

Great Decisions: 'India; Democracy Working?'

(Editor's note: This is the fifth in a series of articles in the Great Decisions program. The material here was provided by the Foreign Policy Association, sponsors of the program. This week's subject is "India—Is Democracy working?"

At the moment all is quiet along the desolate Himalayan border regions between India and China. But as the spring thaws approach, life will begin to quicken in those distant wastelands.

In a matter of weeks the world will know whether or not Chinese armies, now bivouacked inside the northern gateways of India, are to be sent onward—deeper into the Asian subcontinent.

It was last Oct. 20 that the Chinese unleashed a two-pronged attack against India. One prong hit the Ladakh section of Kashmir in the northwest. The second Chinese prong drove into India from the northeast. In both areas Indian troops fled in disorder.

Then, in an abrupt about-face last November, the Chinese ordered a cease-fire. Their armies moved back in the northeast. But in Ladakh, where there are strategic roads linking Sinkiang to Communist-dominated Tibet, the Chinese retained control of a 12,000-square-mile area of territory.

Colombo Plan
The lull in the fighting afforded diplomats an opportunity to arrange a settlement. In December 1962, representatives of six Asian and African nations—Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Ghana, Indonesia and the United Arab Republic (Egypt)—meeting in Colombo (Ceylon) put forth a plan for a demilitarized cease-fire zone.

According to the plan, the Chinese were to pull back 12½ miles in Ladakh while Indian troops were to hold their positions. The demilitarized buffer zone between the front lines would be administered by civilians from both sides. This arrangement is actually a compromise between previous Chinese and Indian proposals.

In the northeast, Indian troops would reoccupy most of the territory evacuated by the Chinese after their self-proclaimed ceasefire. This would advance Indian lines up to the so-called McMahon Line, which was established by the British as a border in 1914, but never accepted by any Chinese government.

Described As Acceptable
Nehru has described the proposals as "by and large" acceptable to India, and the Indian Parliament has given



RECRUITS WEIGHED—Army recruits are Red China. After rigorous testing, only weighed by hanging on a scale as Indian about 10 per cent of the men are accepted. men take up arms in the border battle with (UPI)

its tacit approval to the Colombo peace plan suggestions. However, there are reports that the Chinese are in a truculent mood and will not accept the provision that Indian troops reoccupy areas in the northeast. There is speculation in some quarters that the Chinese may decide to strike for further gains.

Indians are being told by their leaders that the struggle against the Chinese will be a long one. Throughout the country there has been a surge of patriotic fervor and determination to defeat the Chinese. One Cabinet minister is quoted as saying, "At last we know who our friends really are."

There has even been upheaval in the Indian Communist party as pro-Chinese leaders have been forced from power. The party has echoed the Indian government's stand on the Colombo conference ceasefire proposals.

Looking to Defenses
India, meanwhile, is looking to its defenses. There has been talk of the U.S. and other Western countries providing an air umbrella should the Chinese unleash their planes against Indian cities. This would free the Indian air force for tactical strikes.

Nehru, attempting to cling to his nonalignment policy, has accepted the first four of

12 promised Soviet jet fighter planes. Though of little military significance, it is an irony of history that the Soviets should supply India with equipment that may be used in a fight against Communist China.

Renewed fighting is a possibility, but there is also a good chance that the Colombo peace plan will provide the basis for a settlement of Sino-Indian differences. It is widely believed that the Chinese are really after the strategic areas in Ladakh and would be willing to barter their gains in the northeast for them. Should this be their goal, it could be achieved under the Colombo plan provisions.

Talk on Kashmir
With his country hard-pressed by the Chinese, Prime Minister Nehru has agreed to discuss with Pakistan the 15-year-old dispute over the control and ownership of the Vale of Kashmir. Large contingents of Pakistani and Indian troops have been tied down holding regions of Kashmir.

It would obviously be to India's advantage if the Kashmir dispute were settled. The Indian army could then concentrate on defense against the Chinese. U.S. diplomats are on the scene, trying to bring the talks to a successful conclusion.

The U.S. has a high stake in the future of India, to which it has given some \$4 billion worth of economic aid.

By virtue of its size and importance, India has become a sort of test case to see whether democratic institutions and methods can produce satisfactory economic progress in underdeveloped lands. The U.S., therefore, is eager to have India overcome the Chinese challenge and get on with the enormous task of development.

