

HIMMAT

WEEKLY 30p

ASIA'S NEW VOICE

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 3 1967

DL 4 NO 1

in
this
issue



J. P. NARAYAN
"HOW TO CHANGE INDIA"

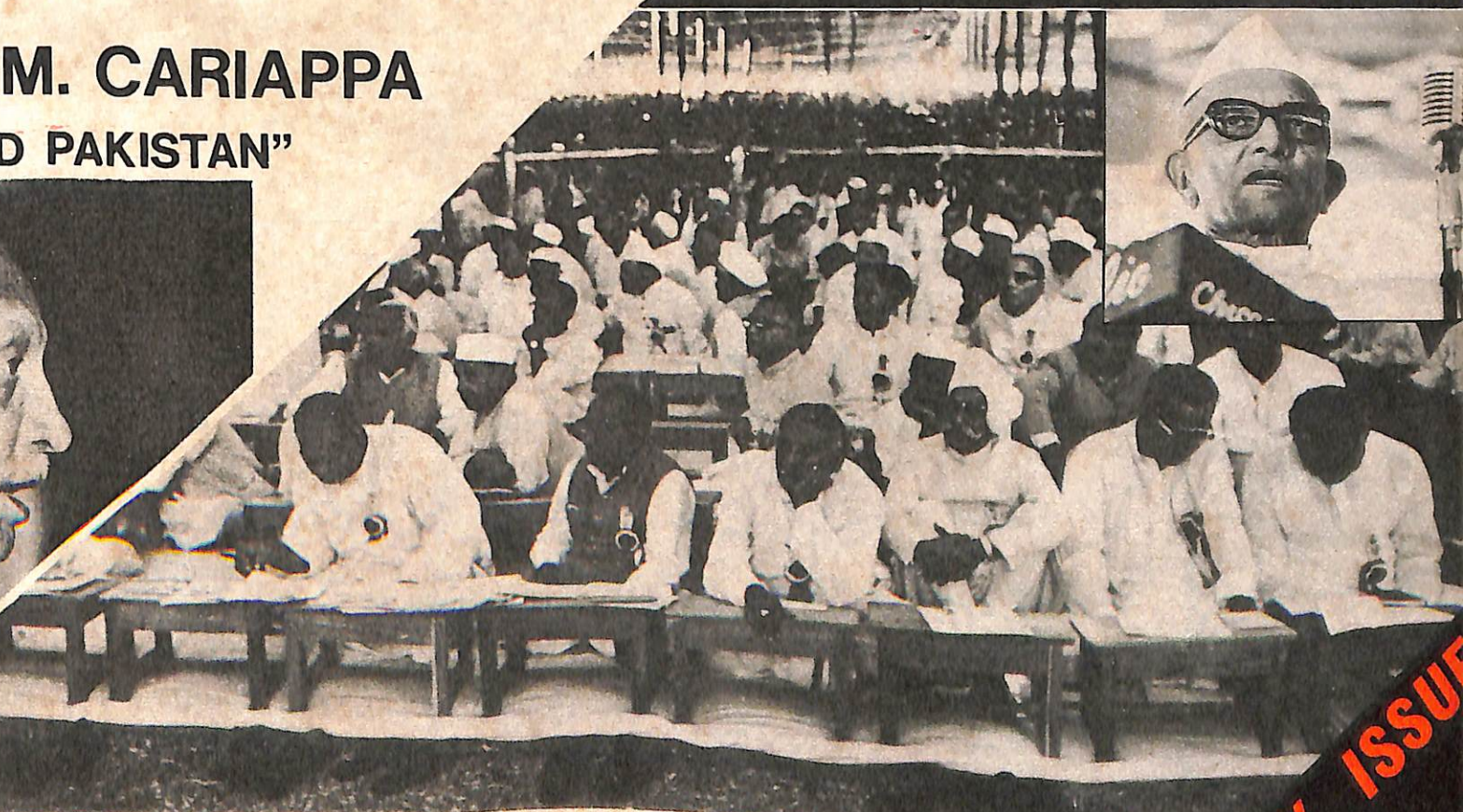
★ **J. B. KRIPALANI, MP**
"AFTER INDEPENDENCE"



HOW
MORARJI
PREVAILED
AT JABALPUR

by ANTENNA

Gen. K. M. CARIAPPA
"INDIA AND PAKISTAN"



EDWARD
CRANKSHAW

SOVIET RUSSIA IN ASIA

ANNIVERSARY ISSUE
4th

HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

BOMBAY FRIDAY NOVEMBER 3, 1967

No trimming of our sails

WITH THIS ISSUE HIMMAT enters its fourth year. HIMMAT was born to interpret faithfully events and above all wrestle to change things that are wrong in this world. "Truth will be its aim and fear and tyranny its foes," we then said.

The last three years HIMMAT has commented boldly and freely, whether its views be popular or not. We have not trimmed our sails to the prevailing winds nor have we yielded to the dictates of men however high or mighty.

In the last months we have fought for the English language to remain one of the great uniting factors of this country. We have opposed the dehumanising of men by sterilisation. Our outspoken comments on the Arab-Israel war have evoked appreciation from many quarters.

On some issues HIMMAT has pioneered fresh thinking and met with a measure of success. In our first number we called on India to turn her face to the East, to Japan and Australia, hoping the three countries could pioneer a policy that would be the answer to the threat of Peking. Two months ago, Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai expressed the same need.

