

For Release: 2:00 PM June 26, 1969

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
ANNOUNCES FORMATION OF THE
UNITED STATES COMMITTEE ON THE GANDHI CENTENNIAL
THURSDAY, JUNE 26, 2:00 P.M.
FEDERAL BUILDING #7, CONFERENCE ROOM 2008
17TH & PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Measured either by character or achievement, Gandhi was one of several unique and great men who have most changed our world in the past century. He led hundreds of millions of people in the Indian Revolution -- perhaps the largest political movement in history -- to secure Indian freedom to shape India's destiny and to free Indians from internal social tyrannies. His life and thought are foundational impulses of the three political dynamics of our time: the drive for national independence, the search for racial and religious equality, and the quest for peace.

Mahatma Gandhi was the profoundest kind of revolutionary, for he rebelled against the conventional view of human nature as static and hopelessly selfish. And he rebelled against the idea that men could change society only through violence.

His faith in humanity astonished cynics everywhere, and astonished the calloused men who had yet to recognize the power of his faith in achieving worthy ends.

In the United States, Martin Luther King's faith in the power of men to achieve justice without violence has shown us the strength of Gandhi's vision. In rejecting violence as unworthy of causes great or small, both men in their lives renewed our faith in ourselves and our dedication to social justice.

Mahatma Gandhi was impervious to money, glory, and personal power. Seeking only to extend human freedom, he set for himself standards of conduct higher than anyone could have set for him.

If, however, we confine our celebration of Gandhi's birth to eulogies for the man and praise for his works, we will be untrue to his spirit. To be of more than sentimental value, the Centennial must regenerate consideration of Gandhi's work and philosophy as a means to help us solve the problems we face today.

Gandhi died from an assassin's bullets three years after men entered the nuclear age. As his life was spent in pursuit of justice without violence, so also the time and cause of his death are moving symbols of our continued existence between the threats of personal, immediate violence and the final violent end of man.

The futility and desolation of both kinds of violence force us to reexamine Gandhi's basic premise: that great ends do not justify all means to achieve them; that great ends do demand sufficient means. Good causes are too often lost by means that are unworthy to achieve them.

Violence in the name of peace is no more just than policies which breed despair.

There has never been a time of greater need for policies of non-violence and for policies which bring men together to resolve their problems through negotiation -- not by violent confrontation.

The United States Committee on the Gandhi Centennial will dedicate its efforts to urging Americans of all persuasions to consider the lessons of Mahatma Gandhi's life and philosophy that are relevant to our problems today. In urging a rebirth of the Gandhi philosophy, we propose to seek renewed discussion of using American rupee holdings in India to finance such studies.

The members of the Committee are the former U.S. Ambassadors to India, who are serving as Vice Chairmen, and private citizens interested in Gandhi and India. I am happy to serve as National Chairman.

We believe that the Gandhi Centennial comes at a moment in history when his teachings are most relevant and when the need is great to understand Gandhi's achievement through non-violence of ends common to our nation and the world. The United States Committee on the Gandhi Centennial hopes to help make this point to Americans.

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THE UNITED STATES COMMITTEE
ON THE GANDHI CENTENNIAL

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Chairman

Vice Chairmen
(Former United States Ambassadors to India)

The Honorable George V. Allen
The Honorable Chester Bowles
The Honorable Ellsworth Bunker
The Honorable John Sherman Cooper
The Honorable John Kenneth Galbraith
The Honorable Loy Henderson
The Honorable Kenneth Keating

The following is a partial list of members:

Miss Marian Anderson
Miss Joan Baez
Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
Mr. Douglas J. Bennet
Mr. Eugene Black
Dr. Joan V. Bondurant
Miss Margaret Bourke-White
Miss Pearl S. Buck
Dr. Ralph Bunche
Senator Clifford Case
Congressman Emanuel Celler
Mr. Norman Cousins
Mr. Robert Delson
Mr. Charles Dennison
Justice William O. Douglas
Dr. Ainslee T. Embree
Dr. Erik Erikson
Mr. Alvin C. Eurich

Mrs. Welthy Honsinger Fisher
Mr. Arthur S. Fleming
Mr. John Hope Franklin
Congressman James Fulton
Dr. Robert F. Goheen
The Honorable Arthur Goldberg
Mrs. Katherine Graham
Miss Martha Graham
The Rev. Donald Harrington
Mr. Sidney Hertzberg
Mr. Paul G. Hoffman
Mr. George M. Houser
Mr. Robert M. Hutchins
Mr. James Ivory
Senator Jacob Javits
Dr. Clark Kerr
Mrs. Coretta Scot King
Mr. Sam Lambert
Dr. Arthur Larson
Dr. Werner Levi
Mr. Ernest W. Linneman
The Honorable Robert S. McNamara
Dr. Milton Mayer
Mr. Albert Mayer

Mr. Yehudi Menuhin
Mr. Max Millikan
Dr. William Stuart Nelson
Mr. Isamu Noguchi
Mrs. Dorothy S. Norman
Dr. Norman Palmer
Dr. Richard L. Park
Mr. Drew Pearson
Dr. Karl H. Potter
Dr. Paul F. Power
Mr. Walter Reuther
Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Mr. Bayard Rustin
Dean Francis Sayre
Mr. Vincent Sheean
Dr. Donald E. Smith
Mr. Jack Valenti
Chief Justice Earl Warren
Mrs. G. J. Watumyll
Mr. Gilbert F. White
Mr. Harris Wofford
Mrs. Elinor K. Wolf
Mr. George Woods
Mr. Jerry Wurf
Dr. Kenneth Young

S T A T E M E N T

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE ON

THE GANDHI CENTENNIAL

JUNE 26, 1969

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Melotina
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✓ Lay Henderson
✓ Geo Allen

EMBASSY OF INDIA
UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC INTERESTS SECTION
2310 DECATUR PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

20 May 1969

The Honorable
Hubert H. Humphrey
Washington, D. C.

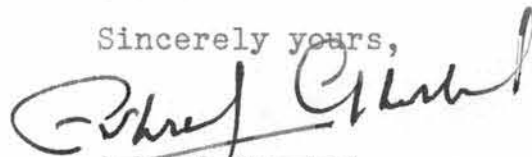
My dear Mr. Humphrey:

Thank you for your letter of 13 May. I want you to know how much I enjoyed our talk together, and I am looking forward to continuing it in the near future.

I am completely at your disposal with regard to a get together. It would certainly give me great pleasure to have you join me for lunch or dinner at the residence, at your convenience.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,



Ashraf Ghorbal
Minister Plenipotentiary

2 P.M.

June 26, 1969

MEMORANDUM

For: H.H.H.
From: Susan
Re: U.S. Committee on the Gandhi Centennial Press Conference
FOB 7, 2nd floor Conference Room 2008, 2.00 p.m.

