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WEEKLY



Prime Minister Shastri

**INDIA'S  
ULTIMATE  
AIM**

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Friday  
October 22  
1965

**JAPAN CAN SPEAK TO CHINA**  
by Rajmohan Gandhi Page 22

## Chasing Rainbows

A GREAT GAME in Delhi these days is trying to put together the jig-saw puzzle of alignments, re-alignments and non-alignments. The President's latest visit to Roumania has started people talking of "feelers from China". This the President has denied. A strong belief persists, however, that some approaches were tried. Wherever the Indian President went, the Chinese Ambassadors were dutifully present.

Soon, Mr. S. M. Joshi, Chairman of the Samyukta Socialist Party, advocated reconsideration of our Chinese policy. Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Left-Communist leader and former Chief Minister of Kerala, called for direct talks with China on the basis of recognizing Chinese suzerainty over Tibet and accommodating her in the Aksaichin region. Right-Communist leader, Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair, terms Mr. Namboodiripad's suggestion "frivolous". The moving spirit of the S.S.P., Dr. Lohia, calls it "childish prattle".

A section of the responsible press of India, however, has now joined this chorus. They say we must allow for resilience in our foreign policy, "that the objectives of a policy are sacrosanct and not the methods and materials by which it is conducted".

Another argument advanced is that China has found that Rawalpindi is not worth the trouble, she has already lost Indonesia in the recent coup and that "recent trends in the Afro-Asian world have added to China's sense of isolation".

If anything, recent events in Indonesia have shown that what the friendliest nation can expect from China is a coup d'etat, if not a direct invasion as India had. Those who play at chasing rainbows over the Himalayas should study this month's events rather than inflict their confusion on our countrymen. Unless China changes her aims, making peace with her will be like making peace with Hitler—a Munich.

The fact that China did not attack India after her ultimatum of four weeks ago has started the dangerous thinking in some circles that Peking is less aggressive. Do facts bear that out?

At a banquet last week for Cambodia's head of state, Marshal Chen Yi said, "It is imperative to wage serious struggle and to take risks. Only in this way shall we be able to win."

The Bangkok Foreign Office has repeatedly stated that arms and Chinese-trained cadres in unprecedented quantity enter South Vietnam, Laos and make their way into Thailand. Peking and Hanoi regularly threaten the "liberation" of Thailand.

China's recent set-back in Africa, far from making her submissive, is prompting her to step up subversion, according to Malawi's Dr. Banda.

We see the world through Kashmir-coloured glasses and so large does it loom that our hands grope in the dark for friendship. God forbid that we grip the wrong arm.

## Curious Anomaly

OFTEN QUOTED in recent days is a remark of the nineteenth century statesman, Lord Salisbury, that "nations have no permanent friends or enemies but only permanent interests". Self-interest, it is argued, should be the main criterion of national policy.

But are the words of the nineteenth century Englishman a valid guide for the twentieth century? Pakistan, China or any other country could use the same argument to justify their actions.

Obviously, governments must take account of their own peoples' needs. It is what they exist to do. Yet what is thought to be a nation's immediate interest may not in the long term prove to be so.

In the atomic age the world is too small and the danger of conflict too great for each country to be a law unto itself. Neither the United Nations, nor the Commonwealth, nor any other international organization can work unless each is willing to give up at least part of its own way for the good of all.

A nation of wholly selfish individuals would disintegrate. So too would a world of wholly selfish nations. If civilization is to go on, both men and nations, East and West, have to find a way of living beyond themselves. It will be a curious anomaly when young democracies of the twentieth century work on the adages of nineteenth century imperialism.

## Up in the Air

THOSE WHO DESPAIR of getting a decent hotel room in New Delhi during the peak season may find some solace in the prediction that before long we shall have a hotel in space. But, of course, the Finance Minister is unlikely to issue "P" forms for such a jaunt.


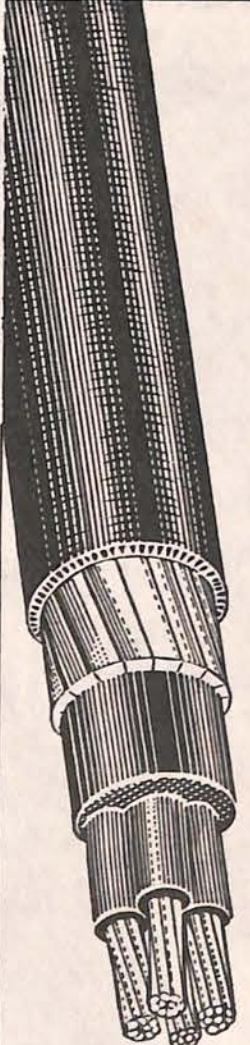
It is clear there will have to be a fool-proof system of advance reservations. Imagine rocketing in after a 673,846-mile journey, tired and star-dusty, only to find a "No Vacancy" sign hanging on the hatch, or that your room had been double-booked!

And what about parking? What about the doorman? Will he stand inside the entrance ready to take your pressure helmet or be tethered outside to open the lid of your space craft?

Then there is the question of tariff. Will charges be per day or per 24 hours? Rather an important matter when one realizes that dawn and another day comes round every 80 minutes or so.

With everything weightless it would seem to eliminate the need for lifts. Meals and drinks would be served—or rather squirted—from tubes like toothpaste. "A second quirt, Sir?" your waiter might ask.

A round-trip ticket plus a three weeks' stay would cost about Rs. 650,000. One-way tickets would not be available. It may seem a lot. But think of the tycoons who would happily pay it only to put their toes up in the hotel's lounge and watch their turbulent, noisy planet spin silently by.



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## Briefly Speaking ...

They are ill discoverers that think there is no land, when they can see nothing but sea.

FRANCIS BACON 1561-1626

### Fresh Look

AT LAST an admission has come from the highest sources that the programme of "land to the tiller" was not enough to solve the country's agricultural problems. This fact was stated by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, member of the Planning Commission in charge of Agriculture. Speaking at Poona the other day, he said that the programme had actually created more production problems than it had solved, and the same was the case with the ceiling on land holdings.

### Text-book Lesson

CHAMPIONS of text-book nationalization please note what the Punjab audit report says. Against an admissible profit of 5 per cent, the Gov-

### CHALTA HAI...



"The Defence Ministry wants to know if the Diwali ban on bombs and crackers applies to them."

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LADY HAMILTON

ernment has earned 24.18 per cent without giving any relief to the people.

The audit also held the State Government responsible for misappropriation running into crores of rupees. Unsatisfied audit objections amount to 75,000 in a year, involving Rs. 56 crores. The report says that irrigation projects constructed at a cost of Rs. 155.44 crores have been run at a loss of Rs. 2.70 crores last year.

### The Volcano

WINNER of the Gandhi Award, Hindi novelist A.G. Sheorey's novel of the Quit India period, "Jwalamukhi", is already available in ten Indian languages and will be available in four more through the National Book Trust.

This story of the struggle that mobilized the Indian nation will be published in English by the Pageant Press of New York in January, entitled, "The Volcano" (\$4.00). Novelist Sheorey gives insight into the meaning of Gandhian non-violence. His central character, Abhay Kumar, is a student revolutionary, prototype of thousands who gave their all for India's freedom. In Abhay's sacrifice, the author reveals how the power of love and non-violence transforms the heart of an Indian magistrate, who tries him.

It is hoped that a paper-back edition of the novel will soon be issued.

### Prison ABCs

DELHI Administration's Education Department is to be complimented on its scheme for introducing literacy to the prisoners in the Tihar jail. As well as Hindi, arithmetic and accounts are taught with the help of a string and pebbles, a method found eminently successful in North Indian villages. Prisoners appeared for their first test at the end of last month.

### Earning Their Keep

MEANWHILE the British Home Secretary announces a scheme to pay prisoners £10 to £12 per week as wages for work done. It will mean erecting miniature factories in the

prisons and the prisoners will be paid according to piece rates wherever possible. Out of his wages, the prisoner would pay £3 for his board and lodging and 16/- for his health insurance.

In the drive to make India self-reliant, maybe Indian prisons could also consider similar scheme.

### Hair-brained

COMMUNIST CHINA has an original way of earning foreign exchange. Young Chinese women are being exhorted to become more patriotic by agreeing to be shorn of their hair. They are promised as much as Rs. 50 for plaits averaging two feet in length.

Party cadres are reported to be canvassing in homes, farms and factories. It is explained to the women that the current "degenerate fashion of wigs in capitalist countries" gives China this benefit.

### Smasher

BERT CAPEWELL of Barleston, England, has broken 18 million pieces of pottery in 12 years. No, he is not clumsy, he is "chief smasher" at a local pottery factory. His job is to destroy rejected and imperfect cups, bowls and tea-pots. His wife does not allow him to do the washing up after meals at home. "She is afraid I will break something," he says.

