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WEEKLY



P.M. INDIRA GANDHI

"...I want to be myself..."

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Friday
January 28
1966

**Under the Lens
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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, January 28, 1966 Vol. 2 No. 13

Needs Support

A FRESH PHASE has begun in India with the appointment of Mrs. Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister. Many are elated. Some are sceptical.

From an early age, Indira has had patriotism and politics pulsating in her bloodstream. As a child she was inspired by the story of Joan of Arc. Her father once said to her that she will do for India what Joan did for France. Today she faces that chance.

Women are guardians of homes. Mrs. Gandhi is a guardian of a very big family of nearly 500 million people, their lives and fate. She takes charge of a confident nation. Confronted with the task of keeping it united, she will need the support of her countrymen, not their flattery or cynicism.

Her statement after her election about her faith in the youth, shows the youth of India they have a friend and comrade in the new Prime Minister.

A favourite practice in our country is to compare newly elected leaders with their predecessors, criticize them lightly while they are alive and worship them after their death. We expect certain standards from our leaders but often are not prepared to apply them to our own lives.

One leader, however strong and able, cannot change this vast country. Every red-blooded Indian needs to ask himself the question—how can I help my country? Do I need to live differently?

That is the real choice. We will ruin our nation if we delegate all responsibility to one person and reserve the right to live as we please ourselves.

War Again

THE RESUMPTION of fighting in Vietnam and the indications that President Johnson will soon yield to the pressures to resume bombing of the North are not in themselves contradictions of his search for peace.

There are those who feel that America's moves have been made, if not in consultation with the Soviet, at least with the Soviet's knowledge and encouragement. Washington columnist Joseph Alsop wrote of Alexander Shelepin's journey to Hanoi, "It has been officially denied that this visit was concerted by the Soviet and US Governments; but if this denial is not an outright lie, it is at least rather gravely misleading."

Some in Washington and New Delhi entertain the hope that Moscow might mediate in Vietnam in the way she did between India and Pakistan. They overlook the contrast in the two conflicts. In Vietnam are opposed two ideological opposites with one side—led by Ho Chi Minh—publicly committed to communizing Vietnam, backed by a Mao solidly pledged to communizing Asia and the world. In what she regards as a "war of national liberation" the Soviet cannot play the neutral, as she did at Tashkent.

President Johnson has said, "We hope aggression

will end. We must be prepared if it does not." He has asked Congress for a further \$12,300 million for defence. Of this, \$7,019 million is to be spent at once on a massive procurement programme involving a further 113,000 men, 2,000 helicopters, 900 aircraft and nearly 5,000 conventional tactical missiles.

During the last two years of war each Viet Cong guerrilla and North Vietnamese soldier has cost the American Government—that is the taxpayer—\$200,000. This year the war has cost America \$12 million a day. Next year it will rise to at least \$28 million a day.

While the war against Communist aggression must be fought in Vietnam, as it must in NEFA, Ladakh and elsewhere, real victory will be elusive unless one fundamental fact is grasped. Roosevelt and Churchill waged a relentless, heroic and necessary war against Fascism. Militarily they won. But a greater victor was Russia. Her control on half of Europe was consolidated.

What will face America and her allies even if she is militarily victorious in Vietnam? Will there still not remain the basic disease which has given the Viet Cong their hold and appeal?

Grave decisions face Johnson this week. But beyond the expenditure of men and armaments in what is fast becoming the bloodiest and longest conflict of modern times, Johnson and his team must plan for the adoption of the ideology of Moral Re-Armament which will answer the divisions and corruption of the non-Communists, and offer a superior alternative to the Communist world.

Athens Calling

THE GREEKS have a word for it—*Democracy*. They invented the idea but are finding its upkeep expensive.

Politicians, normally accused of being long-winded, are now regarded in Athens as being long-wired. In 1964 the nation's 300 deputies sent 864,073 unpaid telegrams, just 2,880 per man. Every seventh wire was sent by an MP who did not pay.

They made 1,409,823 free trunk calls, 47 per cent more than the year before. Local calls totalled 7,462,346. Nor is that the total cost of Greek democracy. To the Rs. 5,025 paid to each MP monthly, one needs to add Rs. 200 a month to feed the pigeons outside the Parliament buildings. It all tots up to a grand total of Rs. 3.3 crores.

It is only natural that the Greek MPs have guarded jealously the many privileges they have voted themselves over the last fifty years. Election to Parliament has become a passport to a profitable position. MPs also get free travel on all means of Greek transport services thus permitting, and explaining, many weekends trips to Paris and London.

There is, of course, one comforting compensation. With telegrams so freely available the deputies must save a lot in ordinary postal charges.

Briefly Speaking ...

"A great nation is one which breeds a great people. A great people flower not from wealth and power, but from a society which spurs them to the fullness of their genius. That alone is a Great Society."

PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Learn Without Teacher

FORTY-FIVE per cent of India's population is less than 15 years of age, whilst in the United States the corresponding figure is 25 per cent and in Europe 20 per cent. This was revealed by Professor Roger Revelle, Director of the Centre for Population Studies, Harvard at a seminar in Bombay.

A member of the Government of India's Education Commission, he feels the Government should promote different kinds of universities in India and he feels none of our present universities have "a real ad-

mission standard". His other recommendation is that students should not be made to spend more than 10 to 12 hours a week in classrooms. "The main thing is to teach students to solve problems—to learn without a teacher. They should be taught to use experimental, empirical methods," he said.

Look Out

HEARD AT A SCHOOL ASSEMBLY in Bombay. A 15-year old Convent girl came up and said to a mixed audience, "If the men do not keep on their toes, there will be many more women Prime Ministers."

Underwater Enemy

A SECRET underwater enemy threatens to paralyze Britain's power. The enemy's name is *mytilus edulis*—better known as the common mussel. These shellfish breed in clusters inside the giant conduits that carry sea water into coastal power stations. When they drop off they are carried into the condensers where they can jam delicate equipment. "They could even close a power station," warns Central Electricity Board Dr. R. S. A. Beauchamp who has been appointed GOC counter measures against the shellfish saboteurs. What about an anti-mussel missile?

Weighty Problem

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR declared the other day that the incidence of diabetes among hermits is far more than among others, according to a survey at Rishikesh, UP. Compared to the general incidence of 1.5 to 2.5 per cent, among sadhus the incidence is as high as 13-15 per cent.

Causes ascribed are that their diet consists mainly of sweets and carbohydrates and sedentary habits. The majority of them, says the survey, are overweight.

Waiting for a Telephone?

MISS CELESTE VERCOE, an American living in London, tried for two months in vain to get a telephone for her flat. Last week she invested in an advertisement in the London Times addressed to the Postmaster General: "The Rt. Hon. Anthony Wedgewood Benn—ring, ring, ring! I want a telephone—ring, ring, ring!"

Miss 100 Speeches

PRESIDENT MARCOS of the Philippines, who assumed office the other day, has banned speech-making by Cabinet Ministers for the next 100 days so they can devote all their time to their duties. The Presidential press secretary said this underlines his determination to solve the country's basic problems.

Would Mrs. Indira Gandhi consider following suit?

I've been wanting a telephone for over six weeks—ring, ring, ring! I've filled out forms. Please may I have one?"

Mr. Benn was in Tokyo learning about Japanese telecommunications, but Miss Vercoe got her phone.

Untie the Knot

I READ a story the other day about Nicholas de Flue, Swiss philosopher-monk of the 15th century. When a Swiss notable, known as Im Grund, came to tell him about grave dissensions among the cantons and to ask his advice, Nicholas took off his girdle, tied a knot in it and held it out, saying: "Untie the knot." Im Grund untied it without any difficulty.

"This is how you should untie difficulties between men," said Nicholas de Flue. When Im Grund replied with a laugh that it was not quite as easy as that, Nicholas replied: "You would not have been able to untie that knot if each of us had been tugging on one end of the rope."

General Thimayya

A FRIEND in Cyprus has kindly sent me a number of clippings from Cypriot papers, both Greek and Turkish, about General Thimayya's death. It is amazing to see the love and confidence he commanded in a difficult situation from warring Greeks and Turks. It shows that an Indian who goes to serve others ultimately commands far more respect for his nation than those whose sole aim is to gain respect of others for their nation.