1. Guests you will want to introduce: Loy Henderson, U.S.
Ambassador to India 1948, one of 7 Vice Chairmen of the Committee;
Mr. Ali Yavr Jung, Ambassador of India; and Miss Kamala Nair (Nire),
First Secretary of the Indian Embassy. Miss Nair has been very helpful with
initial planning for the Committee.

2. The official opening of the Centennial is October 2, 1969.
Many U.S. commemorative activities are planned for that date. India's
celebrations are year-long with special observances in October and February.

3. Many U.S. organizations and groups are planning to observe
the Gandhi Centenary:

a. colleges and universities; civic and church groups plan
seminars, conferences;

b. the American Association for Asian Studies will hold a seminar
in November (at the East-West Center in Hawaii);

c. the Asia Society is planning a Gandhi seminar for the fall;

d. Rev. Don Harrington, member of the U.S. Committee, plans week-long observance at the Community Church in New York City;

e. an inter-agency committee at the State Department has tentative plans: --the Smithsonian Institution is working with the Indian government to have an exhibit prepared in India and brought to U.S. for exhibit at Smithsonian;

--the Library of Congress may exhibit Gandhi's letters;

--Archives will publish letters of Gandhi ;

f. Governor Rockefeller has proclaimed Sept. 29- Oct. 5 "Gandhi Week" in N.Y.; Mayor Lindsay has proclaimed same "Gandhi Week" for New York City; Mayor Daley has designated Oct. 2 "Gandhi Day" in Chicago. - *Hope all other states do same*

g. Gandhi committees are forming in England, Canada, India, West Germany.

There will most likely be occasions for you to be present at one or more U.S. activities. And ^{or} you may want to become personally involved in the elaborate opening ceremony in New Delhi on Oct. 2. The Indian government is eager for international representation. You might go as National Chairman of the U.S. Committee.

4. The U.S. Committee will encourage and support the activities of local private and voluntary groups around the country. Hopefully, once the Committee is announced, some funds and/or offers for staff support

will be forthcoming. But if not, there need be no further activity by the U.S. Committee.

5. If the Committee had funds and staff, it could consider:

- a. propose and pursue renewed discussion of using American rupee holdings in India
- b. assume responsibility for an event in Washington and/or over national television that would constitute the "official" national recognition of the Centennial (perhaps a first-time, joint U.S.-India TV program via satellite);
- c. revive the Gandhi Memorial bill, sponsored by Rep. Celler, member of U.S. Committee, to establish memorial;
- d. recommend that Gandhi-Martin Luther King film be made. (direct Gandhian influence on early civil rights movement).

6. Funds or no, we all have a great deal to learn from Gandhi -- not only militants who resort to terror in their despair, but also policy makers who ask for more and more weapons in a world that already has too many; not only those who use force in the name of peace, but also those who call for repression and ignore the sources of discontent. A rebirth of ^{interest in} Gandhi seems especially useful at this time and also a hopeful way of marking the 100th anniversary of his birth.

After reading the prepared statement, you may want to read the telegram from Ambassador Keating, a Vice Chairman, who is unable to be with you today because he has just left for India.

Professor Galbraith, who is in the hospital, has also sent a telegram.

There will be a brief Q. & A.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

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SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

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THE HONORABLE HUBERT H HUMPHREY

RM 6233 FEDERAL OFFICE BLDG NO 7 WASHDC

1960 JUN 25 AM 12 51

ON THE EVE OF MY DEPARTURE TO TAKE UP MY ASSIGNMENT IN INDIA,
MAY I WISH YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES ALL THE BEST AS YOU LAUNCH
THE UNITED STATES COMMITTEE ON THE GANDHI CENTENNIAL. IT WILL
INDEED BE AN HONOR FOR ME TO BE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO INDIA
DURING THE CELEBRATION OF THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THAT
GREATEST OF ALL MODERN INDIANS. BEST REGARDS

K B KEATING DEPARTMENT OF STATE
(844).

Text of Telegram from John Kenneth Galbraith
Sent June 26 for Press Conference

"Only a minor disability keeps me from leaving my ashram (place where a pundit sits) to sit in my loin cloth with that fine old Gandhian, Hubert Humphrey on this great occasion. More seriously, and without the exaggeration conventional to these events, let me stress that no man of this century casts such a lengthy shadow in the United States as Mahatma Gandhi. And none for a better reason. All who believe that nothing can be accomplished without violence and all who hope that nothing can be accomplished without violence are corrected by the lessons of his life and the reality of his accomplishments. And all of us who seek to combine non-violence with change are in some degree his disciples. "

John Kenneth Galbraith



ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA

425 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE • CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

June 11, 1969

TO: Miss Cronin
FROM: Senator Benton

Vice President Humphrey is Chairman of the Gandhi Centennial. I suppose this means he is the American Chairman. This is another reason why we should definitely plan to visit India on our trip around the world, even if this means passing up Australia.

+ Will you please send him the article I wrote on my interview with Gandhi in Wardha in 1937? Incidentally, send him also my article in the Yale Review about the Great Soviet Encyclopedia.

op

Mr. Humphrey -

+ Here they are.

Re per. I. I hope to have a schedule written up by Monday.

Ann Cronin

GANDHI IS JUBILANT OVER PARTY'S GAINS

Says Belief That India Needs
British Military Protection
Is 'Gross Superstition'

FURTHER VICTORIES SEEN

Mahatma Says Native Rulers
Will Be Won When Country
'Comes Into Her Own'

The writer, who was recently appointed vice president of the University of Chicago, now is on a tour of the Orient and will take up his duties at the university in October.

By WILLIAM B. BENTON

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SEGAON, India.—The Mahatma reached over his legs, crossed before him on the floor. He grasped my hand firmly like any good Tammany politician.

"You'd better sit over there," he said, motioning to a varnished box about half the size of an orange crate six feet in front of him. This box was the only article of furniture in the room.

As an American advertising man traveling with press credentials, Mahatma Gandhi had granted me an interview. Mahadev Desai, for twenty years his secretary, told me it was the first interview this year given any writer or press representative.

"The Mahatma is partial to Americans. He cannot get a direct hearing in the English press; his only chance to reach the English is at rare intervals through America. He once called Americans brothers."

I ask him some questions about Indian politics, about the victorious Congress party's policies. [The Congress party, while accepting office under the new Constitution, continues its fight for India's complete independence.]

"This isn't the time for such questions," he snaps a little testily. "I have work to do here. I can't take myself from it to answer them. You should ask these questions of the political leaders."

My surprised look at the Mahatma's assumption that I would agree to exclude him from political leadership makes him add hurriedly:

"Of course, I wouldn't say that I don't know anything about politics. But I have no time for such questions now."

Poses Now as Recluse

Gandhi's pose today is that of the contemplative recluse. This is well keyed to Indian psychology. Although he cannot deny his leadership, in his public relations he does his best to sidestep admission of active political domination. Yet this is as real as it ever was.

"Many feel that any form of cooperation is a mistake. Others disagree, feeling that perhaps our objectives can best be achieved by giving ground now and then. Both groups are sincere."

