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# HIMMAT

25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



**U THANT  
PLANS  
FOR PEACE**

Friday  
September 17  
1965

**HOW STRONG IS INDIA ?**  
FACTS AND FIGURES Page 5



# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, September 17, 1965 Vol. I No. 46

## Beyond the Conflict

No sane son of India—or Pakistan—could wish on this sub-continent the harvest of hate and bitterness which the present conflict threatens to seed in the spirits of 570 million people who once lived, worked and fought together as one nation.

The world watches tensely as U Thant makes his urgent bid for peace. Hope there still is. It could be discerned in the nation-wide broadcast of President Radhakrishnan on the eve of the Secretary General's arrival in New Delhi from Rawalpindi.

"We are engaged in this conflict with deep sorrow in our hearts," the President told the nation as they sat listening in blacked-out cities and villages.

"We in India do not regard ourselves at war with Pakistan and have been careful to do precisely no more than is required to safeguard our integrity."

Referring to the "60 million Muslims who are honoured citizens of our country", Dr. Radhakrishnan reminded the nation: "We have to avoid any form of hatred of the people of Pakistan, who are our kith and kin. Friendship with them has always been our primary objective. It is not our desire to hurt Pakistan to save India. . . . There are more things which bind us together than keep us apart. In this dreadful situation, let us have a few moments of introspection and make our spirit, capable of compassion and sacrifice, prevail."

While firmly restating India's position in regard to Kashmir and to the "persistent and continuous attempt" by Pakistan "to take the law into its own hands", (which both U Thant and the U.N. Military observer group in the area have recognized) the President assured U Thant that "India will always be prepared to give fullest consideration to any suggestions that result in the return of peace".

U Thant's charter is clear. His task is immense. His road is rough. All pray he will devise some way towards a settlement with honour. Thousands of families, spread across both sides of the border since partition, now find their sons and brothers facing each other across the battlefield. They wish most for a settlement, loyal as they are to their country.

The hostilities of the last weeks might not have started but for grave miscalculations by Pakistan. She over-estimated the support her armed infiltrators would get from the people of Kashmir. She underestimated the immediate backing which India's vast and varied population would give Mr. Shastri in his firm stand. She misread India's retaliation potential—the striking power of her Army and Air Force. Placed in the situation as she was by Pakistan's armed intrusion, India was left no choice but to resist.

Will Pakistan also miscalculate with China? This is the question which is troubling the outside world. And let us, in the heat of the moment, not miscalculate by driving Pakistan further into the

clutch of Peking. Mr. Shastri's repeated assurance that India does not wish to extend the fighting shows our leaders are aware of this danger.

For nothing is surer, when the last shot is fired and the wreckage of armour and men is cleared away, somehow, sometime, India and Pakistan will have to build, together, a fortress of democracy south of the Himalayas or deliver into China's hands the freedom which our fathers purchased at such a price.

There will have to come a time when magnanimity enables us to say:

*All the past we leave behind,  
We take up the task eternal,  
And the burden and the lesson.  
So we go the unknown way,  
Pioneers, Oh, pioneers.*

And in the vanguard of pioneering a new future will be not men of weakness and unresolve, but patriots of purpose, men who fought honourably for all they held dear but withal were able to see beyond the winning of the war to the winning of the peace, without which there cannot be for either side a society worth having.

## Whose Ocean?

CONFLICT ON OUR LAND BORDERS should not blind us to what is happening across our sea communications. China, already a powerful influence in Zanzibar, is developing an island strategy in the Indian Ocean. Scarcely had the Seychelles and Maldives finished celebrating their independence than the Chinese arrived with overtures of aid and the establishment of diplomatic relations. Nor are they neglecting Mauritius, whose independence is under discussion now.

For the last 200 years Britain has held the ring in the Indian Ocean. But recent events have shaken the security of her two main bases, Aden and Singapore. Britain is pledged to leave Southern Arabia politically by 1968. With a hostile hinterland she is unlikely to hold her base in Aden much longer.

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew says he wants to keep the Singapore base while the Indonesian confrontation lasts, but the Chinese Communists on the island may well try to frustrate this policy. In addition, economic crisis has forced Britain to review her military commitments and cut defence expenditure.

It would be serious for India if China and her ally Indonesia replaced Britain in command of the Indian Ocean—the historic route of invaders. Encirclement by unfriendly powers would then be almost complete by land and sea. China is reported to have 50 submarines—as many as Germany had at the outbreak of World War II. Based on Indonesia, they could threaten India's trade and coastline.

Who will fill the vacuum when Britain withdraws? As well as securing our land borders, we must also now look seawards.



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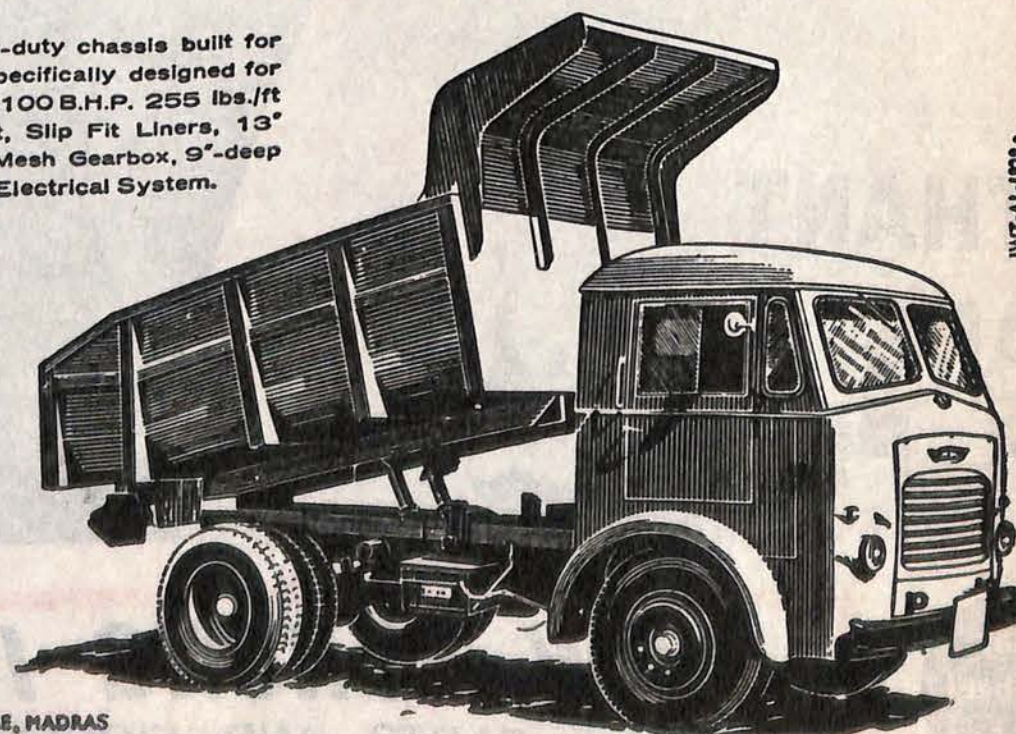
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## Briefly Speaking ...

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GOETHE, 1749-1832

### Wanted: More Hands

IT IS ESTIMATED that West Germany will experience a shortage of labour until 1975. At present 46.8 per cent of the entire population is employed.

The German Industry Institute of Cologne estimates that the number employed will drop in the next two years by 2.4 per cent and will not rise until 1975.

Increased employment of women is no solution because already a record 35 per cent of Germany's labour force consists of women.

### U.N. Keeps Going

THE UNITED NATIONS is an amazing organization. It keeps expanding even as it runs on a deficit. In the red by over 100 million dollars, the regular budget of the U.N. is expect-

ed to rise by 12 million dollars in 1966. One new wing of the U.N. in Geneva alone—the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development—will require an extra staff of 455 persons.

The annual report of U Thant, presented recently, states that each year a million visitors pay a dollar each for a conducted tour of the U.N. They buy U.N. stamps in good measure too. As a result of these two items 18 million dollars are netted by the U.N.

### MRA and Peking

HIMMAT's Industrial Correspondent, Gordon Wise, reports from London that a British business man who speaks Chinese and travels across the mainland to sell his wares, was recently discussing Moral Re-Armament in a British railway carriage. "I heard about this in China," he said. "At least twice in a recent 15-day trip I was asked what I knew of Moral Re-Armament and Frank Buchman."

An Asian labour leader who had been feted in Peking told Mr. Wise that his Chinese interpreter had confided in him that he knew of MRA. Peking Radio is reported to have said some time back that the only ideology left in the non-Communist world was MRA. Peking obviously is able to assess the power of this ideology far better than London or Washington today.

### Cost of Selfishness

A BOOK recently published, "Criminals on the Road", says that only 14 per cent of serious motor accidents in Britain can be reasonably called "accidental". In a case study of 653 accidents in a police district, the author found that some drivers were drunk or drugged, others were ruthless and aggressive, but most were indifferent to the interests of others.

Commenting on this report, columnist Tenax writes in *Time and Tide*, "It would seem that only limited good can be done by ironing out trouble spots on the road or by making more rules. The remedy lies deeper, in that region of the heart or mind where human beings decide whether to think of others or themselves, whether

to ignore or keep the rules already made."

### With Compliments

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT has presented with pride to the Tibetan people 300,000 copies of a colour portrait of Mao Tse-tung to mark Tibet's "new status" as an autonomous region.

Not satisfied with this generous gift, 8,600 copies of "The Selected Works of President Mao" translated into Tibetan, were also given to Tibet. They have also thrown in 200 hand butter-churns and 180 transistor radios. Possibly the transistors have been so fixed that only Lhasa and Peking can be tuned in.