Tailpiece

A WOLF which escaped from an East German zoo was found wandering in a flock of sheep. It was eating fodder, not sheep.

R. M. L.

The new Government: Congress internal power struggle has not ended

The election of Shrimati Indira Gandhi has been hailed as a proof of the success and stability of Indian democracy. This, however, is to take a superficial and optimistic view of the future. For there was never any doubt a new Prime Minister would ultimately emerge either by election or consensus who would represent the relative strength of groups and ideologies in the Indian National Congress.

The election of Mrs. Gandhi and the Government constituted by her reflect the balance of these forces at the moment. The coming months will show how stable it is. The test of Indian democracy has only just begun. It has not ended with the constitution of the new Government.

Though there is a certain amount of cynicism about a woman Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi has the goodwill of the nation. The educated intelligentsia welcomes her election as they expect that she will be more open-minded and international in her policy and outlook, but there is no doubt that her actions will come under more careful scrutiny by an anxious nation that does not want a return from the pragmatic, commonsense policies of Mr. Shastri to the slogan-based, ideologically-biased approach of the late '50s and early '60s.

Must Show Results

The basis for the political consolidation of the new Government will be the achievement of a minimum of economic stability. There is therefore very little room for manoeuvre and experimentation in the India of 1966. Our country is on the economic brink. Government will have to show results on the food front. Not only has the decline in food production (by 12 million tons, from 88 million tons in 1964 to 76 million tons in 1965) to be restored during the coming year. An additional production of at least 10 million tons (to 98 million tons in 1966) has to be achieved. Drastic action is needed to meet the

foreign exchange crisis which threatens to get steadily worse. We cannot afford mistakes in economic policy which further reduce the confidence of the investor and intensify the trend towards decline of industrial production.

Mrs. Gandhi has shown herself aware of these compulsions. Her Cabinet does not show any spectacular departure from the past. The inclusion of Mr. Ashok Mehta as Minister of Planning will bring the Planning Commission more directly under the control of the Cabinet and make his insight and learning available to the Government. He will give perspective to the narrow Party men who tend to be guided only by the exigencies of the moment and live from the problems of one day to the next.

Vested Interests

The greatest problem for the new Government, as for the late Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, will be the Congress Party itself. The Prime Minister of a huge country like India with its immense problems cannot afford constantly to look over the shoulder to be sure of the approval of the Party bosses. Even more than Mr. Shastri, primarily an organization man, Mrs. Indira Gandhi is dependent on the men who control the Party in the country. They will constantly insist on their rights. And as the considerations that weigh with these men are those of caste, language, narrower state interest, vested interests that control votes and immediate political gain or patronage, the Central Government will be continually hampered in both the formulation of national policy and its implementation.

Besides, the manner of Mrs. Gandhi's election and the manoeuvrings and machinations of her sponsors has revealed a substantial minority group inside the Congress who may well become a focal point of opposition, divergence and dissidence inside the Party. The power struggle in the Congress has by no means ended. As election approaches, it may gather strength in the struggle for candidatures. Mr. Kamaraj, who has so far succeeded in defeating

Under the Lens

by R. VAITHESWARAN



rivals, may or may not succeed in outwitting them in the election struggle as well.

What is certain is that Mrs. Gandhi will have a tough job in keeping the national policy from being torn asunder by the pulls of Party barons who govern their fiefs in feudal fashion, oblivious of the staggering forces of change in the modern world.

No Easy Task

This is no easy task for any person and it will not be easy for the present Prime Minister. But Mrs. Gandhi, who has a mind of her own and has the advantage of long training in leadership as well as familiarity with the usage of power (as a close colleague and confidant of her father in the last years of his life), may find that the challenge of her job is also her school of greatness. The nation will give her the same loyalty that it gave to Shastri if she will, without fear or favour, bias or prejudice, lead the nation in building a new and united India in which there is work and justice for all, integrity as well as ability are the criteria for leadership, and the leaders demand of themselves what they expect of others. It will need both firmness and wisdom, but Mrs. Gandhi will find help from unexpected quarters and support from the entire country if she undertakes it.

New Image

This will also be her strength among the leaders of the world, who will watch not only the extent of the authority of her Government but also the decisiveness of its actions. The kind of image that the new Government will project will be as decisive for our future as its effectiveness in formulating and carrying out right policies.

CHALTA HAI ...



"If I had been appointed to the Cabinet, I assure you that by the end of the next Five Year Plan you would have had your food ration doubled."

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The Theatre of Tomorrow

By Howard J. Reynolds

The theatre, the live theatre, in spite of its apparent eclipse through the rise of the mass media, remains a highly significant factor in the future of civilization. However restricted theatre audiences may seem, it is on the stage that actors and playwrights of the mass media are trained and at least in part given their experience. Television and cinema are costly monsters. Experiment in these fields is therefore necessarily limited. It is left to the live theatre to be in the forefront of experiment and trial.

It is in this context that the theatre of Moral Re-Armament needs to be understood. The traditional view—restrictive and limiting as it is—has been broken with. The theatre of MRA is not meant only to be "a mirror held up to nature". It aspires to be a searchlight to illuminate the future. Its main exponent, the late Peter Howard, author of sixteen plays, writing on his objectives in the theatre, put it this way, "My purpose is to encourage men to accept that growth in character that is essential if civilization is to survive."

Reflect Confusion

As technological and scientific discoveries hurtle the human race into the next century, the basic assumptions and certitudes which have created human and social values become more and more obscure. Some elements in the theatre of the West content themselves with the old traditional concept of being "a mirror held up to nature". They make claims of being *avant garde*, but this claim can be seriously disputed on the grounds that these authors still merely reflect some portion of man's confusion in his present plight.

In their attempt to express the senselessness of the human condition and the inadequacy of the rational approach, authors of this school abandon any pretence of rational structure or intelligent dialogue in their plays. Because such an approach is novel, it is sometimes mis-

taken for being a true form of artistic expression, claiming the label "*avant garde*".

In contrast, the theatre of Moral Re-Armament and particularly the plays of Mr. Peter Howard, have thrust out into a new dimension of content and thought. In one of his productions, "Through the Garden Wall", which has seen long runs in the West End of London, in Tokyo, in Rome, Paris and Berlin, he tackles with humour and humanity the question of the walls that divide. He has written in a richly humorous vein of two families whose faults and foibles are like those of next door neighbours. Yet with adroitness and profound understanding the author moves his audience to the realm of a divided world and points with hope to a way out for the future.

Indian Production

I recently had the opportunity of directing this play in Hollywood, with a cast that included the British star Reginald Owen. In that production we used stage techniques which were as advanced in form as Mr. Howard's thought is in content. The settings designed for the Hollywood play were of stark and modernistic simplicity. The same setting is being planned for the Indian production of "Through the Garden Wall" when it opens in Bombay at the Bhulabhai Desai Auditorium on January 31.

It is for me a real privilege to be in India and to have the opportunity of directing this play at a time when I sense the Indian theatre is searching for purpose and for the next stage of its development.

Writing about the West End production of "Through the Garden Wall", the British critic and historian, Professor Robert Sencourt, said:

"In his latest play, 'Through the Garden Wall', he (Peter Howard) has made such advances in subtle technique that the continuous interplay of surprise, repartee, comic situations, comment on life and matters of far-reaching significance now take him into the sphere of interest of T. S.

Eliot's middle masterpieces, 'The Cocktail Party' and 'The Confidential Clerk'. The play is always on the level of colloquial prose but it is tightened up by Bernard Shaw's combination of paradox with irony. Like Shaw Howard aims at kicking us through the paradox into facing both our true selves and the fact of revolution in the air.

"Down at the root of things what matters for Howard, as for Eliot, is the escape from class, from complacency and moral mediocrity to the persons we really are and are meant to become."

Truth Defined

Recently in Zurich I had the opportunity of seeing Howard's play "Mr. Brown Comes Down the Hill" produced by the disciple of Bertold Brecht, Mr. Harald Benesch. The production was stark and shattering in its reality. The most advanced forms of stagecraft were employed and served to make the play's theme startlingly relevant. In it Mr. Howard dared what few authors of the theatre attempt—he defines truth. The leading character is asked in a sarcastic fashion by a bishop, "And what may I ask is truth?" "Truth is the right you deny and the wrong you justify," says the protagonist.

