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# HIMMAT

25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

## TO EVERY WAR WIDOW

Page 22



Haji Pir Pass

Friday  
November 19  
1965

## MR. SMITH vs. THE WORLD

Page 5

BE IMPOSSIBLE...BUT BE GLAMOROUS!  
...IN THE LOVELY LOOK OF SRM

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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, November 19, 1965 Vol. 2 No. 3

## Let Freedom Live

INDIA'S PRESS has been the pride of her democracy. Our country has got neither the wealth nor the industrial might nor the military power of some other nations. But there is something we cherish beyond all these—that our country is free and that the poorest Indian can speak out his mind.

During the recent conflict with Pakistan, the press behaved in a patriotic manner, as one would expect. But now, when restraint turns to fear, when journalists feel obliged to hold back their true opinions and to applaud all policies of the Government and leaders in power in the name of patriotism, it is time to stop and think.

Though principles are sacrosanct, policies can change. People who advocate policies contrary to the mood of the nation, have the right to express their minds. It is even conceivable that the nation's policy could change and prove them right. Eight years ago anyone who spoke about danger from China was dubbed "an American agent". Those who withstood the tide then, stand vindicated today. They have proved the true patriots.

It is a sad day for India when the Chief Minister of Madras, Sri Baktavatsalam, feels able to say in the Assembly that firm action would be taken against 86-year-old Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, first Indian Governor-General. The reasons advanced by the Chief Minister are that Mr. Rajagopalachari is confusing the issue on the problem of Kashmir and the gold-bond scheme. On Kashmir policy, Mr. Rajagopalachari's writings do not say anything very different from what Mr. Nehru had said in earlier days. And since when did the gold-bond scheme become the sacrosanct golden calf the nation should be compelled to worship? Misguided zealots appear to live in their gilded cocoons without any conception of the damage such action—and even threats—can do to India's image in the world.

On September 8, a well-known Bombay journalist and lawyer, Mr. A. G. Noorani, was arrested under Defence of India Rules. It is possible the Government had a good reason for arresting him. The Union Home Minister is believed to have indicated in private that the Central Government had nothing to do with the arrest. Thereupon a distinguished delegation of public men led by Mr. G. L. Mehta, former Indian Ambassador to the United States, called on the Home Minister of Maharashtra State. The Home Minister promised to look into the matter and inform the delegation. This was two months ago. No word from the Home Minister has yet come.

Speaking on the eve of Mr. Nehru's birthday celebrations last week, Prime Minister Shastri said that the nation would always follow the Nehru line of "expanded freedom and, above all, increasing dignity for every Indian".

Then, let's have it.

## Pies and Ploughs

THE FOOD SITUATION is grim. Failure of the rains between September and October has hit food production badly. Gujarat expects 50 per cent of last year's production; western areas of Maharashtra 25 to 35 per cent of staple crops. Congress President Kamaraj has warned that our people should be prepared for a 6 oz. ration cereal instead of 12 oz.

It is true that the Government, for the first time, is gearing the whole nation to a food drive. In certain urban areas, agricultural officials go from house to house urging tenants to start kitchen gardens. Officials offer free seeds and instructions. Certain cities like New Delhi have enthusiastically taken on the scheme, but there is scope for initiative elsewhere.

We have yet to hear of adequate action being taken to rid India of rats and pests who consume 20-25 per cent of our grains.

It is heartening to read a news report that in Maharashtra State "measures passed by the Government to permit installation of water pumps have proved fruitless due to red-tape and negligence". The Government has its own part to play in taking drastic action in instances such as the one reported from Maharashtra. It is known that the agriculture Minister of at least one leading state has to be urged by his more conscientious colleagues to visit farms rather than sit in his secretariat room. But for political reasons, ministers like him are retained.

The Union Food Minister will have the full cooperation of the people. He is now in a position to demand that his own Party men across the country remove a few fingers from the political pie and put them to the plough.

## Price of Production

RUSSIA'S new look at her economic policies is extending from industry to agriculture. An article in the magazine *Novy Mir* propounds the once-heretical view that production increases in farming depend on price adjustments rather than on regulations.

Till 1953, farm production in Russia fell because prices were fixed at 1928 levels. An increase in farm prices in 1953 produced a 76 per cent rise in production by 1959. Between 1958 and 1961, however, wheat and sugar beet prices were cut four times while the price of spares for farm machines was put up 90 per cent. During the last five years gross production rose only 1.9 per cent.

"Planning by directive," *Novy Mir* concludes, "is much less effective than planning by price."

It is an extraordinary contradiction that while countries like India base so much of their economic planning on policies emulating the U.S.S.R., the Russians themselves are moving towards freer economy.

The new Russian approach is based less on theory and more on pragmatism—what will work. In this, too, our planners might well follow their example.

# Briefly Speaking ...

Don't sell the wild cat until you have caught it.

NAGA PROVERB

## Air Pirates

ONE OF THE B.B.C.'s biggest headaches are the pirate radio stations which are now competing very successfully for Britain's large listening public. Operated from ships moored off the coast of England, they are outside the control of the present broadcasting laws.

Unlike the B.B.C. they broadcast advertising and a high proportion of top quality recorded music. One claims nearly 13 million listeners. Profits are big and fast. Radio Caroline earns £750,000 a year for a net profit of £500,000. Another station which started only six weeks ago expects to pay off its capital outlay of £150,000 by the end of the year.

But, of course, all pirates have to make a quick haul before the law catches up with them.

## CHALTA HAI ...



"Now that the waiting list is 11 years I've decided to build my own car from spare parts. It will be quicker."

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.



HANDY-DANDY

## Fact and Fiction

A PRO-COMMUNIST Bombay weekly, once described by Mr. Nehru as "scurrilous", has been devoting a considerable amount of rationed newsprint to fictitious allegations and lies about Moral Re-Armament. It would seem that the forces behind this paper are somewhat disturbed by the rapid and solid advances which the men and women of Moral Re-Armament are making in their campaign for a clean, strong and united India. The insinuations and inventions published are too transparent to take seriously. For example we read that the A.I.C.C. had prohibited Congressmen from associating with MRA. This was not and is not true. A Kerala Congressman, the late C. K. Govindan Nair, issued an unauthorized statement to the press following a session of the Working Committee, implying that a ban had been passed. A group of angry but loyal Congress Party M.L.A.s and Committee men flew from Kerala to New Delhi to ask Mr. Nehru the facts. In a widely reported interview with them, Mr. Nehru assured them that he was present at the Working Committee meeting in question and MRA had never been mentioned. He promised to have the misunderstanding corrected and, to his credit, he did. In a special announcement in the official A.I.C.C. *Economic Review* of August 1, 1963, (p. 38), a contradiction was published. The untruth of the other allegations can be measured by this distortion.

HIMMAT has also come in for a few broadsides from this particular weekly, much to our amusement. Some of the many comments and letters reaching our office express the view that the weekly must be jealous of the dent being made by HIMMAT on its readership. It is a fact that we are now selling not only in every state of the country but in 72 countries abroad, and are striding into our second year with greater vigour and growing support from those who have long wanted a weekly paper that is not only outspoken, factual and reliable but is, above all, independent.

## George and the Dragons

THE BOMBAY trade union leader, Mr. George Fernandes, has been on a visit to Britain. Wonder whether he met any descendents of colonial rulers, Governors and all, whose statues he agitated to have removed from Bombay recently? Perhaps the British Council arranged for him a tour of British statues.

## Moonstruck

THE WIDESPREAD black-out in New York City and large areas of the north-east of the United States last week had one unexpected repercussion. New York dwellers, spared the glare of Manhattan's coloured lights and flashing signs for some hours, were reported to be gazing in wonder at the skies, conscious for the first time of the moon, stars and other beauties of the firmament.

## Fair Profit

THE PROMOTERS of the New York World Fair which ended recently may have lost millions of dollars. India, however, earned about Rs. 22 crores in foreign exchange plus considerable invisible earnings through the publicity of its stand and exhibits.

## Ore for Mysore

THE INDIAN Aluminium Company of Calcutta have just been given the go-ahead by the Government to set up an aluminium plant in Belgaum District, Mysore. Production, which will rise to 100,000 tons a year, should start by 1968. The project has one special distinction: it will be the first time that a basic ore will be mined in one State (South Kolhapur district of Maharashtra) for supply to an adjacent State.

## Backwards and Forwards

IT IS A curious thing that, while the House of Commons finally voted the death sentence off the British Statute Book, Prime Minister Banda introduced into the Malawi Parliament a bill to permit public hanging of people sentenced to death.

## Good Night

THREE CHEERS for the Delhi traffic police. They have launched a campaign to curb rash driving at night. Patrols will begin at 11 p.m. and end at 2 a.m. Could we please also have patrols between 2 a.m. and 11 p.m.?

R.M.L.

# Mr. Smith vs. the World

By Our Special Correspondent

Snake catchers use a cleft stick to pin down their prey. Mr. Smith, Prime Minister de facto of four million black and white Rhodesians, has Mr. Wilson, Premier of fifty million Britons, in a similar predicament.

For if Mr. Wilson fails to act effectively to bring the Rhodesian Government to heel, he will offend Afro-Asian opinion and particularly some African nations who threaten not only to leave the Commonwealth but to retaliate with economic measures against Britain herself.