"We have just won a great victory, and this brings us a big responsibility. We had literally no opposition. This is what counts. This result didn't surprise me, but it is a fine thing for others to see. It shows the world our strength."

We talk then about American public opinion, its attitude toward India.

"American opinion is of great importance to us," admitted the Mahatma, "and by our deeds we hope to win it."

Gandhi agreed that British foreign policy is often influenced by American opinion. He is aware that England tries in many devious ways to mold it.

"We cannot compete for Amer-

ican attention on the same terms with the English," he went on. "We do not try. Our methods must be different methods. We make no conscious effort to influence American opinion. I believed that America is emotionally sympathetic with our cause, but it is profoundly ignorant of the real facts and of our real problem. When the time is right, America will learn the truth by what we do."

Sees No Need for Defender

"It's a prevalent idea in America," I comment, "that India requires England for defense. Without the English, would there be civil and religious disturbances? As the Congress party is successful in driving the English out of power in India, will India fall a prey to some one else? Or, for that matter, how will Congress deal with the native princes right here at home?"

"These are gross superstitions," he replies, now at his gentlest and softest. "They have been propagated for years. Stories and statements of such dangers are hopelessly exaggerated. I know that many English people sincerely believe them; there you have the power of such ideas oft repeated."

"As to the native States," he continues, "they'll fall in line when India comes into her own."

Little realized in America is the feudal and almost absolute power of some of these native rulers. They are feared and hated by the Congress party perhaps as much as the British.

A subject close to Gandhi's heart, one of which he will talk freely, is his great movement to improve the lot of the Indian villager or farmer, who constitutes 85 per cent of India's total population. Experiments are constantly being made, designed to develop new ways to improve the villager's lot.

"See that boy there," my volunteer guide told me later in the day, "he used to spend all his time spinning a top. Now he earns two annas a day spinning thread. Thus a man with four children has eight annas daily."

An anna is 2½ cents. The average wage for common day labor in Wardha, a city of 20,000 and further advanced than the villages, is 1½ or 2 annas daily.

Paper Making Develops

The Village Industries Association has developed paper making, a crude wood pulp wetted down and dried in the sun. The villager is urged not to destroy the hive by fire and kill the wild bees for one comb of honey. He is shown how the bee can be domesticated.

Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell do not figure in Gandhi's plan of village life. The blind folded bullock goes round and round its large wooden mortar and pestle as oil is pressed from the thill seed for cooking, for bread, lamps, massage.

The search is on for other handicrafts. The work is still very new. The second major plank is the development of the native palm tree as a source of sugar. From an occasional palm, alcoholic beverage is now distilled, as the Mexicans distill tequila from wild cactus. Millions of palms still await tapping for sugar.

I unwrapped a round, hard lozenge, looking in its paper much like the package of nickels the bank teller cracks on his till. Gingerly I bit. With zest I ate. The taste compares to good maple sugar, a rich sweet peanutty flavor. India's millions crave sweets and dumbly await instructions.

Third comes sanitation. The fourth and perhaps the most important effort is "cow protection." The cow is sacred to the Hindu and, in general, God is expected to look after his own. The peasant surely doesn't. Cattle are abominably cared for. Many a cow is turned out to starve. In the plan for village uplift, the peasant is taught to tend, protect and develop his cows.

Further, and at first blush paradoxically, comes care after death. No cattle are slaughtered. This would violate the Hindu faith. But after natural death, the carcass is skinned, the hide is tanned in a series of chemical baths made from chopped-up bark, from lime, etc. I saw twenty women chopping bark at two annas pay a day.

"Progress is slow," the Mahatma

told me, "but you must remember that our work is new. We started with nothing but faith. Only faith. Today knowledge is added."

He breaks into his well-known toothless smile.

"You might add a third ingredient—give us part of the money you make when you sell your story," he suggests.

The Mahatma is famed for his humor. This was the first glimpse I'd had of it.

"You think if faith plus knowledge are potent," I reply, "faith plus knowledge plus capital are more so."

"Yes, yes," he cackles and rocks in a full laugh.

"Have you ever seen an American movie or heard American jazz?" I ask abruptly. "These are our two most famous exports."

"No, no, I haven't," he laughs again. "There's a good story for you. Do what you can with it. I've never been to a moving picture."

"Hasn't one ever been brought to you?" I query. "No," he laughs again. "I have never seen one."

My question is not asked in jest. In the talking moving picture, cheaply made and shown with low-cost portable projectors, lies a method for greatly speeding up the reaching of India's illiterate millions with the story of village uplift.

I told Miss Madeleine Slade, who has been a follower of the Mahatma for fifteen years, that any contribution of mine toward village uplift would be earmarked for an experimental moving picture.

Miss Slade, the daughter of an English admiral, has short clipped black hair shot with gray, stiff and upright like a Prussian officer's. She is charming, poised, with pleasant voice and laugh. She has visited countless villages throughout India as the leader of Indian women.

"By the example of her character," Mr. Mahadev told me, "she has become a tremendous force among Indian women. Twenty years ago no one could have imagined such a change in the status of our women."

"Thousands are so political and social minded today that, like my wife, they joyfully go to jail during the civil disobedience movements. The new Constitution gives women the vote. Young Hindu widows are beginning to remarry, for centuries an unheard-of custom."

"Many women have been elected to the Legislative Assemblies. Thanks to Gandhi, purdah [literally, a curtain; i. e., the covered face and cloistered life] has been almost eliminated in Southern India."

Here is a monument to the Mahatma and to Miss Slade which may well be more enduring than any political reform.

Refuses to Give Autograph

As I leave Gandhi, I unwittingly overstep. The last twenty minutes of our conversation are so friendly and informal that I produce a sheet of paper made by the association in Wardha which I had purchased for 1 anna. I ask the Mahatma if he will sign it, the first and only such request I have ever made.

"No," he smiles shyly and turns his head. Then he sees my paper. "No," he giggles cheerfully, "even that does not tempt me."

Again we shake hands crisply.

Mr. Mahadev tells me the Mahatma has given autographs only in London. And I think him right in refusing them. The autograph collector is a pest as unmitigated as the boll weevil.

"When I was in jail," Mr. Mahadev begins a story. He has served six or seven years in jail, not far behind the Mahatma's record. "They've been very considerate twice," he tells me. "They know how close I've always been to Gandhi and twice they've let me share the same cell with him, once for a year and a half."

As we plod homeward and trainward, I try to picture the tens of thousands in India who speak of their years in jail with pride—these are the American Legion of Indian politics. And tens of millions more will cheerfully face jail, mutilation or death at a nod from the 69-year-old politician-saint who makes of whatever village he occupies the most important town in India, and of whatever mud hut or room one of the most important in today's world.

Gandhi Is Confident of Further Victories; Predicts Indian Rulers Will Fall in Line



Times Wide World

Mahatma Gandhi, leader of the Indian Congress party, who is living in seclusion but still directing agitation for independence.