Choices for the U.S.
What policies might the U.S. pursue to achieve these goals? Should it supply all the necessary military help without strings so as to enable India to end the Chinese threat? Or should the U.S. use the opportunity to extract a pledge from Nehru that India will give up nonalignment?

The U.S. must also decide whether or not to step up its economic aid to India to prevent development from faltering because of the diversion of resources to the military effort.

Each of these choices would have major diplomatic effects on U.S. relations with India, Asia and the Communist world. U.S. statesmen must decide which course will best serve the national interest in the long run.

First Reaction at Invasion Was To Organize Emergency

By MICHAEL T. MALLOY
United Press International

New Delhi—UPI—Indian democracy is a rare, exotic hot-house flower which could perish overnight in the first hard frost.

Democracy's blooms are flourishing today, thanks to careful cultivation by the country's political leaders and the warmth of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's immense personal popularity and prestige.

But the plant has few strong roots in the stony soil of India's impoverished and illiterate masses. If the gardeners of the ruling Congress party should lose interest in tending this delicate plant, democracy would quickly wither and die.

The Communist Chinese attack on Indian outposts last autumn sent a chilly draft through India. One of the frightened government's first reactions was to impose sweeping emergency regulations.

Increase Local Powers

The laws are virtually the same as those under which Great Britain kept Nehru in jail throughout World War II. They give local officials almost unlimited rights to arrest suspects and seize property.

Later regulations threatened government employees with prison sentences for disobeying orders or failing to report for work. Other rules warned newspaper publishers they could face stiff fines for printing stories which displeased the government.

The object of the new restrictions was to guard against sabotage and spying by Red China or local Communists. The main results so far have been the detention of some 3,000 Chinese residents of India in a special camp at Deoli in northwestern India, and the arrest of more than 300 Indian Communists by state government authorities. At

least 100 Communists are still being held.

But others besides the Communists are afraid of the new laws. The Indian bureaucracy has generally avoided promiscuous use of its new powers, but there have been a few examples of their use against non-Communists.

Opponents Jailed

Three members of the moderate opposition were arrested after distributing a pamphlet criticizing Nehru's conduct of the border clash with China. Months later they were still in jail, even though no charges had been filed against them.

Of the numerous newspapers which have received warnings from the government, almost all are right-wing publications which can be accused of opposing the ruling Congress party, which do not sympathize with Red China.

These have been isolated incidents, to be sure. But Nehru and other Congress party leaders have warned that the emergency laws may remain in force for four or five years. Many Indian liberals wonder whether the Indian bureaucracy can resist a five-year temptation to make vigorous use of its new powers.

There seem to be three major threats to the democracy of India:

1. The Communists and the far left.
2. The neo-fascist extremists of the far right.
3. The ruling Congress party.

The Communists have a long way to go. Their strength is limited now primarily to the states of Kerala and West Bengal. They have lost the trust of the people since their Chinese comrades marched across the Himalayas into Indian territory last October. The Red Chinese attack caused a period of agonizing reappraisal on the part of the Indian Communists, and they have not yet regained their composure.

The Indian far right includes a number of parties, all of them calling for a revival of Hinduism, a strong centralized government, and the building of massive military strength. Most fanatic of this group is the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). This group goes in for Nazi-style uniforms and military drill. It wants to see an orthodox Hindu empire ruling the whole sub-continent.