For as mankind faces bewildering technical advances the question arises, "How is man to live? How is he to relate himself to his exciting, changing, dangerous world?"

Arthur Miller in the preface to his play, "A View from the Bridge", puts it very clearly when he writes, "How are we to live? From what fiat, from what ultimate source are we to derive a standard of values that will create in man a respect for himself, a real voice in the fate of his society, and, above all, an aim for his life which is neither a private aim nor one which sets him below the machine that was made to serve him."

The *avant garde* in human history are those who will dare to answer these questions, who will decide to modernize man. The theatre which gives itself to this end will be thanked by the human race.



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Corruption Cause of Nigerian Coup

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

Rhodesian Ministers are reported to have smiled when told news of the military coup in Nigeria. This may be doing them an injustice. For no one can take comfort from the murder of three prime ministers and the reported execution of 50 army officers.

But these tragic events in a country held up as a showpiece of democracy and a country containing nearly a quarter of the continent's population do not strengthen the white settlers' confidence in a black government.

Lagos university students demonstrated with a banner "Tyranny has died", but violence begets violence and becomes the vogue. There have been eight military coups in Africa in the last 12 months.

In Nigeria security officials have worried for months about a coup. Perhaps they never passed on warnings. Or politicians, too comfortable, were content to ride out the gathering storm, unaware of the depth of passion roused by the injustices.

The basic causes of the coup seem threefold: Yoruba discontent with the Federal Government's handling of disorders in the West where the regional elections were rigged, dozens being killed weekly and thousands intimidated; Ibo discontent with continuing political domination by the north who comprise over half the country's population; and a general revolt against the prevailing corruption, big houses, cars, deals and little concern for the ordinary man.

It is surprising there has been no call for a *Jehad* by the north against the south as a reprisal for the killing of the Sardauna of Sokoto. Indeed the NPC of which he was president has joined other parties in pledging support to the military. Zana Dipcharima, former Transport Minister, commented, "It's better to survive." This may be one explanation. Another may be the average northerner, though he has bowed low to the Sardauna as a great Islamic leader and political power, has resented his autocratic ways.

The third explanation is that the northern Muslims lack the energy as they are ending Ramadan. After Sallah—breaking fast—change may

come. Trouble is likely to stem from Sokoto where unrest is reported.

Federal Prime Minister Balewa's death, now confirmed, will aggravate the position. At the time of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference, some youths distributed leaflets attacking him as an "Ian Smith in blacker skin", asking, "Hundreds die in Western Nigeria—how many in Rhodesia?" But Balewa was not generally regarded as corrupt, only weak in asserting authority and standing up to the Sardauna.

There seems to be a general acquiescence even in the north to the murders, but many questions remain unanswered. Why, for instance, did rebel officers surrender so quickly to General Ironsi? Why so much bloodshed? "It is so unNigerian," say some Nigerians. Was there professional revolutionary influence at work that spells more than internal politics? Prediction is difficult but certainly the army will be in power quite a time even if only, as a Civil Servant put it to me, "to stop many crooks who are now trying to jump on the bandwagon".

Who has the stature to give a lead at the centre now? Dr. Michael Okpara, Prime Minister of Eastern Nigeria, has been suggested but it is hard to see the North accepting an Ibo so involved. Certainly the future of Nigeria will depend on the trust between North and South.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe's office as president has been suspended. In 1949 he was reconciled with his political opponents in a manner many feel paved the way later to independence without bloodshed. Can he do anything now to help restore confidence?

Zik once said he looked forward to a day when Nigeria participated in creating under God "a hate-free, fear-free, greed-free continent peopled by free men and women". He said, "I pray that Almighty God may give us the strength to accomplish this Herculean task." Many today will join him in that prayer.

The week in Asia

TOKYO — Japan will build 100 ships for Russia in the next five years, under a new trade agreement, and supply manufactured products in return for raw materials.

CHITTAGONG—A Communist Chinese delegation arrived to set up a 60 million dollar paper plant here.

PEKING — An army political conference resolved to prepare for an early US attack "with nuclear or other weapons".

ULAN BATOR — Russia and Mongolia renewed their friendship treaty for a further 20 years.

TEHERAN — Kurdish rebels are threatening the oil town of Kirkuk following heavy fighting with Iraq Government troops, according to reports here.

SAIGON — A further 7,000 American troops landed in South Vietnam bringing the US strength there to nearly 190,000.

RAWALPINDI — Pakistan and Russia signed a barter trade agreement expanding their trade threefold. Pakistan will export 85,000 tons of rice to Russia in return for vehicles and machinery.

MOSCOW — Japan and Russia initialled a civil aviation agreement providing for reciprocal flights between Moscow and Tokyo via Siberia.

SEOUL — Kim Chong Pil, architect of the 1961 coup that put President Park in power, was reinstated as Chairman of the Democratic Republican Party. In 1963 Kim had to leave Korea following an internal party power struggle.

COLOMBO — Buddhist leaders, the Mahanayake Theros of Malwatte and Asgiriya, issued a joint statement which dispelled fears that the Buddhist hierarchy opposed the recent grant of language rights to Ceylonese Tamils.

MACAO — The number of refugees from mainland China entering this Portuguese colony doubled last year.

AMMAN — King Feisal of Saudi Arabia began a five-day visit to Jordan to further his policy of creating an Islamic bloc.

TAIPEI — A 20,000-strong force has been organised in Tibet and Sinkiang to resist Chinese rule, according to reports here.

BEIRUT — Lebanon expelled Iran Ambassador Fotouhi for making an official statement attacking President Nasser.

Bread Baskets and Bombs

FROM GORDON WISE

London

When he went to Washington recently, Indian Food Minister Subramaniam apparently convinced the Administration of his country's peril. Plans have been prepared to ship ten million tons of food grains to India this year.

"If necessary," says *The Times* correspondent, "the Administration is ready to mobilize American agricultural resources on a wartime basis to meet Indian needs."

Though not publicized as such, food exports on this scale amount to a latter-day Marshall Plan. Since the US "Food for Peace" began in 1954, a hundred million tons of grain have been sent to the South Asian region. But this unparalleled generosity—for such it is—can be dwarfed by America herself. For North American exports in a year or two can be lifted to a hundred million tons a year simply by bringing land into production which is at present uncultivated.

As well as the humanitarian aspect of this development it signifies a very vital shift in the balance of world power. Today's world—Communist,

non-Communist and non-aligned—all turn to North America for grain.

Whereas before the war many lands and several continents exported grain, in 1965/66 only North America and Australia have a surplus to send. The Australian shipments, estimated at seven million tons, would be about 11 per cent of the American, sixty million tons.

This means that, to a large extent, "those who control the North American bread basket, control the world". Australia cannot do much more towards further exports until more abundant water supplies are tapped, perhaps by using nuclear-powered desalinization of sea water.

Thus, the so-called "antagonists" of the United States could not survive without grain imports from that

very country and the other providers, Canada and Australia, are allies of the US in any case.

Some strategists deduce from these figures that a grain of wheat is as important as the atom as the physical arbiter of modern man's destiny, deciding whether he survives on this planet. It would certainly appear that neither great Communist power could sanely wage all-out war on North America with the result of starving their own population.

Does this one geo-political fact frustrate Communism's world aims? Farmers through history have cooperated with Nature and its Creator. It can at least be said that the systematic rejection of this cooperation has not yet proved a success. Khrushchev was toppled largely for the failure of his agricultural policies. Mao swallows his pride and imports grain which otherwise the Chinese would not be able to swallow.

One reassuring conclusion, vouched for by agricultural economists, is that man can feed himself and his neighbour if all restrictions were lifted and the earth's empty spaces were exploited as fervently as outer space is explored.

Japan Looks to her Defences

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Tokyo

While a jet plane can cross Japan in three minutes, Japanese radar can pick up the approaching jet in time to allow Japan's F-104's to take off and intercept. This year the Defence Agency plans to equip seven out of the twenty-four radar sites throughout Japan with the BADGE system which is necessary against supersonic intruders.

Discussions on the problems of national security have become very active in recent months. Japan is a country that has renounced war and the threat or use of force in its 1946 Constitution. In 1950 with the outbreak of the Korean War a serious security vacuum was created inside Japan by the departure of most of the US Forces for Korea.

