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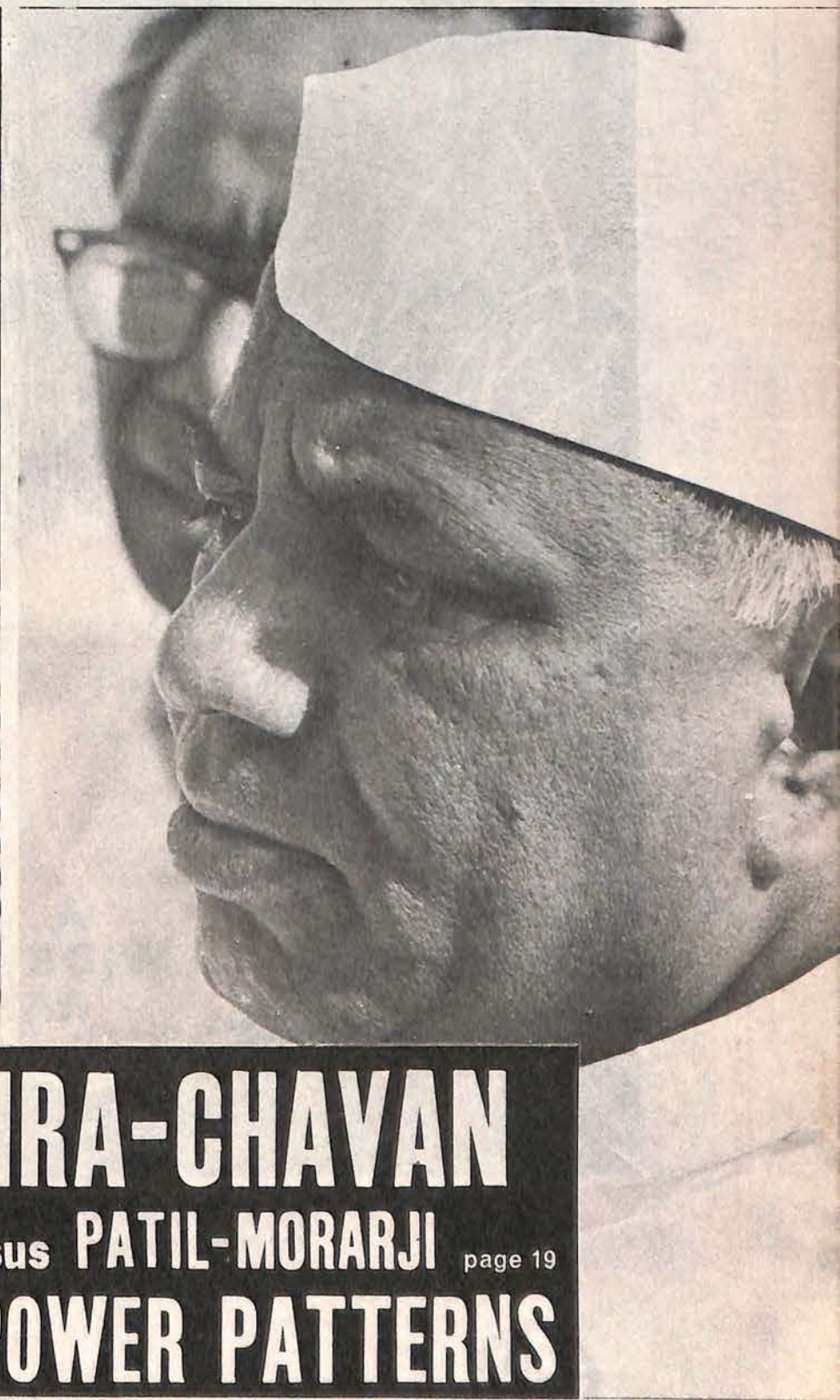
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INDIRA-CHAVAN versus PATIL-MORARJI page 19 NEW POWER PATTERNS

QUIT INDIA by General K. M. Cariappa

HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday November 25 1966

The Other Danger

THE CONFUSION perpetrated by the anti-cow-slaughter procession has resulted in a strong reaction against the rise of Hindu communalism.

Hindu fanaticism does not represent the best of Hinduism. It exemplifies its prejudice and intolerance instead of its universality and humanity.

We have to be alert to another danger also—that the actions of some Hindu communalists is not used as a stick to beat the Hindu religion or other religions with. Last week in Parliament, Mr. A. P. Chatterjee, CPI-Marxist, criticized dignitaries visiting Sri Sankaracharya of Sringeri in New Delhi. The Prime Minister was immediately put on the defensive when she was accused of accepting *prasad* (holy offering) from the religious leader. Mr. Chatterjee went on to insist that the policy of secularism meant that the Government should root out all religion from public life.

There is a difference between customs and habits that have grown around religion and the basis of morality present in all religions. If our political life has stooped so low it is not because of true religion but for lack of it. It is the dehydration that comes from the worship of the "cow of false secularism". True secularism means respect for the faith of others and not abolition of it.

Odd Reasoning

ADDRESSING THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE at Delhi, the Prime Minister asked, "How much liberty should the press have in a country like India which is engaged in fighting a war against poverty, backwardness, superstition and ignorance?"

Mrs. Gandhi said that the publicity given by the press to the student agitations in various parts had sparked disturbances elsewhere. Student agitations could have been curbed, not by the press blacking out the news, but the Government assuming its elementary function of governing.

It is difficult to comprehend the Prime Minister's reasoning. Does she expect that a country should be wealthy, advanced, modern and highly literate before the press could have its liberty? The India of the 1930's was even more backward, superstitious and ignorant than that of 1966, but her father and those with him fought for the freedom of the press in an amazing way. If we are free today, it is due as much to the courage of the Indian press as to the

sacrifice of men like Nehru. It will be a sad day when his daughter turns back on Nehru's true heritage.

At What Price?

"THE TIDE IS RIGHT, the time is right, the winds are right to make the effort," said Harold Wilson recently of his government's decision to explore the possibilities of entering the European Common Market. Was he remembering Hamlet's words, "There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune"? Mr. Wilson was earlier known for his opposition to Britain going European and some now wonder whether the tide he is hastening to catch is in fact the flood. He would be the last to like being described as a Hamlet and it could be argued that it takes decisiveness to even try to open the European door again after General de Gaulle's action four years ago in slamming it shut in the British face.

If it is true that French Foreign Minister Couve de Murville is making a condition of Britain's entry that she abandon her commitments East of Suez, we can only be sorry. Britain has a greater investment in India than any other overseas country. And while the Commonwealth has been buffeted by many storms in the past few years, it is still a unique association of peoples of every race and background. Britain may feel that what she has done for the world has not been sufficiently appreciated but history will not thank her for shrinking her role.

To The Last Passenger

THIRTEEN RAILWAY ACCIDENTS in less than six months. Bragging about a "master mind" being behind it—accusations against opposition political parties, the cry of sabotage—yet not one person brought to book to prove the charges. Fishplates are removed and on one occasion 59 bombs were found on a railway track, location undisclosed. Yet there is no action of consequence taken or revealed.

It seems that for all his sound and fury Mr. Patil is determined to defend his position as Railway Minister to the last passenger. It is one thing his wanting to remain in office. The least he can do is give the public a sense of confidence that he is doing something about the railway accidents. Instead of creating that confidence in the public, he seriously dishes out stories like the one that a gangman who had a quarrel with his superior has sabotaged the fishplates in the accident near Belgaum.

This accident near Belgaum took place within a few hours of the announcement that a one-man Border Commission had been appointed for the Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute. It is legitimate to ask whether a sufficient investigation has been conducted into the political aspects of this sabotage by the police connected with the Central Bureau of Investigation. What the public demands is concerted and serious action from the Railway Minister. The passengers' security demands it.



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WHERE QUALITY IS AN OBSESSION

heros' JBO-49

Briefly speaking...

Obedience alone gives the right to command.

EMERSON

Then and Now

THE FOUNDER OF the Indian National Congress, A.O. Home, considered the following qualifications as necessary for membership way back in 1885:

- (1) An unblemished record, public and private;
- (2) an earnest and unwavering desire to improve the status, either material, mental, moral or political, of the People of India;
- (3) marked natural intelligence, adequately developed by education;
- (4) a willingness to sink, when occasion demands this sacrifice, selfish and personal, in altruistic and public considerations; and

CHALTA HAI...



"I don't know how to convince him that it's not necessary to go on a world tour for an election campaign."

This weekly feature comes to you through the courtesy of the Eagle Vacuum Bottle Mfg. Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., manufacturers of the Eagle range of vacuum flasks, jugs and insulated ware.



ARISTOCRAT

- (5) independence of character, coupled with sobriety of judgement."

Are there Congressmen left who burn to see these qualifications enshrined again?

Go and Vote

A SURVEY BY THE Indian Institute of Public Opinion shows that 45 per cent of the Indian people in the past have not exercised their vote. This is equivalent to the entire Congress vote. Should voting be made compulsory? Pollsters say that if it is, some Congress State governments would fall. If you want the Congress to stay in power, stay at home.

C-R-A-S-H

FRENCH DOCTORS HAVE said that irritable people cause traffic accidents, and that in this age of speed, a major source of irritation is being caught in traffic jams. Presumably Parisian drivers don't often have to screech to a halt as we do to avoid hitting a bullock-cart. Perhaps the patience this teachers helps to keep our accident-level down.

I wonder whether there was much irritability in the family of a Yorkshireman named Brian Smith. The other day in Wakefield, his car collided with another. He stepped out to find that the driver of the

other car was his brother. Until their cars met, they had not met each other for seven weeks.

Well Deserved

HIMMAT'S STRIKING COVERS are printed every week by offset by the firm of Usha Printers. Its stately pavilion struck all who visited the National Book Fair and I am not surprised that it won the first award. The Book Fair, first of its kind to be held in India, was an outstanding achievement. I only wish more schools and colleges had included a visit to the Fair as part of their curriculum. The Book Fair should become an annual feature of Indian life, and be held in turn in different principal cities. A bouquet to the organisers.