### Reluctant Wind-Mill

A STAFF CORRESPONDENT of *Hindustan Times* says: "Delhi needs a giant to turn a wind-mill in a village a few miles from here. The wind-mill came as a gift from the Netherlands in 1957. A ceremony was held under the auspices of the Delhi Administra-

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tion, and hundreds of gallons of water were drawn from a well and diverted into fields. That was the first day the wind-mill moved, and also perhaps the last. All kinds of winds have blown since, hot and cold, good and bad, but the wind-mill has not moved. It seems as if it is waiting for a giant to appear and turn it."

R. M. L.

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HIMMAT, September 17, 1965

## As U Thant Plans For Peace

by R. M. Lala

**U Thant's mission to Pakistan and India underlines the fact that whether we like it or not, India will not be left by herself to deal with Pakistan.**

Our nation is part of a world community dependent on other countries for her sophisticated weapons, food and economy, and responsible to the world for helping to solve the tensions and problems of mankind.

### Pakistan's Objective

The aim of Pakistan was to secure by force the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Hoping that the people of that State would revolt, she sent an estimated 5,000 armed infiltrators from August 5 onwards into the State to create a revolt and other acts of sabotage. General Nimmo's report to the U.N. Secretary confirms this. There was no revolt in Kashmir.

Thereafter Pakistan adopted a two-pronged strategy to dislodge the State territorially from India.

First, to cut the road from Srinagar in the Kashmir Valley to Leh in Ladakh where our forces face Chinese troops. To forestall this move Indian troops crossed the cease-fire line to capture the Pakistan post at Kargil.

Second, to cut Kashmir off from the rest of India she mounted an assault to capture the southern part of the State and its main town of Jammu. This offensive was staged from bases in West Pakistan. To prevent Pakistan's success, Indian troops crossed the international boundary in the Punjab and engaged Pakistani troops in their own territory.

### India's Objective

India's Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, says: "Our overall purpose is a limited one. To prevent mounting attack by the Pakistani military machine on our territory, and we hope Pakistan will realize that we will not tolerate interference with the territorial integrity of India of which Kashmir is a part."

Indian forces report they have inflicted heavy losses on Pakistani tanks and planes. Over half of Pakistan's tanks are estimated to have been destroyed or captured by India.

It appears India has achieved her limited objective to some extent, and is now ready for a cease-fire. Mr. Shastri has made cease-fire terms clear to U Thant: that the Security Council must condemn Pakistan as the aggressor and ensure that it will not launch further attacks on Kashmir.

Pakistan, on the other hand, has made it clear, in Foreign Minister Bhutto's words, that "a cease-fire cannot take place on its own. It should form part of a complete agreement including that on Kashmir." A Pakistani Foreign Office spokesman said his country had suggested to U Thant that troops of both India and Pakistan be withdrawn from the whole of Kashmir State and an Afro-Asian U.N. Force be based there till a plebiscite is held.

The two approaches of India and Pakistan appear to be irreconcilable. U Thant's mandate from the U.N. Security Council of September 7 is to ask both parties "to promptly with-

draw all armed personnel back to positions held by them before August 5". The Council has not authorized U Thant to re-open the political issue of Kashmir and the holding of a plebiscite.

### Can It Continue?

U Thant's immediate strategy is to bring the pressure on India and Pakistan of united action by the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and the U.K. to effect a ceasefire.

The next weapon the U.N. can use is economic sanctions against both countries. The U.N. will, in that event, certainly call for an embargo on oil.

The question is: Do India and Pakistan have the hardware to continue a prolonged war?

Hanson Baldwin, military correspondent of *The New York Times*, says that "reserve stocks of ammunition, equipment, supplies and spare parts and the supporting logistic facilities

Continued on next page

### INDIA and PAKISTAN — Relative Strength

	INDIA	PAKISTAN
Population	470 million	101 million
Regular armed forces	837,000	250,000 - 300,000
Army	17 - 20 divisions, including one armoured	8 divisions, including one armoured
Tanks	British Centurions with 84 mm guns, and Stuarts. American Shermans with 76 mm guns. French AMX 13 light tanks	American Pattons with 90 mm guns. American Shermans. Chaffee's Light tanks Total - 600
Air Force	27 squadrons, including 4 squadrons of Gnat fighters  4 squadrons of Mystere IV interceptors 10 squadrons of Hunter fighter-bombers 4 squadrons of Canberra bombers plus Vampires and Ouragons	9 squadrons, including 1 of American F104s. Second squadron in preparation. 4 squadrons of F86 Sabre jets 2 of Canberra bombers
Transport aircraft	10 to 15 Transport squadrons plus miscellaneous transport. Total: 200, including Russian Antonov 12s and Ilyushin 14s, American C119s and C47s, Canadian Caribous, and Viscounts.	3 to 4 Transport Squadrons plus miscellaneous transport including 4 American C130 Hercules.

These figures are compiled on the basis of information issued by the Institute of Strategic Studies, London, *The New York Times* and *The Sunday Telegraph*, London. These figures should be treated as indicative and need not be ascribed to any single one of the above-mentioned sources.

HIMMAT, September 17, 1965

### CHALTA HAI...



"This exhibition reminds me of my childhood. I used to paint like this as a boy."

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are inadequate—unless outside assistance is received—to permit either nation to wage a protracted, large-scale war involving planes, tanks, artillery and infantry. However both India and Pakistan could probably support for an indefinite period a border type of conflict. . . .”

If the U.N. fails, there is a move for a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' mission to convince leaders of both Commonwealth countries to arrive at a settlement. There is some doubt as to how such a mission will be received in India at this stage. Mr. Wilson lost ground in this country when he did not condemn Pakistani armed infiltration into Kashmir, but expressed great concern when India crossed into West Pakistan. Britain, however, has categorically refused assistance to Pakistan through CENTO or SEATO, of which both she and Pakistan are members. The Commonwealth is caught in a dilemma.

It is difficult to see how a Commonwealth mission will succeed where, and if, a U.N. mission fails.

### U.S. Watches China

Both India and Pakistan are watching the reactions of the big powers with great interest. The United States, apart from holding up military aid has not so far made any statement taking sides on the issue. She has assured every support to the United Nations and may even act to block economic aid.

The U.S. has her eye cocked on China. There are clear pointers that the Johnson Administration intends to

resume and, if necessary, expand military aid to India, in case China intervenes actively on Pakistan's side. Dean Rusk has stated that the U.S. will not stand by and let China "bully her southern neighbours".

Peking's protests against so-called border incidents in Sikkim, may well be prompted by a desire to tie up our divisions on the north-east and northern border. She may also want to test Western resolve. China is not unaware that there is a section of the U.S. public opinion itching to destroy China's nuclear potential and she will be foolhardy to invite massive U.S. retaliation. If, perchance, China does, World War III will begin on Indian soil.

There is more likelihood that China will prefer to back Pakistan through Indonesia rather than directly.

Both Prime Minister Shastri and Defence Minister Chavan have said more than once that they do not want to extend the conflict to East Pakistan. And when Indian leaders say that they have Peking and not only Pakistan in mind.

The attitude of the Soviet Union in this conflict has evoked the approval of the United States, which shows that at this stage the big powers aim to stand together to end the conflict. The Soviet Union has maintained a posture of neutrality.

Soviet policy is no longer as rigidly against Pakistan as it was in the past, as she, understandably, is keen not to lose Pakistan entirely to China.

The Arab world is divided between nations who are neutral in the dispute and Turkey and Iran who want to support Pakistan, but not directly in-

tervene. After a meeting of the two Prime Ministers of Iran and Turkey, Turkey has arranged to fulfil an earlier agreement to supply \$5 million worth of military material to Pakistan, while Iran has given her an assurance of an uninterrupted flow of oil. In Turkey, as well as Iran, it is once again a case of the failure of Indian diplomacy. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore has been the only voice raised for India to date.

The U.A.R., whose weight and word still counts the most in the Arab world, is, according to latest indications, likely to view the conflict with an unfriendly eye on Pakistan. The leader of the Muslim Brotherhood whose aim is to overthrow the Nasser regime, is reported to be receiving asylum in Pakistan. Meanwhile both President Nasser and King Feisal whose nations have just been reconciled (see page 12) have joined the ranks of world leaders who have called for a settlement.

### India Ready for Peace

India has declared, and she is sincere, that if there are "reasonable, good and fair chances of peace" she will welcome them.

If India is forced to fight on, she will. But let it be recorded that not in defeat India has agreed to a cease-fire for little more than an assurance that Pakistan won't attack Kashmir in future. If Pakistan rejects a cease-fire, holding on to terms impossible for India to accept, if Pakistan is hopeful other nations will help her to continue the conflict, she will be grossly ill-advised. At least some nations are ready to egg on Pakistan against India, to serve their own ends and not the highest interests of the Pakistani people.

India's leadership, led by President Radhakrishnan, on the eve of U Thant's mission, even started preparing the country for an honourable settlement.

"It is not our desire to hurt Pakistan to save India," said President Radhakrishnan in a national broadcast. "Our commitment to peace is well-known. We do not believe in any unbridgeable chasms. There are more things which bind us together than keep us apart."

In this spirit it should be possible for both India and Pakistan to end the present conflict.

## Diary of Conflict

August 5—Two parties of armed infiltrators cross Kashmir cease-fire line into India. Six killed in clash with Indian Army patrol.

August 8—Cabinet holds emergency session in New Delhi on infiltrations.

August 9—India protests to Pakistan. Infiltrators reported to number several hundreds.

August 14—Home Minister Nanda says infiltrators number over 3,000.

August 16—Indian forces retake posts at Kargil, across cease-fire line, to safeguard communications. Indian artillery fire on troop concentrations across cease-fire line.

August 21—U Thant criticizes Pakistan for aiding infiltration on the basis of reports from the head of the U.N. Military Observers' Mission, General Nimmo. 800 infiltrators killed or captured.