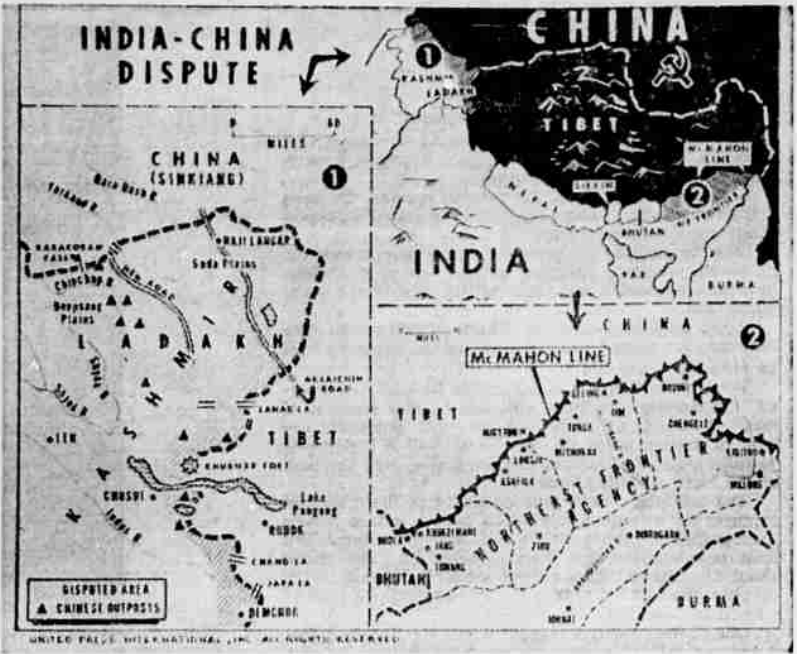
The RSS was implicated in the murder of the revered Mahatma Gandhi. Liberal Indians believe this group, and other Hindu fanatics, would try to exploit any major internal crisis in order to seize power.

Danger Within Party

The third danger to India—the ruling Congress party and the bureaucracy—is an ironic one. It is the Congress party which can take full credit for keeping alive the delicate bud of democracy in this vast land, yet within the party lies a distinct threat to the continuation of democratic rule.

The Congress controls 80 per cent of the votes in the national parliament. It is the ruling party in every one of India's 16 states. Its leader, Nehru, is a national hero who can do no wrong.

The Congress party's huge majorities in every election make it legally possible for the Congress to amend the constitution at any time. It could easily install itself in absolute power and declare Nehru a dictator or king. It is to the party's credit that it has not done so.



DISPUTE AREA—This newsmag shows two Sino-Indian border dispute areas—in the west, between Ladakh area of India and China's Sinkiang Province (1), and in the east around the disputed McMahon line (2). Areas claimed by both India and China are shaded. Chinese penetration last Fall is shown by blacked-out triangles. (UPI)

But there is no guarantee that this immense power will always be used to promote democratic ideals. And, of course, the 73-year-old liberal minded prime minister will not live forever.

The Congress has already shown that it can move harshly when its power is threatened. In 1959, the central government seized power from the popularly elected state government of Kerala which, unfortunately, had cast its votes for Communist officials.

Presses for Amendment

Today the Congress is pushing an amendment through parliament which is clearly aimed at the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), a political party which is threatening to win majority support in the state of Madras.

The DMK supports the eventual independence and union of Madras and three other states in southern India. The new amendment would make this kind of demand a prison offense.

Nandan Kagal, writing in the respected Times of India, said:

"For the union government to act as if the DMK poses a secessionist threat to the

unity of India is to chase shadows. What it does pose is a threat to the Congress party's monopoly of power in Madras, which is not quite the same thing."

The nationwide Congress party machine is a potential danger to the free play of political forces in India, but at the same time the Congress is the most likely defender of the democratic system.

When Nehru finally leaves the scene, it will be up to these masters of political infighting to create a new leadership through the system they know best—gaining votes in free elections. If they turn to other means, they will be playing a game at which the Communists and neo-fascists are the masters.

For this reason, if no other, the machine politicians of the Congress party may well be the real shield and hope of continued and expanding democracy in India.

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State Board Of Pharmacy Plans Action Against Magazine's Birth Control Ad

By ANN H. PEARSON
United Press International

Salem — UPI — The Oregon Board of Pharmacy is seeking to move against an advertisement for a contraceptive that appeared in a nationally-circulated Protestant magazine in January.

Oregon prohibits the advertising of contraceptives except in trade publications for doctors or pharmacists. Twenty-nine other states have similar laws.

The ad appeared in the January issue of the Christian Herald, an interdenominational Protestant monthly edited by Dr. Daniel Poling and circulated by subscription. It has 45,000 subscribers nationally and 4,857 in Oregon.

The ad is believed to be the first explicit advertisement of a birth control product ever published by a nationally-circulated family magazine in this country.

The ad was placed by the Emko Co. of St. Louis, Mo., manufacturers of an aerosol vaginal foam which has been widely tested in Puerto Rico, and which has been reported

in medical literature to be effective as a birth control device.