If, on the other hand, he acts too vigorously against Mr. Smith, he will offend a large section of the British public who can, if they choose, vote him out of office. This, with a parliamentary majority of one, Mr. Wilson is unwilling to risk. To send British troops to fight the white Rhodesians would be political suicide—whether by a Labour or Conservative Government.

African governments who threaten war on Mr. Smith are also in a dilemma. For whatever action is taken, economic or military, the black people will bear the brunt. Economic sanctions will affect the four million African Rhodesians far more than the 250,000 whites. Military action will inevitably cripple the economy of African-ruled Zambia, the only country which will provide a base for such operations.

Zambia is the crux of the Rhodesia crisis. Her economy depends on Rhodesia. If she breaks off relations her coal and electricity supplies and vital communications will be cut.

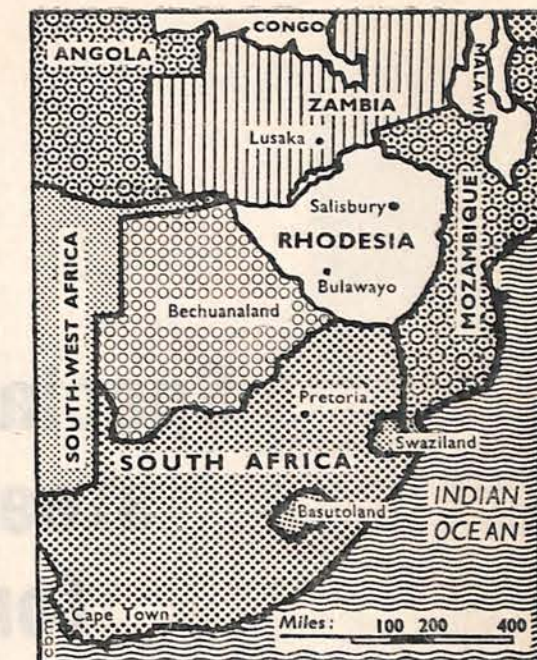
Yet there is no other country from which an attack can be launched, as Rhodesia is bounded on the east and south by friendly Portuguese Mozambique and South Africa and on the West by the mountainous and undeveloped British Protectorate of Bechuanaland.

Strenuous efforts are being made to give Zambia other outlets. British and American air-freight experts visited Lusaka last month to plan a massive airlift, perhaps rivalling the Berlin airlift in scale. This would fly in essential goods and fly out part, at least, of Zambia's copper, the mainstay of her economy.

The U.S. is also financing a road survey from Lusaka to the sea at Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. This could be built faster than the railway already being surveyed by Chinese, British and Canadian engineers.

President Kaunda of Zambia has warned his countrymen that they may have to tighten their belts. But in the same broadcast he stated that over one-third of Rhodesia's trade was with Zambia—over £40 million worth a year. Leaders of neither country will be eager to sever relations until and unless alternative means of providing for their people's livelihood are found.

Dr. Kaunda and Dr. Banda, the leaders of the two African countries closest to Rhodesia, are not the most bellicose. Dr. Kaunda has opposed suggestions that the U.N. or O.A.U. send armies. "We feel that if military action is to be taken without bloodshed the only country that can do so is Britain," he said. "That is



why we have offered Zambia as a base for British troops. It is my belief that Britain could undertake military action without firing a shot."

Continued on page 8

## SANITY FROM KENYA

THE FOLLOWING is part of a statement issued to the world's press by 14 prominent European citizens who are all either of British origin or British residents in Kenya. An attempt to show their counterparts in Rhodesia a way out of the crisis, it was signed by: Lord Delamere, Sir Michael Blundell, Sir Derek Erskine, Sir Wilfrid Havelock, Sir William O'Brien Lindsay, Sir Charles Markham and others.

"Most of us had perfectly sincere reservations about the speed with which independence was granted to Kenya.

"Today, however, we must readily admit that a great many of our fears have so far proved totally unfounded....

"We can honestly say that President Kenyatta's Government has kept its pledge to respect the rights of all races and that the bitterness of the past has been largely forgotten in the spirit of 'harambee' 'Let's get up and go'.

"Racial prejudice is minimal. The rule of law has been preserved. Freedom of religion, speech and of the press has generally been respected. Law and order has been maintained by a first-class police force under African command.

"Above all, the Kenya Government has succeeded in the face of enormous difficulties in creating a genuine feeling of stability—an atmosphere in which every man, whatever the colour of his skin, feels free to get on with his job, to earn his living and bring up his family in peace."



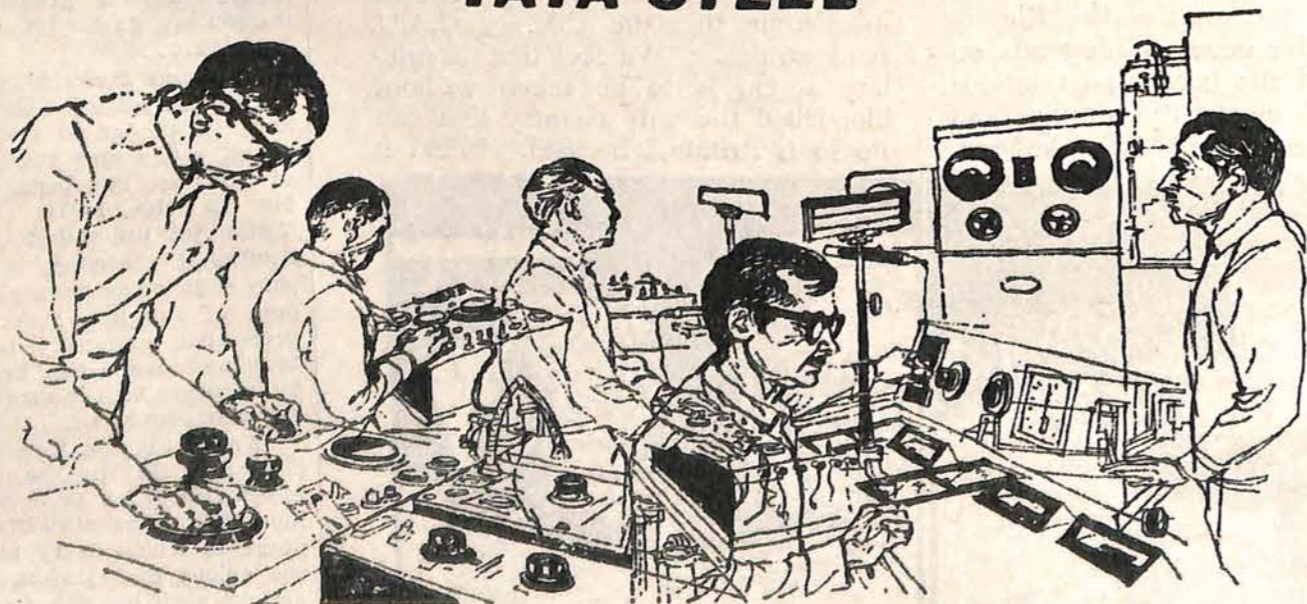
## Special steel for special tasks

In 1946, The Tata Iron and Steel Company started making dynamo grade electrical steel sheets on a commercial scale for the first time in India and are still the only manufacturers in the country.

The indigenous production of these steel sheets, the basic raw material for the electrical industry, helped to bring about a phenomenal expansion of the fan and electric motor industries, and gave a fillip to the manufacture of switchgears, radio receivers, chokes for fluorescent lights, etc.

The manufacture of dynamo grade electrical steel sheets in India was made possible by the pioneering work done at the Research and Control Laboratories, Jamshedpur. Started in a small way in 1925, the Research and Control Laboratories today have three fully-equipped divisions—Chemical, Metallurgical and Refractories—where trained metallurgists carry on research on Indian steel-making materials, help meet operational problems and keep a check on the quality of the steel produced.

### TATA STEEL



The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited

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## Cause for alarm

The Working Committee of the Congress Party, as well as Parliament, have endorsed both the Indo-Pakistan and food policies of Government. This is not surprising because the Congress Working Committee is rarely more than a rubber stamp of official policy.

What is perhaps more significant is the almost total support Government received in Parliament from all political parties ranging from the extreme right to the Communist left.

There is also cause for alarm in that such criticism as was vocal came from the more extremist critics of Government who want a more war-like policy which, intentionally or otherwise, would rob India of what little sympathy and support is left for her among the nations of the world and international organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

### India Stands Alone

It is natural that the Communist Party should have sought to aggravate the conditions of scarcity in the country by calling upon the Government to stop all PL 480 imports of food grains. It is not only in consonance with the mood of self-reliance and self-adulatory truculence which have characterized the utterances of most of our national leaders. It would also create conditions for a popular economic struggle against want and privation. Thus the Communists can have the cake and eat it as well. They can exploit the patriotic fervour of today and the frustrations of tomorrow.

The Food Minister, whose job and whose Party's future depends on the ability to produce steady supplies of at least a minimum ration for all, did well to warn his Party that the intention of the Communists was to "create chaos and confusion in the country so that they could exploit it for their own political ends". But it is not enough. The Congress Party must realize that India stands alone in her insistence that there is nothing to negotiate about with Pakistan. On this matter she does not have the sympathy of even those who are disposed to be friendly with India.