During the height of the Indo-Pakistan war, HIMMAT maintained that the test for Indian statesmanship lay in the two countries working together. HIMMAT then was one of the very few voices. Four months later all papers started singing the praises of Tashkent. The two countries have drifted apart again but the pursuit of peace with our neighbour continues to be the policy of this paper so that the burden of the arms race is lifted from our peoples and the two countries can enjoy the fruits of economic collaboration. General Cariappa, who has just returned from a visit there, writes this week on "India and Pakistan".

Our responsibility is to leaders and ordinary men and women in this country and 65 other lands who read and value HIMMAT. As we enter the fourth year we want to thank them all.

Victory of common sense

THE ALCIERS conference of developing nations had a bad start but promising conclusion.

Squabbles over the admission of South Korea

and South Vietnam were resolved, following the intervention of Mr Raoul Prebisch, Argentine secretary of the conference, by the departure of the South Vietnamese and inclusion of the Koreans. The conference then got down to business, intended as a curtain-raiser for the New Delhi conference on Trade and Development in four months' time.

The essential theme of the "Algiers Charter" adopted by the delegates was the "convergence" of interests between industrialised and developing countries. It denied that conflict between rich and poor nations was inevitable, and called for "an accelerated economic development which is recognised universally as being of equal interest to developing and developed countries alike".

While urging industrialised countries to ease conditions of trade and step up aid, the Charter also recognised that developing countries have the primary responsibility for their own progress.

The Charter, which calls for the creation of "a new and just world economic order", is directly contrary to the Maoist philosophy of "confrontation" between undeveloped "villages" and industrialised "cities" of the world. It points the alternative of an orderly co-operation in the interests of all nations.

Venus—or Lucifer?

RUSSIA'S VENUS-4 and America's Mariner-5 struck a sad blow against lovers of science fiction.

Cold scientific discovery has dissolved, in a welter of statistics radioed back from Venus, the fantastic array of flora and fauna with which the glowing imaginations of a Wells or Burroughs peopled the solar system.

Vanished too are dreams that Venus or some other planet might be scene of a Paradise to which Man might one day flit; away from his own battered environment.

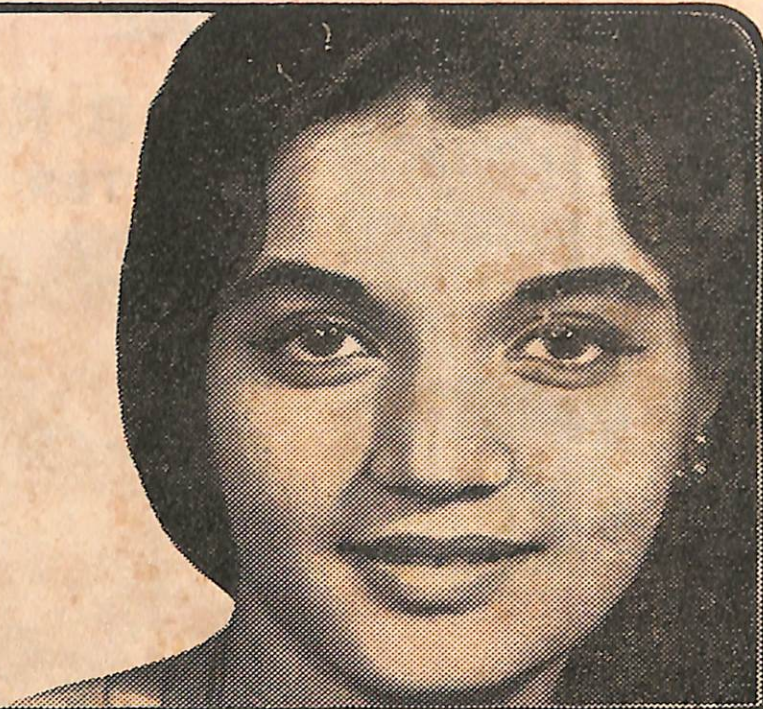
According to an American expert, Dr Van R. Eshleman of Stanford, Venus is nothing but a "hell hole". Its temperature is too hot, its atmosphere too poisonous for human life. Light on the planet curves, so a visitor would "appear always to be looking up from the bottom of a hole". The ancients aptly named the planet "Lucifer" says Dr Eshleman.

It's all very scientific and down-to-earth—yet it seems rather a shame. Maybe, despite mankind's inquisitiveness, on some remoter satellite lurk those long-legged beasts, super-human intelligences, Gardens of Eden and mountains of precious stones that entrance our more way-out writers and their fans.

*There are more things in Heaven and Earth,
Horatio,*

Than are dreamt of in your philosophy... wrote Shakespeare. And that goes for us too, computers, space-probes and tape-recorded data notwithstanding!

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AFGHAN SNOW BEAUTY AIDS

E. S. PATANWALA BOMBAY-77 (INDIA)



Briefly speaking...

English winning

WHILE INDIA is in danger of losing its use of English, in other countries the English language is being used more and more. Or so it would appear from a report recently issued by the UN Secretary General.

U Thant reveals that a survey carried out in 85 countries indicated that English is taught as a compulsory subject in 40. The only other language with a wide application is French which is taught as a compulsory language in only 20 countries. In the UN departments, of 37,000 translations made, over 3,000 were from English. The next highest, both slightly under 5000, were from French and Russian.

U Thant also pointed out that "of

the staff whose mother tongue is neither English nor French, the overwhelming majority work in English".