Within two weeks of the outbreak of the Korean War a letter from General MacArthur was sent to Prime Minister Yoshida instructing him to set up a National Safety Agency made up of a Police Reserve of 75,000 men and a Coastguard force of 18,000 men. This was the starting point of today's Self-Defence Forces.

Since that time, the task of maintaining the nation's security has been shared by Japan and the United States. Because of the war-renouncing clause of the Constitution the Self-Defence Forces are armed only with defensive weapons. There are,

for example, neither bombers nor battleships. It is also basic policy that the Self-Defence Forces shall not be sent overseas.

In the four years since 1962 the build-up of a 180,000-man Ground Self-Defence Force, 140,000 tons of naval vessels and 1,000 planes has been nearly completed.

At present the Defence Agency is not a Defence Ministry. There is a Bill being studied which aims to raise the Defence Agency to the status of Defence Ministry, thus making the Director-General of the Agency a Minister of State.

Prime Minister Sato has so far avoided making an official statement concerning this Bill. This Bill raises various difficult questions such as the sending abroad of the Self-Defence Forces. In September last year, at a joint meeting of Self-Defence Forces' high officers, the Prime Minister said: "I have the intention of giving my mind greatly to the strengthening of defence power."

Republicans Seek Lincoln Image

BY BRUCE CURRIE

Los Angeles

Ever since Senator Barry Goldwater's crushing defeat in the 1964 Presidential election, Republicans have been debating how to rebuild their Party. There is general agreement that the party founded by Abraham Lincoln must recapture the image his name engenders.

While it is too early to predict who will be contenders for the 1968 Republican presidential nomination, the two names mentioned most often are former Vice-President Richard Nixon and Michigan Governor George Romney.

Romney is almost certain of re-election as Governor in 1966 and his record in Michigan is impressive. Starting with a state deficit of \$86 million when he took office three years ago, he has reversed the fiscal image of Michigan from "bankrupt" to a "balanced budget".

An aggressive and articulate campaigner, the former President of American Motors can count on the financial backing of the business community. He has also built significant support among Michigan's Negro voters by his unqualified implementation of the State's "equal opportunity" legislation. In a race with President Johnson he could be expected to draw millions of independent and so-called "liberal" votes, which were cast against Goldwater in 1964.

Continued on next page

The week in India

NEW DELHI—Mrs. Indira Gandhi was sworn in as Prime Minister following her election as leader of the Congress Parliamentary party.

HYDERABAD—Mineworkers stopped work when women's wages were raised to the same level as their own. The men said they did not mind the women getting more but their wages should be raised too because they were "superior".

NEW DELHI—Over one hundred million people, including 18 million children, in India are affected by scarcity, reported the UN Food and Agriculture Organization. The Union Government estimated at least 11.5 million were in acute distress. Rajasthan was worst affected with 7 million involved, followed by MP, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Mysore.

TRIVANDRUM—Six Leftist parties called for a hartal, strike and boycott of schools on February 1 in protest against the Central Government's handling of the rice shortage. Union Food Minister Subramaniam said supplies were being rushed to the State.

CALCUTTA—Many miners were reported to be leaving the Ranigunj coalfield owing to the acute shortage of foodgrains.

INDORE—The Madhya Pradesh Government informed textile mills in Indore that no water would be supplied to them after March 1 owing to water shortage.

NEW DELHI—Pakistan Army Commander-in-Chief General Mohammad Musa flew in to confer with Indian Army Chief of Staff General J. N. Chaudhuri on withdrawal of forces on the two sides.

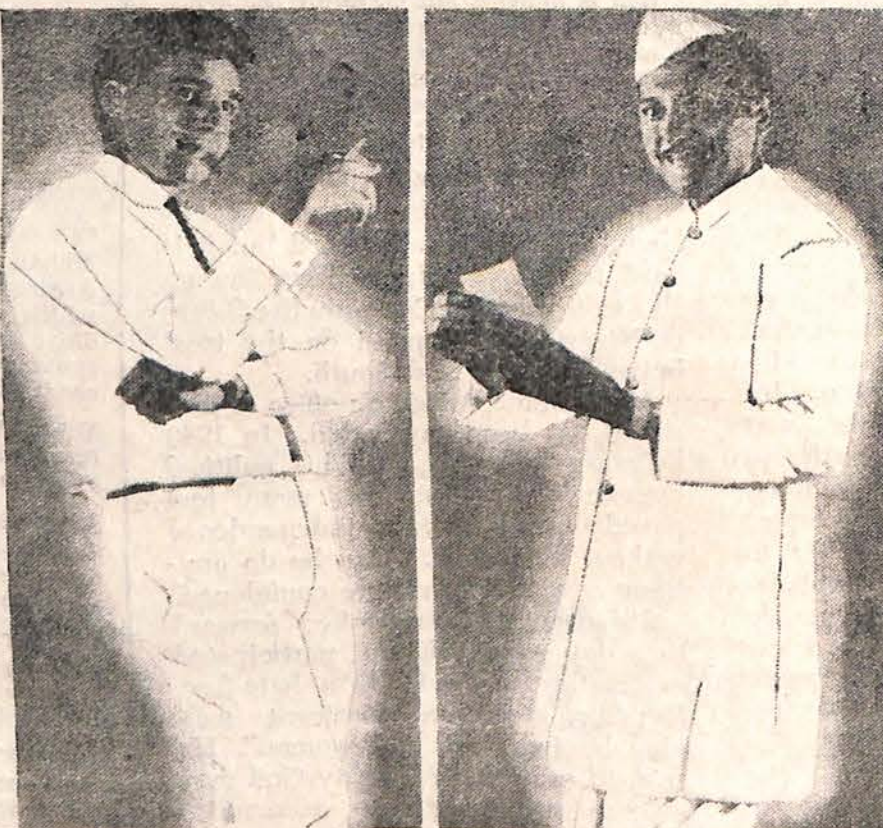
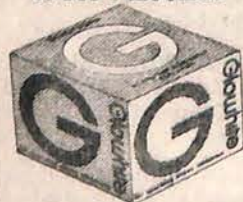
TRIVANDRUM—Mr. A. P. Jain announced in Delhi his resignation as Governor of Kerala. Mr. H. V. Pataskar, Chairman of the Assam Hills Commission, is expected to succeed him.

NEW DELHI—It was reported that the Indian Communist Party (Right) will shortly send a delegation to Moscow. Reunification with the Left Communists will be one of the issues discussed.

ALLAHABAD—Over five million had a dip in the Holy Sangam, where the Ganga and Yamuna meet, on the occasion of Kumbh Puva-Mauni.

NEW DELHI—The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, accepted President Johnson's invitation to visit the US at an early date.

TWO
TYPES OF
MEN—
NEED
TWO
KINDS OF
CLOTHES—
BUT
ONE BRAND
OF
WHITENER



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Richard Nixon, now partner in a prominent New York law firm, maintains the respect and, in many cases, the loyalty of the Party professionals who remember his hairline defeat by John F. Kennedy and believe the former Vice-President, wiser and tougher from past mistakes, is the one Republican with the stature to oppose President Johnson. Nixon has dutifully filled Party speaking obligations, written magazine articles and kept his name before the public. Observers say 1968 is Nixon's last chance to try for the Presidency. Younger men like John Lindsay, newly elected Mayor of New York, can be expected to



Richard Nixon

step out in 1972. Even now, New Yorkers are touting a Lindsay versus Robert Kennedy race for the White House.

The truth is that if the United States wants to maintain a vigorous, two-party system of government, the Republican Party must revitalize its structure and its strategy. Younger men with the dynamism of Mayor Lindsay must be brought forward by the Party.

President Johnson has so encompassed the field of social legislation with his poverty programmes, medicare, civil and voting rights acts, that it will be difficult to dent his domestic record.

Nevertheless, the Democrats have failed to emphasize that the Great Society will only achieve its aims if there are great men governing a responsible, instead of a selfish, electorate. This theme could be profitably enunciated by the Republican Party in a thousand different ways.

The week elsewhere

GUERRILLA STRATEGY

HAVANA—The Communist "Three Continents Conference" set up a new organization to co-ordinate "wars of national liberation" in Latin America. Cuba has been training revolutionaries to operate in several South American countries. Guerrillas have attacked in Argentina, Colombo, Venezuela, and Guatemala.