Successful Planning

THE PRIME MINISTER of Iran, Amir Abbas Howaida, opened a series of bi-weekly conferences for Moral Re-Armament recently in Teheran. He made a point that the framers of our Fourth Five-year Plan need to note: that the revolution in character for which Moral Re-Armament stood provides the moral and ideological basis for the success of social and economic reforms. In the last decade Iran has launched on many of them.

R.M.L.

The second article on
WHO IS RUNNING INDIA?
by R. M. Lala
and **THIS WAS A LIFE**
are held over this week due
to pressure on space.

LIBERATION FUND

HIMMAT wishes to thank its readers for their splendid response to the Usha and Janaki Liberation Fund. Usha is now free. Contributions received in the last 3 weeks are published hereunder.

PREVIOUS TOTAL	Rs.	10,965	Ch. H. J. Rede,		
Mr. George Fernandes,			Holland	Rs.	515
Bombay	"	20	Lt. Col. F. Maskell,		
Mr. O. P. Verma, Assam	"	12	Canada	"	175
Mr. Mahendra Prasad,			Dr. D. Robertson, Scotland	"	210
New Delhi	"	5	Mrs. W. H. Dunbar, USA	"	187
Mr. and Mrs. Lovell Baker,			Mr. J. Mills, Australia	"	41.50
Canada	"	210	Miss Ruby Padgett,		
Mr. S. Ramchandran,			Australia	"	8.30
Sweden	"	14	Mrs. V. M. F. Good,		
Anonymous, New Delhi	"	1	Australia	"	166
Miss Rose Miller,			Dr. A. I. Ross, Australia	"	132.30
Australia	"	1	Dr. E. Russell, Australia	"	415
Miss Annie Joseph, Kerala	"	25	Miss J. Miers, Australia	"	83
Mr. K. J. Verghese, Kerala	"	5	Miss T. Melasniemi,		
Mr. B. M. Thapar, Calcutta	"	250	Finland	"	22.50
Mr. Frederick O. Greane,			TOTAL	Rs.	13,539.10
USA	"	75			

HIMMAT, November 25, 1966

QUIT INDIA

by General K. M. Cariappa (Retired)

In 1942 the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, gave a war cry to the millions of our land—"Quit India—do or die!" This was a call to our nation to ask our then rulers, a foreign power, to "quit India, and soon" so that we could have our birthright to enjoy the liberties of a free nation. Gandhiji's clarion call, which started off mildly, gained momentum speedily, regardless of the physical threat of World War II to our country. The results we know and we now enjoy the fruits of Gandhiji's war cry, "Quit India".

Now, 24 years and more later, another war cry is being given—"Quit India!"—by the grandson of Gandhiji, Rajmohan, who is also the grandson of another great son of our land, Rajaji. Rajmohan's call is not to any foreign power or any foreign people, but is aimed at something very foreign to our culture, our philosophy and our ways of life, which are all our glorious heritage. It is directed at the threat not to the mere physical security of India but to the much more important moral security of our millions.

India is in danger of the minds of our people being invaded by the evils of corruption, bribery, communalism, dishonesty, disunity, idleness and—worst of all—disloyalty by some who would invite in an "ism" foreign to our democratic ideology. Rajmohan's call is to these evils to "quit India"—and soon. Unless these are made to "quit" by the collective efforts of our people, speedily, a real danger to our independence and freedom is lurking just round the corner. This danger cannot be driven away from our soil by our fine soldiers, sailors and airmen. This is a war, a big war, to be fought by the masses, the millions of our countrymen who alone can defend the sanctity of our freedom and give us a life of plenty, prosperity and peace, and so of self-respect and dignity. The call is to give equal opportunity to everyone in our land, regardless of caste, creed, colour, race and religion, to enjoy the fruits of our hard-won freedom.

What made Rajmohan get into this arena to fight these evils and make a national call to "throw them out"? The inspiration for this has not come only from his grandfathers, Gandhiji and Rajaji. It has also come in a

greater form from another world figure, the late Dr. Frank Buchman, who is the father of Moral Re-Armament, popularly known as MRA.

Dr. Frank Buchman brought forth this moral revolution and nursed it and disseminated its ideologies widely in the world until he died only a few years ago, leaving the torch he carried—to show the path of peace and happiness to those who are devotees of democracy—to a dynamic man, Peter Howard, who also, alas, is no more. The "leading light" for Rajmohan and his gallant team of our fine youth is the "light" left by Dr. Frank Buchman and Peter Howard and, in addition, what he has inherited from his two grandfathers.

On your toes

READ THE WRITING

A friend in Indonesia wrote recently, "We have lived several years in fear—a struggle against our own feelings. We were not free to carry opinions. It was too heavy to carry on. God's help came and now our courage is coming back. Pray for us. It is not yet finished. It is just beginning."

In this jewelled necklace of a land which hangs like a garland beneath the continent of Asia, anguish and fear are slowly yielding to sanity and smiles. But—"It is not yet finished. It is just beginning."

The world expects much from a people whom the gods have blessed so bountifully. And Indonesia's friends rejoice to see her new leaders starting to dispel the groggy hangover of Sukarno's long binge of autocracy.

Subandrio has been condemned to death. But Indonesia's friends half hope that the sentence will be commuted. There has been killing enough on and off for twenty years. It is hard to see how new life can come to Indonesia through more death.

The generals now in charge have had a rough and perilous field to plough. Their promise to abjure revenge and their speedy renegotiations with the outside world has amazed all and won considerable goodwill and firm offers of economic support.



General K. M. Cariappa, first Indian Commander-in-Chief after Independence.

What is Moral Re-Armament? It is not a sect, it is a leaven or a seed. Those in whom the seed has been
Continued on next page

General Suharto's policy of allowing Sukarno to remain a figurehead President—acknowledging his position but not his pronouncements—has helped hold the country together.

But time is running out. Informed observers in Djakarta say that unless Suharto can produce marked economic improvement within six months he, too, must account to an angry populace. Plots to murder the military leaders have already been exposed. The students, leashed for the moment by the army, are growing restive again and demanding that Sukarno condemn the PKI for last year's coup.

The morose and moping President went closer last week than he had gone before to doing this when he praised the Armed Forces for their part in putting down the Communist-engineered coup. But the reluctant admission did not satisfy General Nasution who repeated his challenge to Sukarno: "Account publicly for the coup and the economic chaos of the nation."

And in all this there is a message for the Congress Government if it will only read it. A regime—supported by yes-man, wedded to power and divorced from popular support, deserting responsible leadership for factional bossism, misinterpreting a massive parliamentary majority granted by an electorate largely illiterate—may be closer to the fate of Sukarno's once proud clique than some care to admit.

FREEBOOTER

HIMMAT, November 25, 1966

VERDICT!

This week **HIMMAT**

SHARES WITH the Prime Minister her distress over the drought victims in her Person-to-Person talk on November 16 but **IS ASTONISHED** that she did not mention the subject most on the people's mind—how her government, after the events of November 7, intends to deal with the law-and-order situation.

IS DEEPLY SADDENED by the death of Sir Rustom Masani and **SALUTES** this brilliant administrator and author.

IS APPALLED that Sant Fateh Singh should be appointed "Dictator" of the proposed "morcha" (march) to prevent all common links between the Punjab and Haryana and **ENQUIRES** whether he realises what damage this agitation will do to the cause of Hindu-Sikh unity which he professes.

IS PLEASED that the Minister for Petroleum intends that the fertiliser industry be developed with or without foreign aid being made available and **TRUSTS** it is a realistic determination and not bravado.

WELCOMES the suggestion of T. E. Kachwala, Chairman of the Standing Committee, Bombay Municipal Corporation, that a Public Accounts Committee be established to check income and expenditure and **IS CONFIDENT** there is scope to keep such a committee busy.

IS DELIGHTED that the London "Daily Express" should have found Bombay's Reita Faria (Miss World, 1966) "a young woman of intelligence and character".

IS PLEASED that the Bombay Port Trust stimulates the initiative of its clerks, as evidenced by the award to B. A. Nayak of Rs. 1500 for submitting proposals to increase port revenue and prevent leakage.

CONGRATULATES Krishnan and Mukerjee on their smashing victory in the Davis Cup against West Germany and **HOPES** they win against Brazil and so find themselves playing Australia in the Challenge Round.

QUIT INDIA—Continued

sown are changed from within. They have seen evidence of the light of the absolute and, moved by this evidence, they become capable of overthrowing the barriers which separate them from each other. It is a hope. Perhaps it is even *the* hope, for without this spirit which brings men together in complete moral transparency, there is surely no alternative to the vicious circles of deception and mutual revenge. In 1960, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, is reported to have said:

"MRA is the world's hope... A Europe in which freedom and brotherhood should reign can only be created when nations are mutually conscious of their moral responsibility. MRA has given most valuable stimulation to the great work of uniting Europe. Unless this work is carried forward, peace in the world cannot be maintained... We can be grateful to the men and women of MRA that in this world of destruction they have had the courage to raise the banner of moral values. MRA has become a household word in postwar Germany... Begin with yourself—that, in my opinion, is the basic challenge of MRA. May this challenge ring out far and wide across the world and into all nations."

Dr. Buchman's creed was—"There is enough in the world for everybody's need but not for everybody's greed. If everybody cared enough and everybody shared enough, would not everybody have enough?" This in a nutshell is MRA's message to the world, the message which Rajmohan Gandhi and his gallant team are trying so desperately to broadcast to our people.

Forty years after Dr. Frank Buchman had first met his grandfather, Rajmohan was working as a newspaperman in Britain. He was so impressed with what he saw in Frank Buchman's work that he resigned his job and decided to make MRA his calling—as indeed many young men and women have now also done, giving up their studies and vocations to make MRA their calling in life to build a new spirit of dedicated service among the people of India.