Need we say more?

Indian punctuality

A NAFEN report throws a couple of well-earned garlands in India's direction. BOAC have a "punctuality league" for international airports. This year New Delhi heads Division One (for stations with a high annual departure rate), pulling up from 8th position last year. Division Two (for stations with a medium annual departure rate) is headed by Calcutta which was previously in 15th position.

Congratulations to the Department of Civil Aviation!

Acceptogram

AS THIS IS the week when all our founder-subscribers should be renewing their subscriptions we thought it a good moment to refer to the communication sent us by Reader Gandheker in Tambaram. Obviously amused by HIMMAT's customary "REMINDERGRAM"—the telegram styled renewal reminder our subscription department sends to subscribers—Dr Gandheker sent his renewal cheque with a form headed: "ACCEPTOGRAM". The pithy text read: "THANKS REMINDERGRAM STOP SUBSCRIPTION RENEWED STOP CHEQUE SENT signed GANDHEKER".

We trust that Dr Gandheker's originality will encourage all those readers who have not yet acted on their REMINDERGRAM.

Good sense in Jakarta

ANOTHER SIGN that fresh policies are being adopted by Indonesia's economic planners can be seen in the recent announcement that an agreement has been signed in Jakarta on private US investment of \$2000 million.

It seems strange now to recall

A politician is a person with whose politics you don't agree; if you agree with him he is a statesman.

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, 1863-1945

that ex-President Sukarno's attitude to life-giving foreign investment used to be, "To hell with it." The economic hell he created will need a lot of foreign capital to undo.

Birbal

Authors of note

THIS WEEK as HIMMAT enters its fourth year, distinguished contributions have come in from Acharya J. B. Kripalani, Mr Jayaprakash Narayan, General K. M. Cariappa, and Edward Crankshaw.

ACHARYA KRIPALANI is one of the few great figures of the Independence movement still with us. After 20 years of freedom he still sits in Parliament, the father of the House. At the time of Independence he was elected President of the Congress Party. In the early 'fifties he was among the first to leave the Congress and can be credited with starting more political parties than any other figure in India.

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN is a pioneer of the Socialist movement. In the early 'fifties he left politics and devoted himself to Sarvodaya work with Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

GENERAL K. M. CARIAPPA became the first Indian Commander-in-Chief after Independence. Later High Commissioner to Australia, he is now President of the All-India Council of Sports. A soldier, he is a ceaseless campaigner for goodwill between India and Pakistan. He has just returned from a visit to Pakistan where he met President Ayub Khan.

EDWARD CRANKSHAW is one of the world's best-known authorities on Communism. Author and a regular contributor to *The Observer*, London, he is known for his incisive, well-informed articles. He has contributed an exclusive article for HIMMAT on "Soviet Russia and Asia" on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Russian revolution.



from the Capital

Morarji prevails at Jabalpur

by ANTENNA

JABALPUR The tumult and the shouting expected at the two-day session of the All-India Congress Committee here last weekend failed to materialise. The contingent of newspapermen who had descended on this city from all parts of the country looking for good copy in the anticipated clash of words between the "true socialists" and the false ones went back disappointed, even a hasty visit to the Marble Rocks on the Narmada failing to compensate them for their wasted time and effort.

To their intense chagrin, the advocates of bank nationalisation and the immediate abolition of privy purses surrendered tamely to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai at the closed-door session of the Working Committee on Friday morning. In fact, after a few preliminary objections, the committee dutifully rubber-stamped the decisions of the Cabinet on measures to exercise more rigid control of the banks, negotiations with the princes on privy purses and other privileges and nationalisation of general insurance.

What followed at the proceedings in the AICC pandal on Saturday was a feeble squeak of protest instead of a fearful, shattering atomic blast. So much for Congress radicalism. When it came to a showdown, the eager young-old men in a hurry to usher in Socialism showed they were nothing more than newspaper tigers, inflated to giant proportions through the verbal jugglery of friendly-scribes working for "progressive" journals and weeklies.

As a cynical veteran journalist put it, their thirst for socialism could be quenched with the offer of a post of Minister of State in the Union Cabinet.

Shock for the radicals

The radicals did not seem to have recovered from the shock they received a few days earlier in Delhi from the "betrayal" of Socialism by Mr S. N. Mishra. Mr Mishra, a former Minister and a pronounced adherent of what passes for radicalism in the Congress ranks, had advocated going slow on bank nationalisation and exhibited his preference for

social control, which the Cabinet also decided on at its last meeting in Delhi on October 25.

It is learnt that at this meeting the nationalists put up a last-ditch struggle for the acceptance of the course they advocated, but they finally came round to the views of Mrs Gandhi and Mr Desai. Among the advocates of nationalising the banks were Mr Y. B. Chavan, Mr Jagjivan Ram, Mr Dinesh Singh and Mr Swaran Singh.

Taken as a whole, the decisions of the Government and the Working Committee, later endorsed by the AICC, on nationalisation and privy purses represent a political defeat for Mr Chavan, according to informed newspapermen at Congress



Nagar here. The inspirer of both these moves in their embryonic stage last June was Mr Chavan, they say, and it is clear from the trend of events in the last few days that the more mode-

continued on next page

On your toes

WILL BURMA SMILE?

FRIENDS OF BURMA detect a slight shift in the present military regime's attitude to democratic opposition. In the last three months over a thousand detenus have been released, including the former President of the Union, U Win Maung.