August 23—Defence Minister Chavan says Indian troops will cross cease-fire line if necessary.

August 24—U Thant calls Kashmir situation a dangerous threat to peace. General Nimmo flies to New York to report to U Thant.

August 25—Indian forces cross cease-fire line at two points in the Tithwal sector and capture two posts commanding routes by infiltrators.

August 28—Indian forces cross cease-fire line in Uri-Poonch bulge.

August 30—Indian forces capture Haji Pir Pass between Uri and Poonch, the main route of infiltration.

September 1—Pakistan tanks and infantry launch major attack across cease-fire line on Akhnoor, key communications centre. Indian Air Force in action for first time against Pakistani tanks. President Ayub declared that Pakistan was "under threat of war in Kashmir which is being forced on us by India". He said Pakistan "cannot and should not allow persistent violations of the cease-fire line by Indian forces to go unchallenged".

September 4—Pakistan forces penetrate ten miles in Akhnoor sector. More tank and air battles. Chinese Foreign Minister has talks with Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto in Karachi.

September 6—Indian Army crosses into West Pakistan in three places near Lahore to destroy military bases. Pakistan drops paratroopers in Punjab. Shastri says it is now virtually a full-scale war.

September 8—Indian Army opens two new fronts in Sind and the Sialkot region. Pakistan Navy bombards Dwarka. China sends India a threatening note accusing her of illegal operations in Sikkim.

September 9—U Thant arrives in Rawalpindi, has talks with Ayub. Heavy fighting on Lahore front.

September 10—Indian troops cross Ravi River south of Sialkot. Chavan tells Parliament, "On the whole our objectives have been achieved."

September 12—U Thant arrives in New Delhi for talks.

## WHAT THE WORLD SAYS

### The Times, London

What can either side gain from this senseless conflict. . . . Neither country can take comfort from the backing of its friends—the Pakistanis least of all from Chinese sermonizing. India looks like isolating herself even more. It is hard to believe that men such as Lal Bahadur Shastri and Ayub Khan can go on with the stupid and tragic warfare.

### Pravda, Moscow

There is no doubt that neither of the parties immediately involved in this dispute stands to gain by the Kashmir conflict. . . . The settlement of the present situation in Kashmir will be an important contribution to the preservation of peace in Asia.

### The New York Times

The crisis caught the United States in the middle. Each side accused the other of using arms which Washington supplied originally for protection against Communist China. . . . In the view of American experts, the deterioration of Indo-Pakistani relations weakened drastically the defence of the Southeast Asian region against Communist Chinese ambitions.

### Die Zeit, Hamburg

Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union wants to intervene in the struggle, not as mediators, let alone through indirect military conflict. . . . A solution seems possible only if the big powers show interest and unity.

### John Grigg in The Guardian, England

If India loses, the fissiparous tendencies in the country would soon get out of control and the freedom light will be extinguished in Asia. Either way those in the West who are failing to support India will have a massive cause for regret.

### Baltimore Sun, U.S.A.

For Rawalpindi to challenge a more powerful Delhi to the point of warfare, right at the time when Pakistan has at last created a going economy, would seem the limit of folly. For India to accept war, without the exertion of every ounce of patience and self-control, would also be the limit of folly.

### The Economist, London

The only other hope of an agreed settlement appears to be a spontaneous outburst of goodwill. *The Eastern Economist* will cease to speak of "Pakistan, the jackal state"; *Dawn* will delete its far more numerous references to Indian "imperialism", "atrocities" and "genocide" . . . Is it impossible? After all, as both quite often say, Indians and Pakistanis are brothers.

### Cork Examiner, Eire

In this latest and most dangerous turn in the issue over Kashmir, there is no doubt that Pakistan is the aggressor.

### Walter Lippmann in The New York Herald Tribune

The conflict between Pakistan and India, which might cause immeasurable violence and which at the best, if big war is averted, will leave the whole sub-continent sown with the seeds of revolution.

### Manila Daily Bulletin

Pakistan should have been the last SEATO member to invoke the aid of a Pacific ally in SEATO since Pakistan has virtually forsaken her ties with the anti-Communist defence alliance.

### Ta Kung Pao, China

The United States was behind the current U.N. moves to aid and abet the Indian aggressor in the Indo-Pakistani conflict.

### East-African Standard, Nairobi

The territory in dispute is part of India under international law and, therefore, New Delhi can claim that Pakistan's open backing of the revolt and subversion amounts to aggression.

### The Times of Ceylon, Colombo

No doubt India could be very seriously embarrassed by having to fight both China and Pakistan. If that should happen, however, it would not be only India that would suffer. Pakistan's turn would inevitably come.

AN  
IDEAL  
COOKING  
MEDIUM



**RATH**  
VANASPATI



# He Reconciled Nations

by Dr. Morris Martin

At the turn of the century, in January 1902, a young student in an American university wrote in his diary, "Today a visitor told us, 'Had I my life to live over again, it would be spent in India. There are magnificent opportunities for the young man.' I would so much like to go to India."

Thirteen years later this wish was fulfilled. Frank Buchman, no longer a young student but still eager to see Asia, paid the first of his four major visits to India travelling its length and breadth in the days long before aeroplanes, and coming to know and love a country of whose greatness and destiny he was never to doubt.

On that first visit he met Mahatma Gandhi, just arrived from South Africa. On another visit in 1924 he scandalized the Viceroy with whom he was staying, by attending the Congress Party Conference in Belgaum. He bridged the gap between the Viceroy and the Ali Brothers. He met Jawaharlal Nehru who came to see him several times in the next few years in Switzerland.

Wherever he was, in London or America, at the first conference of the United Nations in San Francisco or at ILO Conferences in Geneva, both Hindus and Muslims were favoured guests. "India is a great nation; a suffering nation," he once said. "Gandhi learnt through suffering. It is a royal road."

## Answered Gloom

Frank Buchman died four years ago on August 7, 1961. He lived through two world wars, saw dictatorship and decadence threatening democracy, and at the same time realized that man, if he could overcome his own nature, stood at the door of the greatest prosperity and power ever known. He listened to the prophets of unlimited progress and mistrusted them because he knew the selfish flaw in the character of man. He listened to the prophets of gloom, and he answered them with hope because since a certain day in his thirtieth year, he knew that every man's nature and character could change as his had done.

Man is the problem, he agreed—but he can also be the answer. So he raised a force of men and women to demonstrate that answer. "Sin is attractive," he wrote, as he set out for India in 1924. "Goodness must be made attractive and interesting. You and your group must become prophets of a new age."

Against the crumbling ramparts of human society he laid like buttresses the absolute moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. He attacked social and political evils in individual character. "Take the problems of the nations and answer them with men." He challenged workers to change management, Christian to change Communist, Asian and African to change British and

Morris Martin took the best First of his year at Oxford and had just won his doctorate of philosophy when he met Frank Buchman, initiator of MRA. He was offered the position of secretary to the then Labour Prime Minister but declined to become Dr. Buchman's secretary and aide for the next 24 years.—Ed.

American. "Change the most difficult person you know," he said.

In the thirties when Hitler climbed to power in Germany on the unsolved problems of Europe, he called on the democracies to create such a dynamic, curative form of democracy that Hitler would be encircled by nations who had answered unemployment, housed the homeless, fed the needy and found a faith. He worked with such energy and success that the Nazis condemned the "sickness seeping across our borders". But the democracies were too divided to make a change of heart and an unbreakable unity their policy; so war came.

Immediately it ended, he tackled the problem of the reconstruction of the two workshops of Europe and Asia, Germany and Japan, on which a return to prosperity for continents depended. The leaders of these countries came to him, French, British, American, Indian, Pakistani and African representatives, and listened to his words. "You can plan a new world on paper. You have to



Dr. Buchman (left) was invited to India, Pakistan and Ceylon by national leaders in 1952-53. In Colombo he talks with Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake and the author (centre).

build it out of people." He brought Schuman of France together with Adenauer of Germany. Both acknowledged his help in laying the foundation of the new Europe in the Schuman Plan. De Gasperi of Italy joined with them. Frank Buchman created the atmosphere in which men

told each other the truth. This made him dangerous to those who operate with lies and half-truths. He was attacked and lied about. He quoted the farmer who said, "What do you expect from a pig but a grunt!" But he lived to see some of the pigs grow wings.

He worked to take the heat out of great world crises and prepare them for settlement. Both Tunisia and Morocco acknowledged that but for his influence, they would have been engaged in war as deadly as that in Algeria. The King of Morocco said, "When the neighbour's house burns, everyone helps put out the flames. Moral Re-Armament is the water for the burning houses of Africa." Men trained by Buchman helped Nigeria over crises along the road to independence and changed the atmosphere of racial tension in Little Rock.

When the Congo was in turmoil, the Bishop of Leopoldville said, "Moral Re-Armament is the one voice of sanity on the Congo radio."

Continued on page 20

## Germany goes to the polls

Thirty-eight and a half million German voters, three million of them for the first time, will go to the polls on September 19.

Though there are eleven parties nominally contesting the election, only two are of national significance—the Christian Democratic Union (C.D.U.) led by Chancellor Erhard and the Social Democratic Party with Mayor Willy Brandt of Berlin as its candidate for Chancellor.

The Christian Social Union, of which the controversial Mr. Strauss (the former Defence Minister) is the head, is really the Bavarian counterpart of the C.D.U. The Free Democrats led by Mr. Erich Mende are important only if the strength of the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats is so evenly balanced that they (the Free Democrats) can decide which is going to govern.

### Neck and Neck Race

Nearly everyone acknowledges that it is a neck and neck race between the two principal contenders. "The result is unpredictable. But the outlook for the C.D.U. looks better now than it did a few weeks ago," said an obvious supporter of the C.D.U.

