jawaharal Nehru, who admonished the world to be less hostile.

India was a nation that tried to solve others' problems. It specialized in telling the West that Communists, especially Chinese Communists in Korea and Indochina, were not really so bad if treated decently.

It urged others to settle disputes by peaceful means. Like a domesticated elephant that turns rogue, nonviolent India seized Goa from Portugal in December 1961. But if the West disapproved, China and Afro-Asian nations applauded this deviation.

Prime Minister Nehru still talked as if the world could be a place of peaceful international brotherhood.

Nehru could not believe the dispute with China over 51,000 square miles of rugged Himalayan borderlands would destroy the friendship of the two most populous nations on earth. But the Chinese attacked.

**'Artificial Atmosphere'**  
"We were living in an artificial atmosphere of our own creation and we have been shocked out of it," Nehru admitted.

The new reality for India became power. Walking the tight-rope of nonalignment was revealed to require not only a delicate sense of balance but also steely muscles. India lacked muscles.

Acquiring them meant developing a patriotic spirit. It came when Nehru told India's 461 million people that the entire nation was threatened by the invasion, despite some officials'

thinking all along that the Chinese had only limited objectives.

People rallied together in the name of the motherland that they had previously ignored in preference for regional linguistic and caste loyalties which cut India into dozens of pieces. "We finally got the kind of nationalism that flowered in 19th century Europe," an Indian historian commented.

Acquiring muscles also meant turning to anyone abroad who would provide weapons. The only significant help has come from the United States, Britain, Canada and Australia.

Nehru says India remains nonaligned. One reason is a desire to keep the Soviet Union friendly in the hope it will not help China much even if it does not help India and more than the token shipment of four MIG-21 jet fighters promised before the Chinese attack.

Nehru is now wavering between two conflicting roles: War leader doing what is necessary to defend his people and exponent of nonviolence and nonalignment.

In the first, he has to accept Western help including the promise of fighter planes to operate from Indian airfields if the Chinese should launch air raids. But the second role as well as national pride prevent Nehru from admitting this dependence. The result is a policy that is publicly fuzzy although clear to people who run the Indian government.

**Few Act 'Nonaligned'**  
"What's to be gained by saying we've given up nonalignment?" An external affairs ministry official asks himself. "Nothing. It is a useful shell because it keeps some people from getting mad at us and might win some support."

Few officials below Nehru act very committed to the shell and it might not outlast him despite the emotional and moral appeal of nonalignment for many Indians.

The president of India, philosopher Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, told American officials last November no one here was surprised by the help from Washington. Speaking of the deep appreciation, he said India knew America would always help another democracy under attack.

Nehru turns his temper on anyone who advocates India's formalizing this expectation of help with alliances. It is beneath national dignity to allow alliances to make decisions for India, he insists.

Increasingly, however, he is being challenged on both foreign and domestic policy. Some observers think he would have lost the prime minister's job that he has held for 16 years if the Chinese had scored many more victories last autumn and will lose if the Chinese attack again with the same success.

Nehru answers criticism by counterattacking opposition political parties. He conveniently overlooks the fact that some of the strongest voices against his policies are within his own Congress Party.

**Menon Dropped**  
These were the voices that forced him reluctantly to drop V. K. Krishna Menon from the job of defense minister after the Chinese showed how ill prepared the Indian army was.

Krishna Menon is campaigning hard to build the kind of political base he has never had, being Nehru's political creation. But he and his pro-Communist friends face a problem.

They have been discredited by the failure of Communist countries to help India in the time of need. The Indian Reds have been besmirched through guilt

by association with the Chinese Reds although the Indian Communist party split into factions facing Peking and Moscow.

Indian Communists cannot be written off because they remain the best organized party aside from Nehru's Congress. In many areas they offer the main alternative to Congress, but their appeal has been weakened.

A former student leader reports Communist workers among students are having to lie low because of hostility toward China. Krishna Menon has been booed by student audiences.

To try to overcome their unpopularity, Communists have appointed themselves the chief protectors of Nehru from what they say are reactionary tendencies. Nehru, a Socialist at heart, accepts some of this protection but has tried to shake loose from too close an embrace.

Even when shaking with anger, Nehru lacks his old vigor. His age, 73, tells heavily on this once bouncy man.

Nehru was stricken by severe illness a year ago. By July, he looked haggard, his face bloated by drugs and his back bowed. His energy seemed to be gone.

**Crisis Beneficial**  
The symptoms had disappeared by the time of the Chinese attack and it acted as a stimulant, invigorating him. Nehru told friends he had never felt better than he did under the pressure of the one-month war.

The stalemate since Nov. 21 of the unsettled, unsigned peace has been a physical letdown for the prime minister. He now frequently appears listless and lethargic. At a recent party meeting, he sat on the stage with the blank, open-mouthed expression of an empty, fatigued mind.

Persons close to him say Nehru can no longer remember little personal things very well. His speeches, never noted for conciseness, seem to ramble even more badly and often be devoid of meaning.

Yet he is the only truly national leader India has. The rural masses worship him. Nehru is India.

His physical letdown during the stalemate reflects in many ways the national letdown. "It is sometimes said that the spirit displayed in October and November is now passing away," said Nehru's closest political associate, Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. The loss of spirit would be wrong, Shastri added, but he did not deny it had happened.

Indian people rallied to the war effort at the beginning with a spirit that amazed many of the more sophisticated city residents. Widows gave their tiny savings, laborers earning two rupees (42 cents) a day gave a bit, and students sought jobs to earn money to contribute to the National Defense Fund.

The fund has now reached almost \$110 million plus more than \$2.5 million worth of gold from Hindu temple altars and women's ornaments. But of late the fund has almost stopped growing. Few are giving any more.

"I promised to give one day's pay a month," a middle-aged Indian said. "But new taxes are now taking an extra day and a half in pay so I can't do both." He gave no sign of begrudging the money, however the government got it.

**Taxes Raised**  
Taxes that the finance ministry long wanted to impose to raise money for economic development, but hesitated to levy because of political repercussions, have now been imposed. The emergency has made them acceptable with relatively little grumbling.



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