### Atomic Powered Ship

JAPAN, the first nation to suffer from the atomic bomb, is conducting research on the effects of radiation on man and his environment. She is making rapid strides in the development of atomic energy. She has erected her own natural uranium heavy water type reactor. Next year she will launch her first atomic-powered ship which will make its maiden voyage in 1969.

### Tailpiece

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE, in a letter quoted in *Sarvodaya*, says, "I always say God has given us two long hands to work with and one small mouth to eat. Why this bogey of growing population?"

The Acharya is right. If only we can get all "long hands" to exercise as much as "small mouths"!

R.M.L.

HIMMAT, October 22, 1965

## INDIA'S ULTIMATE AIM

By R. M. Lala

As the Prime Minister's figure emerged on the rostrum at Bombay's Azad Maidan on Sunday an estimated one million people burst into applause. There before him was the largest concourse in India's living memory. The applause he got was not only as a man but as a symbol of the spirit of the nation.

Three years ago a perceptive biographer wrote, "Shastri has a will of his own and what is more unusual, a conscience. Neither is transient. Under the right circumstances they could assert themselves with possibly telling effect." In Shastri, the man and the hour have met.

The Prime Minister addressed the gathering of more than a million for almost an hour. His speech was punctuated with humour. He twitted Pakistan, but there was no rancour in him. He laughed at himself when he said, referring to India's Gnat aircraft, that nowadays it is the small things that perform well.

For all that, it was a major policy speech where he declared that if Pakistan did not withdraw from the Chhamb area, India would not withdraw from Lahore sector.

Three points about his speech were significant. First, he made hardly any mention of China. China's threats and ultimatum of four weeks ago, the grave days of anxiety were not mentioned. The Prime Minister appeared to have now one major pre-occupation and that was Pakistan.

### Nation's Self-Reliance

Second, the Prime Minister made it clear that Kashmir was a closed book; that India did not want any political settlement on the issue.

Third, to achieve the purpose of his policy on Kashmir, Mr. Shastri expressed eagerness for the support and understanding of the two most powerful nations, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., but he made it clear that his decision did not depend on outside support, but on the self-reliance in industry, agriculture and defence of the millions of India.

Mr. Shastri's policy is based on certain premises—(a) that the pre-

sent spirit generated in the Indian nation will last; (b) that the Kashmir people and their leaders will remain faithful to India; (c) that the United States will look after the threat from China on India's border and also in South-East Asia; (d) that the two giants of the Communist world, the Soviet Union and China, will remain divided and that a substantial measure of Soviet support to India will be forthcoming.

Let us be quite clear on the consequences of our present stand. We can fight over Kashmir for the next 10 years, but in that process the whole of non-Communist Asia will be weakened. We would have to concentrate against Pakistan and perforce withdraw from the central battle for Asia—which is not to whom Kashmir belongs, but which idea shall rule Asia. Both India and Pakistan will grow inwards and look inwards, more and more. While they concentrate on Kashmir, China is free to paint Asia red.

### Settlement with China?

Why the U.S. should continue to fight Chinese aggression while we Asians remain divided, does not cross our fevered minds today. The United States of 1965 has accepted the responsibility to defend Asia, but there is an influential section, spear-headed by Walter Lippmann, who believe that U.S. interests do not lie in Asia and Africa, but in the Americas and Europe. The present events on the Indian sub-continent will strengthen this wing of U.S. public opinion. The America of 1968 may not feel it is her job to save Asia from Chinese Communism, whilst two major nations of Asia play their private game.

Already a section of Indian public opinion is discussing fresh moves for a China settlement. (See Editorial.)

Reports of the President's recent tour show that India is turning increasingly to the East European bloc for aid. Czechoslovakia can supply not only heavy machinery, but arms. Roumania can supply oil. Considerable importance is attached to T.T.K.'s mission to Moscow. Will

the Soviet Union increase her commitments for India's immediate economic plans when aid from the West is uncertain? We have to be alert that excessive dependence on the Soviet bloc at no point cramps our freedom.

During the *Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai* period the West was loud in its warnings to us of China's intentions. Today when Mr. Bhutto is taking Pakistan every day closer to China, the West is notably silent. Western press and television in their publicity of Mr. Bhutto have promoted one of China's star-performers.

### The Broader Picture

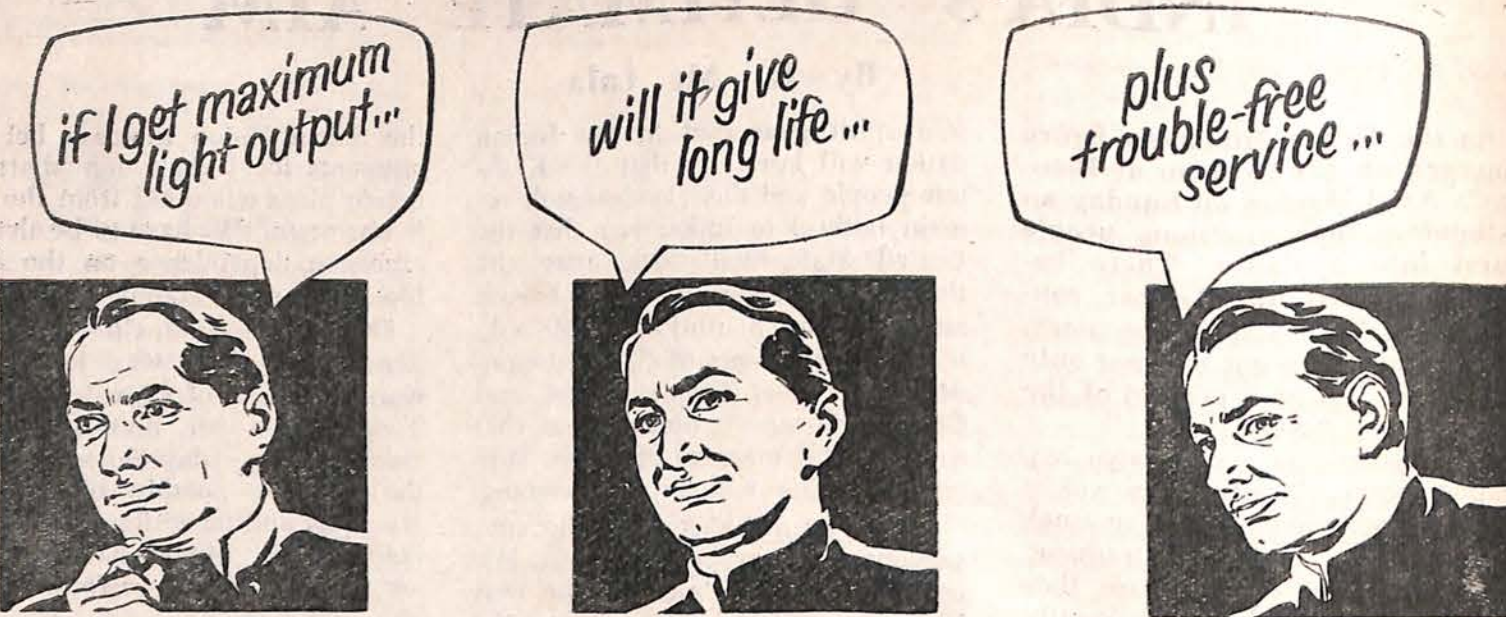
Indian intelligence reports supplied to the U.N. Secretary-General state that Pakistan has launched a major programme for training fresh infiltrators. No less than 14,000 raiders have been recruited for training. The United Nations Security Council, and the four major powers individually, must make it known to Pakistan that she will have to bear responsibility for any action the world body might take. It is all the more significant that Pakistan is now pressing for the dismissal of General Nimmo who earlier reported the infiltration.

Even so, while fully prepared to defend herself, India will have to stretch her mind beyond the bounds of narrow nationalism to a broader picture of Asia and be ready at the right time to adapt her policies accordingly.

India has repeated that her quarrel was never with the people of Pakistan. India may need to see a future political settlement with Pakistan not as a sacrifice of her immediate self-interest, but as a long-term investment in her own security. For if Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, Burma and Nepal fall to China, can India be far behind?

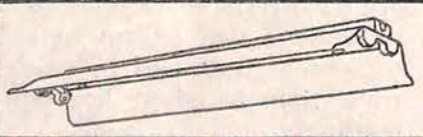
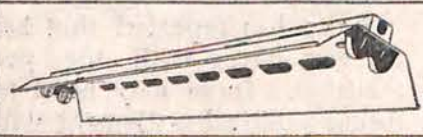
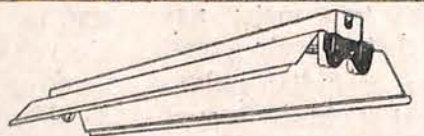
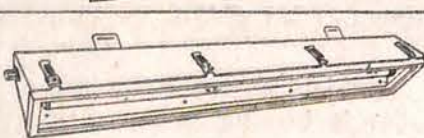
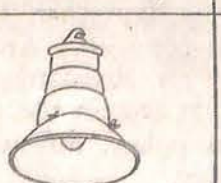
True statesmanship on both sides of the cease-fire line consists in working for the day when Pakistan and India can secure the Asian continent and give an alternative to Peking. That has to remain the ultimate aim of Indian policy, difficult as it may seem today.