One of the leaders of India urged Rajmohan that his duty lay in his father's newspaper. Rajmohan replied, "When my grandfather came back from South Africa as a lawyer, his family urged him to continue with his legal practice. Instead he

gave up his private plans in order to free our country. Now there is a bigger job—to save the world from dictatorship, corruption and war. I am going to put MRA in first place."

The MRA musical show, *India Arise*, which I saw recently in Delhi, was most impressive for its spirit of nationalism, patriotism, self-sacrifice and dedicated service. It is out to inspire the nation to carry on an intensive campaign to force the dangers to our independence to "quit India".

This Young Army

During the campaign, "Quit India", launched by Gandhiji in 1942, many, many students in various colleges discontinued their studies to be mobilised in Gandhiji's "army" to fight India's war against the foreign rulers. So quite a few of them did not get their college degrees. But they won the war they fought under Gandhiji's leadership and today we enjoy the fruits of that victory—freedom. I believe Rajmohan's "army" today is not yet so big as his grandfather's was. This young "army" has a greater war to fight to see that the war won by Gandhiji will not be made to have been won in vain.

I am told some young boys and girls, following the lead given in the 1942 "war" have given up their college studies too and have joined this new army. They have sworn to fight and win this greater war. They are determined to make all sacrifices to build a new loyal-patriotic national spirit among the youth of today who are the leaders and hopes of tomorrow. If this war is lost, either by MRA or others in the country fighting it, a far, far heavier foreign yoke may rest on our democratic necks for the rest of India's life—which no TRUE son of the soil will ever want to see happen.

India is a great country. She will be greater still. She will one day become one of the greatest stars in the universe, showing the way to goodwill, friendship and peace with freedom for mankind with her spiritual wealth which is profuse.

We are wedded to the sanctity of the principles of democracy as the only way of life for those who have faith in themselves and faith in God—and we have both of these. The teachings of MRA are almost identical with the principles of democracy. Unfortunately many of our

Continued on page 8

Curb violence : Dangers of communalism

A massive anti-cow-slaughter agitation in Delhi with its ugly manifestations of uncontrolled violence and hooliganism have important lessons that were unfortunately overlooked in the excitement of the Home Minister's resignation and the controversy it raised. The treatment meted out to Shri Nanda and the claims and counter-claims about the legitimacy of his action have become the principal issues. The Jan Sangh, RSS and Hindu communal forces which were responsible for the incidents were completely overlooked.

It is my strong conviction that just as Shri Nanda paid for his underestimation and trucking to the power designs of communal forces with his job, Indian democracy will pay the ultimate price of loss of freedom if it does not reckon with and take measures to counter the danger represented by the growth of communal political parties and the revival of Hindu fascism.

It is unsafe to put one's faith in democratic non-violent professions of Hindu communalists. They often represent not the best of Hinduism—tolerance, universality, humanity, breadth of outlook, emphasis on *Dharma* as righteous conduct—but they exemplify the worst—narrow prejudice, intolerance, self-righteousness, obscurantism. They emphasize custom to the detriment of pro-

SAY THAT AGAIN...

I have no desire to be an "iron man".

Y. B. CHAVAN,
Union Home Minister

We had no right to make this mess.

S. K. PATIL, Union
Railway Minister

This is the year the Republican Party either goes up or goes out.

RICHARD NIXON

gress. They have no objection to violence and even look upon it as a fair means to achieve their end. Their nationalism is narrow. With a love of discipline that is attractive because otherwise we like to go our different ways, there is a danger of them imposing a regressive tyranny.

When India desperately needs to intelligently wipe out undesirable custom and habits of the past which hold us back, they seek to re-invigorate precisely those elements of our heritage that will obstruct rapid modernization.

Power of communalism

One of the tragedies of the freedom struggle was that the danger of communalism was insufficiently evaluated. Much of our nationalism received expression in terms of Hindu revival which generated its own reaction in the form of Muslim separatism. Liberals who were above sectarianism and Marxists to whom chauvinism of any kind was an anathema, never-the-less underestimated the power of communal appeal. The Marxists went so far as to confuse the outburst of communal feeling with a demand for self-determination.

The danger is that the communal message is rooted in the language of tradition. Their appeal is in terms of a way of life that is understood by vast masses of our population. Their programme of resurgent Hinduism is sometimes appealing even to the intellectual disgusted with the attitude of denigrating superiority of Christians and others. Intellectuals, conscious as they are of the undesirable social accretions of Hinduism, are very proud that it represents some of the finest achievements of the human spirit.

Every political party realizes sooner or later it will have to articulate a message in terms understandable to the rural masses. Mahatma Gandhi presented the demand for independence in traditionalist terminology. This transformed the narrow base of a demand for transfer of power to the broad national movement for swaraj. Indian Marxists underestimated Gandhiji's strength because they never realized the ex-

Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

tent of their own alienation from the mass mind of rural India. Therefore in democratic India the political appeal is in the simplest terms of gains that will follow, of threat, of loss. There is also a resurgence of sectional appeal based on caste, language, region and religion. *The danger from the communal element is all the greater because it is part of the strong trend towards regionalism and casteism in post-independent India.*

Obscurantism of a politico-religious brand is not confined to the Jan Sangh alone. Many Congress people share the divisive prejudices of the RSS, Jan Sangh, and Hindu Mahasabha. If we except enlightened liberal leaders like Rajaji and Masani in the Swatantra Party, it also is afflicted with the communal virus. The real reason for the growth of communal parties is the general prevalence of jealousy and the bitterness of communalism and casteism in many political parties. This blunts the will to counter the communal appeal and weakens the resistance to its growth.

Faith in violence

The Left Communists, with faith only in violence, and socialists with their tendencies to anarchism, are joining hands with communal votaries of violence and upheaval. But the ordinary man who has a stake in democracy and freedom, stability and security cannot take this irresponsible attitude. Violence, by whomsoever perpetrated, students or hooligans, Left or Right, must be sternly dealt with. Only firmness will restore confidence in authority. The sins of the Congress Party do not justify the unreasonable demands made upon it in the last weeks. The Government will find support from all quarters in its will to govern and curb the votaries of anarchism and violence.

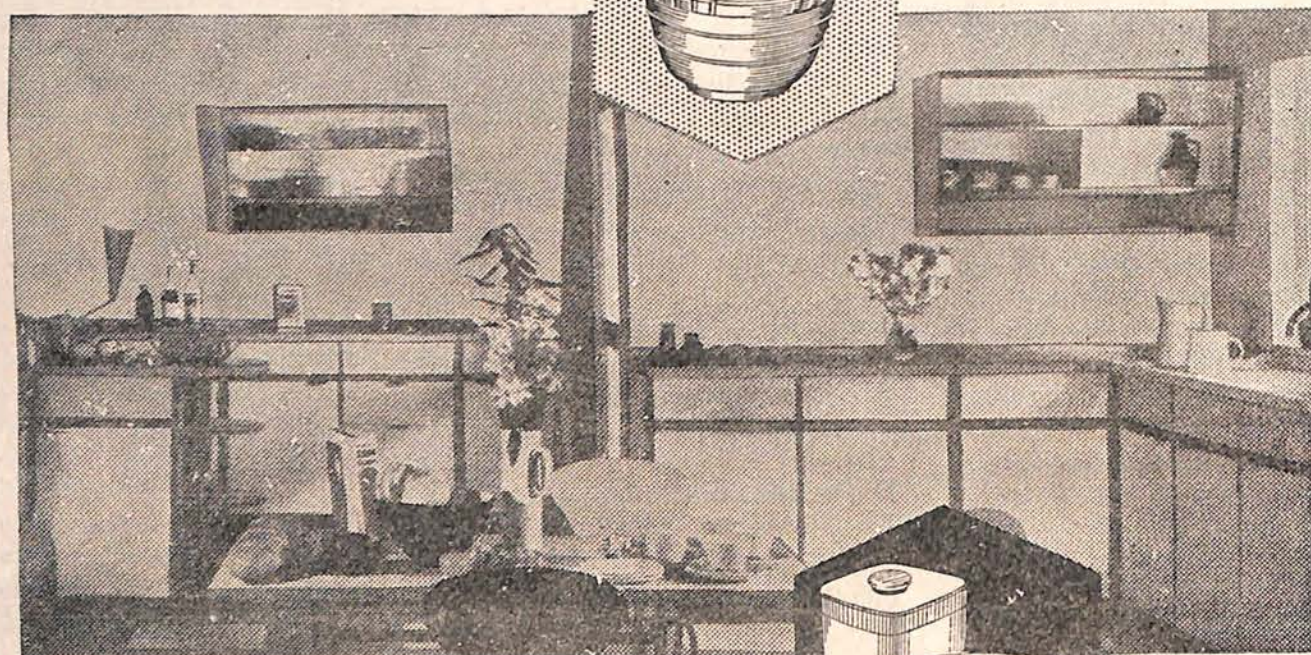
QUIT INDIA—from page 6
people—who have not taken the trouble to understand in perspective the ideology of MRA—look upon its followers with suspicion. Why this kind of uncharitable impression should go on I cannot understand. The followers of MRA are NOT disloyal to the soil of our motherland. They do not organise bundhs, strikes and indiscipline amongst the people

as some other "foreign-paid agents" are believed to be doing. They want the unity of the nation. They want to build a new spirit of selfless service, honesty, hard work, equal opportunities for all and a high standard of national character. In this great crusade they are supported in a big way by young men and women from far off—Australia, New Zealand, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines,

Thailand, America and England. All these are doing great service to provide for the survival of democracy.