U Nu, Burma's best-known post-independence leader and Prime Minister, was released just over a year ago with his political colleague U Ba Swe. The detention of these men after the 1962 coup cast a shadow over what was always known as the land of smiling people.

The release of U Nu, however, did not presage the hoped-for relaxation in Government control. Some saw in the extensive nationalisation of all domestic and foreign trade, the press and education, the long hand of Peking.

Perhaps the saddest aspect has been the systematic severance of normal connections with the outside world. The travel of private citizens abroad was stopped. Few foreigners could enter what became the most sealed-off nation in the world.

Is this changing? Two developments offer hope.

Ne Win's colonels found that growing rice, trading in commodities and stimulating the economy involved more than barrack square commands. Reports indicate widespread graft and incompetence in the State-run People's Shops.

Secondly, the overspill of Peking's Cultural Revolution has shaken Burma. Following anti-Chinese riots in Rangoon and other cities, the Burmese began to veer out of Peking's orbit.

The developing countries of Asia need Burma — her rice and minerals and above all her once gay and cheerful people. Apart from China, there is no evidence that any nation wishes to interfere with Burma's affairs.

The moment has come for General Ne Win to release Burma from her hermitage and, without fear, lead her out into the community of South Asian nations. The squabbling politicians may have irked him but a dictator-successor could be worse. And without some measure of democracy the General can never be sure who his successor will be.

Freebooter

CHALTA HAI...



"The PM says this time we must get to the root of the problems."

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BIG SHOT

VERDICT!

his week HIMMAT...

BOOTS its whistle at news of the Asian Railway Project steaming a step further with the setting up of an ECAFE survey.

★
WELCOMES the inauguration on November 1 of a telex connection between India and Ceylon, and HOPES for the establishment of many more such neighbourly links.

★
COMMENDS Tamilnad Chief Minister Annadurai for saying "thank you" to the US for its "massive aid" to India's economic development.

★
HELLS rats in abundance over the report that there are five or ten rodents to every Bombayite.

★
IRKED by Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi's reported statement that present sufferings of the people were inevitable because of Government's stupendous construction programme, and OBSERVES that present suffering is largely due to stupendous Government blundering, not construction.

★
PRAISES the sharpness of a Calcutta razor-blade-making firm which has just set up a factory in Kenya in record time.

★
PRAISES its appetite stimulated by the assessment of the "Far East Economic Review" that "other things being equal, India should achieve self-sufficiency in food supplies by 1970."

★
HELLS attention of the Tourist Ministry to Pakistan's abolishing visas for tourists visiting the country for 30 days or less.

★
CONSIDERS the Railways Ministry optimistic in trying to reduce ticketless travel by students through lectures in schools.

★
CRITICIZES the Government for its carelessness in paying its bills, as a recent FICCI survey on measures to fight recession points out.

ANTENNA—from page 5

rate views of Mr Desai have prevailed with the Cabinet and the Party.

Observers are hesitant to say categorically that Mr Chavan's chances of succeeding Mrs Gandhi as Prime Minister are completely washed out, but they readily admit that they have become slimmer than before.

The keynote speech at the first session of the AICC here on Saturday morning was delivered by Mr Desai, who immediately followed Mrs Gandhi. While the Prime Minister spun out vague generalities about bettering the lot of the common man and so on and so forth, Mr Desai spelt out clearly the implications of the new social control policy for banks the Government had decided on.

In the course of his speech, which was followed with the closest attention by the press gallery and foreign diplomats from Delhi, he took pains to explain his own Socialist tenets, which differ from those of his radical party colleagues and approximate to the kind of Socialism practised in the Scandinavian countries.

Why was the session called?

After Mr Desai's speech, all interest in the session died out, and delegates were heard wondering loudly why the session had been called at all. They said the Government could have announced its decisions on the banks and purses and insurance in Delhi in the normal way and saved them the bother of coming to Jabalpur.

If the session itself was of little interest, the intensive lobbying behind the scenes in connection with the Congress presidentship was most absorbing. A good part of Saturday and all of Sunday was devoted by delegates and keen supporters of Mr Kamaraj and Mrs Gandhi to back-room talks, and many were the rumours that thickened the atmosphere around Jabalpur University campus, where the session was held.

One point clearly emerged from all these activities—that the rift between Mrs Gandhi and Mr Kamaraj is unbridgeable and that Mrs Gandhi does not want him to continue as party chief when the matter comes up for decision on December 15.

While the adherents of Mr Kamaraj went around Congress Nagar, making it known to all and sundry that their hero was prepared to stand again provided he was the Party's unanimous choice, Mrs Gandhi's stalwarts were busy whispering that the time had come for a change of leader if the Congress is to be saved from the ruin it is heading for.

Among the latest of Mr Kamaraj's heinous sins is his "sabotage" of the



Mr S. K. Patil

plan evolved by Mr Gulzari Lal Nanda, reportedly with Mrs Gandhi's approval, to dissolve the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee and install an *ad hoc* body instead. This plan would have yielded two results: it would have put finish to Mr Atulya Ghosh's career as a Congress boss and robbed Mr Kamaraj of a powerful supporter.

Among the names mentioned by Mrs Gandhi's lieutenants as possible successors to Mr Kamaraj are Mr U. N. Dhebar, Mr Nanda, Dr Ram Subhag Singh, Mr Mohan Lal Sukhadia, and Mr S. K. Patil. Mr Nanda seems to have little chance of success, while on the other hand Mr Patil's prospects seem quite bright at the moment, as do Dr Ram Subhag Singh's and Mr Dhebar's.