HIMMAT, October 22, 1965

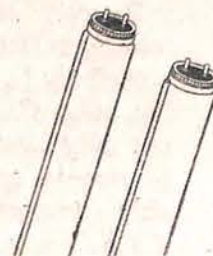


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## Leap forward on the food front—where will it lead us?

Prime Minister Shastri has done well to divert the attention of the nation, if only for a moment, to the essential job of meeting the critical economic situation of the country.

His plea to make India self-sufficient, self-reliant and strong has come not a moment too soon. For we face an economic disaster that would have come irrespective of the war with Pakistan and the consequent fear of the stoppage of foreign food and economic, as well as military, aid. It is clear that our planners showed foresight in the emphasis they gave to industrialization. But, sooner or later, we were bound to suffer the consequences of years of slackness and wastage of resources.

We have been forced to realize that ambitious targets are no substitute for unrealized goals and that internal and external resources would not be forthcoming forever at the rate set by the Planning Commission. For too long, we postponed the personal sacrifices entailed by the demands of development and the exigencies of defence. We made up for the holes in our investment caused by inefficiency and corruption by finding additional resources and more foreign aid. This was an inherently unstable situation, which had to be corrected.

### Inevitable Sacrifices

The sacrifices that Mr. Shastri has called for were inevitable in the developing economic situation of the past four to five years and are not necessarily connected with any potential threat of withdrawal of foreign aid. (Already much of our heavy industry is working at about 50 per cent of capacity for lack of essential components or raw materials.)

We must guard against blaming other nations for our own difficulties and failures for, even at present levels of economic aid, India faces a very serious foreign exchange crisis and a regime of stringent shortages.

We obviously cannot blame the Western powers for the three-fold increase of defence expenditure neces-

sitated by the hostility of Pakistan and China. We have failed over a period of years to increase substantially our exports. Far from reducing our food imports—an aim of policy since the First Five Year Plan—they have increased to the point where they have become the main prop of the limited ration introduced in urban areas.

The agricultural problem is the crux of the problem of Indian development. We have neglected it due to over-optimism during the years of the Second Five Year Plan. The relative stagnation of food production during the first three years of the Third Plan at 80 million tons (as against the target of 100 million tons by the end of the Plan) and the serious food crisis of last year has contributed to make agriculture central in all our thinking.

### Ignorant Officials

The remarkable rise in food production to 88 million tons during 1964–1965 is probably due to this consciousness as much as to favourable weather conditions and the fixation of minimum prices for the producer. But even if the country is able to sustain this level of production during the current year—a doubtful proposition because of delayed and inadequate rains—we shall have a substantial deficit in the quantum of stocks available for supply to the urban centres.

The crash programme announced by the Government to increase the rabi crop is a minimum to ward off a critical shortage. The results will depend on the extent to which officialdom and the Congress Party machinery can be geared to communicate a sense of urgency to the ryots. Other measures such as the provision of diesel pumps for lift irrigation, provision of electricity to tubewells now in disuse due to non-availability of power, etc., will take some time and it is doubtful if they can affect the rabi crop. Realistically, the quantum of available chemical fertilizer is likely to be less rather than more because of the critical balance of payments. So the

## Under the Lens



by **R. VAITHESWARAN**

country is left with only the will to battle against odds and achieve the impossible.

At a seminar on "Grow More Food" held recently in Hyderabad, Mr. Thimma Reddy, President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee, made some down-to-earth observations. He pointed out that many Government officials in charge of agriculture were grossly ignorant of their field of activity. It took some of them years to understand whether water was more useful to black soil or red soil. "Goals cannot be reached," he observed, "with such ignorant officials manning the implementing machinery."

Agricultural graduates have often never handled a plough and do not intend to. The Agricultural Department is notoriously full of men who are theoretically qualified, but who have very little practical experience. The farmer who feels more knowledgeable is therefore cautious about undertaking the financial risks of innovation under the direction of such officials.

### Fertilizer Imports

The Andhra Pradesh Congress chief also points out numerous instances of delay, corruption (in the supply of fertilizer and credit) and inefficiency.

In the case of the Nizamsagar project, he said, water sufficient to irrigate 30,000 acres of land flowed back into the river due to defective sluices and the continued failure of the Public Works Department to take any action. Similarly, for want of dredgers, nearly three lakh tons of foodgrains were lost to the Krishna and Godavari districts.

A great deal is now being talked about the need to provide as much fertilizer as required. "To import chemical fertilizers instead of food grains is not only cheaper but also more honourable," said the Food Minister recently.

Continued on next page

But the truth is that there has been lamentable lack of co-operation between the Food, Finance and Commerce Ministries and even out of the 10 lakh tons manufacturing capacity for chemical fertilizers sanctioned, only four lakhs have been installed so far. And we shall have to be content, as the Prime Minister with great realism declared, with utilizing to the maximum all the available organic manure.

But agricultural improvement is a long-term process and the Government has to assess the failure of past policy and take bold remedial action if the present campaign is not to fizzle out like every other during the last 20 years.

One factor to recognize is that agricultural programmes have succeeded most in those countries where a middle-class peasantry has been strengthened and secured in rights of occupancy and ownership and assured a minimum economic holding such as in Taiwan and Japan. It is obvious that if the farmer is to be induced to invest in fertilizers, better seeds, insecticides, etc., he must have the security of tenure that as-

ures him the benefits and the financial strength to incur the initial risks of innovation. Therefore, even at the risk of overlooking the distributive principles of our Socialist policy, it may be essential for some time to concentrate on those aspects of agrarian policy that reinforce productivity.

#### Hard Work and Care

However, as important as the measures to increase productivity are the inducements and pressures on the farmer to part with his produce at prices not only profitable to himself but also within the means of the urban consumer.

Large food imports such as under PL480 provide to the Government a readily available stock which is a lever to pressurize the farmer to part with his surplus. If imports are not so large, or are stopped altogether, the middle peasantry can hold the nation to ransom. As they are also the most influential political group at the State level, they are a strong force towards higher prices for foodgrains.

Despite the call of patriotism, these pressures are likely to accentuate the conflict of interest between New Delhi and the States. The na-

tional leadership will need to be firm as well as decisive in order to ensure that the benefits of increased production flow to the whole nation and are not exploited to the private advantage of a group of powerful producers or intermediaries.

The administrative machinery is the most crucial factor. The human element is the most decisive. Among the most inhibiting factors in a village are the squabbles and factional fights that prevent any constructive initiative. Often the Government officer, whose interest is confined to his salary and the narrowest definition of his job, succumbs to this environment.

If the Government could impart the secret of hard work and care for the villager to all its officials, from the village level worker upwards, a revolution would soon be in the making in the countryside. There are not a few examples of good, honest, hard-working men giving this kind of inspired leadership. The Government needs to invest in training such leadership as well as in all the material prerequisites for a successful agriculture.

# Fresh Water from the Oceans—I

By Reginald Holme

First of two articles by Our Special Science Correspondent

the theory of water structure in the last 30 years. It is one of the most complex substances." Men who can discern the dews of Mars and the clouds that veil Venus are puzzled about many features of a drop of water.

In making a "water inventory" of our planet scientists have calculated that 97 per cent of the earth's water is in the seas and oceans. Its salt content is too high for human use, for agriculture or for industry.

## FRONTIERS OF science

Two per cent of the world's water is frozen in glaciers or the great ice caps at the Poles. Glacier experts have discovered that the average thickness of ice on the Antarctic continent is 8250 feet.

That leaves only one per cent that makes up the entire supply of fresh water for all the people on this planet. In addition to the 3000 million human beings already here, another 3000 million will arrive in the next 35 years.

But, for the first time in history, there are means at hand to cope with this demand for water. Nuclear power can provide the heat for large-scale desalting of sea water.

To achieve this has been, for centuries, the dream of man. Sanskrit writings thousands of years old give directions for purifying water. Aristotle, in 350 B.C., taught that "salt water, when it turns into vapour, becomes sweet, and the vapour does not form salt water again when it condenses".

During the siege of Alexandria in 49 B.C., Julius Caesar relied on stills to convert salt water for his legions to drink. Seamen, ancient and modern, have boiled sea water to make fresh. But only now is man within reach of getting water aplenty from the limitless oceans.

The late President Kennedy said:

"There is no scientific breakthrough, including the trip to the moon, that will mean more to the country which first is able to bring fresh water from salt water at a competitive rate."

Can this be done? Or will conversion always be too expensive?