The Strange Encyclopedia

An Analysis of the

Second Edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia

By

WILLIAM BENTON

*Publisher, Encyclopaedia Britannica
and former U.S. Senator from Connecticut*

*Reprinted from The Yale Review
Summer Issue, 1958*

THE GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA

By WILLIAM BENTON

WHEN I was in Moscow late in 1955 I repeatedly asked for an opportunity to meet the men in charge of producing the second edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia. My requests went unheeded until, more or less by chance, at a party given for U Nu and his visiting delegation by the Ethiopian Ambassador, I met Premier Bulganin. He asked me why I was in the USSR; I told him whom I wanted to see; and he assured me I would be given every assistance. Soon appointments were scheduled for me with many leading administrators in education, communications, the arts, and publishing. Many of these men had not before been interviewed by an American, and some, I was told, by any Westerner.

Although my first meeting with the editors of the encyclopedia took place in the morning, we started off by drinking toasts and eating candy and cakes washed down with coffee. For ninety minutes they asked me questions about the Encyclopaedia Britannica's production problems. Then we got down to editorial policy, and it came my turn to ask questions.

My first query was about the GSE's long-awaited new article on the United States. That, I felt, would be a test case of its editorial policy in operation. At the time of this interview—November 1955, 32 months after Stalin's death and four months after the Geneva Conference—expectations of friendlier relations between the two Powers prevailed in some quarters. But my hosts didn't want to talk about the article on the United States. It wasn't ready. It would probably appear in volume 39 or 40, a year or two hence.

I asked a more general question: "An encyclopedia cannot avoid reflecting its time and place, but should it try to avoid this?" Mr. B. A. Vvedensky, Soviet Academician, physicist, and Editor in Chief of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, ex-

plained that it is very hard to find a formula. He conceded, "We haven't found it." The question in each case, he said, was that of "feeling." The editors must "feel what is temporary and what is lasting."

The staff of the GSE reports directly to the Soviet Union's Council of Ministers. Mr. Vvedensky cited the 1949 decree of the Council—the decree which called the monumental new edition into existence:

The second edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia should elucidate broadly the world-historical victories of Socialism in our country, which have been attained in the USSR in the provinces of economics, science, culture and art. . . . With exhaustive completeness it must show the superiority of Socialist culture over the culture of the capitalist world. Operating on Marxist-Leninist theory, the encyclopedia should give a party criticism of contemporary reactionary bourgeois tendencies in various provinces of science and technics.

The editors told me about the prerevolutionary Russian encyclopedia, "Granat," the editor of which ordered an article on materialism from Lenin and an article on idealism from a leading idealistic philosopher. This anecdote neatly illustrated to them the lack of a point of view. "Our editors' main task," Mr. Vvedensky observed, "is to create a universal reference work. We strive to maintain complete objectivity. But all articles are of course written from the position of our world outlook—Marxism-Leninism."

That night I dictated more than five thousand words about the interview. In the course of three hours we had covered extensive agendas each "side" had prepared in advance. The four younger men who, under Vvedensky, head the 460-man staff—Shaumian, Zvorykin, Revin, and Viskov—had many questions. They were vital, curious, and confident. Their encyclopedia has an "apparatus" of 25 departments, they told me, each divided into subsections, utilizing editorial contributions requested from over 7,500 specialists of 35 nationalities in the 16 Soviet Republics.

The importance of the encyclopedia is far greater than the sales figure of 300,000 sets (at 40 rubles a volume) would indi-

cate, because, as the central reference work on all subjects for the entire Communist world, it is officially an arbiter of fact and ideas for 800,000,000 people.

In return for my offer of a new set of the Britannica, the editors promised to send me their current edition, and early in 1956 the first 25 volumes arrived at my office in a single shipment. Fresh volumes followed with swift regularity. It appears that the entire work may run to as many as 51 volumes, though it will contain fewer words than the Britannica's 24 volumes, because of its smaller format, larger type, and coarser paper.

In the spring of 1957 volume 39 arrived, containing the new official portrait of the United States, as painted by the USSR's scholars and theoreticians. I have studied its translated text. Clearly, it is a consensus of leading Russian scholars specializing in American studies. Thus it provides an opportunity to determine how the Soviet "world view" works out applied to the history, condition, culture, and presumed future development of the American people.

Reading it has been a fascinating if baffling exercise. Most encyclopedia editors in the Western world of the twentieth century try to suppress their personal and national prejudices, and to adopt the norms and criteria of objective scholarship and science. This doesn't work out perfectly, of course. The Encyclopaedia Britannica calls itself "A New Survey of Universal Knowledge"; but its contributors are drawn overwhelmingly from the English-speaking world, and its editors, in allocating space, must be sensitive to the interests of its overwhelmingly English-speaking constituency.

Using the "encyclopedic" form to promote certain ideas, and to oppose others, is no innovation. When Cato the Elder wrote the first Roman encyclopedia, his object was to fight the invasion of Greek literature and medicine. Although he may have been unaware that his own ideas and maxims were in large part derived and even translated from the Greeks, Cato's diligence was a major factor in the expulsion of Greek philosophers and rhetoricians from Rome in 161 B.C.

The names of many eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth-

century encyclopedias proclaim their national biases. The "Enciclopedia Italiana" (1929-39, 36 volumes) states that one of its purposes is to provide "an inventory of Italian knowledge." Many articles are warped by fascist propaganda. Also written in a single language, and drawing primarily on writers from one country, were such milestones as Ephraim Chambers' 1729 "Cyclopedia," Johann Zedler's 1732-50 "Universal Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften," Gianfrancesco Pivati's 1746-51 "Nuovo dizionario scientifico e curioso sacroprofano," and their successors. The December, 1800, supplement to the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was dedicated to King George III with these words: "The French Encyclopédie has been accused, and justly accused, of having disseminated far and wide the seeds of anarchy and atheism. If the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* shall in any degree combat the tendency of that pestiferous work, even these two volumes will not be wholly unworthy of your Majesty's attention." "That pestiferous work" was, of course, Diderot's famous compilation which, by opposing the Church and the regime of Louis XV, and by serving as a forum for Voltaire, Euler, Montesquieu, and Turgot, helped to precipitate the French Revolution.

Professor Richard McKeon of the University of Chicago has prepared a manuscript on the history of encyclopedias which shows that mediaeval encyclopedias helped meet a continuing problem of the Church, the need to relate divine revelation to mundane knowledge. The Great Soviet Encyclopedia can perhaps more suitably be compared, in its intention, with these mediaeval enterprises than with other twentieth-century encyclopedias, for it is an attempt to make a broad array of knowledge available under the unifying interpretation of the Soviet Communists' brand of revealed truth, Marxism-Leninism. Its editors may not relish comparison with Boethius, who planned to show how Plato and Aristotle agreed with each other in a fashion consistent with Christian doctrine, but the GSE resembles learned works of the Middle Ages not only because the words of Marx and Lenin are treated as the central and sacred doctrine, but also because much of its information in the field of the social sciences, as the article on the United

States illustrates, is "scholastic" in the sense that it is drawn largely from previous writing on the subject rather than from life.