Therefore, without some attempt at resolving the problem of Kashmir (and there is a problem), even the present level of food imports cannot avert an economic catastrophe. It is doubtful if the overwhelming support that the Government now has in the fever of patriotic sentiment can be maintained under conditions of long-term scarcities and privation. And those political groups that today vie with each other in anti-Pakistan fervour will be the first to condemn the Government for the ensuing situation.

The truth is that despite all the quite sincere talk about self-reliance, and the seriousness with which Government has undertaken to achieve it, the national will to work harder and sacrifice as much in time of peace as under the stress of war needs to be demonstrated. The farmer and trader interests and their political representatives in the ruling Party are lobbying for their rights as vigorously as ever. There is not even the assurance that the policies of the Central Government will be carried out efficiently and expeditiously at lower levels or that the divergent interests of surplus and deficit areas will be sufficiently overcome in the coming months.

### Is Freedom Muted?

Some other aspects of the present situation constitute a serious threat to the freedom and the future of democracy in India. One is the self-righteous intolerance of a vast number of Members of the Indian Parliament and the glib demand that all those who do not conform absolutely should be silenced. More shocking than the action of the Government in arresting men like Mr. A. G. Noorani of the *Indian Express* and Mr. George of *The Searchlight* of Patna, is the almost total silence of the press which they represented. One wonders if the traditional guardian of freedom has become the muted vehicle of official needs. Members of Parliament and even official spokesmen have demanded action against men like Sri Rajagopalachari, India's elder statesman, and E. M. S. Namboodiripad, former Communist Chief Minister of Kerala, because they have had the courage

## Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

to express their unorthodox views. Such tendencies can only hasten the end of the "Rule of Law" and the parliamentary system of government of which we are so proud today.

Some Members of Parliament have advocated retaliatory policies such as the suspension of the canal waters agreement in terms of what they call Pakistan's intransigence. "Pakistan has done this. She never did that. So why should we not do this or why should we?" Morality is thus conditional, if it is relevant at all. This is a slippery road for any nation.

Most dangerous of all is the unleashing of hate in the nation. For those who seek to use hate as a convenient tool today cannot decide its ultimate direction in the future. Hate which often starts with a cause and has an object, endures long after both the cause and the object have disappeared and may become an elemental force of destruction in the hands of those most capable of exploiting it.

Perhaps the most hopeful sign of the past weeks has been the comparative moderation of men like Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri. He will need both wisdom and courage to fight the extremists in his Party and the opposition.

### Modern Statesmanship

The following extracts from a letter from an English friend of mine seems to me to define the task of modern Indian statesmanship:

"The mark of a mature civilization is that it rises above division to a larger concept. To divide merely when one disagrees is the mark of a primitive order. I am very mindful of Britain's stupidities. All through the generations we have encouraged people to divide because we have insisted so resolutely on our own viewpoints. But India is a truly great nation with a great heart and

Continued on next page

**RHODESIA**—from page 5

Dr. Banda said of O.A.U. resolutions on the use of force, "What African State has an army to attack Smith?" (Zambia's armed forces consist of two battalions, perhaps 2,000 men; Rhodesia has 10,000 troops plus 25,000 police reservists and six squadrons of modern aircraft.) Nor is Dr. Banda a strong believer in sanctions, which, he says, have proved ineffective against South Africa.

**UNDER THE LENS**—from page 7

she may see that in a divided and dividing world a lead can be given by an oncoming people in the direction of a pattern of unity out of division rather than a new splintering and fragmentation process which can only provide a doorway for the forces of disintegration. We need greatness today and not those viewpoints which force us apart.

"Present difficulties are not permanent and can and will be overcome. Then will come the time of rebuilding and that is when East and West can move together."

The opposition to Smith is further weakened by the fact that the two African parties, the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union, are unable to unite in setting up an alternative government. Their representatives in Cairo could not even agree on the text of a joint protest to the British Ambassador. The Africans in Rhodesia are better off materially than in most parts of the continent and are still led, very largely, by conservative chiefs. Whether through apathy, or through the efficiency of Mr. Smith's police, they have showed little sign as yet of posing a militant threat.

Mr. Smith and his supporters are men with myopia. "I feel as if we are living in different worlds, almost different centuries," remarked Mr. Wilson after their abortive talks in London. Seeking only what they conceive to be the interests of their own community, they fail, or refuse, to see the effect of their action on the rest of Africa. By hanging on to white supremacy they are accelerating the breakdown of the very

civilization they profess to uphold.

As Sir Michael Blundell, leading European settler from Kenya, said, "It is stupid to embark on a policy which must fundamentally turn the African into your enemy. You would then have to control him *ad infinitum*, and that isn't bloody possible."

Behind the stubbornness of Mr. Smith lies the fear in many white men in Africa, that African rule means another Congo with its rape, bestiality and chaos. Statements like that of the Secretary General of the banned Z.A.P.U., Mr. George Nyan-dora, increase their fear and determination to resist. He said in Lusaka on the eve of U.D.I., "My people are ready to murder whites if they get instructions to do so."

Conflict between black and white is not inevitable. Statesmanship can overcome division, as the letter from fourteen prominent Europeans in Kenya printed on page five proves. Amid the dark headlines from Rhodesia, the stability and unity of races in Kenya is a bright hope. The blinkered Mr. Smith should take a look.

# PIGS AND PEOPLE

By Patrick Wolrige-Gordon, M. P.

Asia is gravely divided. In olden days, it is said, the Chinese used to have to kill the best of their pigs, because there were always soldiers moving about; and that way you had less to lose.

Today not only pigs but people are proving unable to reach the full fruit of their growth and maturity. Suspicion and mistrust stalk the continent: and what could be a paradise is short of food, short of industry, short of wealth and short of peace. While behind the scenes, three great nations are dealing out the cards in the game for Asia's soul.

Of these three, China has stated her aims most clearly. She has attained the atomic bomb. Her armies have taken Tibet and threaten India. America also has declared her aim to contain China. She has committed vast national resources to fight Communism in Vietnam, and she has requested Britain to maintain her armed strength in the Asian continent. What about Russia? The leaders of Pakistan and India may seek their unity on Russian soil. It may seem ironic that this should be so. Russia has long lost the secret of unity with her own great Asian partner China, despite their mutual commitment to Communism. But there may be a bigger game afoot. It may have been decided already on behalf of the millions of Asia that the only answer to Communism from Peking is Communism from Moscow.

### Will the West Pull Out?

In that case Asia will have to awake and the signs are that Asia is near to choosing which way the continent will go. First she must decide whether America will stay in Vietnam. Will America and Britain and perhaps Australasia continue to guarantee the defence and the economy of Asian countries against the armed might, increasing wealth and, above all, the solid determination of advancing Communism? Or will they pull out and abandon Asia to Peking and Moscow?

It is a stern choice for men who lead nations like Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Singapore, Malaysia,

Japan, or even Pakistan and India. They know their own lives depend upon the rightness of the choice they make.

At the moment America and Britain provide the main defence against Communist take-over in Asia. It is a heavy burden and even a thankless task. There is much temptation to give it up.

Some feel that the obvious answer is to abandon Asia and to retreat into some Western fortress, or a number of Western fortresses, and

**Mr. Wolrige-Gordon, a Member of the British House of Commons, recently visited India and a number of other Asian countries.—Ed.**

there continue to develop the kind of society considered to be most desirable in armed isolation, protected by a battery of bombs, from the threat of Moscow or Peking.

Others feel that the survival of a non-Communist Asia is essential to the survival of a non-Communist Western world as well. For this argument another solution presents itself: bomb out Red China before her nuclear striking force becomes strong enough to hit back. Neither one of these solutions has anything to commend it, but they are inevitable in a confrontation where one party, i.e. China, has a strong militant ideology and the other, i.e. America and the West as a whole, has no ideology.

I was talking with a prosperous Chinese businessman in Hong Kong. He described his fellow countrymen in Peking in this way: "They mean business," he said, "and we respect them for it, however much we may dislike their ideas." A Japanese girl put it this way: "No Japanese believe we can stand alone; we have to go either with America or with Russia or with China. I prefer China."

An increasing number of people think China means business. It is incredible how few think the United States means business, too. In spite of the huge investment of men, money, material in Vietnam, many still doubt the purpose of America in Asia.

It is legitimate, too, perhaps, that many Americans begin to doubt the purpose of Asians.

One point is clear. Not yet have the West and the East been able to unite in creating a revolutionary pattern of society which works and with which both can agree. They have not succeeded with Communism and they have not succeeded with parliamentary democracy. Neither has proved adequate to solve the age-old divisions between them. It provides a great opportunity for the whole free world to grasp the initiative and to fill this vacuum. But it can only be done if it becomes the purpose of nations to do it both in the East and in the West. For that they need a national theme, an ideology above race, colour, class and creed: a determination to revolutionize the non-Communist and Communist world alike. That purpose alone is going to be adequate to answer the division, the hate and the fear in Asia, and to provide an example radical enough, practical enough and revolutionary enough to attract, win and change the rulers of Peking.