Mr. Andrew C. Smith, Managing Director of Weir Westgarth of Scotland, whose firm has built over half the world's desalting units, says that if the demand increased, the price of desalting plants would fall and fresh water made available more cheaply.

He points out that "in many areas of the world it is quite unnecessary to wait for very large units before distillation water supply can become economic".

Large units could indeed be built, Mr. Smith said. For production of one million gallons a day a river of brine (salt water) 15 to 20 feet wide and two feet deep flows through low pressure chambers, heated so that it "flashes" into vapour. The vapour is then condensed by contact with tubes containing cool sea water. This process, passing through many chambers, is known as the Multi-stage Vacuum Flash Distillation process.

#### Massive Research

For a production of 500 million gallons of pure water a day from sea water the flow would have to be a mile or more wide. He thought the job could be handled.

President Johnson, in August, signed legislation for massively expanded research into water desalting. Soon investment in research by U.S. Government and industry will top £100 million. Johnson's target is to develop plants that can produce 100 million gallons of fresh water a day from brine. He says he is most determined that "the great breakthrough", as he calls it, shall be achieved by 1970. Of all the legislation that crossed his desk for signature this year, the President called the desalination bill "the most historic". Benefits of this research will reach all nations. U.S. companies like Westinghouse already offer 150 m.

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gallon nuclear plants to produce electric power and desalted water.

A 1964 report by the United Nations on "Water Desalination in Developing Countries" shows that even existing units with capacities from 100,000 gallons a day to seven

million would greatly benefit India.

Cities like Madras will need 136 per cent increase in fresh water supplies by 1970. "Desalination of water may well be the only solution which will enable Madras to obtain a reli-

able water supply in a relatively short period of time," says the U.N. report.

Coal-fired turbo-generators to produce electric power and fresh water from brine are reportedly being considered there. The production of both electricity and fresh water from plant is one of the best ways of reducing the cost of desalted water.

Northern areas of Gujarat State, including the Port of Kandla on the gulf of Kutch and the township of Gandhidham, were also instances of Indian regions where desalination would be of benefit. Here, increases in fresh water supply of up to 584 per cent are needed by 1970, the U.N. teams state. The local fish canning industry, for instance, will require an estimated increase from 180,000 gallons of fresh water to 550,000 gallons a month.

### Use of Solar Energy

Kandla port could handle large ocean-going vessels if more fresh water were available. Natural gas and petroleum discovered in eastern Gujarat might provide fuel for desalination. Development of Kathiawar and Kutch peninsulas could progress if fresh water could be supplied.

Calcutta, it was found, could also desalinate plentiful salt water which abounds nearby, to meet the thirst of its five million people. Small mobile or stationary units could also be used for islands in the Ernakulam inlet of Kerala.

The U.N. report praised Indian research on desalination techniques. The Central Arid Zones Research Institute at Jodhpur, Rajasthan, is "very active" in these studies, in collaboration with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Studies are being made of possible use of solar and wind energy.

The National Chemical Laboratory at Poona is conducting extensive research on membranes for desalting saline waters by the electro-dialysis method.

Indian scientists at the Washington conference on Water Desalination will have had a chance to meet Japanese colleagues engaged in similar research. The two countries can give a lead to other Asian lands.

**TO BE CONTINUED**

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Tanzania — a Reluctant Marriage

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Nairobi

The people of Tanzania have clearly demonstrated the workability in Africa of "one man—one vote" in their overwhelming support of President Nyerere and at the same time their specific rejection at the polls of certain politicians and aspects of TANU policy.

This lesson will not, it is hoped, go unheeded in Rhodesia and South Africa. Indeed, in Dar es Salaam, North, a European and a "moderate", polled 30,046 more votes than his African opponent, while the city's African mayor, a staunch TANU supporter, was defeated by the biggest margin of the election in his bid for a seat in Parliament.

In his strikingly simple re-inauguration ceremony in Dar es Salaam's National Stadium, President Julius Nyerere poured earth from Zanzibar and the mainland out of two calabashes so that it mingled in an earthenware bowl. Widely hailed as "a symbol of the indissolubility" of the 18-month-old union, it was more an act of faith and anticipation.

"One major source of dissatisfaction," writes the East African fortnightly *Reporter*, "about which even the TANU Party seems powerless to do much at present, is the delay in bringing about the full integration of Zanzibar and the mainland. Until now the two countries have been united in name only. For all major purposes Zanzibar has continued to govern itself, to make its

own rules and regulations and to enforce them independently of the mainland legislature, and even to formulate its own foreign policy."

Your correspondent, returning from the Presidential inauguration, attempted to post some letters at Zanzibar Airport. He was told politely but firmly that it would be impossible. "Why?" "Those are Tanzania stamps." "Is this not Tanzania?" "This is Zanzibar. We have our own stamps." But they were unavailable at the airport.

At the moment all 32 members of Zanzibar's Revolutionary Council have been awarded parliamentary seats in Dar es Salaam. Altogether there are 52 appointed representatives from the islands in the Union Parliament, a number vastly out of proportion to the population (300,000) compared with the mainland. Observers are commenting that now that the people on the mainland have exercised their undoubted right to choose those whom they wish to govern them, it remains only for their brothers in the islands to do the same.

### Erhard's Toughest Job is Ahead

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Zurich

When Chancellor Erhard showed his round, triumphant face on the television screens after his great victory in the German elections, the great majority of the German people relaxed in the feeling that the man in whom they had put their confidence had won.

They felt that Erhard, the father of the "economic miracle", would succeed in keeping West Germany happy, free and prosperous and that they, the ordinary people, would be able to look after their own affairs again without bothering too much about those of the nation.

Very soon, however, even the ordinary people realized that the toughest

task of the new Chancellor was still ahead of him. The Socialists had it much easier. Their election campaign had actually been very successful as far as figures were concerned. The SPD had won over a million more votes and will enter the new Parliament with twelve more members. But this advance had not been

*Continued on next page*

## The week in Asia

**PEKING**—China has promised to supply MiG fighter planes to Pakistan, according to diplomatic sources, following a visit to Peking by the Chairman of Pakistan International Airlines, Air Marshal Ashgar Khan.

**DJAKARTA**—President Sukarno appointed General Suharto Minister-Chief of Staff of the Indonesian army. Suharto led forces which foiled the recent Communist takeover attempt. Mobs attacked the Chinese University in Djakarta.

**HIROSHIMA**—Japanese scientists who examined fall-out from Chinese atom tests said their analysis showed that the explosions may have been preliminary to the Chinese exploding an H-bomb.

**KATHMANDU**—It was announced that King Mahendra and Queen Ratna of Nepal will arrive in New Delhi on November 25 on a State visit.

**HONG KONG**—Foreign correspondents who toured China recently said farm workers in many provinces earned only Rs. 19 a month, Rs. 12 of which they had to spend on food from communal kitchens.

**KABUL**—King Mohammed Zahir asked Dr. Mohammed Youssuf to form Afghanistan's first democratic government following elections under the new constitution. Previously the King was an absolute monarch.

**CANBERRA**—Britain and America were reported here to have chosen an island in the Chagos Archipelago in the Indian Ocean as a military base to replace Aden.

**TOKYO** — 100,000 demonstrators marched through Tokyo to protest against the treaty normalizing relations with Korea which the Diet has been debating.

**DACCA** — According to reports reaching Shillong, 5,000 Hindus have been arrested in East Pakistan because of fears of a revolt against the government.

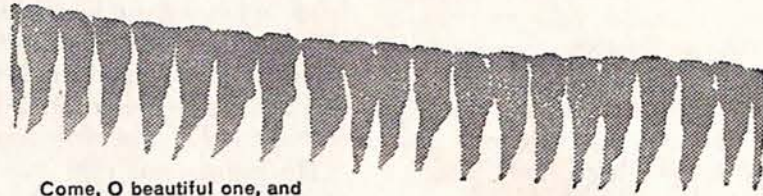
**ADEN**—The South Arabia Federal Ministry of Education closed 14 schools following demonstrations by schoolchildren against the British suspension of the Aden constitution.

**SINGAPORE**—Singapore was admitted as the 22nd member of the Commonwealth which now has nine African and eight Asian members.

**TOKYO**—Japan ranked fifth among non-Communist nations in giving aid to underdeveloped countries, stated the Ministry of International Trade.

**CANBERRA**—Australia will contribute 75 million dollars to the proposed Asian Development Bank, said Federal Treasurer Holt.

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enough to give them the only prize worth attaining, after 17 years in opposition, that of forming the government.

Willy Brandt, the twice-defeated candidate of the Socialists, whose campaign had certainly not convinced the German voter that he would be a better Chancellor than Erhard, decided to take the consequences and to return to his post of Burgermeister of Berlin.