"I think the chances for the Social Democrats will be even better four years from now," discreetly announced a veteran trade unionist, who is now one of Europe's leading experts on Eastern European economics. "The voters who are still decisive are the older ones who carry memories of the past and tend to vote conservative," he continued. "The younger people, who are important today, will determine the result in 1968."

"There is very little conflict of principle. It is only a struggle for power between two groups of men," was the surprising comment of a trade union newspaper.

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Compared with the hectic activity of an Indian election or the mounting tempo of an Italian campaign, there was very little excitement in Germany. No one I talked to mentioned the election until I asked questions about it. The audience that I watched in Recklinghausen in the Ruhr, where Chancellor Adenauer addressed a C.D.U. rally, had obviously all made up their minds. Apparently, the Party meeting was a social occasion.

I was told that Brandt's meetings are more lively and festive and have all the gaiety of a carnival. Certainly, anyone driving through the Ruhr is soon conscious of the superior organization and publicity of the S.P.D.

Former Chancellor Adenauer is still the star of the C.D.U. At 89, he walks erect, speaks standing and electioneers passionately. He has rapport with his audience and speaks to the point. Recently, in one day, he travelled 600 kilometres, visited 15 towns, made 11 speeches and spoke before 35,000 people. Next day, punctually at 10 a.m., he was at his desk in Parliament.

His main platform is foreign policy. "The whole world is in flames—in Asia, Africa," he declared at the Recklinghausen rally. "Colonial empires have fallen to pieces and yet everywhere new crises crop up. No one can predict how it will end."

### "Keeping Hopes Alive"

Then he shrewdly appealed to the sense of security that German interests would be safe in the hands of those who had built her post-war greatness. "We have given Germany hope again. We have kept hopes alive behind the Iron Curtain. We have achieved stature among free nations. And the German nation will look over the record as well as what is threatening us."

The C.D.U. looks to the past and what has been achieved. The S.P.D. looks more to the future. We have achieved friendship with the West, says Brandt. We must now win the friendship of Eastern countries.

Brandt appeals to the desire for change in the German nation after 18 years of Christian Democratic rule. He does not plead for any radi-

Under  
the  
Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

cal departures in policy. He claims that the Social Democratic Party will break the years of complacency and indifference of C.D.U. government and will bring dynamism.

Paradoxically, the Social Democrats, who used to be quite anti-American, vie with each other in praise of the United States and, if victorious, would probably support any reasonable *detente* between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

Apart from differences of emphasis, there is no fundamental clash of policy or programme between the two parties. The main slogan of both parties is the same. "Security" blares out the Brandt poster. "Security" shouts the Erhard poster as well. "Social security has always been the policy of the Christian Democrats," declared the Labour Minister of North Rhine Westphalia. He had impressive figures to support him.

### Impressive Figures

The social product of Germany has multiplied four times. Employment has risen from 14 to 22 millions. Germany has had a phenomenal growth of 110 per cent in 10 years. Since 1948, 8.5 million homes have been built, 2.5 million being owned homes.

The Social Democrats, however, point to a recent law that removes controls on rents and creates what they call Black and White Zones of housing. Having no larger issues, both parties are obliged to create a fever over comparatively unimportant matters.

The German election highlights an increasingly important fact of modern political life. The distinction between political parties in affluent democracies is no more a difference of fundamental philosophy and ideology. It is only a choice between men whose loyalties have not yet transcended the power-machines they represent.



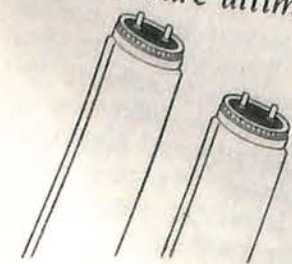
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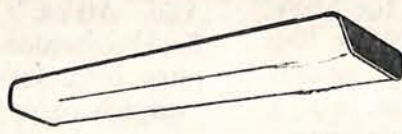
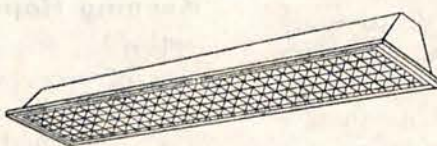
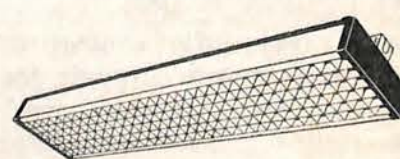
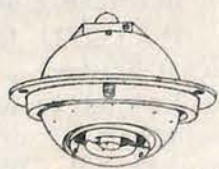
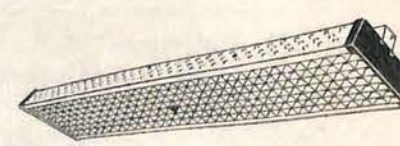
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## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Commonwealth Declares War Upon Itself

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

Some Indians in Britain now feel much as some British abroad did at the time of Suez: "We don't like it, but if our country is blamed we will stick up for it."

An Indian tailor in Bradford says, "My children think both countries are crazy to fight about Kashmir." Across the road lives a Pakistani tailor. He says, "The Indian here is still our neighbour. We are brothers. There is no trouble at all. But if we are needed we shall fight for our country."

Many of the Indian and Pakistani communities are indeed ready to come home and fight but feel that true justice will never be found by force of arms. In the Midlands their leaders have mounted a "keep the peace" campaign.

The National Secretary of Indian Workers, Jagmohan Joshi, and the General Secretary of the Pakistan Association, Kafait Ali, met this week. Thirty-year-old Joshi says, "We don't want friction because of what our Governments are doing back home." Ali says, "There is no reason we should fall out at this stage when even more co-operation is needed in view of the Government's White Paper on immigration."

The Liaison Officer for Coloured People in Birmingham says both communities are pained and bewildered. "Their hope is that the whole matter will be settled as soon as possible."

#### Cricketers Appeal

The Nawab of Pataudi and Hanif Mohammed were behind the cable that went from the Cricket World XI at Scarborough to Prime Minister Shastri and President Ayub appealing for an amicable solution. "Coming from different countries, backgrounds, races and religions, we find unity on the cricket field by reaching for a common objective." The two cricketers say the situation will not affect their friendship. The cable was read out over the B.B.C. during the cricket commentary and was widely published here.

"Only China Can Win" is the headline in the *Daily Express*. It re-

presents the general feeling. The *Daily Mail* writes, "India is the great Asian democracy. Pakistan is tied in alliance with the West. What could better suit the book of Communist China than that these two should begin to tear one another to pieces?"

The *Daily Mirror* says, "The grimest jest of all is that the third world power, the British Commonwealth of Nations, has now hysterically declared war upon itself."

Fear is growing among Western diplomats that the Kashmir crisis will push India into producing the A-bomb. Respect for India's non-violence—and it was a genuine respect—has taken a beating. Britons are also concerned at the setback of the international aid programme. The *Guardian* says, "The struggle against poverty in both countries will soon be harmed irreparably."

#### "Utter Folly"

Among those leaders who remember post-independence India, Lord Attlee speaks of "utter folly"; it is "absolutely heartbreaking". Harold Wilson regards the conflict as the gravest international situation since World War II.

A letter in *The Times* last week sums up the views expressed by many British, Pakistanis and Indians.

"We, the undersigned, Indian teachers in various British universities, deeply regret that India and Pakistan should have gone to war over Kashmir. We do not wish to go into the rights and wrongs of the question or discussion of the first causes. We are concerned about the lives of millions of people on both sides of the frontier and appeal to students and fellow teachers in both countries to use their good will and sense of restraint.... We also urge the Governments of India and Pakistan to cease fire and do their utmost to solve the dispute peacefully, which we are confident can be done."

Such a letter gains more respect for India than fiery protests at the wrongs of another country.

## The week in Asia

**KARACHI** — Pakistan placed her three-point plan for ending the Indo-Pakistani conflict before U Thant: 1. complete withdrawal of all Pakistani and Indian troops from Kashmir; 2. the occupation of Kashmir by an Afro-Asian U.N. security force; 3. a plebiscite to be held within three months to determine the future of the state.

**SINGAPORE**—Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew backed India in the current conflict and accused Pakistan of co-operation "with another big Power in the north" in a campaign to subvert South-East Asia.

**SAIGON**—20,000 crack American troops landed in South Vietnam bringing the number of American soldiers there to 128,000.

**DJAKARTA**—4,000 Indonesian youths ransacked the Indian Embassy destroying files, furniture and cars. They presented a trampled Indian flag to Foreign Minister Subandrio who praised their "revolutionary" fervour but expressed official regret for their action against the Embassy.

**BANGKOK**—The Secretary-General of SEATO turned down an indirect request from Pakistan for aid against India, as Kashmir did not come under the treaty's jurisdiction.

**PEKING**—Radio Peking declared that China supported "the struggles of the people of Kashmir for their right to self-determination and supports Pakistan's counter-attack in self-defence against India's armed provocation".

**DJAKARTA**—Indonesia's Deputy Prime Minister announced that President Sukarno was consulting his Supreme Operational Command as to what aid he would grant Pakistan against India.

**LHASA**—Tibet is to be subjected to "systematic and steady socialist transformation" under a plan prepared by the first Tibetan People's Congress. The Congress announced that Tibet was linked with China by 15,000 kilometres of highways.

**PEKING**—China demanded that India dismantle all "military structures" on or beyond China-Sikkim border, withdraw its armed forces and "stop all acts of aggression and provocation against China in the western, middle and eastern sectors of the Sino-Indian border".

**COLOMBO**—Ceylon refused Indonesia permission to use its airfields to ferry Indonesian officers to Pakistan. The Government declared it was maintaining strict neutrality.

**DJAKARTA**—Indonesia has sent its first Ambassador to Albania.

**HANOI**—North Vietnam's press joined that of China in supporting Pakistan against India and charged that India's actions had been dictated by America.