## Union Bank Helps People

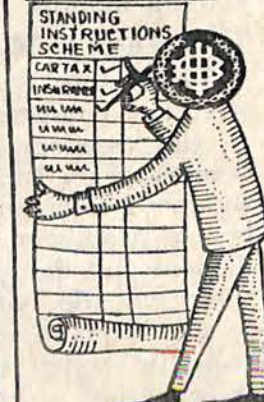
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

U.K.'s Biggest Stir Since Suez

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

"I hope the rest of the world won't impose sanctions in a spirit of revenge but rather in an effort to get us to return to the fold." This is the plea of Sir Roy Welensky, former Prime Minister of the Rhodesian Federation and opponent of U.D.I.

Even this experienced in-fighter of boxing rings as well as political circles refuses to predict the outcome of the title bout between the British Government and Prime Minister (or is it former Prime Minister?) Smith.

But one prediction by an aide of Smith can be discounted. "U.D.I. will be a three days' wonder: then the fuss will blow over," he said confidently. Smith's partisans do not or will not grasp the depth of feeling not only of black Africa but of the world about their action.

They may grasp at the straw of frank statements by Malawi's Prime Minister about the strength of Rhodesia's armed forces, but they will end up holding the nettle of economic sanctions. There is precedent in

history of men who were so blinkered about protecting the interests of one race that they led their own people to disaster.

Many poohpoo Smith's remarks about British "kith and kin", as large numbers of Rhodesians are now of continental European descent, but it is true that U.D.I. has stirred people here as nothing since Suez. There is much understanding for the motivation of Smith's decision—but little support for it.

Some Socialists as well as Conservatives are cautious, however, about excessive sanctions on Rhodesia. They are aware of African countries which pay lip service to "one man one vote" but deny democracy.

Behind Djakarta's Coup

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS

Kuala Lumpur

The world has been asking, what really happened in Indonesia during the attempted coup on September 30 and the days that followed.

At the beginning of August, President Sukarno retired for two weeks to consider the message he was to give the nation on August 17, Indonesian Independence Day. During this period, he was seriously ill but recovered in time to give his message as planned. He has been under the care of a Chinese doctor, the one remaining member of a team who went to Djakarta after Sukarno had consulted them in China two years ago about his serious kidney complaint.

Two days before the coup, Dr. Sukarno addressed a Communist student group at a meeting attended by the Party leader, D. N. Aidit. The students agitated for the banning of a rival Muslim students organization. Sukarno refused. Aidit, very annoyed, stood up and challenged Sukarno frontally, saying it was the

Communist duty to wipe out the Muslim students. Sukarno rose to rebut Aidit but had a seizure and could not speak. After resting for 10 minutes, and being attended to by his Chinese doctor, he was able to return to the platform and continue. But everyone present had seen for themselves the true state of his health.

Aidit and the Communists, it is believed, then decided to put into action the contingency plan they must have made for Sukarno's death or decline. The PKI (Communist Party) alerted their cadres and persuaded Colonel Untung, one of the three battalion commanders of the Presidential Guard, to act. They told him they had discovered a plot by a group of generals to seize power

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

SAIGON — American forces battled with a battalion-size Viet Cong force over a strategic highway 40 miles from the capital. Over 2,000 Communist troops died in an attempt to take a special forces camp in the Central Highlands. 90 per cent of the Viet Cong troops in this operation were from North Vietnam.

DJAKARTA — Indonesian authorities have put down an attempted Communist uprising in central Borneo.

PNOM PENH — Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia attacked Cambodian Communists as "valets" of North Vietnam. He also accused right-wing elements of being in league with Thailand and South Vietnam.

SAIGON — American Defence Department sources reported that more than 1,000 U.S. soldiers had been killed since the beginning of the Vietnam conflict. 160,000 American troops are now in the country.

TOKYO — Japan's Lower House of Parliament approved the ratification of the treaty establishing diplomatic relations with South Korea.

DJAKARTA — Radio Djakarta announced that ships of the Indonesian Navy have arrived in Pakistani ports to take part in joint naval exercises.

MANILA — Senator Fernando Marcos of the opposition Nacionalista Party claimed an unbeatable lead in the presidential election. President Macapagal refused to concede defeat.

TAIPEI — Three Communist Chinese Air Force officers landed an IL-28 jet bomber in Taiwan and asked for asylum.

RAWALPINDI — Foreign Minister Bhutto accepted the Soviet Union's offer to mediate in the Kashmir dispute and announced he would shortly visit Moscow for "important talks".

BANGKOK — A UNESCO-sponsored Asian conference of Education Ministers will admit the Soviet Union as a full member for the first time.

DJAKARTA — More than 100,000 people, the biggest demonstration in years, demanded the outlawing of the Indonesian Communist Party.

KATHMANDU — Nepal's Foreign Minister declared that his country abstained from voting for Russia's participation in the Algiers conference because it viewed the Soviet Union as a European power.

KUALA LUMPUR — One hundred and six new tin mines were opened in Malaysia in the first seven months of 1965. Malaysia supplies 30 per cent of the world's tin.

SINGAPORE — The Government announced that Russia will send a mission to survey ways of helping the island industrialize.

PORT LOUIS — Britain has offered Mauritius £3 million for purchase of the island dependency of Diego Garcia for a military base.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

on Armed Forces' Day, October 5. It now appears more than likely that Untung himself was a Communist.

During September, Air Force personnel had been training 3,000 Communist cadres in arms drill at their base just outside Djakarta. At 2 a.m. on the morning of the coup these cadres were given arms and uniforms of the Presidential bodyguard. They had a two-phase plan: to capture first the generals and then the key colonels of the Army. Both phases went wrong.

As reported, six of the leading generals were captured and put to death at the Air Force base. But the Defence Minister, General Abdul Haris Nasution, himself escaped, wounded, over his back wall while the Communists killed his five-year-old daughter.

Now it appears that all the field commanders are working with General Nasution and are in effective control of the country. Sukarno has complained that the orders he has given are reversed but seems powerless to prevent it. It seems

likely that Sukarno himself was to some degree a party to the coup. He was at the Air Force Base when the generals were murdered there. And he has not yet specifically condemned the PKI's part in the events.

Whoever does control Indonesia will have a mammoth job before him. For two years, the Communists have been taking over the large rubber estates and are now in a position to cripple the rubber industry, source of much of the nation's wealth. They may well start a civil war.

The Army has discovered Chinese weapons which must have been smuggled in for Communist use, as the nation has had no official arms' agreement with China. Much may depend on what support the Communists have among the people, many of whom may well have been disillusioned by what has happened.

The economy is in a serious state, though Indonesia is potentially one of the richest lands in the world. Any new government will need to issue fresh currency. One reason money has lost its value is that counterfeit bills have been poured into the country from outside.

Indonesia was once the world's largest producer of tin. Now she has only one-fifth of Malaysia's output. Chief reason for this is the deterioration in basic equipment and a lack of foreign exchange for buying replacements.

There are grave shortages of food, chiefly because of a breakdown in the distribution system. Farmers have been forced to sell half their rice, rubber or copra to government agents at a fixed price. The agent often did not have money and gave a voucher that was supposed to be redeemed at the end of the month but often was not. As this went on for month after month, farmers were forced to sell their vouchers to moneylenders for half their face value.

In 1963, 60 per cent of the rural population of Sumatra was landless. The population is increasing rapidly—in Java alone by nearly two million people a year. Experts have estimated that to provide a 1½ per cent increase in the standard of living—the minimum likely to avert widespread discontent—the cost, for the overcrowded island of Java alone, would be \$ 785 million a year. And

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

American aid at its height was only at the rate of \$ 100 million.

It appears as though the difficulties

facing General Nasution and the military leaders are only just beginning. Not only do they have a critical economic situation to deal with, they have also to unite the country.

### Obsolete at Six Times Speed of Sound

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Phoenix, Arizona

The U.S. is on the edge of a new speed age. Programmes in science are being accelerated. Two manned American space ships will be shot aloft sooner than expected to fly in formation as part of the "man to the moon" project.

One reason for this up-scheduling is probably to offset the propaganda effect of a six-cosmonaut space voyage Russia is believed to be planning.

Screaming along at 17,000 miles an hour, 185 miles above the earth, the Gemini VI crew will try to bring its capsule to within ten feet of the Gemini VII ship.

In another scientific effort a new engine called Scramjet has been developed to accelerate an aircraft from 2,500 miles an hour to 17,000 miles an hour. Such an engine would be used on future commercial airlines making the flying time between New York and New Delhi one hour.

Scramjet is only one segment in the new speed philosophy that is being developed. The power plant of this new engine is still secret.

New fusilages for the super-jets will be made of glass fibre with a coating of Boron which will enable

it to resist high temperatures.

More conventional engines have been developed that will fly at mach 6.06 or 4,159 miles per hour. But these engines are now considered to be obsolete with the development of the Scramjet.

Another development in aerodynamics are aeroplanes that take off with their wings at the conventional right-angle to the fusilage and at high speeds fold back, turning the plane into something of a rocket.

A new military transport is also being developed which will carry 700 men or more. When these planes are made commercial one will be able to fly from New Delhi to New York for about \$ 200.

Intercontinental missiles with warheads removed within a few years will be carrying the mail to cities 5,000 miles distant in 30 minutes—if they do not become obsolete before then.

### Clean-up on Australian Waterfront

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Melbourne

In an island nation like Australia the national economy depends to a large extent on the export-import trade (wool, wheat, iron ore, etc.). So the waterfront industry is vitally important to the nation's life. The Government, concerned at inefficiency and the slow turnaround of ships, is setting about a clean-up and modernization.