He left the place free for another man who may well push himself forward as the new "strong man" of the Socialists, the Hamburg Deputy Schmidt, popularly called "Schmidt-Schnauze" ("Schmidt-Bigmouth") because of his ability to speak fast and well.

But the man who has his work cut out for him is the Chancellor, Professor Erhard. The election result corresponds to his desires. If he had just scraped through at the polls, the men of his own party who are in favour of a "big coalition" with the Socialists would have done everything to have Erhard replaced by a man like Dr. Gerstenmaier, the Speaker of the Bundestag. It seems

that even the President, Dr. Lubke, would not have been against such a solution.

The other result Erhard seems to have feared would have been such a massive victory that the CDU recaptured the absolute majority in parliament. In that case, Erhard would have been forced to give in to some of the demands of the sister party of the CDU, the Bavarian CSU, and its powerful head, Franz Josef Strauss.

Even so, Professor Erhard's job is not easy. As far as personalities are concerned, the future of two declared enemies has first to be decided. One is the present Vice-Chancellor and Minister of All-German Affairs, Erich Mende, who is also Chairman of the smaller coalition partner, the liberal FDP. The other is Franz Josef Strauss, obviously the most potential of the present political leaders but also the most uncontrollable.

Mende has said that he would not

serve in a government together with Strauss. Even if Strauss were not to join the next government, he may still demand the head of Mende in return for the support of his 48-member group in the Bundestag.

The most controversial issues in these negotiations which are to lead to the formation of the new government concern foreign affairs. The present Foreign Minister, Schroeder, is in favour of the Atlantic Alliance, but also for a much softer approach to the Communist bloc.

He is definitely not a friend of General de Gaulle and is largely responsible for a considerable cooling in German-French relations.

Two men who are not directly involved as far as their own careers go take a very active part in these negotiations between parties and personalities. These two men, who seem to work very closely together these days, are President Lubke and former Chancellor Adenauer. Both Lubke



Dr. Erhard



Dr. Adenauer

and the 89-year-old Adenauer have a clear sense of the importance of what men and what ideas will control the next government and they do not hesitate to express their convictions even if some of the Left wing press does not seem to like it. Both of them see a great danger in letting division come between France and Germany and in giving in too much to the pressures from the East, even if these concessions could bring considerable economic advantages.

Professor Erhard has often said during the past days that it was the

responsibility of the Chancellor alone to form the government and that he would not be pressured in one way or another. He obviously seems reluctant to drop his Vice-Chancellor and his Foreign Minister. On the other hand, he is deeply concerned with the direction the country is meant to take, and he knows that a majority of his people will back him if he shows firm leadership. That should help him to decide not to take the most popular or the easiest course but to establish a clear aim for his government and then to pick the men who will be best suited to reach that aim.

## U.S. Courting Inflation

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Los Angeles

**Escalation of the dollar is a chief concern of the Government right now. Rising prices, rising cost of living are being accompanied by a demand for higher wage rates. The President's chief concern seems to be one of avoiding the setting off of an inflationary spiral of the dollar.**

The Government is already slated to spend \$ 130,000 million this year. Space spending will amount to almost \$ 30,000 million of that. The moon mission is due to get \$ 20 thousand million or more over the next few years and the manned orbiting laboratory will cost well over \$ 1,500 million.

Fifty three thousand million dollars is being spent for defence and \$ 38,000 million plus is going into welfare and the anti-poverty programmes. Danger is not great so long as the nation's economy remains vigorous and healthy and no self interest group or an expanded war are allowed to knock it out of balance.

The Russian economy, on the other hand, appears to be in more serious difficulty.

In a private lecture to a Moscow publishing house, a Soviet economist, Abel Aganbegyan, is quoted as saying, "A significant part of our means

is put into defence. It is very difficult for us to keep up with the United States, for we have the same expenditures on defence as the United States but our economic potential is half that of the U.S. Out of 100,000,000 workers in the U.S.S.R., 30,000,000 to 40,000,000 are employed in the defence industries."

In the last six years, according to Aganbegyan, the rate of growth of the Soviet economy decreased three times and in agriculture it dropped ten times. "The 7-year plan is a wreck," says Aganbegyan.

This may well be the moment when the Soviet decide to join with the Americans in the manned space flight to the moon. It could not only mean a huge dividend to the economy of both sides but could mean the beginning of co-operation in space as well as a step towards averting conflict on earth.

## The week elsewhere

### CHINA'S SPECIAL GUEST

**PEKING**—Pridi Phanomjong, former Prime Minister of Thailand who has lived in China since 1946, was invited this year for the first time to be the Government's guest at the National Day celebrations in Peking. He was received by Mao Tse-tung, who was accompanied by Liao

Cheng-chih and Wu Hsiu-chun. Liao is concerned with the overseas Chinese, a million of whom live in Thailand. Wu directs liaison with foreign parties. The Chinese are believed to be preparing Pridi as a "liberal progressive" figurehead for the subversive movements they have set up

Continued on next page

## The week in India

**TRIVANDRUM**—The Kerala Pay Commission recommended a minimum salary of Rs. 10 per month and a maximum of Rs. 1,800 for State employees. If accepted this would benefit 2.5 lakh employees including 80,000 teachers.

**BARODA**—India's third State-owned refinery began operations. Built with Soviet assistance, it can process one million tons of oil annually.

**GAUHATI**—Assam Planning Minister Tripathy said over Rs. 2 crores of goods in transit from Assam were held up in East Pakistan waters, gravely affecting the State's economy.

**CALCUTTA**—West Bengal Congress President Ajoy Mukherjee said certain State Congressmen were using their position for financial gain. The State Congress was run by "a form of Fascist distatorship", he said.

**ERNAKULAM**—The Dalai Lama told reporters that Tibet would appeal to the U.N. against the aggression committed on her. He was visiting the 40,000 exiled Tibetans living round Ernakulam.

**BOMBAY**—215,000 textile workers will receive a total of Rs. 4.1 crores as a bonus following an agreement between the Millowners' Association and the INTUC-controlled union, the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh.

**NEW DELHI**—Irrigation engineers said the water level in the major reservoirs was at its lowest since 1941 owing to the failure of the monsoon. The engineers said water might have to be diverted from power stations to irrigation in some places.

**RAJKOT**—Rain failure has halved groundnut production in Saurashtra to four lakh tons this season.

**NEW DELHI**—Most Union Cabinet Ministers, including Mr. Shastri, were reported to be against proposals to advance the next general election by a year to 1966.

**SRINAGAR**—Three people were killed when police fired on a mob which surrounded them and ignored warnings to disperse. Educational institutions in Srinagar were closed for three days.

**NEW DELHI**—India produced 88.4 million tons of foodgrains in 1964-5, nearly nine million tons more than the year before, according to an official report. The area under foodgrains increased by 1.5 million hectares.

**SHILLONG**—Naga hostiles agreed to only one month's extension of the truce instead of three months as proposed by the Government. The Naga underground was reported to be receiving arms and training from East Pakistan.

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MT-CC 143

## VIEWPOINT

First Prize: Rs. 35

# SHOULD INDIA REMAIN IN THE COMMONWEALTH?

By Etemaduddin Siddiqui, Hyderabad

INDIA'S CONTINUANCE in the Commonwealth is undoubtedly the most significant and controversial question confronting India on the diplomatic front. A resolution has also been moved to the effect that it would be in keeping with the interests of the nation to withdraw from the Commonwealth under the present state of affairs.

The argument advanced is that Britain has shown partisan and unfriendly concern during the recent Indo-Pak conflict. Truly enough, Britain has opposed our stand, but only as a single nation and not as the leader of a group of nations. The Commonwealth of today is fast losing its Anglocentricity and is being replaced by the emerging Afro-

### COMPETITION RESULTS

Yes — 81 per cent

No — 19 per cent

The topicality of this week's subject brought a large number of entries. Considering the noise politicians have been making it is surprising that four out of five competitors say India's interests are best served by staying in the Commonwealth. Some also point out that through the Commonwealth India can best serve the world community.

Suman Mistry of Bombay summed up the main argument of those for leaving the Commonwealth: "Today, directly or indirectly, Britain is taking pro-Chinese Pakistan's side." S. Rajeskar of Madras wrote: "Britain supported Pakistan in the present conflict in order to safeguard her extensive oil interests in the Middle East."

Other entries think Britain's motives in not siding with India over Kashmir are not necessarily malicious. A.L. Sundaram of Hyderabad pointed out, Mr. Shastri "so vehemently contradicted American policy on Vietnam that Mr. Johnson could have been tempted to stop the massive economic aid to India".

"Let people think coolly whose side they would take if a couple of their family members were fighting," wrote D.M. Talwalkar of Bombay. "Even Lord Krishna, the greatest politician of all times, could not take sides between the Kauravas and Pandavas.—Ed.

Asian nations. The new Commonwealth secretariat is a major step in the reduction of the British domination in the Commonwealth. Removal of the word "British" from the "British Commonwealth of Nations", on request of our late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, reveals that the Commonwealth has ceased to be Britain's monopoly.