Let us all—every Indian loyal to the soil of our Motherland—join in MRA's crusade to force the evils enumerated above—which are sapping the physical and moral vitality of our nation and so are a real threat to our freedom and independence—to "quit India". So **INDIA ARISE!**

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SISTA'S, PCM-38

HIMMAT, November 25, 1966

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Republicans Re-emerge in USA

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Washington

The outstanding result of the American 1966 elections is a resurgence of the Republican party from its low ebb of 1964. The two-party system has shown new vigour. The Republicans fielded a number of attractive new candidates and successfully got into step with the national mood, which seemed to be one of taking stock and consolidating in an orderly manner the giant social strides of the Great Society.

The election was not a repudiation of President Johnson. But the nation seems clearly of no mind to "go all the way with LBJ". True, the 47 seats in the House of Representatives which the Republicans gained were a real blow to the administration in the White House. It was a greater loss than any incumbent party has suffered in recent history (Kennedy's loss was only four in his first "off-year" election; Eisenhower's 18; Truman's 29). But part of this swing can be explained by the fact that many normally Republican districts went under in the 1964 Goldwater swampout. They would be expected to bounce back under normal conditions.



Ronald Reagan convenes in January, will be composed as follows:

House: Democrats	248
Republicans	187
	435
Senate: Democrats	64
Republicans	36
	100

Certainly the election results can-

not be interpreted as a criticism of the American policy in Vietnam. Every candidate who advocated withdrawal was defeated. And the only one who had expressed disapproval earlier, the newly elected Senator



Nelson Rockefeller Richard Nixon

from Oregon, Mark Hatfield, found he had to back off from that issue in the campaign and stress others in his successful bid. In the one place where people had a chance to vote on withdrawal from Vietnam, on a special ballot resolution in Dearborn, Michigan, they rejected the idea decisively. And the much discussed possibility of "white back lash" (against Negro progress) was mostly a red herring. The only vote-seeker outside of the Deep South who tried to exploit it, the Democratic candidate for Governor of the heavily Democratic state of Maryland, was soundly beaten.

It is inevitable that the fortune-tellers should immediately read into the results omens for the Presidential election in 1968. Richard Nixon, at whom the President lost his temper just before the election, certainly put many of the newly elected Republicans in his debt during the campaign. He will certainly be a power at the national convention which will nomi-

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

DJAKARTA—A plot to re-instate Sukarno with his previous powers was crushed when military police arrested two generals, about 20 other officers and a number of civilians. The plotters had planned to kidnap General Suharto and other non-Communist leaders.

KUALA LUMPUR—The Malaysian Deputy Premier, Tun Abdul Razak, attacked the movement for the secession of Sarawak, allegedly launched by ex-Chief Minister Dato Stephen Kalong Ningkan.

TOKYO—The Communist Chinese press condemned economic expert Sun Yeh-fang for advocating the restoration of capitalism in China.

DJAKARTA—Defence expenditure in the recent Indonesian budget amounts to 25 per cent in comparison with the 70 per cent spent on defence during Confrontation.

BANGKOK—Two Thai policemen were killed and 10 wounded when their party was ambushed by a band of Communist guerrillas.

ANKARA—Anti-American riots broke out in Adana, south-east Turkey, and confined 5000 US servicemen to their base. The Government said the riots were organized by extreme leftists and the Turkish Army was used to restore order.

TEHERAN—Ships from America, Britain and Iran took part in the Central Treaty Organization naval exercises in the Persian Gulf. Turkey and Pakistan, the other members of CENTO did not assign naval units but sent observers.

BEIRUT—Jordan repulsed an Israeli attack with tanks, artillery and aircraft in a four hour battle in the Hebron area. Israel said the attack was a reprisal for earlier border incidents.

DJAKARTA—Former Indonesian Air Force chief Omar Dhani will be tried for complicity in last year's abortive coup, announced the present Air Force commander

SAIGON—American warships sank eight Communist cargo ships and damaged another 18 when they intercepted the ships carrying supplies to the Viet Cong.

HIMMAT, November 25, 1966

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

nate the Republican candidate. As he says in his own candid way, he probably will not get the nod himself.

Other king-makers will be Nelson Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan who, as governors of the nation's two largest states, will head the convention's two largest delegations. Rockefeller has removed himself from consideration, and both men have the serious handicap of divorce.

Many will look to Charles Percy, 47-year-old industrialist who ousted veteran Senator Paul Douglas, as an attractive strong new voice for the national party. Percy has a definite age edge on another of November's impressive winners, George Romney (59) governor of Michigan, who was able to carry to office with him Republican Senator Robert P. Griffin, the victor over G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams, one of the most popular political figures in Michigan's history.

A word must be said about Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts. In holding for the Republicans the seat formerly held by retiring Leverett Saltonstall, Brooke becomes the first Negro to serve in the United States Senate in 85 years. The confidence-inspiring quality of the man is seen in the fact that his victory was one for a Republican in a predominantly Democratic state (home of the Kennedys), a Protestant in a predominantly Catholic state, and a Negro in a 98 per cent white state.

A continuation of the strengthening-the-two-party-system theme ran through the South, traditionally Democratic and therefore a one-party region. Republican John Tower was re-elected as Senator from LBJ's home state of Texas. Florida and Arkansas both elected Republican governors, the latter being Winthrop Rockefeller, brother of Nelson. The victories by the two Rockefeller brothers as governors of widely separated states on the same day is believed to be a new "first" in American history.

Having said all this, the Democrats still are firmly in control of both Houses of Congress and the White House. The President's programmes in the future may not sail through with as great expedition as during his first three years in office. But Mr. Johnson is an ingenious man with unique resources of persuasion; he commands the full power of the Presidency to dominate the news. The brand "LBJ" will still be felt and seen. It will shape much of the next two years.

Election Losses Lead to Cabinet Switches

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

In the changes just made in some ministerial responsibilities Dudley Senanayake's government shows itself willing to learn from criticism and mistakes.

Some of the functions of the Ministry of Trade and Commerce are

being taken over by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, the Minister of State, who is regarded here as the "strongest" and most able Minister. The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Dr. M. V. P. Peiris, an able and brilliant surgeon, has been the target of much strong language recently over his handling of the textile trade. Textile imports, now totally in the hands of the huge nationalized corporation, the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment, will in future be under Mr. Jayewardene. Since the previous Finance Minister under Mrs. Bandaranaike has indicated that the inefficiency and corruption in the C.W.E. was a major factor in the overthrow of that government, this change is important.

This and other minor changes of personnel are obviously the result of an urgent post-mortem of the government's failure to win recent by-elections.

Actually the official cost of living index is 1.6 points below what it was a year ago and the government deserves credit for this. Textile costs have been reduced by price control and the ration increased to 12 yards per person (in utility cloth—other grades are available off the ration.) Kerosene oil and some milk foods (when available—they are not at the time of writing) are also cheaper.

In an economy with very limited foreign exchange earnings rigid controls can cut costs. But shortages occur and supplies are limited—as with potatoes and milk foods—and the government faces grumbling from press and public.

Anzac Elections

FROM OUR AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND CORRESPONDENTS

Prime Ministers Harold Holt and Keith Holyoake of Australia and New Zealand take their nations to the polls on Saturday, November 26. The fact that the elections are on the same day is a coincidence though the Election platforms of the Government parties of both countries are similar. They are based on full involvement in Asian affairs and participation in the Vietnam war, where Australia has 4500 soldiers and New Zealand has now an artillery battery. The thunderous reception to President Johnson in both countries seemed to indicate that the electorate is thoroughly behind this policy but Australian Opposition Leader Calwell has said he would bring the troops back. The New Zealand Labour Party head, Norman Kirk, has proposed replacing their battery with an increased civil and medical aid programme.

The Australian campaign has become in its last week one of the most bitter for many years. One reason for this is that the election is very much a personal contest between the Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Holt, and the Leader of the Labour Opposition, Mr. Arthur Calwell.

Mr. Holt, who succeeded to the Prime Ministership following the retirement of Sir Robert Menzies, is making a determined bid to win the leadership of the country on his own merits.



Australian Prime Minister Harold Holt

At 70, Mr. Calwell knows that this is his last chance to become Prime Minister. Perhaps this is why his election policy contains something for nearly everyone—so much so that he has laid himself open to the charge of trying to bribe the electorate.

Mr. Holt is out to destroy Mr. Calwell's credibility to lead an alternative Government. He has brought strong evidence to support his view that Labour's programme would cost more than double the \$A300 million estimate given by Mr. Calwell and warned that it would lead to higher taxation and inflation.

Though Mr. Holyoake's National Party is the more conservative of the two main parties in the New Zealand election, socialism is highly developed there. It was the first British country to introduce universal suffrage for people over 21 (1893), Old Age Pen-

sions (1898), and women members of parliament (1919) and there is now a comprehensive system of Social Security improving the welfare of all sections of the community.

Farming is the backbone of the economy and the main exports are wool, meat, butter and cheese. Today industrial production is at a record level, enabling expenditure on education, fertilizers and farm machinery to be doubled in the last six years. In the last three years, New Zealand has developed and put into operation an international airline, Air New Zealand, which has run at a profit every year from the first year of service.

One of the main problems in the Australian poll is arranging for everyone to vote. The largest electorate—Kalgoorlie in Western Australia—covers 898,935 square miles. Others range in size from Grey in Queensland (318,188 square miles) down to the Sydney suburban electorate of Phillip which covers only 3.43 square miles.

An army of temporary employees, often school teachers, has been found to man the polling centres and to ensure that the electoral laws are observed. Every Australian over the age of 21 must vote—if he does not without an acceptable excuse he faces a fine of up to \$A10 or Rs. 80.

Some keen students of politics in both countries maintain that the electors have usually decided how they will vote months before the official campaign begins, but the contenders' efforts on the hustings during the current campaign indicate that they don't trust the theoreticians. They are going at it on the basis of leaving nothing to chance.

The week in India

NEW DELHI—Food Minister Subramaniam said that the food situation is worse than it was last year. Droughts and floods, particularly in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, would cause a year of great difficulty.