Thirty contributors are listed for the 97-page article on the United States. Only two of these were contributors to the article in the first edition of 1945: the physical geographer, Mrs. E. N. Lukashova, and M. M. Malkin, one of three Soviet experts responsible for American political history from 1607 to 1898. Since the GSE assigns important subjects to academic authorities of the highest rank in their special fields of study, we can assume that all the contributors are persons of academic distinction—at least of present distinction; many contributors to the disgraced first edition of the GSE are reported to have been exiled, imprisoned, or executed.

The organization of the material about the United States is by Western standards unexceptionable. It proceeds from geology and natural resources through population, economy, agriculture, transportation, foreign trade, and finance; from political history through government, political parties, unions, and communications media; from health, education, science, and technology through philosophy, political economy, literature, arts and architecture, music, theatre, and motion pictures.

Illustrations include seven maps, 24 statistical tables, 82 sepia half-tone photographs and a color reproduction of Winslow Homer's "Coming of the Gale" (a not unreasonable choice, since Homer's canvases bring the highest prices in the United States of all American painters). There are photographs of Manhattan's skyscrapers and Chicago's Loop, of scenes in Pittsburgh, New Orleans, Baltimore, Seattle, Fargo, and San Francisco. The Soviet reader sees glimpses of TVA and Grand Coulee dams; a forest of oil derricks in California; a synthetic rubber factory at Port Neches in Texas; an oil refinery at Baton Rouge; an enormous stamping press in a Philadelphia factory; and an Anaconda smelter in Montana. Small sepia reproductions show the Grand Canyon, the Bad Lands of South Dakota, the magnificent beach at Santa Monica, a number of prosperous Minnesota farm scenes, the Rocky

Mountains, and Niagara Falls. There is also a picture of the Oak Ridge atomic installation.

Bibliographical entries list books, monographs, and articles available in Russian, followed by reference sources in English. Many of the latter are standard source materials: for example, the Statistical Abstract of the United States, Annual Survey of Manufactures, United States Census of Agriculture, Minerals Yearbook, Vital Statistics of the United States, and the Congressional Record. Also cited are the earlier Congressional Globe, the Federalist, the writings of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Lincoln, and such eminent historians as Bancroft, Adams, Beard, Hart, Parkes, Parrington, and the Schlesingers. There are also numerous references to works which earned no recognition in the United States outside the American Communist orbit.

The earlier edition of the GSE, in an article written in 1945 when we were wartime allies, betrayed an editorial admiration for various aspects of America's development. The section devoted to the American economy began with a quotation from Lenin giving us our due, as it were: "The United States cannot be compared with any other country either from the point of view of the rapidity of capitalist development or as to the level of development thus far reached." Here is the new opening paragraph:

The U.S. is the principal country of modern capitalism. With its highly developed economy and technology it is also a country of the sharpest social contrasts, where an overwhelming part of the national resources is concentrated in the hands of monopoly capitalist groups and where the contradictions of the capitalist system manifest themselves with particular force.

The Soviet writer then proceeds:

The general crisis of capitalism, which had begun during World War I, especially as a result of the division of the world into capitalist and socialist systems, weakened the whole structure of the capitalist world and deeply shook the U.S. The ratio of economic

growth slowed down. . . . In a comparatively short period of time the U.S. economy passed through three depressions (1920-21, 1929-33, and 1937-38). . . . Industrial production rose in connection with World War II. . . . After that, war militarization had a great influence on the economy which only deepened the country's general instability. . . . During the period 1946-53 the annual net profit of the corporations was \$19,000 million as compared with \$8,600 million in 1939-45. On the other hand there was an absolute and relative impoverishment of the working class. The proportion of national income paid out to the workers fell between 1923 and 1951 from 54% to 40%.

Tables of industrial and agricultural output show that American productivity is high. But there are signal omissions which ignore or play down the broad distribution of consumer goods.

The GSE's description of our financial system is a faithfully orthodox Marxist tract:

The special kind of decline in the purchasing value of the dollar since the crises of 1929-33 and the depression has in essence turned it into a paper money unit. The coining of gold dollars was discontinued in 1934, and the coins in circulation were ordered to be surrendered to the treasury, where they were converted into bullion. The buying of gold abroad at lowered prices after World War II and partially during the war has led to a decrease in the gold reserves of other capitalist nations. . . .

The amount of paper money in circulation increased greatly during World War II. By the end of 1954 it totaled \$30.5 billion (as against \$7.6 billion in 1939); in addition, there remained \$106.6 billion in current accounts in the banks. The chronic deficits of the U.S. national budgets, the heavy taxes, the increase in the national debt and the inflation reflect the process of militarization of the country's economy. On December 31, 1954, the U.S. government's indebtedness reached \$278.3 billion.

History has also been rewritten in the GSE between the editions of 1945 and 1956. The earlier edition, out of the more friendly era, had concluded that the American Revolution and the Civil War ended in the triumph of "progressive" forces,

though a little later "bourgeois elements" became dominant. From the second half of the nineteenth century onward, however, socialist ideas were gaining ground. Eugene Debs was mentioned with respect. He tried to form a "fighting political party of the working class" in 1898 but failed because he had the soul of a "reformist." Woodrow Wilson was a "liberal statesman." The presence of American troops in Russia in 1918-19 wasn't mentioned.

The 1945 editors and writers saw the Sacco-Vanzetti case as a beginning of our bourgeoisie's struggle against a growing working-class movement. They considered the American Federation of Labor a reactionary organization, but greeted the Congress of Industrial Organizations as a stronger labor movement grouping progressive elements. They described sympathetically Franklin Roosevelt's reelection for a fourth term and chronicled the Yalta meeting of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin.

The new article is less cordial. The American Revolution was won as a result of French help, while Spain and Holland were at war with England, Russia having proclaimed "armed neutrality" and American Negroes having fought against the British. Northern bourgeoisie and Southern planters exploited the victory to consolidate their class interests. Our Constitution of 1789 was "the legalization of the bourgeois dictatorship over the popular masses." The North won the Civil War because "large masses of workers and farmers" declared themselves for democracy and because Russia sided with Lincoln while England and France helped the South.

Such a narrative will surely astonish American readers. But for readers in the Soviet world it is set in a persuasive context. Because previous and subsequent sections give a scrupulously documented account of our population by States, and of the yields of our mines, farms, and factories, the credibility of this historical fantasy may be high to Soviet readers. The recital is repeatedly punctuated with symbols long familiar to readers who have heard time and again how badly we treat Negroes, Indians, and minorities. One map shows many sites where

Americans crushed Indian tribes by military action and negotiation, successively annexing their lands. An engraving of slave life on an ante-bellum plantation corresponds to other and more recent pictures of Negroes working on a South Carolina tobacco farm, and to a protest parade of Negro youths in Harlem during the depression.