## Saudi-U.A.R. Accord Bodes Well

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

The recent agreement between President Nasser and King Feisal in regard to the civil war in the Yemen bodes well for the Arab Summit meeting in Morocco and for peaceful development of intra-Arab affairs.

The accord itself provides for an immediate truce, cessation of Saudi aid to the Yemeni royalists and withdrawal of all U.A.R. troops by late 1966. A caretaker government is to be set up within three months, following which the 60,000 U.A.R. troops will return home. A plebiscite will then determine the permanent form of government in Yemen.

Saudi Arabia and the U.A.R. represent two different political poles in the framework of the Arab League under whose auspices the Arabs are meeting in Casablanca. Saudi Arabia represents the conservative and, by comparison, affluent countries who depend on trade with the non-Communist world for their prosperity. Theirs is often, though not always, an oil economy.

The United Arab Republic at present has no such riches. The population is nearly 30 million—an increase of nearly 50 per cent over the figure of 1952 when the revolution occurred under President Nasser's lead. In spite of this extraordinary population growth, the increase of arable land available has been negligible.

### Strong Egypt Essential

Egypt is near starvation. Her principle resource is her people. They must be put to work to earn the money that can buy the food they so desperately need. Hence the overriding importance of the Aswan Dam and the industrial development it will make possible. Even if the whole project is completed on schedule, President Nasser can thereby only approximately maintain the present level of nutrition. Any set-back will mean starvation for some.

A strong, sound Egypt is essential to equilibrium in the Middle East. It is by far the largest Arab state. The withdrawal of 60,000 troops from Yemen will release the country's economy from a drain it can ill afford.

The terms and atmosphere of the Jeddah negotiations between Nasser and Feisal provided an honourable way out of a difficult impasse.

Thus, a difference which could have dominated the Casablanca conference has been resolved, and the new unity between the principal

## South Africa's Prison Controversy

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg

No issue in recent months has stirred public opinion so much as the article on prison conditions published by the "Rand Daily Mail" and its associate "The Sunday Times".

Based on statements made under oath by former warders and prisoners, they revealed practices which, if proved true, indicate the need for drastic reform.

The Government, refusing to be pressured by Opposition newspapers, resolutely refuses a public inquiry. Confusing the issue still further was the arrest of one of the warders. He admitted under cross-examination that some of the statements he made had been false. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

The Sunday Times insists that this does not dispose of the major part of the accusations and returned to the attack with a front-page article stating that the Government prosecutor had misled the Court. The Government replied with further arrests and stating

## The week elsewhere

### ECONOMICS OF WAR

LONDON—The spread of the war to East Pakistan would have serious consequences for the economies of both India and Pakistan, said the London Times. Forty per cent of India's foreign exchange came from tea and jute exports. Both these industries were largely dependent on East Pakistan. The bulk of the Assam tea exports came down by river



King Feisal and President Nasser

Arab Chiefs of State will provide a favourable climate for the solution of other differences.

their determination to prove the charges false.

What makes the truth so difficult to discover is the self-interest activating most of the parties involved. The warder had been dismissed from the prison service for some disciplinary reason. The Opposition press seems more interested in attacking the Government than in solving the problem. And the Government is afraid of losing face to its sworn opponents.

No one would pretend that everything is perfect in a prison system already overcrowded by technical offenders as well as criminal cases. The fact that police officers have been prosecuted for ill-treating prisoners and severely dealt with seems to indicate that the authorities are concerned about cleaning up the system.

through it. The Calcutta jute mills depended on it for extra raw materials needed to fulfil export orders. East Pakistan's jute industries were vulnerable to attack from India.

Foreign aid pays for half Pakistan's imports and a third of India's. The Times said cutting off foreign aid would be serious, as neither country had the foreign exchange to survive without it. "Further fighting

will bring their impoverished economies to the very brink of disaster within a few weeks at most."

### MAO'S NEW POLICY

PEKING—China's global strategy was to surround European and North American "cities" with the "rural" masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America, said Marshal Lin Biao, Vice Chairman of the Communist Party and Minister of National Defence, in a recent 50,000-word statement of military doctrine. The Marshal said that the world-wide revolutionary movement against the United States was more favourable than ever and that application of Mao Tse-tung's theories could overcome the material superiority of the West. Mao's strategy of encircling cities from rural revolutionary bases was of universal application. "Take the entire globe: if North America and Western Europe can be called 'cities of the world', then Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute 'rural areas of the world'. In a sense the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of encirclement of cities by rural areas."

### FREEDOM? NO THANKS

NEW YORK—Despite Soviet protests, Mr. Albert Henry, Prime Minister of the Cook Islands, succeeded in persuading the U.N. Committee for ending colonialism that his people do not want independence. The 20,000 islanders decided in a recent plebiscite to remain a self-governing unit in association with New Zealand, which annexed the islands in 1901. Mr. Paval Shakov, Russian delegate on the U.N. Committee, objected that this rejection of independence would set a dangerous precedent. The 13 African, Asian and South American countries on the Committee, nevertheless, passed a resolution accepting the islanders' plea for non-independence and expressing thanks for the co-operation of the New Zealand Government. Mr. Omar Saleel of Sudan, who was sent by the U.N. to supervise the plebiscite, said there was no doubt the islanders did not want to become a sovereign state. Mr. Frank Corner, New Zealand delegate, said it "rather bothered" him that coun-

tries which had experienced colonial rule approved, while criticism came from a country "which has never granted freedom to any country".

The inhabitants of the Cooks—15 islands spread over nearly a million square miles of the Pacific—are Maoris. New Zealand, 1600 miles away, gives them unrestricted right to immigrate, a guaranteed market for their produce, mainly fruit, and an annual subsidy of £872,000.

### BATH TUB SCIENCE

SYDNEY—Five scientists, backed by the American Natural Sciences Foundation, have established conclusively that bathwater in the Southern Hemisphere rotates clockwise when the plug is pulled. Two years ago a Massachusetts Institute of Technology investigation proved that in the Northern Hemisphere the rotation is anti-clockwise. For their experiment the scientists employed a circular 6-foot tub, 9 inches deep in water, in a cement-lined Sydney basement. Precautions were taken to exclude draughts; water temperature was held at a 20 degrees C. constant. The water was given 18 hours to settle, then a cork placed in the tub indicated complete absence of movement. The plug was carefully removed. The water was consistently observed to descend clockwise.

The cause of the phenomenon is the earth's rotation. The same cause on a vast scale produces the earth's ocean and atmospheric currents.

### WORLD FOOD BANK

WASHINGTON—President Johnson is reported to be preparing a vast new foreign aid programme. It stems from the belief, based on statistical evidence, that Asia, Africa and Latin America face famine in the next decade. The plan is for a world food bank designed to tackle both over-production in the U.S. and shortages elsewhere. Present policy of discouraging increases in farm production would be reversed. Instead expansion would be encouraged by the Government's buying farm produce and giving it to needy nations. One condition would be imposed—that these nations expand their own food production. They would be helped do this by credits for farm machinery, processing plants and fertilizer.

## The week in India

NEW DELHI—Every section of India, every political party, community and region has made known its full support for the Government's policy during this week of conflict. President Radhakrishnan broadcasting to the country declared, "Every articulate Muslim in India from Cape Comorin to Srinagar has pledged support to the stand of the Government of India." Proposed strikes and demonstrations on food and other issues have been cancelled.

NEW DELHI—The National Development Council decided to review and readjust the Fourth Five Year Plan to gear development to defence.

AMRITSAR—A massive, three-pronged offensive was launched into West Pakistan towards Lahore to destroy Pakistani bases and prevent reinforcements from entering the Chhamb sector. The heaviest fighting of the conflict occurred as Indian troops repelled Pakistani counter-attacks. Severe damage was inflicted on Pakistan's tank divisions.

NEW DELHI—The Indian Army opened two further fronts in the Sind and Sialkot regions to prevent Pakistani reinforcements from reaching the Lahore area. Fierce fighting continues on both fronts.

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Shastri informed U Thant that the Security Council must condemn Pakistan as the aggressor in the Kashmir conflict and ensure that further acts of aggression will not be launched on the State, as pre-conditions for any cease-fire.

NEW DELHI—Defence Minister Chavan told Parliament that he did not foresee any action against East Pakistan despite the bombing of Kalakunda air base, 75 miles west of Calcutta, by Pakistani planes. Indian troops were poised ready to deal with any Pakistani action in the eastern sector, he said.

NEW DELHI—Finance Minister Krishnamachari declared that if circumstances dictate, he would initiate a fresh budget to raise the funds needed for additional defence expenditure.

NEW DELHI—The Supreme Court ordered the release from prison of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, S.S.P. leader arrested at the time of food riots in Patna. His detention order was ruled beyond the scope of the Defence of India Rules.

AMRITSAR—Sant Fateh Singh decided to postpone his fast and self-immolation threat to gain a Punjabi-speaking state, in view of the grave situation.

BOMBAY—Total blackout is observed all over this metropolis as protection against air attack.





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# "They Left Me for Dead"

### CEYLON WORKER'S STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS

"I AWOKE to the sound of footsteps in my room. Suddenly a knife cut into my flesh just below my eye, glanced off, and went deep into my pillow. A pair of hands grabbed me around the throat. Another man held a knife at my stomach. Meanwhile a third went through my papers and files, grabbed my suitcase, all my books and the picture of Stalin on the wall. Then all three fled, leaving me for dead."

H.D.E. Michael, through twenty-one dangerous years, was a trade union organizer for the Communist Party of Ceylon. Leading strikes, blockading factories, often dragged before the police, working for years underground, fired from his work, this revolutionary figure from the quiet little seaside town of Kalutara in southern Ceylon has always fought passionately for his ideas. Exposing unfair underpayment of the workers by one factory superintendent in 1955 led to the midnight stabbing

by a "goon squad" which nearly cost him his life.