Two birds

Mr Patil's election as president has a double advantage to Mrs Gandhi, as it would enable her to kill two birds with one stone. It would displace Mr Kamaraj from the Party's driving seat and further weaken Mr Chavan, between Mr Patil and whom there is no love lost.

Alternatively, if a strong body of opinion cannot be found to back one of the rival candidates to Mr Kamaraj, it is understood that Mrs Gandhi may herself assume the presidentship of the party.

Tailpiece: Newsmen who accompanied Mr Kamaraj from Delhi to Jabalpur in a special coach named it the Asthi (funeral) Special.

Changing India begins with yourself

BY JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

THE WAY the whole nation rallied to save Bihar from effects of the famine is a good example of national integration. All of us forgot our differences and pitched in. Bihar has been saved. It is a fact that we all can be proud of.

I asked myself why is it that we wake up only when there is a great difficulty and spend the rest of the time in our differences. And then we expect the Prime Minister, Mrs Gandhi, or the Chief Minister of a state to solve all our problems.

We, too, are born out of the earth of this country and will go back to it. We have a part in the making of India. For centuries we didn't learn how to rule because of the waves of invasion this country suffered. Now we are no longer slaves but the slave mentality remains in us. We are not behaving as a free people could and should behave.

Uprooted generation

English today unites a few people and we call it the nation's unity. What did unite the culture and spirit of India over the years? Where did her soul and her strength lie? It lay in the organisation of its villages, its democratic system of government with *Panchayats*. Sometimes in the early days villages would either defend themselves or even a group of villages would get together to defend themselves against a common enemy. This was the root and the strength that kept India one entity.

With the coming of British rule this strength of the nation was broken. We now have a generation of uprooted people. When people around the world want to search for something distinctive about India, they go to the Embassies and ask, "What is *Gramdan* or *Bhoodan*?" And do you know what our Embassy people tell these visitors? That they don't know!

The world wants to know what is the typically Indian action that we are taking. Something new must happen in the India of Gandhi. I don't mean the quarrels in which we specialise. What the world wants to see in India is a collective will and

a collective effort, for with it, in 20 years we could have made tremendous strides. It is a revolution we want—how to change this whole society radically.

The other day a man came to me and said he wanted to open a college in Ranchi for arts and science to be named after the late Dr Lohia. I told him, "For God's sake, if you want to honour Lohia's memory have a school that teaches practical work and techniques to people of farming or how to handle machinery of some kind." There is no point in thousands of people going in for getting BA degrees, getting frustrated if they don't get jobs and then creating trouble for everybody.

A Japanese friend of mine and I travelled a hundred miles from my Ashram in Bihar to Patna. On the way we stopped at a village well for a drink of water. After that we started moving again in the jeep. My Japanese friend commented: "JP, your country is not poor. I have been looking at both sides of the road. I see nice houses mud-thatched, some of brick, I see wells and I see fields. But what surprises me is that most of the people I see are either sitting under a tree, smoking, loitering or relaxing. Why is that?"

I replied that many of them have no employment. My Japanese friend replied, "But there is so much to do if they want to. Why, that well from which we just drank water had its walls broken. Dirty water was seeping into it from outside. Surely the villagers could get together and repair it."

My friend was right. There is an air of irresponsibility that believes that because we have delegated power to a Prime Minister or a legislature or the Government it is they who should come and do everything. Our whole philosophy is wrong.



Jayaprakash Narayan

This is where Gandhiji's thinking was relevant: that every day every single person should do some physical work. If people came into his Ashram one of the first things they did was to clean the latrines.

In today's India we have forgotten how to work together. When collectively we could have tremendous strength we busy ourselves by cutting down each other. What can be done about this?

We do not have character. If we cannot distinguish between what is right and what is wrong the country cannot advance much. The country cannot do without politics but we need the politics that builds and not destroys. Where does the *shakti* (force) of unity lie in the nation?

Moral development should be spearheaded by our political leaders. The main reason for a moral degradation is because of the way we run our politics. We are thoroughly unscrupulous in crossing floors and every other method of politics. It is ridiculous that Bengal Ministers should think of offering "dharna" outside the Prime Minister's house. Yet in this country the politician is always first—along with film actors. We always give the politician an importance out of all proportion.

In a society where politicians happen to be given such importance it is natural that when our politics fall so low it adversely affects the entire nation. This results in frustration. People say if our political leaders can do that, why should not we?

Politics — slavish attitude

Many people wrote to me after Dr Lohia's death that I should return to politics. It is a slavish attitude. Politicians will not salvage this nation. The Congress could not do it. Now the Opposition cannot either. The only State where politicians seem to be doing well is Madras where the DMK has complete power. But if there was a United Front in Madras as there is in Bengal it would end up the same way. In Bengal today no one has security of life, property or reputation. I

continued on next page

If we don't get it we abuse them. If we get it, we in turn advise them.

We are in grave danger of disintegration.

One communal upheaval has resulted in India being split and another such upheaval will mean further fragmentation. And will we still insist on our little projects like Sikhistan?

The other great danger of India is corruption. People ask how will corruption end? My reply is, "Begin with yourself." Charity begins at

home. If each one of us is honest in his business or his job, he can contribute to changing India. It is not enough to say that because some others are not doing enough work we also should avoid work. Our spirit should be that we will produce whatever we can. People ask today that their dearness allowance should be increased. But is anyone asking himself the question "how much more will be produced as a result?"