In Peru, guerrillas recently machine-gunned the owners of an isolated estate in their beds at 5 a.m. Other frightened landowners abandoned their estates. The Peruvian insurrection marked the first commitment in Latin America in significant numbers of revolutionaries trained in China and basing strategy on country not town.

THREE MILLION IN ARMS

WASHINGTON—United States military strength neared the Korean war level with increases announced last week. The new troop level is to be 3,093,000. At the height of the Korean war in 1952 it was 3,600,000. President Johnson told Congress that, despite rising military expenditure, social welfare programmes to build the "Great Society" would be maintained.

UK MILITARY TALKS WITH ZAMBIA

LUSAKA—A four-man British military mission arrived to discuss with the Zambian Government "further arrangements for British forces in Zambia". Reports from London said Prime Minister Wilson was prepared to send troops to Rhodesia to "restore order" when the Smith regime fell. One report said he was aiming to topple the rebel Government within eight weeks.

MOON LANDING

PASADENA, California—America's next step into space will be a soft-landing attempt on the moon, probably in May. The landing will be made with an unmanned Surveyor capsule, equipped with TV to examine the lunar surface. Later Surveyors will scratch, analyze and listen to it. Seven Surveyors will start for the moon between now and the end of 1967 at a cost of 350 million dollars.

ON THE Spot
HIMMAT meets the people

He Reported Gandhi, Rhodes, Kipling in South Africa

LONDON CLUB WALLS could tell many embarrassing stories about people. So could a journalist who worked 42 years with Reuters like Archibald Trenery Penman. But neither will. As we sat in the deep red arm-chairs of his club, he reminisced freely about reporting in Africa, Australia and Europe. But no confidences were betrayed. It is this respect for confidences that made him a good journalist and made him refuse ever to write a book.

Penman does not write much now but follows events closely, particularly in Southern Africa, where at the age of 18, with one other man, he covered what is now Zambia, Malawi, Rhodesia, Mozambique, the Congo, South Africa and South West Africa for Reuters.

Later he was Dominions Editor of Reuters in London, and even today, at 82, is member of the Council of the London District Committee of the Institute of Journalists.

Kipling's Caution

"Who are you?" a stranger said to Penman in his early days in Cape Town, towards the end of 1901. It was Cecil Rhodes. And Cecil Rhodes' death was Penman's first big story for Reuters. This story, too, brought him in touch with Rudyard Kipling. The poet had written a tribute to Rhodes. It fell to Penman to type it from Kipling's personal dictation. He tried to retain a copy and even a carbon but Kipling was taking no chances. He insisted on having all the copies.

It was in South Africa that Penman met Mahatma Gandhi. At that time in the early 1900s Indians could not buy land in the Transvaal. So they employed down and out whites to sign land transfers for them. To combat this, the Government passed the Asiatic Registration Act. Indians, in protest, cited Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 guaranteeing

"equal rights and privileges to Indian subjects of the Crown irrespective of caste, colour, race or creed".

Gandhi, then living in Natal, organized a system of passive resistance. He led a 500-mile trek from Pietermaritzburg in Natal, covering 15-20 miles a day. As they reached the Transvaal, Gandhi was arrested. Then followed what Penman describes as "the most extraordinary thing I ever met. Gandhi was a prisoner in Pretoria jail. Smuts used to visit him there. They were supposed to be discussing Indian rights but it came out afterwards that much of the talk was about philosophy.

"I always said," Penman continued, "that it was the only time I ever remember Smuts worsted by anyone. For Gandhi got much of what he wanted. I don't recall a life lost, hardly a riot. It was the first demonstration of passive resistance. No other man could have got round Smuts."

Penman remembers Gandhi "always neatly dressed, in black alpaca coat, white trousers, pill-box hat, always looking smart. He was very charming to me.

"It isn't known that he offered to raise an Indian brigade during the Boer War to fight with the British. But the British were afraid of how it would affect peace negotiations. Then he offered to raise a Red Cross unit, which ran throughout the War.

A Journalist's Fight

"He had a keen brain, was an active man of considerable prevision. He looked ahead." Penman quoted one of Gandhi's speeches at that time: "However insignificant be the number of your non-resisters, they may boldly say that God is with them and God is mightier than man."

It is to such faith in God that Penman ascribes his own fight for standards in journalism. "I was brought up in a Christian atmosphere. My



Penman of Reuters

father was the type of man who would not do certain things—even if business suffered.

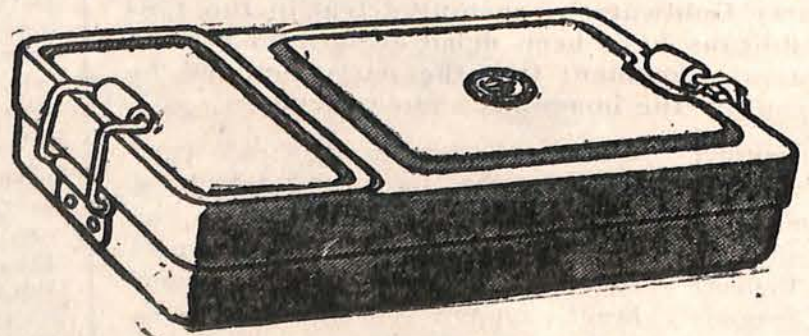
"Frankly, I feel sometimes the type of man coming into journalism is without a strong foundation in spiritual affairs. Far too many people look only at the headlines and too often these are not carefully selected. If the truth were known, it is ambition all round that is troubling the world—the ambition of the young to get on, and of the older ones for power. Nobody believed more in humility than Gandhi did."

It was about standards in British journalism that Penman spoke when he was installed as President of the Institute of Journalists: "One of the real dangers that besets the industry of the country is that of missing the standard of first-class workmanship, at least something short of the best, that seems to be creeping into our industry. Let us see to it that nothing of the sort insinuates itself into our own profession."

With an alertness that belied his white hairs—legacy of a sporting career that included cricket, soccer, tennis, climbing, walking, rowing, swimming, boxing—Penman could have gone on and on talking. As a Reuters correspondent he maintained strict impartiality though as a man he held, and holds, strong views on many subjects.

M.D.H.

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LETTERS

CHOOSING A LEADER

SIR: When the battle of succession was its fiercest following the death of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, interested parties got busy trying to create the impression that Shri Morarji Desai alone, for selfish reasons, was obstructing the smooth selection of Nehru's successor.

During the recent attempt to find a successor to Shri Shastri, these same sources were at the same game again, trying their best to make out—some subtly and others brazenly—that Shri Morarji Desai, in a last desperate bid to grab power for himself, was sabotaging the Congress President's efforts for achieving unanimity by insisting on contesting the election for Prime Ministership.

What ever else he may be, Shri Morarji Desai is a man who adheres steadfastly and stubbornly to his principles, knowing no compromise and caring not for the consequences.

If Shri Morarji Desai insisted on an election it was not for reasons which his detractors would like the people to believe but rather in the interest of setting up healthy, democratic traditions.

His argument was and is, and none can find fault with it, that the duty and right to choose a new leader is that of the Congress Party in Parliament and the only healthy and correct way for the party to choose a new leader is by a free and unfettered vote exercised through a secret ballot. He rightly felt and feels that the method of selecting a leader through "consensus", or through a bogus and enforced "unanimity", can only lend itself to all kinds of politicking, horse trading, secret deals and all sorts of abuse at

the hands of those responsible for taking the "consensus".

If Shri Morarji Desai so desired, he could have, taking advantage of the situation, driven a bargain and assured for himself an important portfolio of Home or Finance or Foreign Affairs. He is too shrewd and experienced a politician not to have known that by his uncompromising attitude he would perhaps lose all.

No man, and most certainly no experienced politician who was bent on furthering his own personal interests, would adopt such a course. It is only the idealist, the fighter for principles who would.

His insistence on an election may not have been politically expedient. It may not even have been in his own interests, but, it certainly was in the best interests of the country, in that it helped set a healthy, democratic precedent. Because of this, all of us owe a debt of gratitude to him.

G. A. ABBA*

Bombay 11

* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner.

ASTRONAUT WRITES

SIR: I enjoyed reading not only the article on myself but also the entire magazine.

Please accept my condolences on the death of your late Prime Minister.