The GSE depicts American personalities either as heroes or villains. The new article has kind words for a number of dead Americans. Unqualified approval goes to few. Tom Paine probably comes off best, as "the boldest and most consistent philosopher of the enlightenment among the revolutionary leaders of England's North American colonies . . . publicist, active participant in the war of liberation and the French Revolution, friend of Condorcet and Danton."

Warmest esteem is bestowed on those Americans who the Soviet writers believe personify a protest against the system. Paine is joined with Benjamin Franklin, Ethan Allen, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Cooper as "the first representatives of American enlightenment" because "they critically examined the feudal ideology." Margaret Fuller is commended as "the fighter for women's rights." Henry Thoreau defended John Brown, "executed for his heroic attempt to rouse a rebellion among Negroes in Virginia in 1859." Emerson is applauded as the "leading spirit of the *Consent* group." ("Concord" is interpreted as the verbal equivalent of the Russian word *soglasny*, meaning consent, agreement, accord, concord, amity, or harmony, depending on context, rather than as the Massachusetts town.) Emerson "sharply criticized the ruling classes in American society," and held that "the reality of this class is the market, where everything is sold: talent, beauty, goodness, and man himself."

American nonconformists are blandly appropriated and equated with a few obscure dissidents who used the Marxist vocabulary. One I. Wedemeyer, friend of Marx and Engels who came to the United States in 1851, "fought with the Northern Army, called on the workers to fight for the emancipation of the Negroes, and founded the Marxist weekly 'Die Revolution' published in German." One Friedrich Zorge "organized

the Communist Club in New York and the American branch of the First International (1867)." Both are recorded beside Emerson and Thoreau as if they were equals.

The GSE commends a number of our scientists, inventors, writers, and artists. It recognizes the importance of Joseph Henry in physics, J. J. Audubon in ornithology, and of Dr. Crawford Long as the American discoverer of ether anaesthesia. Fulton is credited with the steamboat, Morse with the telegraph, Pullman with the sleeping car, Westinghouse with the air brake, Bell the telephone, Edison the phonograph and electric bulb, and the Wright brothers with "the first aeroplane." Considering all we have heard about Stalin's annexation of so many discoveries for Russian genius, I was interested that in 1956 the editors credited us with these inventions. However, in the GSE volume 1 (1949) and volume 28 (1954), Alexander Fedorovich Mozhaisky is "creator of the first aircraft in the world" which "accomplished the first flight in the world" in the summer of 1882 on the military field of Krasnoye Selo, near St. Petersburg. In this fashion the GSE now seems to achieve a kind of working co-existence, crediting Mozhaisky with the first aircraft and the Wrights with the first airplane, though in separate volumes of the universal reference.

American literature includes some praiseworthy figures. Albert Brisbane is a "representative of progressive trends in political economic thought." Edward Bellamy, Brooks Adams, and Harvey O'Connor are among the "more courageous critics of capitalism." Mark Twain is hailed as the "greatest American satiric writer at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century." Theodore Dreiser, Frank Norris, Jack London, and Upton Sinclair represent "the progressive school in modern American literature." John Reed and Lincoln Steffens "warmly greeted the victory of the Russian proletariat" (as indeed they did!). Pearl Buck "realistically described the life of Chinese peasants and presented some of the results of colonial exploitation." The poetry of Edna St. Vincent Millay, Stephen Vincent Benet, and Archibald MacLeish reflects "fear and detestation of Fascism."

Vilest of Americans in the Soviet book are those who were

once professed Communists but later became apostates. In 1929 the Communist Party of the United States "cleansed itself of its opportunist wing" led by Jay Lovestone. Earl Browder was an "agent of American imperialism" whose supporters were "masked enemies of the working class." He "attempted to destroy the party" because he was "obeying the orders of his masters."

A number of Americans who were presented in at least a neutral gray in the first edition appear in the second transformed into full-fledged badmen. Among these are Woodrow Wilson and Herbert Hoover. The 1945 edition characterized Wilson as a "liberal statesman." Although in the Soviet scale of accolades and epithets this is far from flattery, it is at least faint praise compared with the terms applied to him in volume 8 of the new edition, published in 1951. Here Wilson becomes a "reactionary politician" whom Lenin considered "the head of United States millionaires and a servant of capitalist sharks." The reader is told that during the First World War Wilson proclaimed neutrality because of America's military unpreparedness, because by supplying the Allies the United States made profits, and because Wilson was gradually becoming an arbiter able to impose his will on the world. One reason for American intervention in that war, the GSE says, was "the intention of stopping the spread of revolutionary ideas in Europe once the Russian Revolution had begun."

In the later article, Wilson is described as "a servant of the big monopolies" whose Fourteen Points were an "imperialist peace plan." What is more, "Wilson's aggressive, anti-Soviet and anti-national policy made him unpopular in the eyes of the wide masses of the American people."

Herbert Hoover suffers comparable attrition. Volume 1 of the first edition, published in 1926, carries an entry on the American Relief Administration which Hoover directed after the First World War:

The work of A.R.A. was limited to supplying children foodstuffs. In 1922 five million children were receiving A.R.A. rations. In that year A.R.A. undertook also to supply adults and a total of ten mil-

lion people were receiving the rations. . . . In all 1,814,900,000 daily rations, 602,292 pairs of shoes, 1,929,805 meters of clothing, etc. . . . The total cost of this relief was estimated at \$1,455,861.

By volume 2 of the second edition (1950) this work of mercy is presented as having quite another purpose:

The capitalist world tried to use the difficulties of the USSR. Saboteurs and spies were setting fire to Soviet plants or attempting to blow them up. The A.R.A. helped this enemy activity.

By 1952, when volume 13 of the second edition came out with a biographical entry on Herbert C. Hoover, we learn that he had amassed a great fortune through speculation. In 1919 he was appointed head of the American Relief Administration through which America "supported the most reactionary regimes in Europe." During the Second World War he "supported the policy of agreement with the Fascist aggressors." And by 1956, in the major article on the United States, the Hoover Administration is grouped with those of Harding and Coolidge as leading toward "the policy of restoring German militarism"—about as low as a capitalist politician can get. This article converts Hoover into the murderer of millions of Russians instead of the savior of millions from starvation as reported a generation earlier.

To see if this scorn of American statesmen, so pronounced under Stalin's rule, had abated under Khrushchev, I had the article on Dwight D. Eisenhower translated upon receipt of Volume 48. This volume, published in 1957, treats the present President with hostility similar to that shown his predecessors:

Under his administration the armaments race and further militarization of the country continued. . . . In view of the peace movement gathering momentum all over the world, Eisenhower took part in the Geneva meeting (July 1955) of the heads of government of the U.S.S.R., the U.S., the U.K. and France. . . . Later, however, the United States returned to the road of further intensification of international tensions. The imperialist circles of the United States took an active part in preparing and executing a counter-revolutionary rising in Hungary (1956).