Today, at 43, Michael is father of two boys and a girl and is a trade union organizer for the Government's United National Party. Typical of a growing faction among the workers of Ceylon, he grew disillusioned with Communism and broke ranks in 1960.

"In 1935 I came to Colombo to be educated. I had a neighbour from Kerala. He took me to the Party Headquarters on Slave Island and introduced me to the leaders. I began going every day after school. Soon I was so captured by the revolution I gave up my education altogether."

*What were the first jobs you had as a young Communist?*

"Our activities were entirely underground under the British. My first job was putting up posters on railway trains and on factory gates at night."

In the next months and years he organized Communist unions in count-

less industries, travelling all over Ceylon. In 1939 he was given full membership in the Communist Trotskyist Party and became part of the 17-man leadership which held the outlawed revolutionaries together through the war years. Later he was invited to Moscow ("a conducted tour—I was not given a chance to move freely") and to Peking where Michael lived with a worker's family. ("The father was living on a pound of rice a week, procured by standing half a day in queue.")

*What changed your mind?*

"I got fed up with the Party. Though they fought for the workers and the farmers, they never elected workers or farmers to Parliament. Every year it was the same lot of leaders. If anyone spoke against them they got rid of him quickly. Another thing was that for 21 years I didn't observe my religion. I had no faith. Communism took away my faith and put in its place the class struggle. They said my religion was a myth."

*What brought the final break?*

"In 1958 a group of us demanded the Communist Party leadership put some workers in positions of leadership. Their answer was to fire all 42 of us saying that we were 'American saboteurs'. They castigated us in public meetings everywhere. Although they dismissed me, I continued being friends with them. A commission was actually brought against me for my continued association with the party leadership."

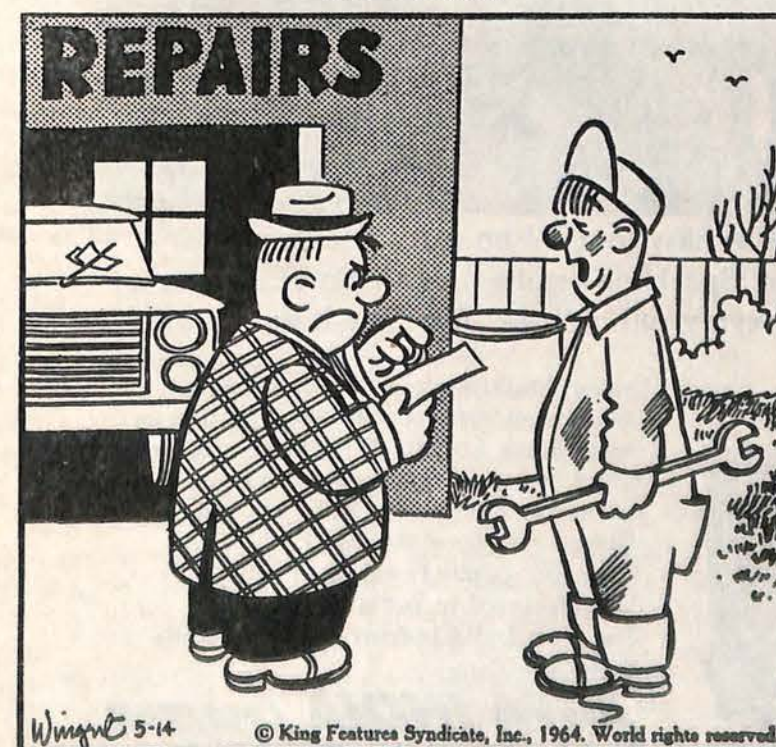
*What happened then?*

"That day I had a knife in my hand. I had made a vow I would kill these leaders who had rejected me after 15 years. So I stabbed my knife in the desk in front of them. There and then I made a lecture to the knife. 'Will you give us a workers' representative in the leadership?' When I looked up they had all fled.

"A few days later they came to my home and promised me continued membership in the Party. The truth was I knew too many secrets.

"In the next months I thought very deeply. There wasn't much point working with men like these. The 'destalinization' programme of Khrushchev made me think too. One  
*Continued on next page*

## HUBERT



"If I gave you a ridiculous estimate like that I must have been emotionally upset."



day we were praising Malenkov. Not long after we were saying he was no good. It was a constant procession of personalities—praised one day, removed from office the next.

"I took to reading more about my faith and about democracy. The news came in from Tibet. I was appalled even though local Communists were praising all that happened. I became more and more bewildered

by the splinters among local Communist groups. In 1960 I purposely failed to show up at three meetings and was removed from the Party."

*Do the trade unions support the present Government?*

"About 15 per cent, I would say. About 60 per cent take an absolutely neutral position. Twenty-five per cent are Communist-controlled."

*Are present wages in Ceylon high*

*enough to give a decent living?*

"Yes. Too many Leftists are droning into the workers' ears that they should work less and be paid more. If this pressure persists we may see a resulting wage-price spiral."

*What is your aim these days?*

"To find honest leaders among the Left to lead the workers and to help the Government achieve their goals."

**D. B. A.**



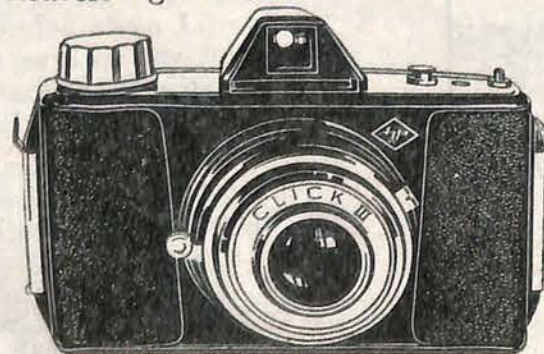
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CMAI-92

## VIEWPOINT

### COMMENT

Entries in this week's competition on whether N.C.C. training should remain compulsory reveal that 50 per cent of the contributors said "Yes" and 50 per cent said "No".

Almost all those who said that N.C.C. training should not be compulsory were strong supporters of the N.C.C. They were not against military training, but they strongly felt that on the present compulsory level, participants did not get the full benefit and those who were keenly interested did not give the maximum to the programme.

Some contributors felt that there was scope for more enthusiasm among the staff of the N.C.C., others that students slipped out too easily by producing medical certificates, and still others that time allotted for training as well as the equipment were not adequate. But the basic criticism of the HIMMAT readers was not against the N.C.C. It was against the spirit in which some students are apt to participate in the N.C.C. programme. Some of them are disinterested and spoil the morale of the rest.

Can we not finish with the idea that we need not do what we do not like but for the sake of our country it may be necessary to do things which we do not naturally get enthusiastic about?

Under the circumstances, HIMMAT feels that the N.C.C. should remain compulsory, but at the same time every effort should be made to create the right spirit so that our youth want to serve, want to be disciplined. They could not have a more energetic chief than Major-General Virendra Singh.

Some entries make a plea for enrolling students in village development, and other social projects. This idea is worth considering, but it needs to be done not as a replacement for military training, but as an addition.

—Editor.

### COMPETITION

\* **Every student should work for at least one year in industry, agriculture or social service before joining college. Comment.**

Closing date: September 24

\*\* **Should China be admitted to the United Nations?**

Closing date: October 1

Prizes: **Rs. 35, Rs. 10.**  
Best Points: **Rs. 5 each.**  
Length: **Up to 500 words.**  
Send entries to The Editor,  
HIMMAT, 13 Advent,  
Foreshore Road, Bombay-1.

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## SHOULD NATIONAL CADET CORPS TRAINING REMAIN COMPULSORY FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS?

by **G. Srinivasan, Madras 21**

YES. What once seemed to be a controversial solution for increasing our defence capability is now free from criticism.

The aims of N.C.C. are to serve the nation in an emergency like war, to be patriotic and to make students useful and disciplined future citizens of India. Now, more than one million students have enrolled themselves in N.C.C., and the whole organization functions smoothly under the able administration of Major-General Virendra Singh.

The training given to the students is varied and useful. The students are trained to handle all sorts of weapons. Moreover, they are given training in civil defence, fire-fighting, etc. After being given intensive training, they can be compared with fully-fledged soldiers. They are as well disciplined as the army men, and they learn to respect their superiors, a quality which is rare in our universities.

Moreover, N.C.C. training can also be interpreted as a sort of exercise. Our students have not enough grounds to play games like football, hockey, cricket, etc. Most of the university students come from our urban areas, and because of the lack of playgrounds, they are kept off the grounds.

The University Grants Commission report states that the lack of extra-curricular activities is one of the factors that leads to student indiscipline. To a certain extent this is averted because N.C.C. parades keep the students physically fit.

In some foreign universities, military science is taught as a special subject for degree students. What once had been the privilege of aristocrats—studying warfare—is now taught to all those who are interested in military science. In India, the University of Poona has the pride of introducing this subject to the students studying B.A. We are sure that other universities will not hesitate to emulate this scheme and the day is not far when our students will be scholars as well as patriotic soldiers.

Our students who have got such training are fit for civil defence operations in case of an emergency. They form the formidable second line of defence. Certainly, undergoing N.C.C. training is not an ordeal for our students and when our country demands our services and sacrifices, it is the duty of the students to get the necessary training and serve the motherland.

**Second Prize: Rs. 10**  
**MAKES MEN OUT OF BOYS**

PRANAY B. GUPTA, Bombay 6.

THE HOUR HAS COME when all of us must gear ourselves and face the challenge before us. At such a time, too, the NCC training being given to college students should be stepped up. It would be unwise to abandon the scheme. The NCC is basically an experiment, and experiments should be given the greatest possible encouragement.