Outlining new waterfront legislation in the House of Representatives recently, the Federal Minister for Labour, Mr. McMahon, said it was being introduced because of the Communist controllers of the Waterside Workers' Federation. With a membership of 22 000 in 44 ports, the Union employs three known Communists in key positions and the Minister claimed that in other branches there was strong Communist representation in executive positions.

Planned to end a long struggle on the waterfront, the legislation, which has been passed by both Houses of Parliament, covers two major issues: 1) it transfers the power to recruit new labour from the Waterside Workers' Federation, the wharfmen's national union, to the Australian Stevedoring Industry Authority, a semi-Government body formed in 1956; 2) it gives the Government the power to cancel the registration

Continued on next page

### The week in India

**KOHIMA** — The truce between the Union Government and Naga underground forces has been extended a further two months until mid-January. The peace mission sought a six-month extension.

**BANGALORE** — A Nuclear Explosion Detection Station was commissioned at Gauribidanur which will study the earth's seismic structure.

**BOMBAY** — Famine threatens large areas of Maharashtra due to the failure of the monsoon. In western sections of the state the average yield of jowar is expected to be only 25 per cent of normal and of rice only 35 per cent. Measures passed by the Government to permit installation of water pumps have proved fruitless due to red-tape and negligence.

**NEW DELHI** — The Soviet Union has completed delivery of an undisclosed number of MiG-21 jet-fighters and other military equipment to India.

**NEW DELHI** — After heated debate, the Lok Sabha approved the Government decision to honour the Indus Water Treaty with Pakistan. The Prime Minister told the house he had received assurances from the World Bank that development funds had not been utilized for military purposes.

**BOMBAY** — E. M. S. Namboodiripad, acting General Secretary of the CPI, declared his Party's support to the Government "in so far as defending what India holds", but stated, "The Party is not prepared to support the Government in retaking what Pakistan has been holding and what China has come to occupy."

**AHMEDABAD** — The Gujarat Minister of Civil Supplies announced that the state's food production would be about 50 per cent of last year's.

**BANGALORE** — The Chief Minister of Mysore State said that the scarcity of food in the state was the worst "in all my 63 years".

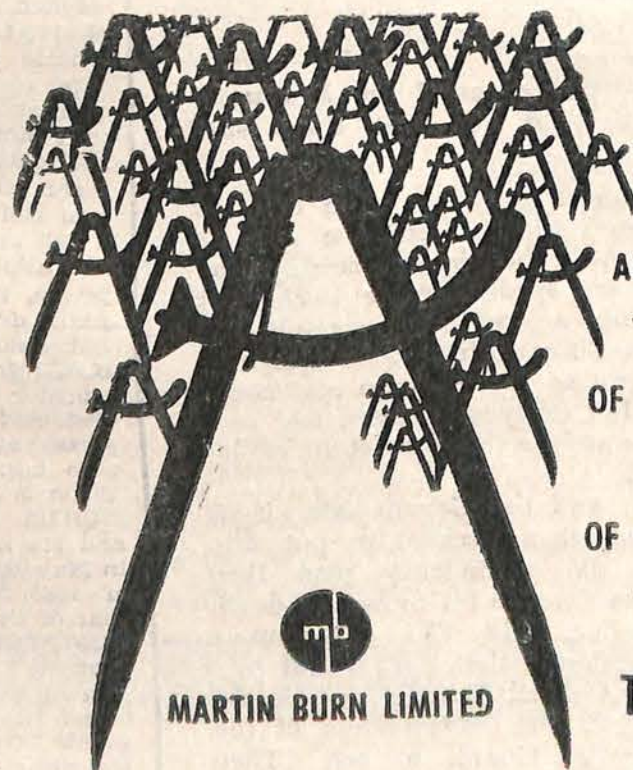
**TRIVANDRUM** — The Left-Communist supported candidate, Independent Councillor N. Sathyakaman Nair, defeated the Congress candidate for Mayor by 23 votes to 18.

**NEW DELHI** — Minister of External Affairs Swaran Singh announced that India would recognize any provisional Rhodesian government supported by the Organization of African Unity.

India snapped all economic ties with the Smith regime. She withdrew her diplomatic mission earlier this year.

**NEW DELHI** — The Association of International Development will release \$100 million credit to India without insisting on India raising equivalent foreign exchange.

**NEW DELHI** — Education Minister M. C. Chagla has proposed to the Prime Minister that high-school students spend one year in national service before entering university.



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

of the Union if it continues to stage strikes in defiance of the Conciliation and Arbitration Act or to interfere seriously with overseas and national trade. It will authorize the creation of new unions in place of the long established Waterside Workers' Federation if they continue illegal strikes.

The Minister stated that over the past ten years time lost by waterside workers because of industrial disputes accounted for 21 per cent of the total time lost by all workers in all industries.

The Minister also said that in the last 20 years the additional rates for skill of fitters, highly-skilled tradesmen, had risen by 315 per cent. Over the same period the margins for waterside workers, who are semi-skilled, had risen by 1,200 per cent.

The Government has been constantly critical of the Union's refusal to maintain the supply of labour for each port which has contributed to the slow turn-around of ships. Large numbers of men want to work on the waterfront. In Sydney recently more than 3,000 applications were received for 100 vacancies. In another port 1,000 applied for 74 vacancies. Recruits are attracted by the average weekly wage of £A29 (Rs. 305).

Watersiders have long stated that the Government and ship owners did little to meet their demands.

In pursuing these demands the Union, until recently, called a 24-hour strike every fortnight. This was met by heavy fines. 4,100 Melbourne watersiders paid a total of £35,000 in fines applied by the Arbitration Court.

The Union has advised its members to ignore the labour recruitment provisions of the new legislation and this could lead to a heated commotion with the Government.

Less Weeds, More Rice

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

Raising agricultural production and breaking down class barriers are two urgent needs in Ceylon and the Government has an original idea for meeting both.

If a million children worked for three hours a day for even ten days a year in the fields, weeding and transplanting, and then fertilizer was added, Ceylon could grow all the rice she needs. At the moment she only produces 57 per cent of the rice her people eat. The Department of

Agriculture says that by weeding all the country's fields alone there would be a 25 per cent increase in rice yields.

At the same time this would help to overcome the revulsion against manual labour instilled into youth from "white collar" and middle class families and would mark a step forward in uniting the country.

It could give valuable character training, provided the children understand why they are doing it and provided the effort is sustained. This will demand more from teachers than flying the national flag and singing the national anthem.

The week

SPY WAR ON NORWAY

OSLO—Since the last war, 23 people have been charged in Norway with espionage for the Communist bloc. The latest is the secretary to the head of Norwegian military intelligence, who had access to secret information passed to the Norwegians by Britain and the U.S.A. Assessing these facts, the Norwegian press (except the Communist press) has concluded that Russia is waging a secret offensive against their country.

CANADA'S ELECTIONS

OTTAWA—The Canadian general election, the fifth in eight years, resulted in a stalemate. The Liberal Prime Minister, Mr. Pearson, decided on an election in the hope of winning a clear majority over the Conservatives, led by Mr. Diefenbaker, and the smaller parties. The Liberals won 129 seats (out of 265)—exactly the same as they held before. Mr. Pearson will therefore carry on as Prime Minister with a minority Government. Seventy-three per cent of the ten million electorate voted

elsewhere

as against 79 per cent in 1963, indicating the lack of public interest in the election. The Liberals retained their hold on urban districts and the Conservatives on the rural areas. Canada still lacks a Federal Government strong enough to overcome provincial pressures. This has been an election the public did not want for an objective which was not attained.

CHINA'S TRADE RISES

CANTON—Hundreds of Western businessmen attended the recent Canton Trade Fair. Communist China expects this year to do \$2.4 billion worth of trade with non-Communist countries, out of a total world trade of \$3.7 billion. Meanwhile her trade with Russia has fallen 70 per cent—from over \$2 billion in 1959 to \$370 million last year. Japan may soon replace Russia as China's largest trading partner, with Hong Kong not far behind. A large portion of China's foreign exchange this year will pay for over one million metric tons of wheat from Canada. Australia and other countries.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS



ILLUMINATED HOUNDS

REGENSBURG — West German police dogs are being fitted with blinking lights powered by lightweight batteries. The device will help police carry out night searches. Often, in the past, the dogs' guides have had to find their dogs before they could continue with the real search.

SOVIET EMBASSY SPIES

NEW YORK—Sixty per cent of Soviet embassy staff are intelligence officers, according to Oleg Penkovsky, shot by the Russians in 1963 as a Western spy, whose papers, smuggled from Russia, are being published here this month. Even chauffeurs are intelligence agents, states Penkovsky. In the U.S.A. one was a lieutenant-commander of the Soviet Navy. The main task of these agents, he says, is to recruit spies through blackmail or bribery. "Agents are also recruited on an ideological basis, but these represent the smallest percentage." Penkovsky lists 26 Ministries which he says are largely or completely staffed by K. G. B. (State Security) or G.R.U. (Military Intelligence). These include the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, In-tourist, Lumumba University and the body co-ordinating friendship societies with other countries.