In January 1957, the Eisenhower administration put forward a proposal of economic and military interference in the affairs of middle-eastern countries, and this policy was described as the "Eisenhower doctrine."

Almost nowhere in the official portrait of our country which emerges in the GSE does there seem to be unqualified approval of any American effort, even in medical science. The section on health is at pains to present a table on comparative mortality for whites and Negroes from tuberculosis, pneumonia and grippe, childhood diseases and chronic nephritis, a table which naturally reflects differences in living standards. When attention is called to our society's investment in medical research there is a parenthetical addition which looked to me as though it were added by an editor who wished to avoid giving us too much credit:

Such large organizations as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Public Health Foundation allot large funds for the study of medical problems (chiefly connected with the effect of the atomic bomb, bacteriological weapons, etc.).

The sections on our creative arts are phrased in political terms, and bespeak tastes we would regard as Victorian:

After the Civil War came a second renaissance of American art. The conflict of democratic and progressive forces with the reactionary bourgeoisie found its expression in painting and sculpture. Winslow Homer, Thomas Eakins and James Whistler were the greatest painters of the realistic school. Among sculptors A. St. Gaudens, Frederick Remington and K. A. Ward are notable. . . . Impressionism was followed by symbolism, and, later, by modernism. Formalism was predominant during World War I, but surrealism became fashionable in the 1920's. Together with the increasing strength of the workers' movement, new realism struggled against the decadent tendencies. In painting John Sloan, Robert Henri, George Luks and George Bellows were the foremost representatives of this period.

In music the encyclopedia separates native from foreign-born American composers:

Because of the racially mixed character of the American people, popular music and folk songs are rich and varied. . . . The first notable American composers appeared in the second half of the 19th Century (E. MacDowell, G. F. Gilbert). A new generation of modern composers in the first decades of the 20th Century included Aaron Copland, Walter Piston, Roy Harris, John A. Carpenter, Louis Gruenberg, Samuel Barber, William Schuman, Earl Robinson and Roger Sessions.

During World War II prominent European composers—Igor Stravinsky, Arnold Schönberg, Paul Hindemith—lived and worked in the United States, and their presence helped to strengthen the decadent and cosmopolitan trends in American music.

Jazz music also exercised great influence. In this field the most notable composers were E. (Duke) Ellington and George Gershwin.

For purposes of comparison, I secured translations of its entries on two other countries, Ireland and Israel. The article on Ireland undertakes to prove that Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin were among the best friends the Emerald Isle ever had, and that America has replaced Britain as Ireland's worst enemy. Eamon de Valera's "treacherous" cease-fire order ended the 1921-23 Civil War. Irish children are brought up "in a spirit of humble respect for God and the rich." Yeats, Synge, and Russell "tore themselves away from the democratic tradition of Irish literature." The "anti-popular cosmopolitan bourgeois culture" exhibits disintegration exemplified by James Joyce and "his imitator, the renegade Liam O'Flaherty." The Abbey Theatre has become the "official theatre of the Irish bourgeoisie and the big peasants."

The GSE piece on Israel attributes Israeli independence to the Soviet Union's delegation to the United Nations. Subsequent troubles in Israel have arisen because "Israel was not the democratic and independent state . . . which the Soviet delegation had proposed in the General Assembly." Supported by American and British imperialists, David Ben-Gurion has led a government of "reactionary and anti-popular parties." England and the United States "provoked a war between Israel and seven Arab states." American monopolies "are gradually dis-

placing the British firms and now control almost all branches of the Israeli economy. . . . The notorious Point Four program opened vast opportunities to enslave Israel." Why? So that America can have "a strategic base in the Middle East, to be used as a jumping-off point for a war of aggression."

Editor in Chief Vvedensky patiently explained to me that "one of the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism is that it is not a dogma; we continually resort to the method of giving the evidence." He acknowledged deficiencies in the work, explaining that the Great Soviet Encyclopedia is young. This was merely the second edition. The editors were constantly filling in gaps. I must understand that there is no attempt "crudely to put in Marxism-Leninism." I asked the editors to name one article that would be suitable both for their encyclopedia and for the Britannica. There was a good deal of hesitation and uncertainty in the group. They agreed that Marxism-Leninism comes into all "general articles." But they insisted that in no article in such fields as cosmogony or theoretical physics are Marxist-Leninist ideas mentioned.

I have since examined in translation a number of GSE articles on electronics, mathematics, zoology, and other technical subjects. Taking volume 39 as a sample, I concluded that perhaps between one-third and one-half is non-political in content. The Soviet student primarily interested in the exact sciences, and relatively uninterested in social studies, will obtain much—sometimes more, although more often not as much—the same information from the GSE as his counterpart here gets from the Britannica.

Random counts show the GSE's article "Geodesy" at 10,250 words, compared with Britannica's 14,400 words under the same title; the GSE's article "Vector Analysis" at 7,150 words compared with Britannica's 6,100 for "Vector Analysis" and "Lineal Algebra"; the GSE's biographical sketch of Max Planck at 550 words, compared with the Britannica's 710. The sciences in a sense offer the Soviet youth a kind of monastic refuge from the politics of his country; the attitude of the GSE

toward the physical sciences confirms claims reiterated to me again and again on my visit to the USSR, that scholars in the physical sciences have been left singularly free from the repressions of Soviet dogma. As for the scholars in the biological sciences, the Lysenko case must be chalked up as a strange aberration growing out of Stalin's determination to produce "the new Soviet man" in his own lifetime. But, Academician Vvedensky added during our talk, "in the field of history and social movements, these must be keyed to Marxism-Leninism."

The five Soviet editors were surprised to learn from me that the Britannica examines for revision at least one-tenth of its contents every year, so that over a cycle of ten years or less the entire work has been scrutinized for revision. They pricked up their ears when I described our procedures with our annual supplement, the Britannica Book of the Year, and Mr. Vvedensky has since written me that a GSE yearbook will soon be launched. They had no plan for such continuous review and revision, although the march of events would seem to compel changes. The volume containing the entry on Stalin is still forthcoming, but many highly colored allusions to him in previous volumes would seem to require plate changes.

Westerners were amused, when Beria fell from power, that the GSE made available to its 250,000 subscribers in the USSR a special section containing expanded entries on the eighteenth-century courtier F. W. Bergholz, on the Bering Sea, and on Bishop Berkeley, with the suggestion that the article on the secret police chief be scissored out and replaced by this new material. This was done, the editors implied to me, to oblige the subscribers. It would now seem that they will find that "the subscribers" will want to change the entries on Lazar Kaganovich ("one of the most important leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a faithful pupil of Lenin and companion of Stalin") in volume 19; on V. M. Molotov ("unshakable leader of Soviet foreign policy and unbending fighter for peace and security of the peoples of the Soviet Union as well as of the workers of all countries") in volume 28; and on Malenkov and Zhukov.