CALCUTTA—Over seven million people are affected by the drought in West Bengal, according to Government reports.

JULLUNDER—Student mobs sacked railway property and set fire to the Phagwara railway station following police intervention when the students stopped a train.

RATNAGIRI—Southern coastal districts of Maharashtra were completely cut off from the rest of India by a severe cyclone. Buildings were damaged, while telegraph, telephone, road and sea communications were all disrupted.

NEW DELHI—India has requested for 3.7 million tons of wheat and milo from the US in the first half of 1967, as well as the two million tons of additional wheat in the current year.

NEW DELHI—The proposed march on Delhi of over 100,000 students, organized by the left-wing parties, was forestalled by the authorities who prevented the students from entering the city. Leaders of the PSP and SSP, including two MPs, were arrested by the police to stop the march.

HYDERABAD—Sixty-nine Opposition members of the Andhra Pradesh Assembly resigned, mainly in protest over the Government's failure to have the fifth steel plant sited in Andhra.

NEW DELHI—The Jan Sangh President Balraj Madhok and eight other Jan Sangh and RSS workers, arrested following the anti-cow-slaughter riots, were released on a habeas corpus petition claiming that their detention was illegal.

BOMBAY—President Novotny of Czechoslovakia arrived here on the commencement of a five-day state visit to India.

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Africa Asks: Should OAU Continue?

By VERE JAMES

Addis Ababa

Old Shendy Market, on the banks of the Nile, was the centuries-old cross-roads and market place of Africa. During the OAU Conference here last week the Rotunda in Africa Hall may have seemed a modern version of it. Traders in power, dealers in influence and peddlers of personal causes appeared to congregate there.

Inevitably the third meeting of the African Heads of State drew the peripatetic professionals of the international conference set, and as the pressures and frustrations intensified each day it was a wonder that anything lucid or constructive could emerge at all.

Afterwards President Nyerere of Tanzania complained that many of the delegates were still tied to their former colonial rulers and were therefore not free to pursue the true spirit of African unity.

This year only 16 of the 38 African Heads of State actually attended the summit meeting. The remainder sent their representatives, mostly Foreign Ministers who had been meeting in Addis Ababa during the preceding days anyway. Notable among the absentees were Presidents Kenyatta, Obote, Mobutu, Banda and Sekou Toure.

Inevitably the question arose outside the conference hall whether the OAU meetings should continue. It is to be hoped that they will. The annual summit conference gives the focus to stock-take and plan for the year ahead.

President Tubman of Liberia in his opening speech outlined a practical approach which may hold the key to the future of the Organisation for African Unity. He stated, "It appears to me that our first and greatest consideration and objective is to put our own house in order."

During the past two decades the number of independent countries in Africa has increased to one third of the voting strength of the United Nations. It has been the age of independence. Now the continent is moving into an era of development where the men who lead their countries

will be the men who produce the goods.

In this context the OAU must evolve into a much more pragmatic body, planning the vast initiatives needed in education, health, industrialisation, irrigation and communication during the next decade.

Zambian Petrol-Lift

FROM TERRY GUILBRIDE

Kitwe

The transporting of fuel overland to Zambia has been a prime result of the Rhodesian crisis. So when a monster fire broke out recently in a petrol depot of Kitwe, the largest city and hub of the Zambian copper belt, it was a major catastrophe.—Ed.

This fire with its attendant riot has caused a great setback to Zambia in a number of ways. It has caused a deterioration in race relations between the Africans and the Europeans; it has done great damage to Zambia's world image and could well scare away much needed investment; and then, of course, there is the very serious loss of fuel.

On the very morning the fire broke out it was announced that the RAF fuel airlift from Nairobi to Zambia would end within the next few days as it was thought possible to main-

tain petrol supplies without the airlift. Now Zambia will be almost totally dependent on petrol supplies which come in by road, from Malawi and Tanzania.

The Zambia Tanzania Road Services, a company set up by the Zambian and Tanzanian Governments in conjunction with the Fiat motor company, is running a fleet of lorries and trailers, each bringing in a load of 35 tons of fuel per trip from Dar es Salaam.

Transporting petrol by lorries and trailers is just a temporary measure until the new pipeline from Dar es Salaam can be built. The Italian firm of Snam-Progetti, a subsidiary of ENI, has now been awarded the £16,000,000 contract to build this 1000-mile pipeline from Tanzania to a terminal point at Ndola, the southernmost point of the copperbelt. Initially this pipeline will be used to pump refined fuel from the refinery in Dar es Salaam and later it could be converted to pump crude oil to a projected refinery in Ndola. This project is expected to take 22 months to construct.

When the pipeline is completed its management will be in the hands of a Zambia-Tanzania intergovernmental board.

The week elsewhere

COMMONWEALTH TRADE

COLOMBO—"Very important" proposals for Commonwealth trade had been made by the Government of India, said the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Arnold Smith, at a press conference after a visit to India. Mr. Smith would not divulge what the proposals were, as they are to be considered by a forthcoming conference on Commonwealth economic co-operation. The Secretary-General also said he hoped that an Asian country would soon host a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting.

FOOD FIRST

LONDON—Agriculture must take priority over industry in South and South-East Asia, says the Colombo Plan Council for Technical Co-operation in a report published here. "Knowledge, initiative and energy must be directed from now on to

increasing agricultural yield per acre", it said. Total assistance since the Plan began in 1950 amounts to £68,600,000. 42,484 people from underdeveloped countries have been trained overseas under the Plan.

CABINET RE-SHUFFLE

SAIGON—After several days of uncertainty, Premier Ky announced appointments to four cabinet positions last week. Observers believe that the coming days will decide whether the political situation will stabilise after differences of opinion between cabinet ministers lasting from before the Manila conference. One bone of contention is suspicion between Southern-born ministers and those, like General Ky, who came originally from the North. There are rumours also of a split between the Premier and the Head of State, General Thieu.

Westminster Theatre Arts Centre PLANNING FOR NEXT 50 YEARS

The new Westminster Theatre Arts Centre will be opened on Saturday November 26. At the invitation of the Trustees, Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi is flying to London to perform the opening ceremony. The new Centre, for which £550,000 is being raised by voluntary giving, is built in memory of the late Peter Howard, who was in charge of the world work of Moral Re-Armament. The Chairman of the Trustees, Mr. Kenneth Belden, M.A., who was recently in India, writes specially for HIMMAT.—Ed.

The Westminster Theatre Arts Centre is concerned with the next fifty years.

We are moving at headlong speed into one of the most formative and most dangerous periods of human history.

In the coming decades we have got to master nuclear power before it destroys us; to answer the population explosion which will double the number on our planet by the year 2,000, and will call for united action by mankind on a scale never before attempted; to learn to use technology to raise the standard of living of the whole human race; to decide aright what civilisation we are taking into outer space, and what ideas are going to control the scientists who are probing the secrets of life itself.

In the face of these immense issues, the supreme question is, How do we modernise man? How do we move man, whose motives, passions and impulses date from the stone age, into the twentieth century? How can we replace the outmoded concepts of class war, race war, selfishness, greed, hatred, by a constructive and revolutionary change of character, so that faith and moral values reign supreme in the human heart?

This is Moral Re-Armament, and this is what interests the Westminster Theatre Arts Centre.

For people like ourselves, faced with these opportunities and dangers, what use is the kind of theatre that says that life has no meaning, that God is a myth, faith is hypocrisy, morality a delusion, and love of country disreputable?

The Westminster stands for a theatre of humanity and hope, of constructive ideas and new initiatives which everyone can take.

For this reason we are on the lookout for the best new talent the world has to offer.



by
Kenneth
Belden

Above all, we need writers. There must be a thousand ways to present the truth mankind needs today, through theatre, that have never been thought of before.

We are establishing a theatre school in the new Arts Centre, to train a picked group of young writers, designers, producers and actors. There will also be training courses in film-making and the creative work of cinema. We will develop new directions in music.

But wider than the Centre itself is the magnetic range of its interest for the young writers of imagination in every part of the world.

I hope we shall have plays there soon by the most brilliant talent of India. Why not? The deepest issues confronting humanity are common to us all, whatever the differing circumstances of one country from another. The great ideas that will shape the modern world are for all men everywhere.

Peter Howard, in whose memory the new Arts Centre has been built, once said: "I do not say, Be patient. I say, Be passionate. Be passionate for an answer big enough to include everybody, powerful enough to change everybody, fundamental enough to satisfy the longings for bread, work and the hope of a new world that lie in the heart of the teeming millions of the earth."

That is the aim of the new Arts Centre, and we hope that the best minds of India will help us achieve it.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN AT THE ARTS CENTRE?

A varied and far-reaching programme is being planned from the moment the Centre opens, under its Canadian Director, Louis Fleming.

Theatre. Henry Cass, who directs the plays at the Westminster, is filming Peter Howard's Christmas pantomime, *Give a Dog a Bone*. He will then prepare the pantomime for the Christmas season. It will be the first production when the theatre re-opens, running from 8 December to 4 February.

It is planned to present the play Peter Howard was writing when he died, *Happy Death Day*, perhaps his greatest play, a profound and poignant commentary on modern life.