Explaining his decision to spy for the West, Penkovsky wrote: "Some disease or infection is gnawing and eating at our country from within and we must do something to stop it. I do not see any other choice, and this is the main reason I am

joining the ranks of active fighters for a better future for my people. The Communist system is harmful to our people. There are many people who think and feel as I do, but they are afraid to unite for action." Penkovsky said Soviet upper society paid lip service to Communism while privately lying and intriguing against each other for money and advancement.

UNREST IN BURMA

RANGOON—Speculation on the future of the Trade Minister, Brigadier Tin Pe, has followed public criticism of the People's Stores Corporations of which he is head. Known as the "Red Brigadier", Tin Pe is considered the most Left-wing member of the Revolutionary Council. He has been reported absent from recent important discussions. The P.S.C., which controlled most of Burma's commerce since nationalization of wholesale and retail businesses, has been replaced by Regional Trade Councils, aiming at more decentralization and better communication with the public.

In Rangoon, security measures have been tightened up. A former commander of General Ne Win's personal guard has defected to a guerrilla "National Liberation Army", believed to be based in Thailand. Two prominent army officers have been arrested for counter-revolutionary activities. (HIMMAT reported on August 6 the existence of a "Shan National Army" in North Burma, whose aim is to set up an autonomous Shan state.)

AUSTRALIAN ORE FIND

PERTH—The Premier of Western Australia, Mr. David Brand, announced a £52 million project to develop iron ore resources in the barren, sparsely populated north-west of Australia. Iron ore resources in the area are estimated at 15,000 million tons, enough to supply the world's steel industry for 100 years.

The latest scheme follows contracts already made with Australian and American mining companies, and Japanese steel firms, worth over £160 million. Over one-third of Japan's steel output will soon be made from West Australian iron ore. The agreements include construction of a port in north-west Australia and a 260-mile railway linking it to the mining site, a plant capable of processing two million tons of ore annually prior to export, and an integrated iron and steel industry with a minimum production of one million tons a year.

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## VIEWPOINT

First Prize : Rs. 35

# SHOULD INDIA RECOGNIZE NATIONALIST CHINA ?

By P. C. Abraham, Ernakulam

THERE is no legal impediment to recognizing Nationalist China, for even the Peking Government will admit that there has been a Kuomintang Government in existence in Taiwan for the last fifteen years and that Government is in effective control over that territory.

The American view is that the K.M.T. Government represents the aspirations of the people of China. There is nothing to disprove this assumption. Unlike the Taiwanese, the people on the mainland enjoy no civil liberties. The Communist Government represents none but itself.

The best course for us would be to withdraw recognition of the Peking Government and to recognize the Nationalist Government without entering into legal controversies. There need be no difficulty in taking such a step, for the Red regime has proved beyond any doubt that it is incapable of fulfilling its international obligations. The suppression of human rights in Tibet and the continued aggression on India are enough to justify the withdrawal of recognition. It must also be noted that, except the Left-Communists, all are in favour of breaking off diplomatic relations with Peking. It serves no purpose to have diplomatic relations with a country that is planning to attack us and more so when it believes in the inevitability of war. If we were on friendly terms with Nationalist China, Peking would not have dared to attack us, for they knew it better than anybody else that a two-front war would mean the end of the Mao regime.

### COMPETITION RESULTS

This week our contributors voted nearly 2 to 1 for recognizing Taiwan. Unfortunately none of those written against the subject were good enough in argument or composition to qualify for a prize.

YES — 62 PER CENT  
NO — 38 PER CENT

The Chinese Nationalist Army is one of the finest in Asia. So is their Air Force. The pressure they exert on the south-east coast is the greatest restraint on Chinese expansion to the south. Closer ties with Nationalist China will help us in a big way.

The economic advantage is also not negligible. Formosa is second only to Japan in Asia as far as the standard of living is concerned. Their export trade is increasing year after year, and India can definitely profit from trade with Taiwan.

In the sphere of agriculture, Formosa has advanced a lot during the last decade and many African countries are now profiting from the Formosan experience. More than any other country, Taiwan may be able to help us.

President Chiang's love for India is well known. He was one of the few world leaders who pleaded for our country's independence during the Second World War. By re-establishing relations with his Government we will only be making amends for the past.

The only difficulty in giving recognition to Nationalist China is its not-very-clear attitude towards Tibet. But Chiang had made certain pronouncements earlier to the effect that he would give self-determination to the Tibetans.

Second Prize : Rs. 10

### THE ANSWER IS "YES"

By R. V. RAGHAVAN, Bombay

THE ANSWER is 'Yes'. India is at war with Red China and the latter has forcibly annexed large chunks of our territory in Ladakh and NEFA and are refusing to budge from that position. There is no hope of taking back these lost territories and China may resume hostilities at any time. An enemy of our enemy is our ally. That should be the motto. When

### COMPETITION

\* Is the moon worth reaching?

Closing date: November 26

\*\* The U.N. should have its own armed forces to implement decisions.

Closing date: December 10

Prizes : Rs. 25, Rs. 15

Send entries of 500 words or less to: Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1.

In order to accommodate more features like SCIENCE, BOOKS, etc. the VIEWPOINT competition will now be held every two weeks.

Hitler attacked Russia during the last war, Churchill immediately declared Russia an ally even though he was opposed to their Communist regime.

Taiwan should be recognized not merely as a matter of political expediency but also as a matter of principle. The Communist regime on the mainland came to power through the help of arms and equipment supplied by Soviet Russia. The Japanese had surrendered huge quantities of arms and equipment to the Russians when they surrendered in Manchuria and these were handed over to the Chinese Communists. With the help of this equipment and armour the Communists were able to defeat Chiang's forces.

The claim that the people overthrew the corrupt Chiang's regime because they were dissatisfied with it is false. Corruption might have been there but in spite of the corruption people were for that regime.

The vast mass of the Chinese population are held down in bondage and if a plebiscite is held, a vast majority of them will vote against the Communist regime.

Further, the talk of world revolution and the conviction that they can build Communism on what remains after a nuclear devastation should set men thinking whether the Communist regime should be allowed to exist. The only way to check the growing power of Red China is to bolster up the Government in Formosa and pit it against Red China. The presence of an alternate government across the Formosa straits will serve as a rallying point for all those who are dissatisfied with the Government on the mainland.

# LETTERS

## GOVERNMENT SACRIFICE

**SIR:** Day in and day out, our Government has been asking us for all manner of sacrifices, such as prohibition, cutting out our luxuries, to consume less food, compelling us to sacrifice our gold and surplus income by direct and indirect taxes.

It is a dedicated duty of every responsible citizen to sacrifice whatever he can for his Motherland; but is sacrificing a one-way affair? Can we not have even the faintest hope of getting any reward back from the Government? Can they not sacrifice some of their policies which in practice have proved intensely harmful and discouraging for our people, such as the rationing and state-distribution of food, the 17th amendment of the Constitution which has snatched away from the farmers the rightful proprietorship of their lands, its Soviet type of massive planning which is a death-trap to our economy and has withered the survival of the competitive free enterprise and has dragged our nation to the brink of bankruptcy?

DINYAR M. HARVER\*

Bombay 2

\* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner.

## CHINA IN TIBET

**SIR:** China is becoming notorious for her aggressive dogmas and subversive activities. Her open denunciation of the Soviet policy of peaceful co-existence is nothing but a declaration of war on countries with different social systems. Afro-Asian countries can ignore the A-bomb-owning China's posture only at the peril of their liberty and culture.

I came across, by chance, the following statement of Sri Jayprakash Narain, issued a decade and a half ago when Communist China annexed Tibet. This view of JP, contained in the Hindustan Standard of November 5, 1950, will help policy makers to know our foes and choose our friends.

"If the Chinese Government does not wish to follow the ways of imperialism, it must withdraw its forces from Tibet and the Tibetan people should be allowed to hold a plebiscite under the supervision of the United Nations, to determine their future.

"It is remarkable to find that while Communism is making such a tremendous noise about world peace and peace pledges, it is Communism which, in the last few months, has disturbed the peace of the world, once in Korea and now in Tibet.

"Sovereignty of one nation over another had no sanction whatever, except that of force.

"For any Communist Government to take shelter behind imperialist formulae, is only to adduce further proof that modern Communism is not different from imperialism.

"After all, the vital question is whether the people of Tibet are prepared to accept the sovereignty of China. Whether India or Britain accepts it or not, is completely irrelevant to the issue.

"Everyone talks of this or that country acknowledging the sovereignty of China over Tibet. But nobody, however, seems to consider the wishes of the Tibetan people themselves."

C. R. NARASIMHAN

Madras 17

## GUNS OR BUTTER

**SIR:** Don't you agree we take too much time in arriving at decisions on matters of vital importance? When vital defence equipment is needed we should do away with the age-old

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

socialistic outlook that fundamental considerations such as the defence of a country should lie only with the state. We are at a loss to understand why the Government is still hesitating to issue orders for the private sector to switch over simultaneously to manufacture of arms and ammunition.

Already the big industrialists from the northern states of India have expressed their willingness to manufacture arms and ammunition. In any nation's progress there is a time when guns are better companions than butter. Our Government should immediately appreciate the patriotic zeal of our industrialists who are ultimately the sheet-anchor of a nation's increasing prosperity.