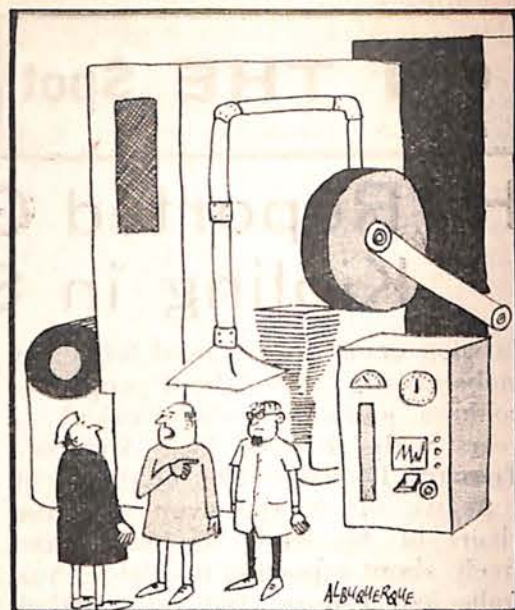
May I wish you and your country every success in the difficult years ahead.

FRANK BORMAN, Colonel USAF
NASA Astronaut

Houston, Texas

INDIA'S GENTLE MAN OF IRON

SIR: Reading HIMMAT's "India's Gentle Man of Iron" gave me great pleasure and a better idea of the man. Lal Bahadur Shastri was undoubtedly one of us. No one can say that he did



"He says his invention can be produced in India without foreign assistance if we can find some use for it."

not understand the crying needs of his people—he worked for the nation and sacrificed his life in doing so.

He knew our poverty for poverty bred him. Though greatness, determination and courage are inseparably linked with him, he was yet humble and simple and a man of great rectitude.

Lal Bahadur left behind a blazing trail for us to follow—we will.

ARUN TIWARI

Calcutta 14

GHOST CHUCKLES

SIR: The war of succession for the premiership of our country dominated the national events last week. Even before the official "state mourning" is over, "leaders" of the nation and Chief Ministers of the States busily engaged themselves in canvassing for votes in the election. This is how we mourn the death of, and pay our homage to, our "beloved, great, noble, sincere, peace-loving, statesmanly" leader. The soul of Mr. Shastri would burn and boil at the confusion, disorderliness and narrow-mindedness that his death has revealed. And then his ghost will gently chuckle and say, "This is politics!"

N. VASUDEVAN

Madras 8

MEMORIAL TO SHASTRI

SIR: The fitting memorial for Shri Lal Bahadur would be to implement faithfully the agreement he signed at Tashkent at the cost of his life by both the countries resuming our normal relationship. May his spirit guide the country.

C. L. NARASIMHAN

Madras 4

HIMMAT awards Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be brief and exclusive.—Ed.

Indira Gandhi—She Wants to Be Herself

By R. M. Lala

The moon has two sides. One the world sees, the other it doesn't.

Jawaharlal Nehru called his only daughter "Indoo" which means "moon". He, more than any other, knew his daughter. When she became Congress President he said he was "proud of her temperament, energy, affection and integrity, qualities which she inherited from her mother".

Indira Priyadarshini was born at the time of the Russian Revolution, November 1917, and grew up with a ringside seat in the Indian Revolution. She spent her childhood at Anand Bhuvan, Allahabad, family home of Pandit Motilal Nehru, and in some ways, the headquarters of our freedom movement. One of her early memories was of the police marching into her home and carrying family members off to jail.

"My parents were always in jail," she recalls. "All my games were political ones."

Children's Brigade

At the age of 12 she formed a children's brigade with 6,000 volunteers in Allahabad to relieve senior Congress workers. They ran messages, ran up flags and did other odd jobs.

Her mother, Kamala, made a profound impression on the child. She passed away in Switzerland when Indira was hardly 19.

At Somerville College, Oxford, she was a quiet student and made little impression on her father's sophisticated friends. It might be some consolation for Mr. Wilson to know that this new Commonwealth Prime Minister was, when at Oxford, a member of the British Labour Party. When in London she spent her evenings helping at the India League.

Pleurisy made her leave Oxford and while she was recuperating in Switzerland, war broke out. She had a spell at Vishwabharati University. There, her interest in Indian dance, music, painting and culture was awakened by Tagore and his colleagues. "I felt in Tagore a peaceful atmosphere," she says.

In her early twenties she joined the Indian National Congress and worked

hard for rural women in the 1937 elections. 1942 witnessed the first contest of wills between 24-year-old Indira and her father when she, of Brahmin stock, wanted to marry the Parsee Feroze Gandhi. Needless to say, she won.

Six months later the Quit India movement gripped the nation. Her husband, an editor, was detained as an A-class political prisoner. His wife, who was not even tried, ended up as an ordinary prisoner, without the privileges her husband was eligible for. She was placed in a large barrack with 22 other women. The conditions were shocking and she received in her own words "extremely bad treatment". For 13 months this proud daughter of luxury was denied the comfort of a single letter, gift parcel or interview.

Reconciling Mission

From 1944 to 1946 was a period when the young couple had a home of their own. In 1946 the Constituent Assembly was formed and Mr. Nehru moved to Delhi with his daughter and son-in-law. They stayed in a four-roomed crowded house. When her son, Sanjay, was born, to make room for the nurse and child, Feroze Gandhi moved out into the garden and stayed in a pitched tent. In the months and years to come the couple drifted apart and in 1960 Mr. Gandhi, by then a prominent MP, died of a heart attack.

Deprived by circumstances of a joyous, normal childhood, and by fate of a long and happy married life, Indira Gandhi has now been offered the exalted position of Prime Minister by the Indian people.

Delhi was never quiet and within months of her arrival in 1946, the Hindu-Muslim riots broke out before partition and she plunged herself into the mission to reconcile the communities.

In 1955 she became a member of the Congress Working Committee. She has occupied herself with various positions in social work, but her experience of high administrative posts is limited to a year as President of the Indian National Congress and 18 months as India's Minister for Information and broadcasting.

Any clues about her future per-

formance can be assessed by her initiative and experience in these two positions. As President of the Congress, Mrs. Gandhi showed that she had a mind of her own. She made three crucial decisions in her brief one-year term of office. She advocated splitting bi-lingual Bombay State and was shrewd enough to see that her Party would suffer severe reverses if this did not happen.

When there was agitation against Communist rule in Kerala, she flew down south. Shaken by their dictatorial methods in the field of education and text books, she urged President Prasad to oust the Communist Government even while her father was still hesitating. She played a decisive role in uniting the opposition parties of Kerala, and insisted on a joint front with the Muslim League.

Communist atrocities in Tibet stirred her sense of justice, and she gave strong support to the welcome given to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees in India. She used the authority of her office fearlessly, and as President of the Congress had the reputation for silencing long-winded Congress leaders with her gavel—a procedure to which her illustrious father was no exception.

'Nation in Hurry'

Hers was a distinguished term during which she showed decisiveness and action of a high order. In her second post as Minister for Information and Broadcasting (July 1963 until last week) her performance has been somewhat pale. Most officials within the Ministry say that they haven't felt her influence as Minister. Even so she has decided to go ahead with the Rs. 100 crores five year television project and finalized negotiations for a high-powered transmitter for India.

What pattern will she now follow? Her complaint against the Congress is, "The nation is in a hurry and we cannot afford to lose time... the Congress is not going as fast as the people are advancing." Speed is important, but the direction which the Party takes is at least as important. Like her father, she has an attraction for leftist ideas. "I cannot say I be-

Continued on page 18

AN
IDEAL
COOKING
MEDIUM



RATH
VANASPATI

SHOULD BRITAIN USE FORCE AGAINST RHODESIA?

By Miss Indira N. Rao, Huttli

A VORTEX of emotions has been building up and gathering force ever since Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI).

By declaring independence, the Smith regime has defied Britain's efforts to get proper representation for the country's 4,000,000 Africans.

Britain seems to have taken this defiance of its wishes very tamely. It should have immediately stopped the illegal Government from functioning. But why did Britain hesitate to use force? Compared to what it did in Aden, its hesitation in using force only indicates its partiality towards the white minority. Did not Britain act decisively in British Guiana to suppress Cheddi Jagan? Then, why could it not do so to remove the Smith regime?