Thus, breaking away from the Commonwealth would be a suicidal folly and would mean emasculating relations with twenty other nations of the Commonwealth. In view of Pakistan's malicious propaganda and misrepresentation of the case, such a step would be hazardous and not in the best interests of the country.

Commonwealth has been reckoned by some as an association of nations economically wide apart and culturally divergent, and that such an association will not serve any purpose to India. If economic disparity and cultural diversity be the criteria of disassociation of nations, it would equally mean our disassociation with the United Nations. This would culminate in "the disintegration of a free world", so strongly advocated by China and its puppets. The proposed "Rival United Nations" is but one example of their subtle and treacherous designs to break the Commonwealth and wreck the United Nations.

International associations such as the Commonwealth are indispensable if we are to live as decent and civilized human beings.

Moreover, the will to live together and to bring about closer contacts socially, economically and politically, as manifested by the Commonwealth, is the surest way to achieve the ideal of a "world government".

The best reason why we should remain in the Commonwealth is the late Mr. Nehru's decision to remain in it, in spite of the severe criticism. Before opting for the Commonwealth he said, "It does bring a touch of

## COMPETITION

\* The U.N. should re-instate the Dalai Lama in Tibet.

Closing date: October 29

\*\* The most realistic solution to the population explosion is more food not more contraceptives.

Closing date: November 5

Prizes: Rs. 35, Rs. 10.

Best Points: Rs. 5 each.

Length: Up to 500 words.

Send entries to The Editor,

HIMMAT, First Floor,

294, Bazargate St., Bombay-1.

healing in our relations with certain countries. We are in no way subordinate to them and they are in no way subordinate to us."

It is certainly true that India has failed to justify her voice in the Commonwealth for the past few years. It is high time that it should play a positive role as an important nation of the Commonwealth by reshaping it, instead of walking out. it.

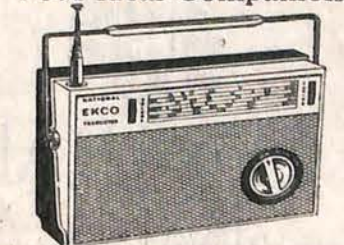
### Second Prize: Rs. 10

#### MOST UNSOUND MOVE

By S. R. SRINIVASAN, Bombay  
 SINCE WE HAVE DONE SO brilliantly in the armed conflict one would have thought that we would have tried for another victory on the diplomatic and political fronts. But, in this respect, the thought of leaving the Commonwealth is a most unsound move. Do we want to run away from the world, to remain isolated in a

Continued on next page

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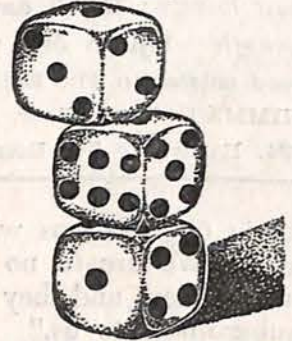
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world full of groups, agreements, pacts? It is not only this particular case which is unsound but it may set a precedent in relation to other nations. Of course a nation should depend on herself only. It was never clearer than now. But that is an ideal, which no nation in this much "smaller" world can, for practical reasons, afford to achieve to the fullest extent.

By leaving Commonwealth, firstly, we will be pushing Britain and Pakistan even closer, to our own detriment. Pakistan will be only too grateful for this and will make full use of this. An embarrassed and guilt-conscious nation is even more dangerous. Secondly, we will be breaking the close ties we have with the other nations of the Commonwealth, a majority of which are African and Asian nations whose co-operation is so vital in the U.N., particularly in the context of our strained relations with the Western nations since the present conflict. Thirdly, we will be losing the economic benefits and concessions that accrue to us, being a nation in the

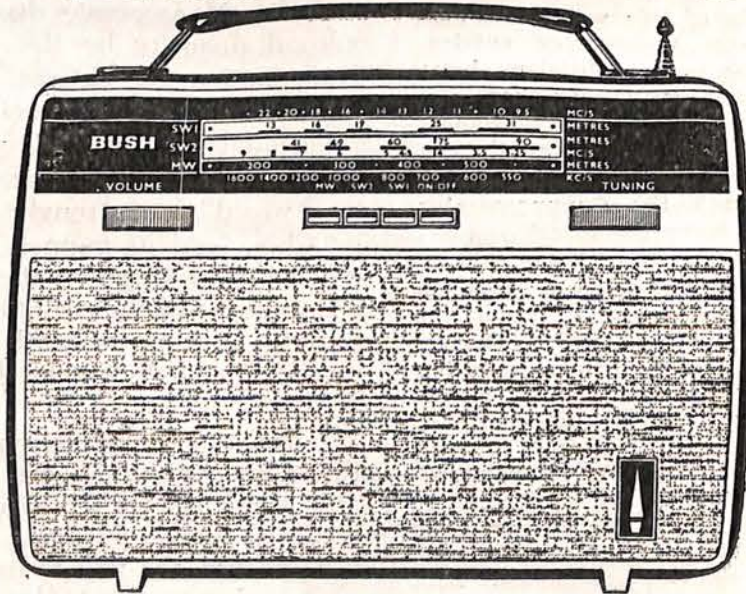
Commonwealth. This also we can ill afford at this critical juncture.

Therefore we should allow Great Britain to extricate herself from the embarrassing situation of playing up one Commonwealth nation against another and reorient herself. It seems this was another example of bungling of her policy—east of Suez.

Moreover the press, radio and the government of a nation does not necessarily voice the attitude of the people; there are always exceptions. The British public might be in our favour. In addition, aren't we identifying Great Britain with the Commonwealth or vice versa? After all, we had as much share as Great Britain in the formation of the Commonwealth of nations. We can always protest at the next Prime Ministers' Conference just as it was done during the last one on the question of Rhodesia's independence.

Therefore, in my opinion, the thought of leaving the Commonwealth is politically, diplomatically and economically a most unsound one. Aren't we mixing too much morality with politics?

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## ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

### It is One Record on Top of Another for Ron Clarke

THE WORLD KNOWS Australia best for her sportsmen. The most famous Australian athlete of the day is Ron Clarke, 28-year-old holder of five world records for distance running—3, 5 and 10 miles, 5,000 and 10,000 metres.

Ron Clarke's home on the outskirts of Melbourne is a modern house on three levels with large expanses of glass looking on to the gum-tree covered hills that surround the city. Here we met Ron Clarke, his wife and his two children, Marcus aged 4 and Monique aged 5. At first sight, theirs is a typical young Australian family, friendly and unaffected. But one notices Clarke's concentration that has enabled him to perform athletic feats that a short time ago no one believed possible.

He comes of a famous sporting family. His older brother, Jack, was captain of one of Melbourne's major Australian Rules football teams

which in 1962 won the city competition. Football has sometimes been called Melbourne's religion; 105,000 cheering partisan fans pack the grandstands each year to watch the Grand Final match.

Ron was first known as Jack Clarke's brother. He became most famous in the rest of the world 6 months ago when, on a tour of Europe and America, he bettered world records 15 times in 17 races. The American athlete, Billy Mills, who beat Clarke in the Tokyo Olympics said, "You've got to be a long distance runner yourself to understand wholly how great was his performance." His effort was probably more historic than the "dream mile" by Bannister of England.

Clarke works for his success. He runs, on an average, 22 miles a day—four to six miles in the morning, a mile or two at lunch time and at night another 12 to 20 miles. A pro-



minent athlete at school, he has been running competitively ever since and has trained with this intensity for the last four or five years.

The famous English miler, Cliff Brasher, said that "incredibly he has brought enjoyment back to athletics".