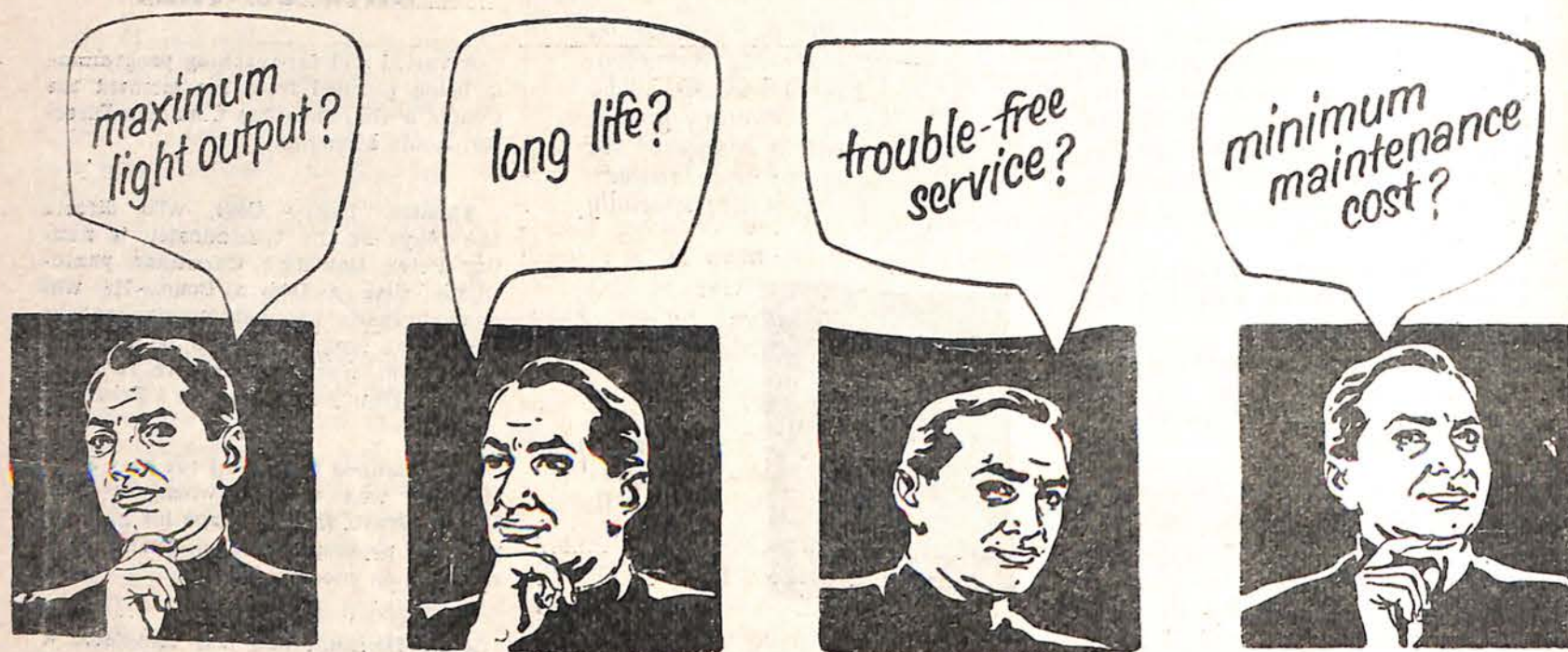
Alan Thornhill has just completed a new historical drama, and a number of other plays are in preparation for future production at the theatre.

Music. Dr. William Reed is the Musical Director of the Arts Centre. He has a programme of concerts of a new kind, given by some of the finest artistes of the country, beginning in January and continuing until June. He also plans lunch-time concerts, and a music society to pursue matters of musical interest more informally. He is himself a distinguished composer and is on the lookout for the best new talent available, as well as for established artistes.

Films. The Film Director will be Eric Parfit, who has made films in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. He has many exciting developments in mind for the Westminster, in film-making and programmes. He counts among his friends many of the best-known artistes and technicians of Hollywood and London, and plans to include them in training programmes to create the film producers, writers and designers of the future.

Education. R. J. K. Rundell, MA, MC, is in charge of the educational programme of the Centre. This will include training courses for British, Commonwealth and other overseas students; visits from schools, both to the plays and to study the technical side of the theatre; and the development of lecture programmes.

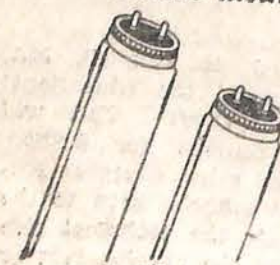
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ON THE Spot

Acharya J. B. Kripalani questioned on "Could Partition Have Been Averted"

Could the partition of India have been averted?

He shook his head in sorrow.

I was more specific: *Is it true that had the Congress Government when first formed in the UP in 1937 included representatives of the Muslim League, the League would have been more confident of sharing responsibility with the Congress and the demand for Pakistan may have never arisen?*

Kripalani's attention was drawn to Maulana Azad's book INDIA WINS FREEDOM. Azad, a former Congress President, states that Muslim League's Choudhary Khaliqzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan after discussion with him had agreed to co-operate with the Congress and accepted the Congress programme, but when he (Azad) was away, Nehru wrote to the two gentlemen saying only one of them would be given a cabinet seat. The League refused and the deal fell through.

Jinnah's Offensive

"This," wrote Azad later, "was a most unfortunate development. If the UP League's offer of co-operation had been accepted, the Muslim League Party would have for all practical purposes merged with the Congress. Jawaharlal's action gave the Muslim League in the UP a new lease of life... Mr. Jinnah took full advantage of the situation and started an offensive which ultimately led to Pakistan."

"I don't know about Congress Commitments in the UP," said Kripalani, "but what Maulana Azad said is to a certain extent true. Nehru relied too much on his friend Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and the Maulana is right in saying that Rafi did not relish inclusion in the cabinet of two persons. He wanted only one; and the League wanted two. However, in everything concerning Muslims, Azad's guidance was accepted both

by Gandhi and the Working Committee. He could have at any time vetoed Nehru, and Gandhi and the Working Committee would have backed him. But Azad rarely opposed Nehru."

Is it true that Nehru and Jinnah could not get along and things would have been different if they had?

"In fact there was a good deal of similarity between Nehru and Jinnah. For one thing they were both," he hesitated, "shall we say, self-centred?"

I asked him whether he attached importance to what Maulana Azad said; that Nehru's outburst at a press conference that the Congress could modify the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 (which kept India united) scared off Jinnah. Then followed the direct action massacre in Calcutta and partition was inevitable. Azad calls this a "costly mistake".

Kripalani felt that the Maulana was wrong in blaming Nehru too much in one respect. Nehru was not the only person that Jinnah had to negotiate with. He had talks first

with Rajendra Babu in 1935 "when he appeared to be reasonable" and then with Gandhi and others.

Do you believe that the Stafford Cripps mission of 1942 failed because Gandhi was against the plan to help Britain in the war for a future guarantee of Indian independence?

"Cripps did not offer any immediate and effective transfer of power. It was only a promise of transfer in future. It is wrong to say that Gandhi interfered. Gandhi left everything to the Working Committee. He did not even talk of his creed of non-violence in connection with the negotiations."

Angry Letters

Sardar Patel was a powerful figure. How did you get on with him?

"He was all right, but he did not like anybody disagreeing with him. If he was angry with me he would begin his letters, 'Dear Kripalani'. Jawaharlal Nehru, on the other hand, although I opposed him, till his last days wrote 'My dear Jeewat'. They

Continued on page 21

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“Everyone Has a Right To Choose His or Her Path in Life”

Writes Labour Leader George Fernandes

I am stunned at the decision of the Mysore High Court.

What has shocked me more is the attitude of all those who I thought were the champions of civil liberties in India. I had expected them to say something about the manner in which the State machinery was used to suppress the liberty of the two girls. Whether one agrees with MRA or not is most irrelevant in the present case. Janaki and Usha have the right to choose their path in life; and no-one should come in the way of their doing so as long as their paths do not run counter to the legitimate laws of the land.

I was wondering what would happen to me if my father were to use force against me to prevent me from working in the trade union movement and the Mysore High Court were to act in the manner it has done in the case of Janaki and Usha.

As a token of my support in the fight for civil liberties in the country, I am sending herewith a small contribution of Rs. 20. I am indeed sorry it cannot be a bigger amount.

GEORGE FERNANDES

Bombay

SADHUS AND COWS

What have those sadhus and demonstrators done to prevent the cruelty openly practised on the cows? A cow, old or young, is allowed to be stoned, ill-fed, bullied, stationed in the rain and can wander on the streets for want of shelter.

ARTHUR PAIS

Madras 28

DESTRUCTIVE RAGE

India cannot like China afford to wage war on some other country to forget its own ills. So we are waging war on ourselves in the form of ‘agitations’ and ‘bandhs’. It is really appalling to note that the people in their rage against the government, are destroying their own property (being the tax payers) which for the time being they think belongs to the government.

V. S. RAJAN

Madras 17

A LETTER TO RAJMOHAN GANDHI

Dear Mr. Gandhi

Please accept my hearty congratulations on the vindication of your honour, the principles of our country's constitution and the rights of the younger generation.

I was mightily pleased to read Miss Usha Chandiram's letter published in HIMMAT November 18, and then sincerely felt that your efforts were thrice blessed. I have been closely following this case. In fighting for it you upheld the right of the younger generation as against the mediaeval concept of parental snobbery. You fought for the fundamental right of

freedom, which is a valued privilege of a citizen of free India and you have come out of what was almost a veiled attack on the MRA movement and on yourself as its active worker.

As a freedom-loving brother Indian, I congratulate you on your valiant struggle which you carried on fearlessly and yet with patience, restraint, grace and dignity and no less with legal skill.