A. G. McLain, chairman of the Oregon Board of Pharmacy, said the attorney general's office has been asked for an opinion on whether a cease and desist order can be issued against the magazine.

He said the board also was considering a request to Emko whose product is licensed by the board for sale in Oregon.

A cease and desist order would apply to future issues of the magazine.

McLain said the legal question centered on whether the board could move against an ad placed, accepted and published outside Oregon, and only distributed in Oregon.

At the time the ad was accepted, Clarence B. Boutell, advertising manager of the Christian Herald, said acceptance of the Emko ad was a

"considered act" on the part of the magazine.

He noted many large Protestant groups in recent years have declared family planning a "positive moral obligation."

In addition to the state statutes, the federal Comstock act of 1873 makes it a felony to send birth control information through the mails. The act never has been repealed, but court rulings have made it virtually a dead letter.

A post office spokesman said he did not except any legal action by the post office against the magazine.

Society Will Elect Directors for Year

Directors will be elected by the Southern Oregon Humane Society at the annual meeting scheduled Monday, March 4, at North's Chuck Wagon.

The annual meeting, in keeping with established custom, will be a dinner session, starting at 6:30 p.m.

A report of the year's activities will be given and a film shown during the short program. New Humane Society personnel will be introduced.

Any person interested in humane work is invited to the meeting. Reservations can be made through March 1 by calling the Humane Society, 684-2406.

FARM BILL PLANNED

Salem — UPI — Sen. Don Willner (D-Portland) said he is sponsoring a bill to bring more farm workers under workmen's compensation coverage.

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Ministerial Group To Meet Tuesday Morning

The March meeting of the Medford Ministerial association will be held at 7:30 a.m. Tuesday, March 5, at the YMCA. A breakfast will be served the association members.

Following the breakfast Bob Jones, executive secretary of the YMCA, will speak on physical fitness and the Y program. The meeting is open to all interested ministers of the valley.

Jacksonville Youth Named on Honor Roll

Leland Peters, son of Mr. and Mrs. S. W. Christianson, Jacksonville, was on the honor roll with a grade of 3.74 for the first semester at Arizona State University in Tempe, Ariz. He is a sophomore in the college of applied arts and sciences as an architecture major.

As an outstanding cadet in the Army ROTC, Peters also was promoted to a corporal and transferred to an honor guard unit Feb. 18. Before attending Arizona State University, Peters was a student at Southern Oregon college under a Britt scholarship.

Tree Farm Group Sets March Meeting

Action being taken in opposition to House Bill 59, which would add 35 to 40 cents per thousand to the cost of log hauling, according to the Southern Oregon Conservation and Tree Farm association, will be discussed at the meeting of the association, called for Friday at the Rogue Valley Country club.

The meeting will be preceded by dinner and a cocktail hour starting at 7 p.m.

A current analysis of the Southern Pacific strike situation also is on the agenda for the evening.

In the field of local activities, reports will be made on the public relations program and the accomplishments of the Roxy and Sexton radio networks.

Equity Fund Holders Increase in Number

The number of individuals owning Equity Fund shares increased 17 per cent during 1962, it was reported at the annual meeting of shareholders in Seattle recently, according to Warren T. Raymond, president.

Edmund Hass is resident manager in Medford for the Pacific Northwest company, underwriter of Equity Fund shares and investment adviser.

The 4,100 shareholders in Equity Fund, and open-end investment fund, reside principally in Washington, Oregon and Idaho.

Eastern Oregon Will Get Radar Facility

Washington — UPI — Rep. Al Ullman (D-Ore.) announced Friday that Eastern Oregon will get an important new radar facility as a result of a nationwide improvement program just announced by the Federal Aviation agency.

The \$496,000 installation, according to Ullman, will be located in Condon, in Gilliam county. It will be one of eight similar facilities located throughout the country, designed to help eliminate gaps in the air route traffic control system.

The Condon installation will be part of the control center located at Seattle, and will provide expanded coverage for efficient radar air traffic control.

Ullman also announced that the Federal Aviation agency has approved installation of two new air guidance systems for the Klamath Falls, Ore., airport at a cost of \$48,000.

FEED STORE BURNS

Gresham, Ore. — UPI — Fire early Saturday destroyed the Doyle Staples Feed Store, a 100-year-old landmark at Springdale five miles northeast of Gresham.

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