Its decision to enforce a series of embargoes to cripple the illegal Government is an ineffective way of tackling a problem requiring immediate settlement. Embargoes will not, and are not likely to prove effective because Rhodesia's needs will be satisfactorily met by South Africa and Portuguese Angola.

Sanction Overruled

The oil embargoes which it has imposed have, no doubt, temporarily inconvenienced Rhodesia, but soon countries willing to trade with Rhodesia will come forward.

South Africa's *apartheid* policy made it a villain in international politics. Some countries have even banned trade with it. But this in no way has handicapped South Africa economically. As in South Africa, so in Rhodesia. Soon trade and economic advantages will overrule political considerations and some African nations may also trade with Rhodesia.

Another consideration is that embargoes inflicted on Rhodesia will affect the 4,000,000 Africans as much as the white minority. Why has Britain tried to soft pedal in the Rhodesian crisis? One is led to be-

lieve that the only reason for this is because the Smith regime is white.

Because it failed to take prompt action, the Rhodesian crisis has become a more complicated and explosive situation.

The Lagos conference did not bring any concrete solution. Many African nations felt only Britain could use force and still not cause a big blood bath in Rhodesia. Prime Minister Wilson adopted a tough and non-compromising attitude towards the Smith regime, but Britain's hesitancy in using force belies this attitude.

Britain's duty to its former colony demands that a peaceful, non-racial and fully representative government is established before handing over independence. This has not happened in Rhodesia. Force should have been used primarily against the illegal Government. A show of force and strength on the part of Britain would have disconcerted the Smith regime.

But in another six months' time, the regime will have tightened its hold over the country. It will be infinitely more difficult for Britain to remove the regime by force then.

It has become a bit late for a show of force now, but not too late. Unless Britain removes the illegal Government immediately, Rhodesia will become a festering sore too difficult to cure.

There are certain situations where force is the only quick solution and this is one.

Second Prize

FORCE NO ANSWER

By Miss RATNA SEN, Calcutta 19

SMITH MUST GO. That is an established fact.

To achieve this Britain has till now used one weapon—economic sanctions. It has another left—that of military force.

But military force is not the ans-

COMPETITION

* Our education is unrelated to India's needs.

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** Who would you choose as members of a National Government for India and why?

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wer to any problem anywhere in the world today. This is particularly true of Rhodesia. Those who do advocate this line of action are ignorant of the real facts and consequences.

First of all, Rhodesia is not only the "Smith Regime". It is, in fact, a country with a big African majority. Therefore to wage war on Rhodesia is to bring untold miseries to the already suffering Africans.

Again, Britain's war against Smith would spread over the whole African continent—which Africa can ill afford. Smith holds the keys of the Kariba dam and may use it as a hostage (to put it bluntly) in this war. Further, it would give China—that hungry dragon—the chance to step in at any moment and reap the fruits it has been eying for years.

Africans Divided

Self-rule is very popular nowadays, and it is expected that world opinion will help Britain in its task. But the world does not consider that in Rhodesia the initiative must come from the natives and not Britain.

How could Britain use military force against Smith to impose self-rule in Rhodesia when the Africans are even without self-rule dissenting and dividing? The world must also consider that Wilson cannot speak of peace missions to Vietnam and military force against Smith in the same breath.

And last of all, I think it is the responsibility of every nation to uphold its duty to mankind—to save it from the scourge of war, no matter how small. In the present world context even a family dispute can hardly remain localized.

The economic sanctions have already brought difficulties. They must be given time to work. In this situation Britain should not use military force against Smith.

This was a life

SHIVAJI

1627—1680

COURAGE and perseverance enabled Shivaji to free the Maratha people from foreign rule. He owed much to his mother, Jijabai, who instilled in him a love of country and a religious faith.

He grew up in Poona, then part of the kingdom of Bijapur. He developed into a tough and resourceful warrior. He got to know the hardy hill-men of the Western Ghats who became his best soldiers.

When he was eighteen, Shivaji began his life's work by seizing a number of the almost impregnable hilltop forts of the region.

In 1657 Shivaji for the first time attacked the territory held by the powerful Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb. The Emperor sent a series of armies against him and eventually forced Shivaji to come to terms. But not before he had wounded and humiliated one of the Mogul generals in a daring raid on his camp.

Shivaji went to the Emperor's Court in Agra to pay homage but felt himself slighted by Aurangzeb. He was arrested, but contrived to escape in a basket carried on a porter's back. Disguised as a monk, he made his way back to Poona by a roundabout route.

During the next few years Shivaji organized his government, putting administration and revenue on a regular basis. His army, which numbered 50,000, mainly cavalry, was strictly disciplined. Female camp followers were not allowed, nor was indiscriminate plunder. Captured women were protected.

In 1674 Shivaji had himself crowned king, thus proclaiming his country independent of Bijapur and Mogul rule. In 1676 he led a great expedition to the Carnatic.

After Shivaji's death in 1680, Aurangzeb tried in vain for over 20 years to subdue the Marathas. But they proved unconquerable. The example Shivaji left was as important as his conquests.

The struggle for freedom which he led had been prepared by a rebirth of religion and culture among the Maratha people. Shivaji's guru was Ramdas Swami, the poet and philosopher. Once when Ramdas came to ask for alms, Shivaji is said to have fallen at his feet and offered him his kingdom. The Swami returned it, but told the prince he must hold it as a trust from God.

Shivaji might have lived in peace on his estate at Poona; he chose instead to struggle all his life to free his people. It is appropriate that today's National Defence Academy lies near his home.

Q and A

Q—What is the significance of the recent visit of the Nepal royal couple to India?

DAMJI JIVRAJ SHAH, Bombay 9

A—Towards the end of Mr. Nehru's Premiership relations between India and Nepal were strained and it took the visit of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to Nepal to bridge the gulf between the two nations. By his visit to India, His Majesty the King of Nepal has reaffirmed that the unhappy period has passed and a new relationship between our two nations has begun.

Q—There is anti-propaganda against the ideals of MRA. Anything to comment about that?

HARINAKSHI, Hyderabad 28

A—Plenty. Moral Re-Armament is out to build a new world based on changing the motives of people. Its guidelines are absolute moral standards. It is obvious that not all men like this challenge. MRA has been attacked by vested interests of the Right and the Left. Some of the Right see in a revolution of change, danger to their status quo, their selfishness and their material interests. Some of the extreme Left see in MRA an end to the class war that Marx advocates. Radio Moscow admitted "MRA is a global ideology in its final phase of total expansion throughout the world. It has the power to capture radical revolutionary minds."

The extreme Right, symbolized by the Nazis, gave orders to suppress Moral Re-Armament. This was revealed in a Gestapo document "Die-Oxfordgruppenbewegung", written in 1942 and captured at the end of the war.

It is not unusual to find those who dislike MRA calling it "imperialist" in

Africa and "pro-African" in certain British circles. In America its detractors call it "pro-Communist". Among the emergent nations they call it "pro-Western".

A senior army officer analyzing this type of opposition said, "Nothing but a potentially vast moral and spiritual re-formation of global proportions could possibly be honoured by antagonisms so venomous and contradictory in character, and so world-wide in scope."

The initiator of MRA, Dr. Frank Buchman said "Persecution is the fire that forges prophets." In spite of attacks, the world work of Moral Re-Armament leaps ahead.

It is attacked, because it is effective. The day all attacks stop, will be the time to worry.

Q—Why is Switzerland not a member of the United Nations though she is a peace-loving country? Which are the other countries who are not members of the UN, excluding China and Indonesia?

B. N. SHAH, Bombay 62

A—Switzerland has maintained a policy of neutrality for some centuries now and may well feel that membership of the United Nations, which would imply her voting and speaking on several world issues, would interfere with her neutrality. Switzerland has greatly benefited from her stand and the presence of international organizations in Switzerland, including the Red Cross, shows that there is some logic in one nation being strictly neutral.

A hundred and eighteen nations are members of the UN.

The only countries, apart from Switzerland, China and Indonesia, not in the UN are colonies and the divided nations like North and South Korea.

ANY QUESTIONS?