R. V. OTURKAR

Principal
Bombay College of
Journalism

Bombay 1

**TWO
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MEN—
NEED
TWO
KINDS OF
CLOTHES—
BUT
ONE BRAND
OF
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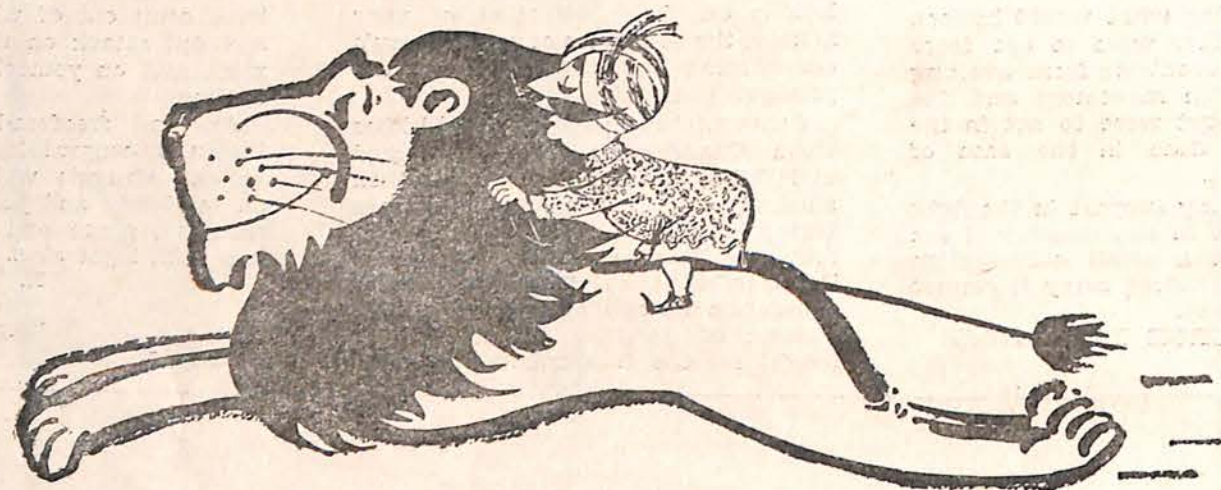


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AIR-INDIA

New Power Pattern in Delhi

"What you need, Madam, is a new pack of cards, not a reshuffle of the old one," a Delhi cartoonist advised Mrs. Gandhi as she struggled with the old pack after the anti-cow-slaughter fury. That week she didn't play her cards well, but she had beginner's luck. She finally picked the trump card she wanted in Y. B. Chavan as Home Minister.

The eyes of the nation were on the student demonstration last Friday. No Government could have afforded a repetition of the November 7 events in the capital. If the students' demonstration had turned violent the Indira Gandhi Government could have well fallen. Mr. Chavan, new in his portfolio, showed firmness and decision without harshness. By the end of Friday November 18, India felt she once again had a Home Minister in whose hands her security was safe.

A couple of days later in Parliament, Mr. Chavan, whose performances in Parliament have so far been fairly tame as Defence Minister, handled the situation with confidence.

Like Patel—Nehru?

The non-aligned party leader is a rare species and of all senior statesmen of India, perhaps next to the Prime Minister and Kamaraj, Chavan comes nearest to this description. In the last four years in Delhi he has kept himself well-informed but neutral on most issues and has refused to dabble in the internal politics of any other state but his own. In fact he has kept fairly non-aligned even when Mrs. Gandhi's Government has been attacked in Parliament, giving rise to rumours about his future aims. In the jungle of Congress politics the only man who can hold the party together is one who is non-aligned between groups. Mr. Chavan fits the bill.

A new power pattern is emerging in Delhi. Circumstances have brought Chavan and Indira together as the team of the future. Kamaraj, who was initially inclined to back Chavan as Prime Minister after Shastri's death, will help this team to work together.

Mr. S. K. Patil and Atulya Ghosh have both over-played their cards in the last days. Mr. Patil even came to a point when he wanted the induction of Morarji Desai, his old opponent, into the Cabinet at the reshuffle. The opposing group to Kamaraj, Indira and Chavan may in the coming days be Patil, Atulya and Morarji, with Morarji as their candidate for the Prime Ministerial contest in February 1967. Morarji has emerged unscathed out of the recent events.

Oddly enough the chaotic events of November 7 have strengthened the Congress ruling circles. There has been a sharp reaction against the communalists and the Congress will

The Nation

score over the Jan Sangh at the polls because of it. There is also a reaction against the so-called "vested interests"—Patil and Atulya—who tried to cash in on it by ousting Mr. Nanda and pulling strong strings to jockey themselves or their men into power. The Congress has now got behind it the sound forces in this country who are against a breakdown in law and order. If the Chavan-Indira team can keep the law and order situation in check, the chances of a Congress victory in the election are considerable.

Chavan's task in the coming days is crucial. On the one hand he has to handle the opposition with whom, till recently, he has got on well. His greatest task may be to handle his own Party and especially the Chief Ministers who nowadays create stirs in their own states.

It is conceivable that Chavan could give the administration strength and stability in Indira's Government as Sardar Patel gave to Nehru's. A Prime Minister with popular appeal like Indira and a strong Home Minister like Chavan could be an ideal combination. Both are fairly young. The Prime Minister is just 49 and Chavan is only 53. They have the capacity to give India 10 years of stable government but the problems facing them are massive, and not the least among them being the intrigues among their own party.

Election Winds

by ANTENNA

George is Standing

SSP leader George Fernandes is definitely standing for Parliament against Railway Minister S. K. Patil from South Bombay. So is party chairman S. M. Joshi standing from Poona. An earlier report had stated that the SSP was willing to have Fernandes and S. M. Joshi stand down for the sake of unity among the Opposition parties.

The Sampoorana Maharashtra Samiti which is seeking to bring an alliance of opposition parties has within it the Right and Left Communist Parties in the state, the Lal Nishan (red flag) group and the SSP. It appears that the PSP was considering the possibilities of joining this alliance to present a more united front to the Congress, and the initial offer of the SSP to make two of its leading candidates stand down was in their earnestness to have a united opposition. "The PSP is not serious about joining us", said one SSP spokesman to Antenna.

Masani in Again

The move to withdraw M. R. Masani from the Rajkot constituency to "devote himself to party organization" misfired and due to fears of demoralization within Swatantra ranks in Gujerat, Masani has once again been asked to take his Rajkot seat. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, member of the Rajya Sabha, who was to stand from Rajkot, has withdrawn in Mr. Masani's favour and will devote himself to party work.

Balloons in the Wind

Last week in Delhi when the Cabinet was being reshuffled, two or three balloons were launched. I understand that someone suggested that former Chief of Staff, General Chaudhari be brought from Canada where he is High Commissioner to fill the Defence Ministry. Mr. Y. B. Chavan felt it was not the right time as he was engaged in important duties.

There was a brief move to consider inducting L. K. Jha, ICS, secretary to the Prime Minister, into the Cabinet but the move was dropped as quickly as it was launched.

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USHA'S TRIUMPH

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Continued from page 22

Arun Mundkur of Bombay gets to the heart of the matter when he says, "Our own Free India's riots, firings and starving ones would shatter hearts of stone."

"Men who think they will build a new India without God's rule for their own lives, will only misguide our people into viler degradation. I want to break my own tutored arrogance and learn to obey God. I will learn to wash dishes, sell newspapers and take or give orders joyfully."

Kalpna Sharma of Jaipur declares, "I am as old as Free India. Hold me responsible for the future of my country. Every Indian young or old has the right to sacrifice. I want to see an India where millions like my younger brother and sister will be free to do what they in their hearts know to be right."

I have a feeling that the convictions of these young men and women are going to deepen and multiply with a speed that will surprise a number of people. *Such a development would be the way, and in fact the only way, of staving off a national breakdown.*

Human wisdom has failed. But God has a plan. Human exhortation has flopped. Yet the voice of God still shows the way for our country. Those who are humble enough to listen to this voice and willing to obey it will get all they need. The confused and lost will find wisdom. The meek and long-suffering will find courage. The self-centred will find concern and care for those around them and the country.

Through a body of such men and women India might get a picture of her world destiny. Surely our nation is not condemned forever to be on the receiving end. Let us, by all means, learn how to accept with care and gratitude. But let us also hope, plan and prepare for the day when we teach the secrets of sanity and peace to a world suppressed and exploited by the imperialism of materialism. Why should not India be in the vanguard in the war to liberate a world thus enchained?

The young men and women who say to India, "Listen to Us", may one day be used by God to make the world eager to listen to India.

KRIPALANI—from page 15

were very different but Vallabhbhai was realistic enough to know that Jawaharlal had the backing of the masses more than him. I think it was this, apart from his affection for Jawaharlal that made Gandhi say that he (Nehru) would be his successor. The people have misunderstood this question of succession. Nobody expected freedom to come so soon. Moreover, Gandhi was not the Prime Minister of India. Even if he had been, he was democratic enough not to have talked of a successor. When he talked of Jawaharlal as his successor he was thinking of carrying on the struggle against the Britishers. When I met him in Poona after the release of the Working Committee from Ahmednagar in late 1945 he told me: 'I shall yet give one more fight to the British before I have done.' Jawaharlal has also said somewhere that his succession was meant only for carrying on the freedom fight."

Is it true that Nehru was against police action in Hyderabad?

"Nehru wanted to avoid it. Mountbatten was definitely against it, but Vallabhbhai arranged it through the Defence Minister."

Disillusioned with Congress

In 1947 Kripalani resigned as Congress President because Nehru, then Prime Minister, did not give to this august office the respect it deserved. Disillusioned in 1951, Kripalani left the Congress Party and started in 1951 the Kisan Mazdoor Praja which later merged with the Socialist Party, because Socialist leaders—Jayaprakash and Lohia—had come to have faith in Gandhi's political and economic thought. Kripalani said he did not want multiplication of opposition parties. After all, though Gandhi had not talked of socialism, he stood for social justice more than anybody else in the country. Kripalani was chairman of the PSP till December 1954.

What is Nehru's greatest achievement?

"His greatest achievement was before independence. He was a very brave fighter: spent more time in gaol than most of us. He was daring and he enthused the kisans and the students, though not always discriminately. After independence he be-

came cautious. His analysis of the situation was good but proper decisions did not flow from the analysis."

And what about Subhas Chandra Bose?

"He was brave and he was a good organiser. In his election for the second term as Congress President he knew his chances to the last vote. Nobody in the Working Committee, not even Nehru, would have done what he did then in the face of the combined opposition of Gandhi and the Working Committee."