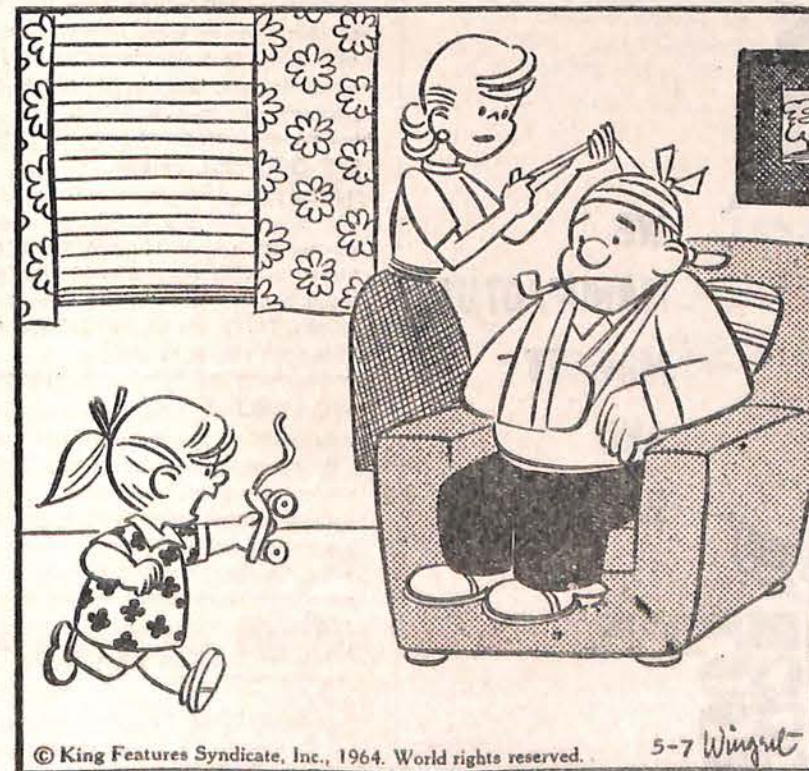
Questioned on this Clarke said, "I wouldn't do it if I didn't enjoy it. First of all it comes as a challenge to get fit, to train consistently and to see how you can improve. Later this becomes a way of life. You enjoy the fitness and the challenge. Sometimes you don't like going out to run but you do it because if you don't it spoils the rest of the time. Fitness means being able to make an effort and recover from it quickly. It's also tied up with the amount you can put into your effort. Therefore the faster you can run, the quicker you can recover from that effort and then the more often you can repeat your peak performances."

Clarke was referring to the verdict by the American magazine *Sports Illustrated* that his latest world tour has established an entirely new philosophy about distance running.

"In distance running you were supposed to be able to run a hard race and then to have to take it easy for seven or eight days. I managed

Continued on next page

## HUBERT



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to race and race and race, and also I raced over a large variety of distances, one record on top of another record. I was running world records every three days."

*What are your future plans?*

"I don't plan very much. Things can alter. You can become too ambitious and then disappointed. All I do is maintain my fitness and take the chances that come. What I like in athletics is that you can keep on choosing something new."

*Are there many other things you plan to choose?*

"I will come down to the mile—the shorter distances I am not supposed to be able to run."

*What was your most thrilling experience?*

"You get a bigger thrill watching than competing. My biggest thrill was watching my brother's team win the 1962 Grand Final. I suppose marching with the team into the Tokyo Olympic Games was possibly my biggest thrill, marching as a member of the whole team and realizing what you were part of. And if you insist on it and say in a race

what was my biggest thrill, it would probably be competing in Oslo when I took so much off the world record and the crowd was so crazy about it."

*How much did you take off?*

"35 seconds."

*What did you feel?*

"There is always a sense of amazement that it is you who have run this time and nobody else. For any human being there would be that sense of amazement. Then you say, I should be able to improve on that."

Questioned about the connection between sport and politics Clarke was forthright.

"Politics," he said, "does not come into sport. Sometimes this happens but only by outside bodies forcing themselves in. It should be recognized that there is no difference between one human being and another."

*Do you mean that the problems are human problems rather than problems of colour and race?*

"I think this is quite true. Religion, race and creed don't worry me at all."

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## This was a life ELIZABETH BLACKWELL

1821—1910

IN AN ASSEMBLY HALL at a university in America, crowded by male medical students, there stood upon the platform among a group of senior medical men, a small, slim young woman in a Victorian bonnet. The year was 1849 and the girl was Elizabeth Blackwell, there to receive her medical degree—thus becoming the first woman doctor in the modern world.

When she first conceived the idea of becoming a doctor, people were scandalized. No training schools were open to women. It was unheard of for a woman to take up any profession other than teaching. But Elizabeth felt that if an idea was of value it could be realized.

An experience when she had been praying for Divine guidance had convinced her that she must open up for women this sphere of service. She had no money so she earned by teaching and studied privately. For years she bombarded medical schools with applications until one of them—Geneva College in New York State—accepted her. Later she worked in a baby clinic in Paris, where she lost an eye through an infection.

Her hardest struggles came when she set up practice in New York City. Although highly qualified, she met with bitter prejudice and was excluded from working in hospitals. But in the overcrowded slums the women welcomed her.

Ahead of her time in her belief in hygiene and preventive medicine, she conceived her special mission, as a woman doctor, was in helping to build up sound, healthy families. With her sister Emily, she opened a hospital for women and children where nurses and women doctors were trained. Gradually their work won recognition. Elizabeth was able to leave the hospital to Emily and go to England to help in pioneering women's medical work.

When the London School of Medicine, the first training school for women medical students, was set up in 1874, Elizabeth became its Professor of Gynaecology. It was at this college that nearly all the women doctors who developed women's medical work in India were trained.

Great fighter as she was, she was never out to smash her way through; she sought, rather, to win over opponents and find things in any situation on which she could build. She was firm in the belief that women working outside the home must maintain their dignity and standards. She died in 1910.

## Q and A

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

**Q—Why does not India agree to a referendum in Kashmir regarding the future status of the state? A referendum under the control of the U.N. seems to be a democratic solution.**

RAGNHILD ERIKSSON,  
Uppsala, Sweden

**A—India's case is (1) that the accession of the Maharaja of the State in 1947 was legal; (2) that the people of Kashmir have been consulted three times in free elections to the Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir in 1951, 1957 and 1962; and (3) that the integration of the State into the Indian Union has been ratified by the elected representatives of the Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir.**

In addition to these three major reasons there are others like fear of the consequences to other parts of the Indian Union, for example, Nagaland. They may also ask for a referendum.

In 1947 the Maharaja of Kashmir had a choice to opt for either Pakistan or India. Sardar Patel, in charge of Indian States integration, would have accepted and honoured any arrangement the Maharaja may have made with Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten (then Viceroy) is believed to have urged the Maharaja to accede to either of the two states. The Maharaja acceded to neither because he was afraid of losing his throne in either case. He played for time till Pakistan sent raiders into Kashmir when he begged India to move her army in and protect the State. India refused unless the State acceded to India. The Maharaja sent his letter of accession. In accepting it, Lord

Mountbatten said that the will of the people would be consulted later. Mr. Nehru later gave an assurance of a plebiscite and the United Nations resolutions of 1948 and 1949 called for a plebiscite too, provided certain conditions were fulfilled, among them that troops be withdrawn by both India and Pakistan from Kashmir. Pakistan refused to withdraw its troops. India waited for a few years and then treated the issue as closed.

**Q—What will be the fate of Indonesia which had a series of coups and military disturbances?**

K. PARTHASARATHY,  
Bangalore 2

**A—The fate of Indonesia is likely to be unsettled for some time to come.**

Peking has lost a battle in the recent coup attempted by her through the Indonesian Communist Party. It is likely that Peking will strike again.

China feels that she can develop and gear to her benefit the rich natural resources that easy-going Indonesians have not developed.

Though the Soviet Union has given extensive arms to Indonesia, her position has not been as strong as China's which has hold of the Communist Party.

Small rebellions have continued in Indonesia over the last 17 years. There are political differences between the Left and Right, religious differences between the extreme Muslims and the others, regional differences as between the Javanese and the Sumatrans.

Legend has it that Sukarno has kept them all together by playing the Left against the Right and also keeping the other interests in check.

After this coup, Sukarno's figure will not be as towering as it was. Indonesia needs a strong figure unaligned to any nation and with the capacity to win the key Communists, Muslims and others. Will she throw up such a personality? On that hinges the fate of Indonesia.

## AN IDEAL COOKING MEDIUM



## RATH

VANASPATI

# Japan Can Speak to China

by Rajmohan Gandhi

WILL JAPAN challenge China for Asian leadership? Given the will, Tokyo can, with speed and sureness, wrest the initiative from Peking. Japan has most of the needed ingredients. She is Asia's richest nation, her technology paces and outpaces the West's, her people are skilled and like work.

They say Japan is facing a mild recession now, but I have not met anyone who expects it to last long. In any case, Japan's record-breaking trains are smoother, faster and fuller than ever. It is just announced that the Tokyo-Osaka distance of 320 kilometres will now be covered in three hours and ten minutes. Ten thousand new cars are added to Tokyo streets every month. The sky is getting crowded, too, with thousands learning to be pilots.

But it is the resolve to lead that creates leadership, not industrial achievements. And as yet the Japanese mood is against offering a lead.

"We burnt our fingers with World War II, and have no desire to point a way for other nations," a university student told me.

## Difficult Question

Not only leadership but patriotism is shunned by many. Some were surprised, for instance, when India tried to resist the Chinese attack of 1962 and the recent Chinese threats.

A press correspondent who had expressed a similar view was asked what Japan would do if Russia were to invade Hokkaido (Japan's northern island). "That is a difficult question," he said.

Despite these expressions of hurt pride, there exists in the Japanese a passion for a frontal place in world affairs. This is reflected in the unabashed desire to out-do the West in technology; in the effort to make last year's Tokyo Olympics the best ever; in the concern over the performance of their delegates at the U.N. and other international organizations.