K. ANANTHANARAYANAN

Madras 4

## BLACK AND WHITE

**SIR:** Our wise Premier has, upon the present emergency, commenced to issue gold bonds and therefore offered a wonderful opportunity to turn black money into white. This is your moment. If you have gold hidden, cash or kind, you can now openly declare it under the Gold Bond Scheme! Does anyone realize the grave consequences of this? All those who hold illegal wealth can render it to the Government and profit from it.

Now your cunning and tact (in storing black money) has paid off and you profit immensely. This is corrupting. It makes a complete fiasco of our dear Prime Minister's ardent hope of meeting the present emergency bravely and without corruption. Whatever the Gold Bond Scheme's success, no one can recommend it. No greater encouragement to corruption and wrong-doing could have been given.

J.A. BIRD

Poona 6

## PROHIBITION

**SIR:** I have been an ardent admirer of HIMMAT right from the beginning and have also been a regular reader. I read with much interest the "Viewpoint" columns and my joy knew no bounds when yesterday I read Mr. Yezdyar S. Kaoosji's prize-winning entry ("Has Prohibition Proved a Farce?"). A word of personal congratulations to Mr. Kaoosji.

The Prohibition Act has been a prolific breeder of corruption and this invidious piece of legislation has yet another achievement to its credit: viz. it has reduced to a despicable level the regard for constitutional laws by setting an example of the efficacy of bribery. As a step towards eradication of bribery, too, the present working of the Dry Law needs drastic reorientation.

K. H. JOG

Poona 2

# ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

## "Those Were Exciting Days"

RECALLS GENERAL BARDHAN

"IF YOU MENTION ME, don't forget to mention my family too," said Major General P. N. Bardhan, former Commandant of the Armed Forces Medical College, Poona. General and Mrs. Bardhan have a daughter, Madhumala, and a son at Oxford.

*How long were you in the Army?*

"I joined in 1937 and retired just recently."

*What made you decide to be a doctor?*

"Through the years, I realized that law is man-made, but medicine is God-made, and then the fascination and challenge of medicine came."

*Have you ever been in action?*

"I have served in Italy, Egypt, Pakhtoonistan and very often in the front areas where bombing was taking place, but only as a doctor."

*What about your earlier life?*

"I was born in East Pakistan, but studied in Singapore. I did my medicine there as well, and post graduate studies in England."

*Which was the most interesting phase of your life?*

"In 1919, when Mahatma Gandhi came back from South Africa, he started a Swadeshi Movement. Every middle-class Bengali family gave a boy or a girl to the movement. We used to picket against liquor and foreign cloth and very often were chased by the police. Those were exciting days and, if the momentum of the movement had been kept up, we would have got independence much earlier."

*What do you think of the present situation in India?*

"Uneasy, I would say. Since independence, as a nation we are disliked by some and feared by others. We are not loved by other people and, as you know, Indians are being pushed out of many countries.

"It is hopeful, too, because we are becoming aware of our defects and hopes, learning to hold our tongues, and allowing that the other people's points of view may be right. I would



say it is a period of maturing we are passing through. But the answer must come from within us and not from outside."

*What do you feel about the conflict between India and Pakistan?*

"The popular feeling is to crush Pakistan. But violence begets violence. Momentarily I feel annoyed about it, too, but I realize that we are not paragons of virtue. Both India and Pakistan are from the same stock. It is like brothers fallen apart."

*What are your other interests?*

"I like journalism. Till recently I was the Editor of the Armed Forces Medical College Journal.

"I also like travelling. I spent 13 years in Malaya. In my summer holidays I would come to India and travel widely in III class compartments, spend nights on the station platforms or dharamshalas. In that way I could be in touch with the people of my country. Then, of course, there was no question of passports or trouble over 'P' forms."

*Do all Generals have humour like yours?*

"It's a handicap not to have a sense of humour. It eases tension and, if the humour is at your own expense, it relieves you of worries and your basic goodness comes out."

*What do you predict for the next five years in India?*

"The Indo-Pak trouble will go on. Economically we will go forward. Agriculturally there will be an improvement. Defence expense and measures will increase. After the General Elections are over, a genuine rapprochement with Pakistan will be tried, but not before that."

N.C.

## HUBERT



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### This was a life

#### MICHELANGELO

1475—1564

MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI, one of the world's greatest artists, excelled in sculpture, painting, architecture and poetry. He worked on a heroic scale, with furious energy and a passion for perfection. Purity of life was the basis of his creative power.

He was the son of a poor but proud civic official in Florence, Italy. As a child he was nursed by the wife of a marble worker. His father wanted him to go into business, but from boyhood Michelangelo determined to be a sculptor. "I drew the chisel and mallets with which I carve statues with my mother's milk," he said.

At 13 he was apprenticed to the foremost Florentine painter of the day. Along with art he studied Christian scriptures and philosophy which deeply influenced his life and work.

One of his sculptures is the "Pieta", which has been called the world's greatest statue. Another is his "David", carved out of a huge block of marble which another sculptor had begun work on 40 years before and abandoned.

His best-known painting is the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in Rome, in which the Cardinals of the Catholic Church meet to elect a new Pope. Michelangelo undertook this task reluctantly as he felt sculpture, not painting, was his art. It took him four and a half years, working alone, on his back under the ceiling. Later he also painted "The Last Judgement" on the end wall of the Sistine Chapel, taking a further seven years. Through these frescoes, Michelangelo used all his artistic mastery to express all he knew of God and of human experience.

Political upheavals, intrigues of rival artists, and failures of patrons to pay what they owed, often hindered Michelangelo. His work on the Sistine Chapel was interrupted for three months while he pursued Pope Julius to get money he needed to continue.

From 1534 Michelangelo lived in Rome, where he became chief architect to the Vatican and designed the famous dome of St. Peter's.

In old age he worked hard and ate and slept little. He deprived himself in order to support his relatives. He never married. As he said himself, "I have too much of a wife in this art of mine. She has always kept me struggling on. My children will be the works I leave behind me."

### Q and A

**Q—**Why does our Government not protest to Russia about her aid to Pakistan to build air fields?

**A.** DELAUNE, Bombay 1

**A—**For the simple reason that our Government is straining very hard to get as much aid herself as possible from Russia. And when you are seeking help it is neither polite nor politic to tell your helper what to do. Mr. Bhutto says he is off to Moscow soon to do something about the gift of 30 MiG-21s which, it is reported, have now arrived in India to make good all our war losses of fighter planes. It is clear that Moscow is just as keen to snub China in general as she is to help India in particular. We cannot therefore be too surprised if in doing this she also woos Pakistan.

**Q—**Can you bring out the atheism of the statement "Religion is the opium of the people"?

**M.** RAVINDRA RAO, Secunderabad

**A—**If Marx, a century ago, had met people whose religion was a force for revolutionary change, there might never have been any Communist manifesto in 1848. If the Communist world of 1965 sees men and women with a revolutionary ideology of greater power and penetration than that of Marxism, there could be an end to the hate and suspicion which divides the world today.

Not everyone realizes that atheism is often bred by the hypocrisy of talking about God, but disobeying Him all day long, by theorizing about His almighty power, but cynically disregarding it in one's own life. Marx regarded religion as a kind of opium

because he saw too many people using it to lull themselves into a false, cosy disregard of the evils in society rather than as a means of changing what was wrong.

**Q—**What will be the ultimate fate of the Pindi-Peking-Djakarta axis?

**DAMJI JIVRAJ SHAH, Bombay 9**

**A—**Its fate is already becoming clear in the rupture between China and Indonesia, following the recent attempted coup, and China's reluctance to give Pakistan all the support she had first hoped for. The real question is, however, what will our Government now do to pursue a new co-operation in Asia with Ceylon, Malaysia and Japan. If our foreign policy could develop an effective alliance between these nations and ourselves, we might quickly see the day when Djakarta and Pindi will join us in giving China a better idea than the one she is pushing so hard today.

**ANY QUESTIONS?  
SEND THEM TO Q & A, HIMMAT**



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# To Every War Widow

By Rajmohan Gandhi

DEAR SISTER,

Shri Chavan, the Defence Minister, has announced that over 2,000 Indian soldiers and officers were killed in the recent conflict and that nearly 1,500 are missing.

You are therefore one of about 3,000 Indian women suddenly deprived of a husband or son.

I hope you were given the news in as gentle and thoughtful a manner as possible. It could not have made much difference to the piercing shock you received, but it might have made some.

Others may talk or write about your sorrow. Some will construct the words of their sympathy better than others. But nobody can feel the way you feel.

Yet one thing is clear. Even as you received the news that your beloved husband or son was gone for ever, you were proud. You were proud that he paid the highest price, and that he paid it to defend our freedom.

Time will reduce your sorrow and increase your pride. No man or force will be able to take away from your heart his treasured memory. You will have stories to tell your children as they grow up that will lift their hearts with joy and stir their imagination.

You know this. Yet you could not help asking yourself, "Why did it have to be him and not the tens of thousands of others who also risked but did not die?"

But as you listen in silence a voice in your heart tells you, "I know better than you. You loved him. But I loved him even more. I have taken him for My purposes.

## Was His Sacrifice Worth It?

"Today you do not understand My purposes. You may never completely. Those who do not understand but accept have a special place in My heart."

You may accept the divine will, but a deeper question persists and disturbs you. Was his sacrifice worth it, you ask. What difference has it made to our country, to our society, to the way we live?