Was Azad a good President of the Congress?

"Before independence everything of importance was conceived by Gandhi. Non-cooperation was his conception. He knew his technique."

What at first struck you most about Gandhi?

"His utter sincerity and intensity (of purpose). His love of the poor, and his indifference to public opinion when he knew a thing was right—and his capacity to stand alone for truth."

Kripalani has learnt from his guru this capacity to stand alone for truth and right as he sees it.

R.M.L.

Next Week

HIMMAT'S Japan Correspondent Fujiko Hara interviews:

ZENTARO KOSAKA M.P.

Former Foreign Minister who recently returned after a 4 week tour of Mao's China where he met the leadership.

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USHA'S TRIUMPH

By Rajmohan Gandhi

"HER STORY will stir the hearts of Indian youth everywhere", declared a senior Government official.

"There has seldom been such an example of faith and bravery", said an ex-I.C.S. lawyer.

"She has shown the timbre of persons trained in Moral Re-Armament", commented another person. "She conducted herself like an Ambassador," commented a young journalist. "I have never seen such feeling," observed a tough Delhi politician.

These remarks were made last week about Usha Chandiram, eighteen and a half-year-old Moral Re-Armament worker from Bangalore, who on November 9 rejoined the force of MRA after 70 days enforced separation from it. The last two refer to her arrival at Palam airport when she was welcomed by nearly a hundred of her team.

Her Valour

Madras police had seized her on the evening of September 2. That night she was, with physical force and against her will, bundled into a car, driven to Bangalore and taken to the home of her parents. On November 7, the Mysore High Court chose to dismiss my petitions urging that the fathers of Usha and Janaki Varadhan, another MRA worker, be directed to set their daughters at liberty.

Two days later Usha's parents allowed her to go. Her 70 days of trial were difficult, painful and victorious. Not once did she waver from her commitment. Her unflinching loyalty to the truths she believed in finally won the admiration of some who felt she should not have devoted her life to a cause at her young age.

Her father deserves credit for letting her go after I had lost the case in which I had charged him with wrongfully detaining his daughter.

The secret of her triumph was her commitment to obey God's will. She was more interested in her friends, fellow-fighters and country than in herself. She selected, for the sake of her country, the stony path of suffering when compromise would have guaranteed comfort. The story of her valour in front of police officials

and throughout the 70 days will embolden large numbers everywhere—and not just young men. Assessing her battle, a European stateswoman says, "Another rich-hued pattern is being added to the eternal tapestry of the fight between good and evil".

Usha's experience is not a personal affair. It is relevant to the life and future of India. Does an individual have the right to sacrifice his or her promising career and live for the greatness of others and for the remaking of the nation? Does anyone, even a father, have the right to compel another person, even his son or daughter, to take on or give up a particular occupation?

Every Indian must face these questions boldly. And he should let his conscience, and the needs of India and the world, provide the answers, not any false or faint concept of past customs or practices.

Usha's battle is important for another reason. It has destroyed the myth propagated by some that Indians are spineless and cannot resist pressure.

There are millions of men and women all over this country who deep in their hearts want their lives used for a great aim and who would be prepared for sacrifice and persecution. They are our hope.

"Listen to Us"

Earlier this week Usha and some of her friends committed to Moral Re-Armament and to the creation of an India and world free of hate, fear and greed urged hundreds of thousands of Indians to grasp and apply the truth of MRA. They made their challenge and held out their hope through newspaper space in *The Hindustan Times* and *The Indian Express* purchased with money given by men and women who believe that Moral Re-Armament is the solution for India.

In a statement headlined "Listen to Us", they say:

"Is India today between chaos and anarchy or between anarchy and tyranny? Whichever is true we know there is an answer which can yet change India.

"The problem in India is not just

the evil designs of some forces, but the cowardice, compromise and non-involvement of those who know what is right but who do not care.

"The answer is a revolution which can change human nature. A revolution which can transform the aims and motives of crores of people.

"We believe that the revolution of Moral Re-Armament has this power.

"Hunger, poverty, hate and violence, the harvest of vast-scale selfishness, will never be cured by paper plans alone. The answer is a tidal wave of unselfish men.

"We think that if people like us can change, everyone can change.

"We believe that when man listens, God speaks. This is not a question of becoming exalted in emotion, but a question of getting plans that will work. Student, teacher, parent, farmer, worker, boss, soldier, administrator, politician, the professional, even the Cabinet—all can get concrete ideas from God on what they should do, if they search out the deepest voice in their heart.

"I will neither be bribed or bullied".

"A few thousand Indian men and women who soberly make this their pledge, whatever the source and strength of bribe or pressure, will prevent tyranny's triumph.

"They can do more. They can by challenge and exertions bring about a kind of government not yet tried anywhere in the world, a government of men governed by God.

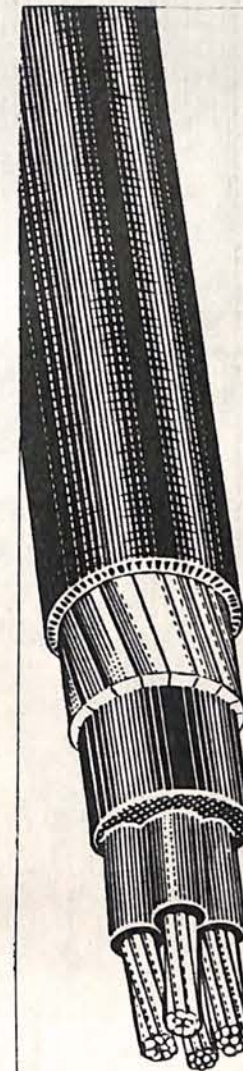
"They can be the heralds of a new day when all our hundreds of millions live in peace and plenty, love and laughter."

The issue of *The Hindustan Times* carrying this proclamation also contains pictures of the starving people of Bihar that would break every decent heart. Yet Ashok Shah of Poona, one of the contributors to "Listen to Us" is right when he says, "Every day I see starving children. Their hardships are...the consequences of complacent and compromised living by all of us.

"If we are honest we know that our concern for ourselves and the small, easy pleasures we can get is responsible for the starvation of other people."

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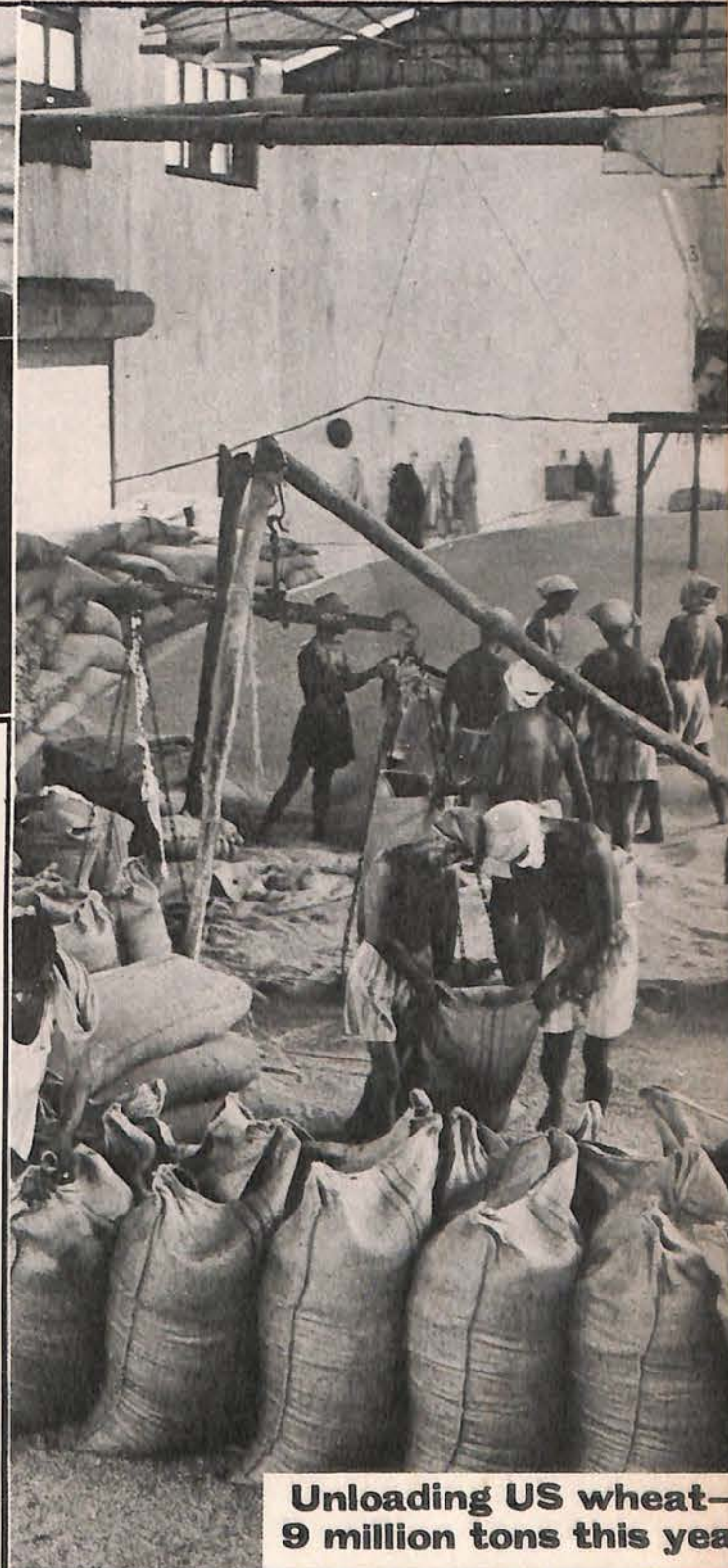


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WHY DOES USA STALL ON FOOD AID ?

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Unloading US wheat—9 million tons this year

SOVIET INFLUENCE IN INDIA

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