Gandhiji said a man gets his rights by fulfilling his duties. God took away Gandhiji when we needed him most. He was going to take revolutionary steps that would have changed this nation. In most revolutions of the world the men who have led the revolution have controlled the power, but when independence came to India, Gandhiji did not take power. He wanted to show the nation another way.

Gandhi knew the pulse of the nation. He used to say, "The difference between Jawaharlal Nehru and me is that he wants to drive off the British but keep the British mentality. I am willing to keep the British but I want to get the mentality out." He wanted the winds of all the world to blow into our house. But he wanted the foundation to be Indian.

Democracy can survive

If you look around us, in how many lands has democracy survived? To our east are Malaysia and Japan, to our south is Ceylon and on our west there is very little of it save Israel. In no country of Africa is there real democracy. Yet democracy has survived in India for 20 years and we have held four general elections. If we had got freedom by a handful of people staging a violent revolution, freedom would not have survived in this country. Because ours was a mass movement of the people, democracy has survived. But it will not survive for long if citizens do not understand their responsibility. Political power is delegated to a few elected representatives but all the residuary power remains with the people. If only we understood our duty and went on the right path and worked unitedly with like-minded people we could achieve a great deal.

If we work only for ourselves there will be quarrels but when we sacrifice for others we shall begin to find unity. Each can start with himself.

The Soviet Union and Asia

BY EDWARD CRANKSHAW

A GREAT DEAL of the Soviet Union itself is, of course, part of Asia; not only peripheral republics of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, etc., but also the whole of Siberia. Nevertheless, the Soviet leadership thinks of itself as the government of a European power and, until very recently, the Central Asian Republics were regarded by the Great Russians as colonial regions.

The successive phases in the development of the Soviet Union's general attitude towards Asia have been confused by the existence of different governmental and social systems in the great Asian lands; but, beneath the surface confusion, they have moved in step with the development of its general attitude towards the world as a whole and towards international communism in particular.

In Lenin's day virtually the whole of Asia outside China and Japan existed under direct colonial rule, whether British, French, Dutch, or Portuguese. China, exploited by European powers, was heading for revolution of one kind or another. Only Japan was a truly independent power, owing her strength to her swift assimilation of the methods of skills of Western capitalism.

Lenin was convinced that the inevitable revolt of Asia against West-

ern imperialism would mark a supremely important stage in the drive towards world revolution. Great efforts were made in the early days of the Soviet regime to stimulate communist revolution in China. But soon Stalin came to think in terms of a more or less stable China dominated by Chiang Kai-Shek as a counter-poise to Japan.

Under the general head of "Socialism in One Country" Stalin postponed the drive to world revolution in the inter-

est of the security of the Soviet Union as a power, to be achieved first through the headlong industrialisation of the country to the point at which it could equip and support a powerful army and air force. To this end he sacrificed the Chinese Communists without a qualm, as he was also to sacrifice the German Communists and others.

This did not prevent the Comintern from intriguing to nurture Communist parties in all countries where this seemed worthwhile and to foster rebellion against all established governments everywhere. It did mean, however, that Soviet strength and security came first. Under Stalin, until the end of the Second World War, Communist activity in Asia, as elsewhere, was on the whole weak, directed more to rousing sympathy for the Soviet Union and embarrassing anti-Soviet policies on the part of the imperialist powers than to fomenting revolution.

After the defeat of Germany and Japan the emphasis changed, and it was this change of emphasis—not of direction—which led the statesmen of the Western powers, as well as many others, to the erroneous conclusion, fraught with dire consequences, that Stalin had resumed the drive to world revolution. In fact the Soviet Union, its strength and security, still came

first. Far from encouraging revolution in China after the defeat of Japan, Stalin looted Manchuria. His troops were legitimately all over eastern and central Europe as far as Berlin and Vienna—and there they stayed for the main purpose of establishing puppet governments under Moscow's control. This combined military and police action in the interests of Soviet security, carried out in a characteristically brutal manner, was dignified by the Leninist tag about exploiting the revolutionary situation. But the only European country which had carried out a communist revolution of its own, Yugoslavia, soon broke away from the satellite ring and could not be subdued by Stalin without a major war.

Certainly for a period the Russians exploited the large Communist parties in Italy and France. Certainly Stalin had hopes of the Communists in West Germany and in Australia. But it was soon clear enough that he was not interested in world revolution as the way to international brotherhood but, rather, in using the Communist ideology as a stalking-horse for Russian imperialism. On the one hand neighbouring small countries were to be ruled from Moscow under the cover of the Red Flag; on the other, indigenous Communist parties were to be encouraged to spread disaffection everywhere in order to weaken the power of hostile or potentially hostile governments.

Stalin's strategy

Where Moscow could, for geographical reasons, ensure that a neighbouring country would not become actively anti-Soviet (e.g. Finland), she allowed it to keep a non-Communist government. Where a country with a Communist government was able to defy Russian commands (e.g. Yugoslavia) she denounced the leadership for heresy.