One cannot learn to command unless one learns to obey. This is so very essential for college students, and the NCC imbues a certain amount of discipline into their lives. It teaches them to be punctual. It teaches them to be simply yet smartly attired and to be always well-groomed.

Many college students, particularly male students, are generally in a sad physical condition due to lack of exercise. In the NCC through marching drill and the annual camp, the student is toughened, and where he once was sluggish, he now becomes energetic and full of pep. As an NCC captain has said, the NCC makes men out of boys.

In the NCC the college cadets are acquainted with the know-how of arms and ammunition. With their training, they could help with the civil defence programme. The NCC rejuvenates the very spirit of the college cadet, injects in him a sense of patriotism and makes him keen for national service. Hence, it should remain compulsory.

Continued on page 19



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## LETTERS

### STUDENTS' RECORD

SIR: The report of the Standards Committee of the University Grants Commission has suggested some directions which, if followed, would improve the standard of education in this country. One thing which is especially appealing is its suggestion that each student should be given a certificate of his performance in each weekly, monthly, quarterly and half-yearly test held.

In the case of a certain candidate who missed his First Class in the Matriculation Examination by one mark and his Second Division in B.A. Final with English, Economics, Political Science and Hindi (optional) as his subjects by two marks, with a third class in B.A. he totters from pillar to post in search of a job but in vain.

Therefore, "to give weightage to the internal assessment" certificate in getting employment or scholarships, it should be made binding on all establishments—employers' as well as educational.

S. R. SINGH\*

Chandigarh

\* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

### PUBLIC vs PRIVATE

SIR: The prize-winning Viewpoint of J. Javdari of Bombay (August 20) is an eye-opener to our administrators.

Take, for example, our State-owned road transport. They have monopolized all routes, so that there should not be any competition. This gave the Government buses all royal roads with less wear and tear. The private buses had to run on rotten roads with wear and tear and roundabout routes. Still they run within the same time duration and charge you less than the Government buses. From Bangalore to Mysore, a Government bus charge is Rs. 4.20, whereas in a private bus it is only Rs. 3.50 and makes a better profit.

VIEWPOINT—from page 17

Best Points: Rs. 5

COMPULSION IS WRONG

J. LAWRENCE, Tiruchirapalli 2.

NCC is very good both for the individual and for the nation. Moreover the instructors and officers supplied are exemplary and they give a good disciplinary training to their cadets. But yet, to make it compulsory is a grave mistake the Government is committing.

Many are not interested in NCC. But there are some who are. So when NCC is made compulsory, the batch of cadets who hate NCC as a whole undergo training with clenched

This clearly indicates that persons who are working for Government are not as efficient and are not as honest as persons working for private people, which has resulted in the State getting a poor income. Secondly, monopolization does not improve efficiency. It is only through competition we get the best result.

Let our Prime Minister or Chief Ministers open their eyes at least now and appeal for private industrialists, educationists and trade union organizations to lend their best men to put them on the road to recovery.

M. S. RAMASWAMY

Bangalore 4

### "FAMINE THREAT"

SIR: As a subscriber to HIMMAT I wish to compliment you for the clarity of the world situation you are so fearlessly bringing to our attention.

What I missed in your feature article, "The Week Elsewhere" (August 20), under "Famine Threat", was the fact that South Africa had given a free gift of 10,000 tons of maize to the Basutoland Government to help alleviate the famine situation.

This is in accord with repeated offers (without strings) to our African neighbours to the north from our Government of help, both technical and otherwise.

But with the "unbandaging of eyes" (your own words) on all sides and a change of heart, which is taking place, a strong combination of South, East and Central Africa can be built up against the ever-present danger of Chinese infiltration.

(Dr.) J. F. LE GRANGE

Scottsburgh,

Natal, South Africa

### "THE FACTS"

SIR: I am a regular reader of HIMMAT ever since its inception. While I admire your impartial essays and true-to-facts news, I am deeply strained to find a news item in your edition dated August 20 that, at Hyderabad, students agitating against disciplinary measures tried to rush the room of the Vice Chan-

fists and biting teeth. They go for parades because if they do not put in a certain amount of attendance they will not be allowed to write University examinations.

If on the other hand NCC is not made compulsory but all those who are interested are invited then the training would be fruitful, which is what the Government aims at.

So I would suggest to the Government to introduce NCC training to cadets who are willing and not as a compulsion. That calls for the bravery, manliness and voluntary action on the part of the cadets and is at the same time profitable to the nation.

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

cellor of Osmania University and he was saved by police. The students' agitation was not against any disciplinary measures but against a "new detention system" in the first year degree course, which was newly introduced.

Let me place before you the actual facts. On that day students gathered outside the Vice Chancellor's room and student leaders sought an interview with him, which was denied. Police pushed back the students and their leaders. Even then students did not lose their tempers and never tried to rush the Vice Chancellor's room. In fact, it was police who rushed campus hostel 'B'. They broke the doors, entered the rooms and beat the students mercilessly. Police threw tear gas shells into the interior of another hostel. Police high-handedness was like this in our democratic country.

Of course, students might have gone wrong in some cases, but police were unlawful throughout the strike. Police harassment like this cannot be and should not be tolerated.

K. DASARADHARAMAYYA

Hyderabad 7

### SPEAKING FOR THE PEOPLE

SIR: I have for some time now been feeling that HIMMAT is the voice of Asia's teeming millions. Through its pages are expressed their feelings and thoughts, their aspirations and dreams. Your issue of August 27 confirmed this view when I read the interview with Ramesh Shetty, published under the caption, "Birthday of the Month", and saw your cover photograph of him in this issue.

By speaking for the people of our country, by getting to know them and telling others about them and also by seeking to help them solve their problems, both social and mental, you are carrying on Mahatma Gandhi's work.

BHIM KRISHNAMA

Secunderabad, A.P.

### REPORT CONTRADICTED

SIR: In HIMMAT, August 13, under the caption "The week in Asia", there appeared a report on "communal tension rising between Tamils and Sinhalese in a Tamil-speaking Eastern province".

This report is misleading and incorrect. It apparently came from one of the lesser Ceylon newspapers, which was contradicted in a Government communique.

At a time when, with the formation of a National Government joined both by the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress, and Prime Minister Senanayake's assurances of justice to minorities, the tension between Tamils and Sinhalese is less than it has ever been.

DEVAR SURYA SENA

Colombo, Ceylon.



**BUCHMAN**— From page 8

During the Lebanon crisis in 1958 men trained in Moral Re-Armament were responsible for the only occasion on which the General Assembly of the United Nations has united on a political matter without a dissenting voice.

The "Miracle of Cyprus", as British, Greek and Turkish papers called the solution to the first major crisis on the island, came through the same calibre of men. So did the inspiration for Prime Minister Kishi of Japan to travel throughout Asia to put right the wrongs of the past, before embarking on a new course of statesmanship for Japan. Wherever there was

division and distrust, there Frank Buchman felt his men should be, ready in cabinets and conferences to take the road of honesty, apology if necessary, and always courage and vision for the future.

He believed a nation should be strong, but that armed force without character could delude, as the Maginot Line did the French in 1940. But the greatest weakness he saw in self-righteousness. "Everybody wants to see the other person change. Every nation wants to see the other nation change. But every one is waiting for the other to begin." He was impatient of men who only saw negatives; "I like a warm heart that laughs

at difficulties"; or who refused to fight on an issue of right and wrong; "I must be militant. When I cease to be militant, I get critical."

The impact of such a life is incalculable. Some attribute to his fight for the reconciliation of France and Germany and the unity of Europe the fact that Communism did not, in the post-war years, take over Western Europe. Others see that by filling the spiritual vacuum in post-war Japan, he prevented the collapse of hope and democracy there.

He made it possible for modern scientific man to take seriously the direction of God in his conscience, and the politician in an ideological age to seek for a higher wisdom than human cleverness. When the Prime Minister of Iran asked him what he did and how he did it, he replied, "I'm a very simple man, and I do simple things, but they seem to be the things people need. It's not my art; it is God's."

### Revolutionary Democracy

In his last years he looked out on the world and especially at the three giants, America, Russia and China. He believed that all needed the revolutionary experience that would free men from hate, fear and greed that down the ages have undermined every new system of government. Much that he fought for has been adopted by others; the need for a common idea if international organizations are to function, is now a commonplace of those who seek to link the Common Market or the Free Trade Association in Europe, or look for a way out of the deadlock in the United Nations.

His greatest challenge, that a reborn revolutionary democracy would lead the way for the Communist and non-Communist alike, awaits the response of millions of convinced men and women across the world. That was the final task which he left to those who follow and in which he foresaw India and Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and all Asia playing a key role. "A nation which makes 'what is right' regnant in personal, industrial, political and national life, will pioneer the next historic step of progress and destiny for all mankind." These words, spoken in Delhi, remain the task for today.

## This was a life

**FOSS WESTCOTT**

1863—1949

HE PLAYED six sets of tennis on his seventy-eighth birthday. On his seventy-ninth he ran a fifty-yard sprint. Right up to his last days he would often cycle to his appointments in Calcutta. Once he was offered a bed for the night. He tested it with his hands. "I can't sleep on this," he said. "It's soft."

At eighty he was asked out to breakfast in Simla. Because he would not ride in a rickshaw pulled by a human being, he walked there and back—eight miles of hilly road.

Foss Westcott was the son of a famed Bishop of Durham who had wished him "a life full of difficulties". Although he had played cricket and football for Cambridge his doctors pronounced him unfit for service abroad. Nevertheless, he sailed for India in 1889. He eventually became the Metropolitan and remained so for 26 years.

His palace was a house for all. The problems of India were his problems. In the Bengal famine of 1942, he cancelled a tour and organized a kitchen to feed 1,000 starving people daily.