SEND THEM TO Q AND A, HIMMAT



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Common Man's Revolution

By Rajmohan Gandhi

Canberra

THE WIND of Moral Re-Armament is blowing even stronger and wider in India. The strongholds of hate, corruption and indifference are numerous, and are not in a hurry to yield. But before an expanding and united force of *himmati* and unselfish young men and women they will, one day.

Two men I met recently in East Africa used harsh words about India. Both were Indians. One said, "All things can be found in India except two—truth and cleanliness." The other complained, "Dishonest men ruined all my dealings in India. Finally my own brother and son-in-law swindled me."

They would perhaps agree with a third man, also an Indian, who declared, "I would rather live under South African apartheid than in today's India."

I did not, and do not now, call those men anti-Indian or unpatriotic. They doubtless loved India once. Doubtless, too, they were knocked about in India.

But India needs something greater than a selfish, cowardly kind of love. Something braver than this sentiment: "Make life comfortable and rosy for me, and I'll love you. But goodbye if life is hard. I shall be off in search of easier, cheaper pleasure."

And steadily India is getting what she needs. The common man's revolution of Moral Re-Armament is marching forward, producing an army of patriots and trailblazers.

Within five days last week I received four letters from people

volunteering themselves for the battle to make India clean, strong, united—and modern.

The four who wrote are an interesting group. One is a law student in Madras University. Another is the wife of an IAS official. A salesman for a pump and motor firm and, oddly enough, an Indian civil servant in Kenya complete the four.

Barring the salesman, I have not known them before.

The law student was precise and practical. "I cannot sit back and watch the deterioration in the country. I want to enlist in Moral Re-Armament. What shall I do?"

He is now learning how to play his part from and with an executive in a Madras tyre factory.

Everyone's Work

The IAS wife writes:

"Let me introduce myself as Mrs. ——— who has been subscribing to HIMMAT this one year. I have been interested in MRA since 1958. When I think of your work I believe that there is still hope for India. God bless you and your work."

God bless her and her spirit. She and her husband can, and I believe will, carry MRA forward mightily in India. It is everyone's work and God's property.

The salesman says:

"I am in contact with the agriculturists of two districts in Mysore State and am honestly doing business. I speak to the villagers regarding MRA here and abroad.

"I request you to visit all our villages in the country one by one. Then our aim will be fulfilled."

He is right. We MUST raise a force large enough to visit and

enlist every village. And every village, like every man, is a force to change society, not just a field to cultivate.

And here is what the Indian official in Kenya writes:

"You might wonder why I am so eager to get in touch with you. When I first learned about MRA and the march you started in India from Kerala to the north, I at once wrote to my father asking for your address. He did not know it, and I dropped the idea of writing because I felt sure I would meet you one day.

"My father is residing in Saurashtra. He is 76, and a great believer in the four fundamental principles of MRA (honesty, purity, unselfishness and love). He carries on his struggle single-handed without fear or favour.

"Men holding high positions in India fall very much below the standard that MRA aims at. Then what are we to expect from those who rely on them for guidance?"

"I express full faith in MRA and wish to join. As you have love for our country I have, too. I can take up the work you would entrust me as soon as I return to India sometime this year.

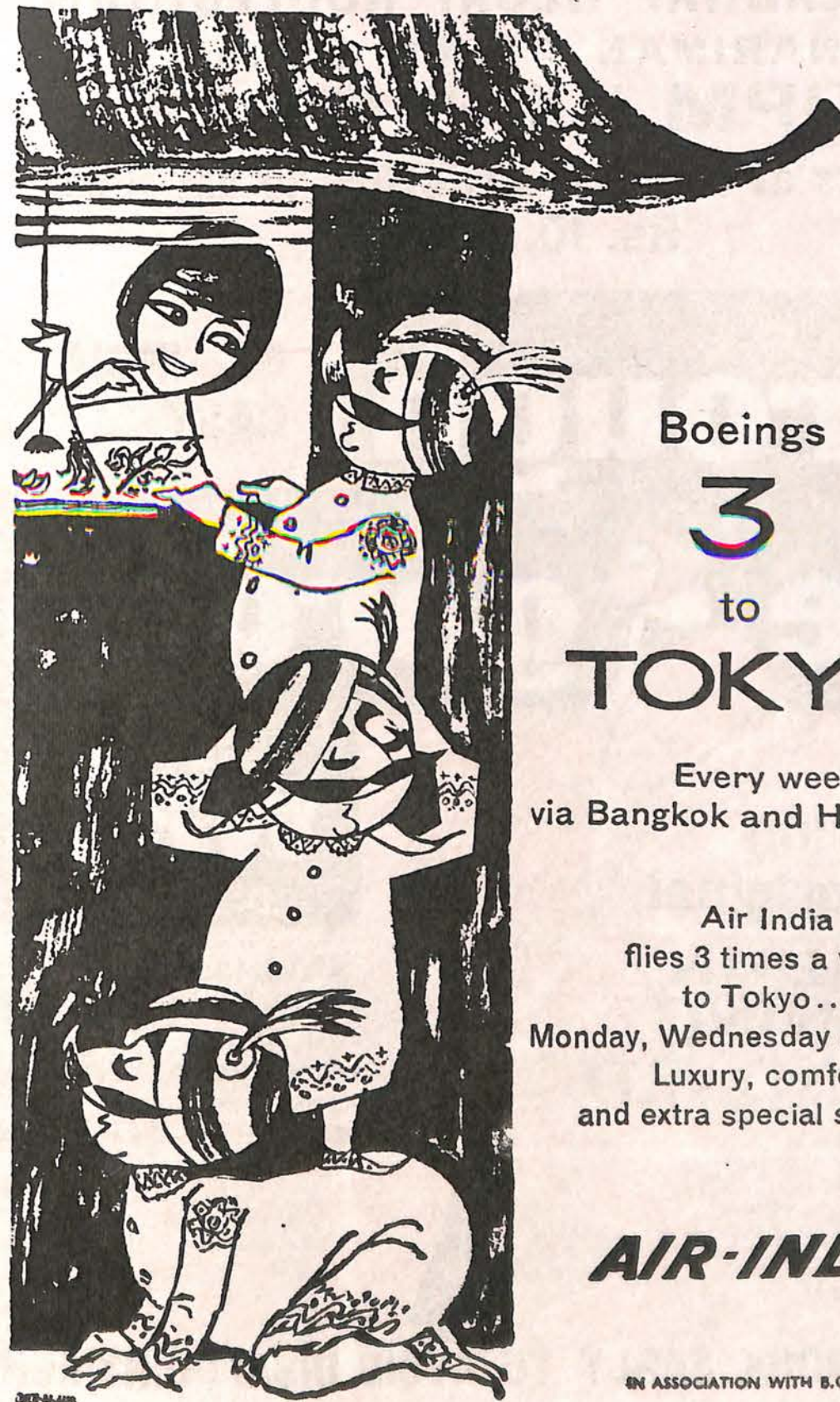
"Let us face together the big challenge."

With this kind of passion, victory is certain. We cannot afford to stop until India offers every man, woman and child enough food for the belly, work for hands and a purpose that satisfies the heart. Not, in fact, until India, Japan and the rest of Asia out-revolutionize China, and Asia becomes a pacesetter of peace and economic progress for the world.

She would, no doubt, say the same today.

When in her teens at Anand Bhuvan, one room was used as an emergency ward for the wounded. She remembers her first patient, a young boy brought in with a serious stomach injury. The doctors advised making him as comfortable as possible to await the end. "But I was determined to see him through. I almost staked my faith in God on his pulling through," she said. He did.

Our people were patient with Mr. Shastri in his early months and they will no doubt give Mrs. Gandhi the same chance, but in six or eight months' time as further crises come to the nation, Indira Gandhi's true mettle will be tested. They will see if she can rise above party, considerations of "isms", even above the coterie of friends and flatterers that so often surround prime ministers. In that hour of crisis she may need a wisdom and a power greater than any human can give her.



Boeings

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INDIRA GANDHI—from page 15
lieve in any 'ism,' she says. Yet she once called Communism "a fascinating creed".

"I would not say I am interested in Socialism as Socialism. For me it is just a tool. If I found a tool that was more efficient, I would use it."

She told an American reporter that when people asked her as a child what she wanted to be like, she would say, "I don't want to copy anyone. I just wanted to be myself."

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**Friday
February 4
1966**

Rajmohan Gandhi

HOW TO CHANGE INDIA