At no time did Stalin push revolutionary ideas far in any country which the Soviet army and police might have trouble in controlling. Because he knew he could not control a Com-

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Joseph Stalin

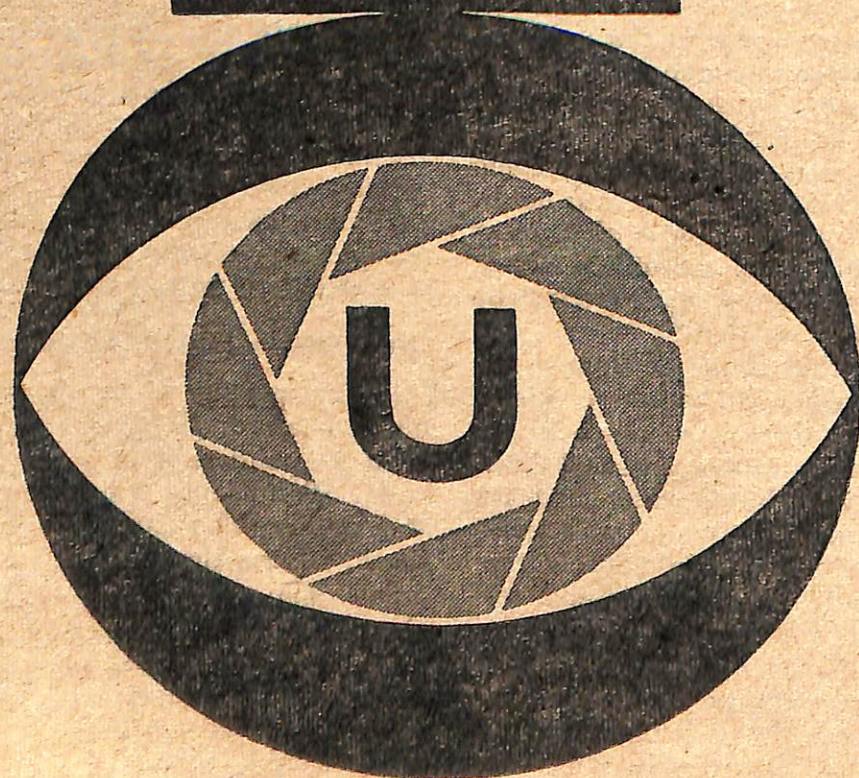
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SAY THAT AGAIN...

The propagators of Hindi do not take their linguistic function seriously. They treat even their own language cavalierly.

NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

Unfortunately our leaders are busy deciding the brand of fertilisers and not their production—whether they should be Communist or capitalist fertilisers.

Maharashtra Chief Minister
V. P. NAIK

I am not an expert on toppling Ministries.

H. H. RAJMATA of Gwalior

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SOVIET UNION—from page 9

munist China he actively discouraged Mao Tse-tung from trying to carry through his revolution. He was affronted when that revolution took place. His instinct and his reasoning were correct—although this was concealed for some time by China's absolute dependence on the Soviet Union and by American insistence that the Soviet Union and China were and must be inseparable allies, and thus an overwhelming threat to the world at large.

The only break in the European pattern, a break more apparent than real, was in Czechoslovakia. There the Russians had no military lines of communication to keep open legitimately between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Berlin and Vienna on the other; so to bring Czechoslovakia into the satellite ring, the

defensive glacts (Stalin was then not thinking in terms of atom bombs), he had to stage a *putsch*, through the Czechoslovak Communists. The only break in the Asian pattern was the Korean war. This again was more apparent than real: the Americans appeared to have disinterested themselves in S. Korea, and Stalin saw nothing against the N. Koreans, Communists, moving into S. Korea. He felt strong and close enough to Korea to control any Communist government of the whole country, and a Communist Korea, dependent on the Soviet Union, would have been a useful base in case of trouble with Japan and also a standing threat to Manchuria and cover for Vladivostok when the day came, as Stalin must have known it would come, for China to assert her independence of Moscow.

Limited thinking on Asia

This, as far as can be seen, marked the limits of Stalin's active thinking about Asia. It never seems to have occurred to him that with the crumbling of Western imperialism, above all the British withdrawal from India, a vast new area was being opened up, neutral in principle between the West and the Soviet Union, inclined instinctively to sympathise with the Soviet Union if it showed any signs of living up to its professed principles. Possibly Stalin was incapable of believing that the imperial powers, again especially Britain, really had withdrawn—such a procedure being so wholly foreign to his own nature; alternatively, it could only be a matter of time before the United States moved in.

Be that as it may, to the end of his life he insisted on treating Nehru as a disguised agent of British imperialism. It was left to Khrushchev to see and exploit the great possibilities opened up by various shades of Asian neutralism. Stalin's slogan had been "He who is not for me is against me"; Khrushchev amended this to read: "He who is against Western imperialism is my friend."

And so opened the era of direct Soviet involvement in Asian affairs.

NEXT WEEK

Mr Crankshaw analyses the policies of Khrushchev and Kosygin in Asia.

India and Pakistan

BY GENERAL K. M. CARIAPPA

IN AUGUST 1947 two sovereign independent countries—India and Pakistan—were born out of the old India. These two countries came into being as a result of the agreement arrived at between the leaders of the Muslim and non-Muslim communities in pre-partition days who mutually and solemnly agreed to have these two separate entities.

So we of today both in India and in Pakistan have got to accept these solemn agreements and pledges, as binding and final for us, to ensure that we respect the sovereignty of each of these countries and wish each other well.

It is in this spirit that I have been frequently visiting Pakistan since 1958 on a one-man goodwill mission entirely on my own except on the last occasion early this month when two of us went—myself and Shri C. C. Desai, who was at one time High Commissioner for India in Ceylon and later in Pakistan and is today a Member of Parliament—to have frank, informal talks with our old colleagues there, to find a formula for our two countries to exist alongside each other as good neighbours.

