

States. So far, there is nothing to suggest that we are united, willy nilly, behind any single leader. After all, at the apex of power it is not a servile, conformist press which moulds attitudes and opinions. No public showmanship can hide the truth that there is no leader, no collective, no firm grip on the jobs to be done today and tomorrow.

This is the essence of the crisis, but how is it to be diagnosed when public posture has no connection with actual commitment, when policy-making bodies like the Cabinet and the Congress Working Committee run away from policy-making, when there is no dialogue on the challenges facing us and the responses which have to be forged, when the little thinking that is done is *ad hoc*, from day to day, on the oasis of hunches. In this paralytic situation, rumours dominate the Capital

— contradictory rumours, meaningless rumours, absurd rumours.

I have tried to record this mood, it only to caution those unfortunates who believe their daily newspaper and imagine that all is well. If something drastic is not done to make the country aware of the critical times ahead, we will begin to live almost entirely on foreign props — and that would mark the beginning of the end of the secular, socialist democracy we had tried to build. Exhortations about self-reliance cannot save us. We must plan our self-reliance. And this demands self-confidence to organise the maximum and efficient mobilisation of internal resources, and manpower. Once we address ourselves to this task, the food and aid we receive from abroad can do no damage — and probably it will come in larger measure. But who is to convince those in power?

An uncertain Lal Bahadur, a disgruntled Nanda, a confused Swaran Singh, a brittle Krishnamachari, a frustrated Subramaniam, an impatient Chagla, a demoralised Asoka Mehta, a worried Indira Gandhi, an unhappy Kamaraj, an opportunist Patil, and cynical, parochial *satraps* in the States, is the complex of leadership which today many a nation has to carry. This should not depress us. What is disconcerting, however, is the total absence of effort to forge a collective leadership to get the country moving. This effort has to be sparked, somehow. May be, once again, Kamaraj holds the key.

Tailpiece: Even as V K Krishna Menon warned against the 'militarisation of the mind in India, news reached me of scholarships instituted for Indians to study the practice of non-violence in the USA!

FROM THE LONDON END

A Possible Election Manifesto

THE crisis in Rhodesia has dominated the U K political scene, and as the sordid drama relentlessly unfolds, one wonders whether the moderate measures outlined by the Prime Minister, who, incidentally, is said to regard Rhodesia as his Cuba, will prevent the outbreak of a real conflagration on the Continent of Africa. The bipartisan unity of the two parties on Rhodesia now seems likely to be split over the issue of sanctions which certainly have a crucial role in Wilson's method of tackling the situation. While there is bound to be concern, particularly in the Left Wing of the Labour Party, with regard to the Government's Rhodesian policy, what is to be made of the policy on other matters outlined in the Queen's speech for the next Parliamentary session?

A careful analysis of the Queen's speech will reveal that the Labour Party has taken a significant move to the right, caught between the need to pacify the overseas creditors who have loaned Britain some £1,000 million in the last year and the slender parliamentary majority which makes some concession to the Liberals essential if Labour is to remain in power. These two factors have led to priority being given to a number of unpopular domestic measures to tackle the balance of payments position and the dropping of steel renationalisation from the present session.

Quite obviously, in order to pacify foreign lenders, who, indeed, made it a condition of their loans, first priority is being given to getting the balance of payments position right. Wilson was at pains to state that any programme of social reform, however desirable, must depend on the economic situation. "We must get the balance of payments right". The speech states quite clearly that "priority" will be given to ensure that external payments are in balance next year, and that sterling is strengthened. Because of this, top position in the list of the 24 major measures outlined in the speech is given to George Brown's incomes and prices policy. The aim is to put teeth into this policy by giving Brown's Department power to demand advance notice of price and pay changes, to defer the implementation of those he refers to Aubrey Jones's National Board for Prices and Incomes and to give Jones authority to call for information and witnesses. At the moment, the non-statutory early warning system is still being negotiated with the Trade Unions and employers, but the Queen's speech makes it abundantly clear that if no satisfaction is obtained from this, legislation will be passed to empower the Government to act against Trade Unions.

While the Conservatives and Liberals (particularly now that steel nationalisation has been dropped) will find lit-

tle to object to in the Speech, the Left Wing of the Labour Party is applauded by the omission of any reference to re nationalisation and by the inclusion of what they deem "anti-Union" legislation. The basic fears of the T U C are quite understandable; once the precedent is set for new legislation on Trade Unions, later Government will take advantage of this breach to push it further. The Tories are already proposing to do this. The *Daily Worker*, in commenting on the Queen's speech, summed it up as showing "tenderness to the steel tycoons, toughness to the Trade Unions". However, at the moment, the Left Wing of the Party is severely emasculated with their more dynamic leaders imprisoned in the Cabinet and the fundamental loyalty to the Party as a whole which prevents them from rocking the boat and After thirteen years in the wilderness it is understandable that action at this stage which would bring the Government down is not contemplated by any section of the Party, however strong its feelings on nationalisation may be. Protest in plenty will occur and have, indeed, been made, particularly by Michael Foot, but secure in the knowledge of the fundamental loyalty of the left wing, Wilson can afford to ignore these. He has, of course, said, as a result of pressure from the Left, that although there is no time for nationalisation in this ses-