He counted Gandhiji and Tagore as intimate friends and was in close touch with the Viceroys. His advice was frequently sought and heeded.

In 1933 he met Moral Re-Armament. "At seventy," he said, "I began to learn what I should have learned at seventeen." With courage he admitted that there were places where he had failed and made the changes which made him effective. Speaking to a great gathering in Birmingham, he said, "There is hope for all of you here. If an Archbishop can change, anyone can change."

Because he had recognized his own shortcomings he was able to admit the faults of his own race. At a time of deadlock in Indo-British relations, he spoke to the nation through the press. He said, "There undoubtedly have been faults on the part of the British. These ought to be frankly acknowledged and, where possible, reparation made. Our greatest fault has been the calm assumption of the superiority inherent in the British race."

This statement unleashed a chain of letters and articles in the press. One letter ended, "I wish to write off my past mistrust and begin with a clean sheet." A fresh climate was felt. On his eightieth birthday the Calcutta paper, *The Statesman*, called him "one of the great figures in the history of British India".

**Q and A**

Readers are invited to send questions about our land or the world

**Q**—"A nation's strength is to be measured not by the size of its armies, but the ability of the common citizen to rise to the occasion." Comment.

N. Ch. VEERACHARI,  
Hyderabad 4

**A**—It would be better to say "not only by the size of its armies". No better instance of citizens rising to the occasion can be found than at present when the ordinary man feels responsible for protecting the nation's interests, whether it is his neighbour's light visible in a blackout or his readiness to donate blood for our jawans. It shows that the Indian citizen, given the challenge and a purpose he can see, is second to none.

The important thing is to sustain this spirit of patriotism so that it is an integral part of the Indian nation, not only in times of emergency, but in times of peace when men get flabby and morals weak.

**Q**—What is your opinion about the World Brotherhood? Will it promote peace in this world?

J. ABDUL SUBHAN, Tiruchirapalli

**A**—I don't know much about the World Brotherhood Movement or Association. I am sure it has sincere people working for it. The search for peace is deep in the human heart and people the world over are eager to know how to achieve it. Few of us realize that peace is not an abstract idea. It is people becoming different. This can best be illustrated by an example. Madame Irene Laure, who was Secretary-General of

three million Socialist women of France, took parties of French children to Germany and invited German children to France before the Second World War, thinking that understanding the other nation would prevent another war. It didn't. During the war her own son was tortured before her by the Nazis. "I had only one wish," she said thereafter, "to destroy all Germans."

She came to a Moral Re-Armament Assembly. She struggled and found an answer to her hate. So did her husband. On the German radio and in the State Parliaments of Germany, they apologized to the German nation when it lay crippled after the war. "A common ideology is doing for France and Germany today what sentimentality never did between the wars," she said.

According to former West German Chancellor Adenauer, Mme Laure and her husband did more for reconciliation of France and Germany than any one else.

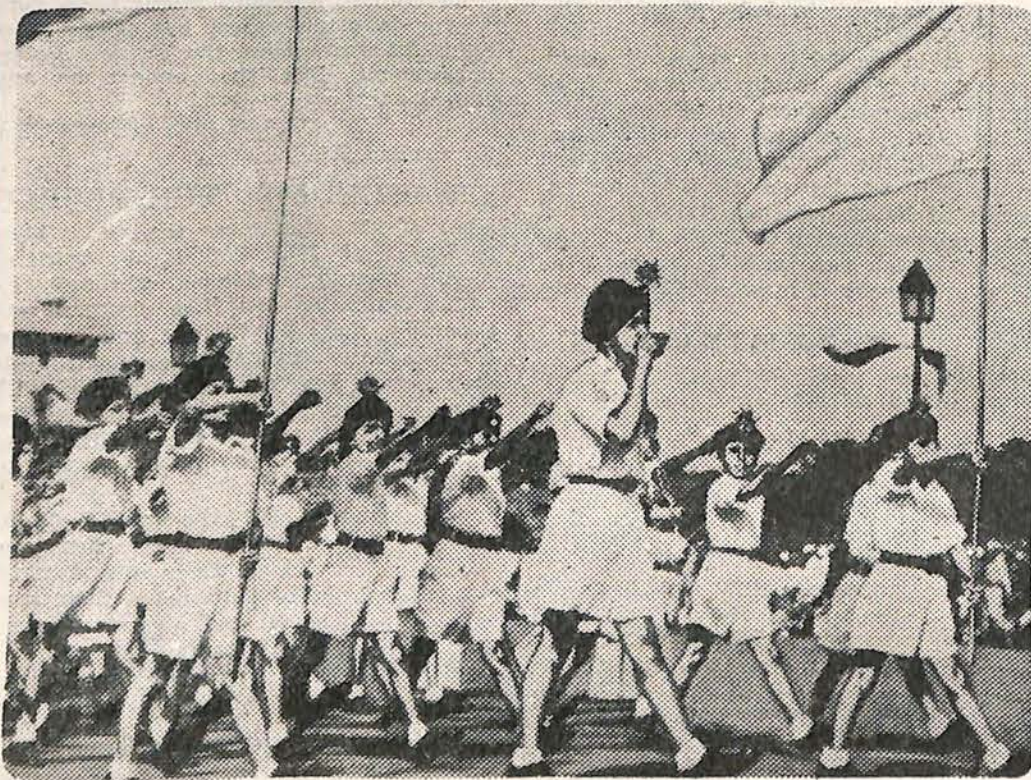
All organizations of good will have a part but ultimately peace comes out of change in people.

**Q**—Do you have any plans to publish HIMMAT in Hindi in the near future? Isn't it quite important that Asia's new voice must reach the non-English knowing masses in India and across the whole of Asia?

MAHENDRA PRASAD, Madras 36

**A**—We certainly have plans to publish HIMMAT in Hindi in the near future. I appreciate your vision of the message of HIMMAT reaching millions not knowing English both in India and Asia. Already HIMMAT is quoted frequently by the press both of India and of other countries, and that is one way in which its voice is already being heard, but I agree with you there is more scope and we need to plan intelligently for the future.

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# Marvels of the Computer Age-III

By Reginald Holme

"There are times when man must live and think like a giant or perish, and ours seem to belong to this category," writes a Polish philosopher, who has lived on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Mr. S. Demczynski, industrial consultant and scientist, suffered in a forced labour camp and knows the results of false philosophies about man and life. He is now in Britain where he has written a stimulating book, "Automation and the Future of Man" (Allen and Unwin, 32s).

Man must live in giant terms because he has invented machines with giant brains. Man himself has giant problems to master before this century ends, or before this century ends him. He is confronted with atom power, race, population and genetics with biological discoveries that may make possible new ways of human breeding.

The giant-brained machines—computers—come more and more into the headlines. They can already, in many ways, think like man, but millions of times faster. They can control complicated industrial processes where formerly there was no substitute controller but human intelligence.

In the first industrial revolution that started these processes in Britain last century man mechanized muscle. Now he has mechanized mind. Having given mind to metal he may soon give life to dust.

So man has to decide who or what he himself is, and what his function

*Last in a series of three articles by our Special Science Correspondent*

is. The new machines-with-minds, though still in their infancy, force man to face what he is living for.

The author of "Automation and the Future of Man" points out that "every man, whether he wants it or not, must have certain basic views on the world, a fundamental set of opinions and notions which regulate his attitudes and reactions".

Demczynski boils down all the philosophic systems and world-views into two groups, "those which maintain that man possesses a certain

Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi, who is at present abroad, will be resuming his weekly feature shortly.

extra-material element, and those which hold him to be nothing but a complex physico-chemical system".

He holds that almost everything in a man's own future and in the future of mankind depends on how we answer the question: "Are we something more than machines?"

"If we believe that a human being possesses a certain extra-material element, we can discuss immortality, the problems of good and evil, free will, the purpose of life, individually or as a race, ethics and morals. We can talk of intrinsic human dignity and of unique human mental qualities, never to be equalled by any automation."

Then the Polish philosopher points out what the mechanistic and materialist philosophies believe and the consequences that flow from them.

"If we start with the assumption that man has no extra-material element, then it follows logically that he is only an extremely complex physical system. Hence he must be completely subject to the same general laws that govern the behaviour of all matter and energy in the universe."

As a result there is no place for religious beliefs, and good and evil cease to have any meaning. "All ideas generally considered noble, beautiful or inspired are brought to the level of impulse patterns in the brain and, as such, deserve no more respect than a light switch.

"The difference between man, dog, bacteria and aim-seeking electronic gadgets appears only to be the degree of complexity in the internal organization." As a gadget manifestly does not possess a free will, nor does a man who belongs to the same category. And without free will ethics have no sense.

In the lifetime of those over thirty some historic results of this have been seen. Hitler regarded the Jews as sub-human beasts infected with a deadly racial virus.

Mao Tse-tung is a highly cultured man and a poet. But with a materialist philosophy that man is merely a complex animal, without eternal spirit, he has no qualms about scorching or radiation-poisoning 300 million people.

Some capitalists still regard their workers as production machines.

The science of cybernetics or machines that "steer" (from the Greek word for a boat's "steersman") is in its infancy. Scientists believe that machines will evolve with characteristics first of lower, then higher animals. Man will be forced to think how his destiny differs from machines that can feel and reproduce. Is he himself the creation of a Mind infinitely cleverer and quicker than computers that will do 1000 million operations a second? If so, is man himself meant to be "steered" by this Master Mind of the Universe that stretches 10,000 million light years, and beyond?

CONCLUDED

HIMMAT, September 17, 1965

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## WHAT DRIVES CHINA ?

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Mastermind Mao

Friday  
September 24  
1965

## WILL ASIA LOSE ?

by Rajmohan Gandhi Page 22