The new 85,000 word major article about the United States can only be called a fantastic combination of information, ignorance, and distortion. Yet I feel it would be a mistake for us to assume that it was written tongue-in-cheek, merely in line with the fiat of the Council of Ministers; or even to assume that such of its errors as seem to spring from Marxist-Leninist doctrine are inevitable, given the Soviet system. Some part of the distortion has been due to the sequestration of Soviet scholars from the stream of non-Communist thought. This is not to say that Soviet scholars are isolated; their remoteness is not that of the scholars of ancient China. They have access to nearly all non-Communist journals, especially scientific and technical journals. And because English has become the language of science, English is becoming Russia's second language; John Gunther reports there are 41,000 teachers of English in the Soviet Union.

But American scholarly and scientific journals are but faint echoes of the diapason of American life. Those in the social sciences are quite naturally discounted, as those in the natural sciences are not. All our scholars are regarded as bourgeois. Their articles and books cannot correct the thunderous daily distortions of America that flow out of every channel of mass communication within the USSR. Even those Soviet scholars in the social sciences who seek objectivity must succumb in degree to a lifetime's subjection to unchallenged lies.

The Soviet encyclopedia shows how Soviet scholars help—often perhaps unconsciously and out of long conditioning—to compound dogmatic errors and render an accounting which has little resemblance to the subject as it is. Long after Khrushchev, long after the present Presidium and the present encyclopedists have passed on, these misconceptions will be a persistent source of danger to the world. They call for major consideration in the formulation of United States' policy.

June 23, 1969

MEMORANDUM

For: H.H.H.

From: Susan

Re: U.S. Committee on the Gandhi Centennial

In the draft press conference statement for Thursday you suggest that the Committee dedicate its efforts to a rebirth of Gandhi's philosophy, and that, to this end, the Committee seek renewed discussion of using American rupee holdings in India.

You may want to discuss this idea with Ambassador Bowles. He is staying in Washington with the David Ginzburgs. We can reach him by contacting Howard Schaeffer at the State Department, 383-5070.

Doug Bennet thinks the idea has considerable potential. I hope you will call Mr. Bowles and talk with him about it. (He was delighted to be asked to serve on the Gandhi Committee.)

U.S. Trying to Spend Millions in Rupees

By Dilip Mukerjee

Special to The Washington Post

NEW DELHI—The United States Government owns, in theory, a massive pile of Indian currency—something like 6400 million rupees (\$850 million). And the pile is getting bigger every day.

Assuming, rather improbably, that no new holdings will be acquired, the total by the end of the century will be roughly \$31 billion unless they are written off in ways acceptable to the Congress.

It is the need for Congressional approval that recently brought John Hannah, U.S. Aid Administrator, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with a proposal to give away about \$220 million for a rural electrification program to assist India's agricultural growth.

Congress, however, is not the only hurdle. Agreement of the Indian government on the purposes of any grant is necessary. A 1965 proposal to fund \$200 million to create an Indo-American educational foundation ran into such opposition from the Indian left that it had to be dropped.

'Excess' Currencies

India is one of 11 countries in which the U.S. holds local currencies in "excess," which means that the holding is larger than Washington can expect to use in two years. But, as one U.S. official here put it, India is in a league by itself. Of the total "excess," equivalent to \$1.945 billion, this country accounts for half. The next largest piles are of Polish zlotys (\$450 million),

Pakistan rupees (\$200 million) and Egyptian pounds (\$182 million).

These holdings have arisen in two ways: through the sale of U.S. agricultural surpluses for local currencies since 1954 under Public Law 480, and repayments in these currencies of dollar credits given out of the Development Loan Fund (DLF) between 1958 and 1961. Thanks to an amendment initiated by Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.), money on PL 480 account can be given away as grants, but the non-PL 480 funds cannot. In India's case, over a half of the total holdings are non-PL 480.

The snowballing off funds is readily explained. Every time the Indian government signs up for PL 480 commodities, it credits the value to the U.S. in rupees in a special account maintained by the Federal Reserve Bank. Of each rupee, 87 per cent is lent back to India for "country uses" to finance local costs of approved projects in various fields — agriculture, power, education and health. Five per cent is held in reserve for loans to private enterprises with U.S. affiliations, and the balance is for U.S. Embassy uses (including of sale of rupees to tourists and foundations).

Balance Goes Up

The U.S. use of rupees last year amounted to \$24 million, but much more was added to the holdings from interest and repayments on past "country use" loans, as well as DLF loans. Since actual use made by the U.S. came to no more than \$40 million, U.S. use balances went up by \$93 million.

And as the balances grow each year through repayments and interest, the cumulative total is shooting up.

The balances, held in Indian government bonds, are in theory redeemable on demand. No one in the government loses much sleep over this legal liability, since the U.S. has limited its withdrawals to amounts agreed in advance. Even Embassy requirements are announced a year ahead. But some economists are worried over the power the U.S. is acquiring over the Indian economy because of these bonds. Their publicly voiced misgivings are causing embarrassment to both governments.

When Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, then U.S. Under Secretary of State, came to India last year for talks with the Foreign Office here, the rumpus over the earlier educational plan had died down enough to risk broaching the subject. Various ideas were gone over, but all had an agricultural bias appropriate to PL 480 which, to give it its full title, is the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act.

Grants Considered

The ideas canvassed included grants in support of rural electrification, grain storage facilities, rural road building, fertilizer marketing, and family planning. It was, as the U.S. officials said, up to India to decide how much of what it wanted to do.

This must be an Indian decision because the grants would be national; no new resources will in fact accrue to

India. India normally budgets money for these projects, but for purposes of U.S. accounting the expenditure must be set off against rupee bonds. The money spent will really come out of Indian revenues.

Of the giving-away ideas, rural electrification stands out because of the size of sums it would involve. Only 70,000 out of India's half-million villages and population centers are now connected to electricity; there are only a million energized pump sets at work in the countryside.

Considering India's ground water resources, the quickest way to provide sun-scorched farms with moisture is to add pump sets as fast as possible. The target for the next five years is a million more sets to bring water to more than 10 million acres. The additional yields from the newly irrigated acreage would go a long way to eliminate India's imports of food, cotton and edible fats.

Pump-Set Plans

The pump sets would be put down by farmers with their own money or with loans from cooperatives and other credit agencies. But state-owned electric utilities must first find the money to build the transmission network to take power to the farmers. At the low rate charged for agricultural uses, this is not a profitable undertaking.

The U.S. idea to get round this problem is to set up a rural electrification corporation which would lend money to the utilities at low interest

to help them break even at the rates now in force. The corporation might also lend to banks to help them finance farmers, especially small ones, to buy pumps.

The corporation would have an initial fund of \$230 million. All of it would be provided by the Indian government out of its own resources, but 70 per cent would be deemed to have been granted by the U.S. by cancelling rupee bonds of equivalent value.

If this scheme goes through, the pile of PL 480 rupees will be reduced roughly by a half. The other half would still wait to be written off as other ideas for use crystallize. But the non-PL 480 pile will go on getting bigger and bigger until Congress does something about giving it away.



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