Are our people happy? Have we learnt to live as a united family of all races, religions, languages and castes? Don't most of us think of ourselves first and to hell with the others?

Are not many of us still as content in our comfort as we were three months ago, undisturbed by the want or suffering of the huge majority of our nation?

You have heard lots of praise over loudspeakers and the radio of the thousands, like your husband or son, who were killed. You thought some were more sincere than others. Some you even felt were frauds, wishing to gain importance as a result of other people's injuries.

But on the whole you were glad to see that the nation tried to understand what happened to you and others like you.

You thought back to two years ago when, too, the country had lost thousands, and thousands of women had faced your fate. You remembered how the hopes that then emerged from the grim shock soon became dupes. The enthusiasm for service dropped to a trickle and dried out. The patriotism spent itself. There was no plan to preserve or multiply it or to put it to work.

## It Will Not Be Repeated

Now you start wondering whether the story will be repeated.

No, it will not be repeated. Many of us are resolved that the lessons of unselfishness that war has forced upon us will be retained and implemented better and better as the days go by. Who are these "many of us"? Ordinary Indians, not necessarily in positions of power or influence.

We should be foolish, and selfish, if we left everything to our official leaders. They have immense problems. So many of us hold them responsible for everything that affects us. We give them duties and ourselves rights. It is unfair.

But let us be frank. Some of our leaders need to display a greater care for others and for the country. Do many among them have the revolutionary quality of life that can serve as a model for our country's youth, including your children?

It may sound hard, but a great deal depends on *you*. It may sound harsh, but the rebuilding of India depends on *you*.

He died defending India. Will you live to remake it?

Thank God there is a cease-fire. Pray, for the sake of thousands of other women and children, that it lasts. Thank God for his valour and the bravery of others like him. But his work has barely begun.

We have to destroy the hate and greed inside our land that has kept our nation poor and weak and backward and divided. We have to annihilate the laziness, the indifference to others and the worship of ourselves that exist.

And we have to keep our country truly free, free of occupants from other nations and of indigentous tyranny.

## For Our Children's Sake

Never must we allow our conscience to be stilled by any tyrant. For the sake of your children and others we must erect and maintain a fair society in India. A society where everyone is free to hold and air his views, especially the man who holds minority views. Let it never be said of India that men like your husband or son gave their lives yet somehow she became a land without freedom of expression and belief.

Men like him tossed away their lives not merely for the sake of maps or resolution. Somewhere in their hearts they wanted to give us, the living, the chance to make an India that could be a pattern for the world. An India where men have big hearts, open and free minds and strong limbs. An India where the weak and handicapped are especially looked after.

As determined a fight as your husband fought will be needed to build this new India.

You can be a soldier in this fight. You can start today by making the decision that your life will be used to remake men and women to remake India. And a voice in your heart can show you how to begin.

As someone has said, we can all "live as if we shall die tomorrow and learn as if we shall live for ever". May God give you and your children many rich years. And when in the world beyond you meet him again, as you will, you will be able to say, "I too fought my fight."

Yours sincerely,

INDIAN CITIZEN

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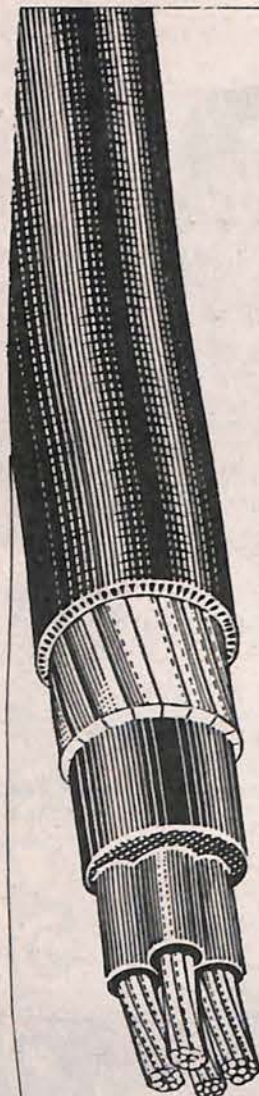
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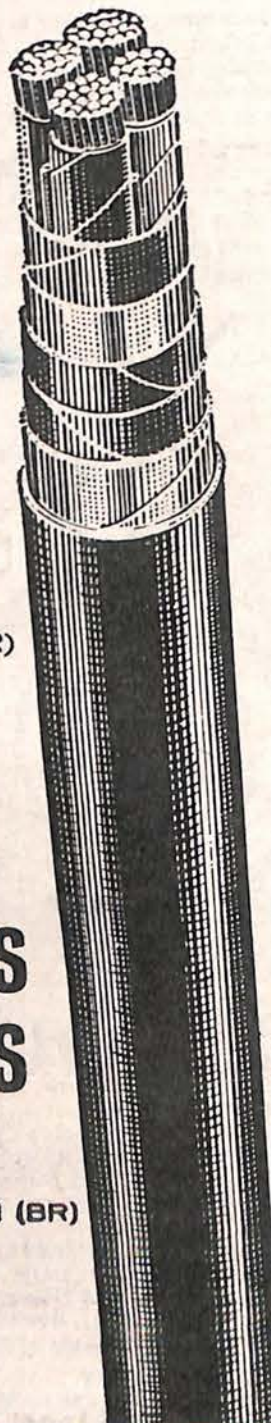
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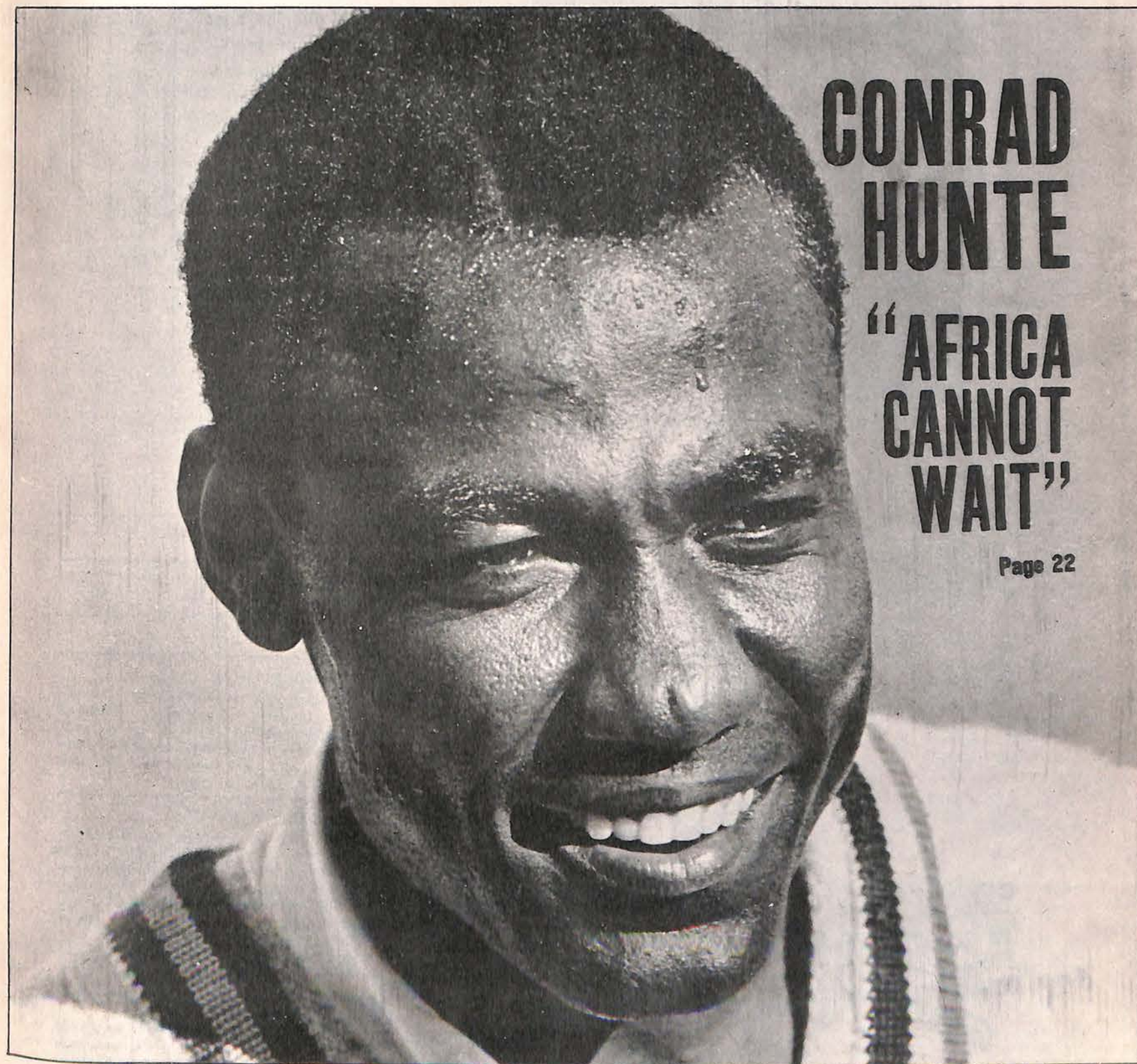
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## CONRAD HUNTE

"AFRICA CANNOT WAIT"

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Under the Lens

## WHEN THE CHEERING STOPS