This longing also came out the other day when I spoke to a large college audience here. "If the Japanese, and not the British, had ruled India I would have spoken to you in Japanese," I began. Thunderous applause. The clapping didn't mean they wanted Japan to rule other nations. It did

mean they wanted Japanese influence in the world.

The Japanese are very sensitive about China. They will never go for an anti-Chinese tirade. The recent tough talk of Marshal Chen Yi, the Chinese Foreign Minister, has angered some Japanese. But others have adopted what they call the "low posture". Its main feature is, "We must not annoy Peking." There are many reasons.

China's 800 million are a vast natural market. As their standard of living goes up they will have a huge appetite for Japanese goods. Culturally, the Japanese respect China as their teacher.

## Cherished Customs

There is, in addition, the war guilt: "We inflicted serious damage on the Chinese people and cannot afford to be critical now."

Anti-Americanism is another factor. The co-operation between Japan and America since the war ended is doubtless extraordinary. Yet no one can deny there is in many a resentment that America should have humiliated their country. The attack during the Occupation years (1945-51) on beliefs and customs cherished for generations added to this feeling.

The Japanese people do not feel Communism is an answer. About 40 per cent vote Socialist, but Socialist candidates leaning towards Communism have difficulty in getting elected. Except for a brief period soon after the war, the Liberal-Democratic Party has been in power continuously.

The progress of the Soka Gakkai movement, with its religious and nationalist appeal, is significant. Its political wing, the Komei Party, has been picking up extra seats at every new election. Its leaders think they can attain a decisive role in Parliament—and if the conservatives lose some seats and the Socialists gain some, the Komei Party may tilt the balance.

On issues like Communism, Red China and the Japanese Treaty with the United States, the Soka Gakkai leaders are as yet non-committal. In the event of a clash between pro-Chinese forces and anti-Communists it is difficult to say which side they would support.

If new forces do not exert themselves this clash would seem in-

evitable. Japan is a very rich prize for Peking. Enriched by Japan's industrial might, China would become one of the world's biggest powers. America, aware of this, will not easily allow Japan to go under China's influence. Nor will the anti-Communists in Japan.

Many favour neutralism as a policy that offers the most to Japan and risks the least. France's de Gaulle is a hero in their eyes. They reckon that they can play off China and America against each other and maintain their freedom. Thinking Japanese, however, know that such a precarious balance would also be a dangerous one. It could make Japan the battleground of World War III.

These men believe that Japan's hope for permanent peace lies in her adopting Moral Re-Armament and proclaiming it to Peking and Washington alike. If Japan were to demonstrate a society where "what is right" became regnant in every situation, where politicians cared more for the next generation than for the next election, where businessmen were honest and put people before profit, where workers were revolutionary and put in a fair day's work for a fair day's wage, then no nation would dare attack her.

## Japan Has to Lead

One of these men is Masahide Shibusawa, whose great-grandfather is saluted all over Japan as the founder of modern industry. Shibusawa is convinced that if Japan wants peace she must live and give Moral Re-Armament.

Japan has to lead. Peace and freedom will not be hers if she tries merely to follow the initiatives of Peking—or Washington—or adjust to them. And in spite of the sentiment against taking leadership, it is reasonable to hope that men like Shibusawa and those working with him—they include Socialist and conservative leaders, educators, industrialists, workers and students—can set the pace for their country. The true Japanese heart craves for an endeavour that is large and revolutionary. And the world needs this heart even more than it needs Japan's lenses and transistors.

Japan's will be the glory, and Japan's the burden, of bringing an answer to Mao and his ideology. Countries like India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Ceylon, the Philippines, Burma and Thailand will follow Japan when she does.

# JAPAN'S SUPER EXPRESS

The world's fastest passenger trains with speeds of 125 mph run between Tokyo and Osaka. In the first three months at the end of '64 five million people rode the 'Dream Superspecials'. With just two stops, at Nagoyo and Kyoto, the expresses cover the 320 miles between Japan's largest cities in 4 hours. Each train with 2 first-class and 10 second-class cars seats 980 passengers. To make the line accident proof there are no level-crossings, a high wire fence keeps out stray animals, and a steel skirt in the front sweeps away rocks and other obstacles. The 29 express trains are controlled automatically from Tokyo. A 60-foot panel shows the location of all trains at all times. The line took more than five years to build, cost Rs. 475 crores, almost double the original estimate. Railway officials say it is already beginning to pay off.



Automatic centre in Tokyo controls 29 express trains

Photos: Japan National Railways



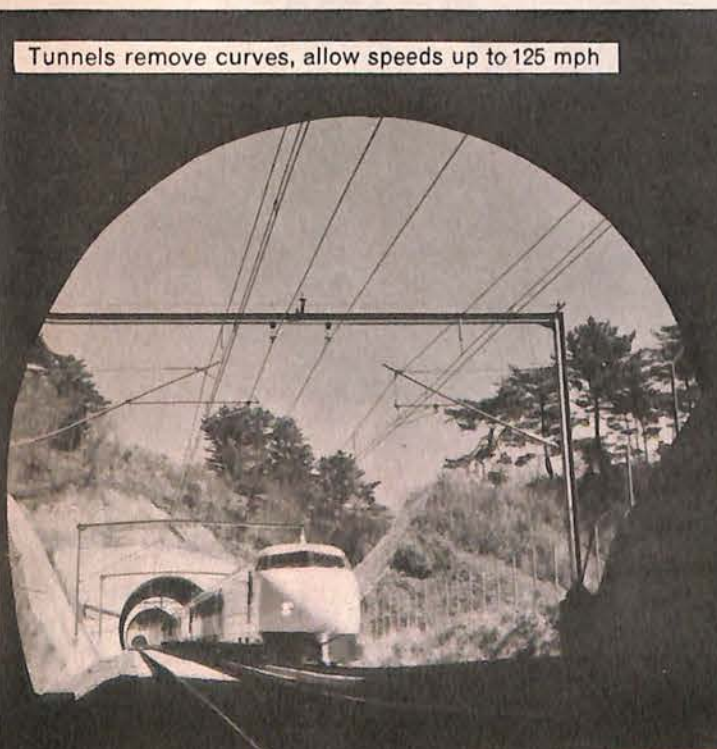
Drivers check control signals



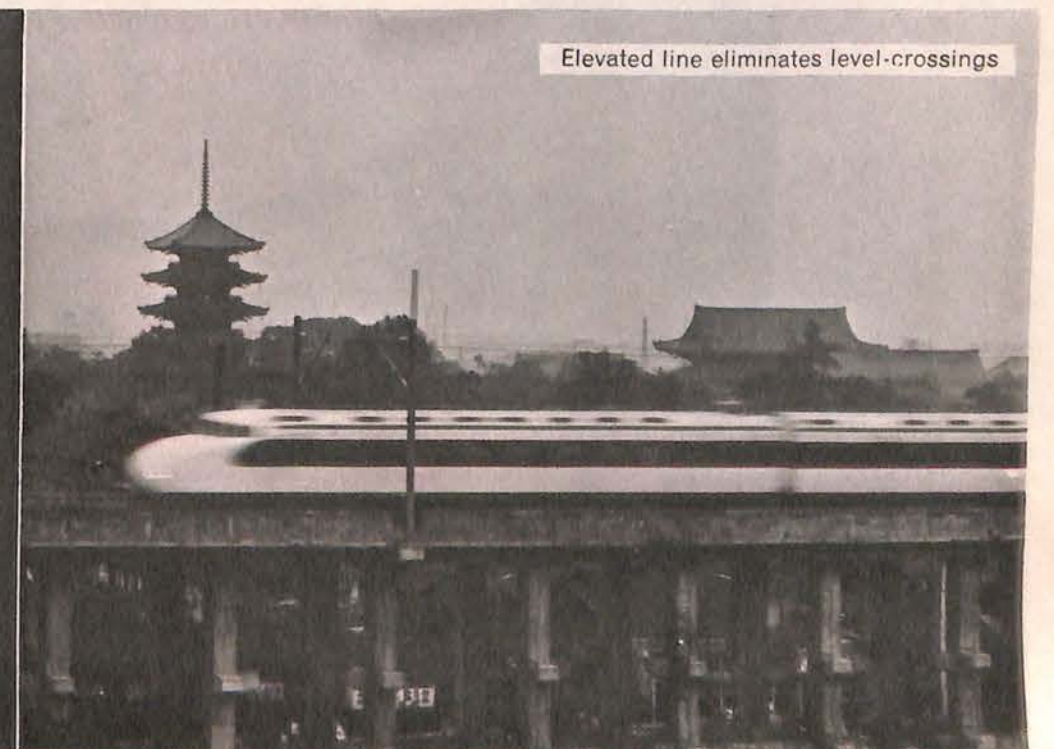
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