Happiness for 640 million

The population of India is increasing alarmingly and rapidly. It is today, I believe, nearly 520 million. In Pakistan there is a similar population explosion. Pakistan's population today is said to be about 120 million. So, it is the sacred duty of every one of us in both countries to whom God has given opportunities to serve our countries in various vocations to see that we individually and collectively do everything we can to work for economic prosperity, happiness and peace for these 640 million people of this vast sub-continent, India-Pakistan.

We are both inheritors of great legacies. Our histories are bristling with a very impressive past. Our respective culture, civilisation, philosophy, art are all supreme. The economic, industrial and manpower potentialities of India and Pakistan are very great.

On both sides of our frontiers there are still vast numbers of men and women who have friends and relatives on the other side to talk to and to write to as of old.

Since the gaining of independence by India and Pakistan, some millions of children have been born in both countries. Quite a large number of them are today graduates of our respective universities. In the next 10 to 20 years, many, many important offices will be held by these young men and women. They have not yet met each other in a friendly atmosphere as we of old had the opportunity to meet.

Today it is very saddening to see these innocent youth and children growing up in an atmosphere of unfriendliness and hatred for each other. We have a duty to them to see that we create a climate today for them so that they can meet each other as good friends and cultivate a friendship and understanding which will help them in later years when they hold responsible jobs in our two countries.

We should not allow distrust in each other. To permit our sons and daughters to go across the borders to meet their opposite numbers in schools and colleges, on playing fields, in their homes and at such places to sow the seed of fellowship and understanding which will inevitably germinate to produce good blossom and fruit of understanding and friendship when they become full-fledged citizens of their respective lands in years to come, is a MUST for us both.

On both sides we must fight tooth and nail against the ill effect of the communal virus which is entering into the hearts of our two countries. This is our enemy No. 1. I beg the press—in India and in Pakistan—to

help KILL this abominable 'virus'—by NOT writing exaggerated reports of communal disturbances in either country. The press will also prosper if both countries are good friends. Exaggerated press reports fan the fire of communal hatred.

My many visits to Pakistan, particularly this last one with my distinguished friend Shri C. C. Desai, have convinced me that the present unfortunate misunderstanding between our two countries is due to our not meeting each other as frequently as we ought to.

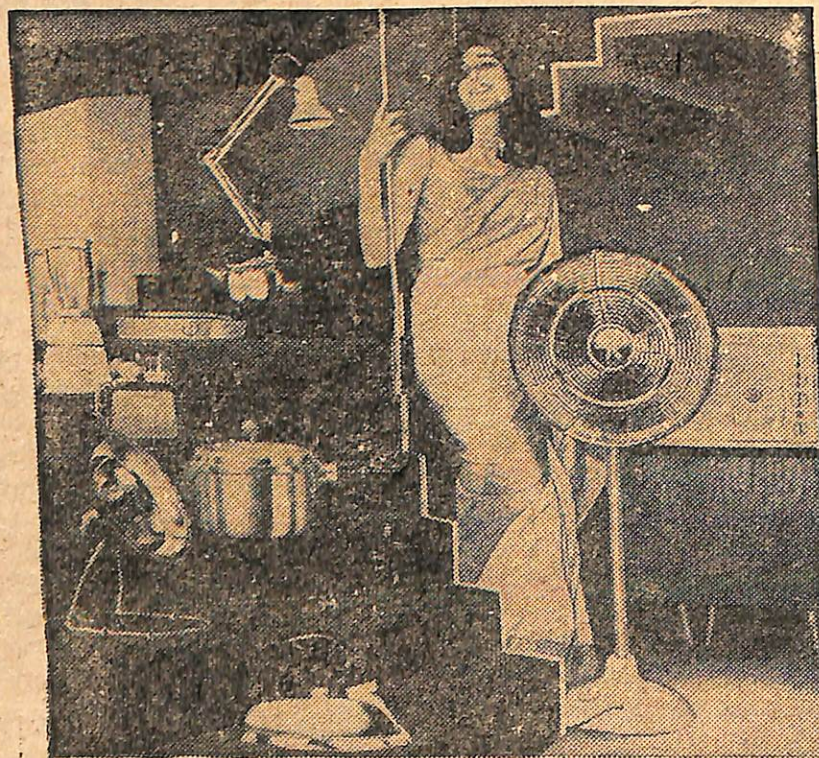
People here in India seem to think that Pakistan is lagging behind frightfully in regard to her development, although she is making great progress all round—and those in Pakistan do not seem to be aware that India's Five Year Plans are forging ahead successfully.

I know we have the major threat from China and unfortunately we have to be prepared to meet any unforeseen and unhappy incidents between our country and Pakistan and indeed Pakistan has to be likewise prepared against us. This is under-

continued on next page



General Cariappa



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standable. But, if both countries could agree to shake hands tomorrow, our financial commitments for defence could be cut down considerably in realistic proportions to our respective defence problems. The money so saved can be used more usefully and more correctly for the welfare of the millions in our two countries.

The industrialists on both sides will be happy. Educationists will indeed welcome this shaking of hands because then they can have exchange of students and teachers to further the cause of education in both countries. Tourism and trade will receive a terrific boost for the joy of the exchequers in the two countries.

Give more, take less

Empires have come and empires have gone, governments come and go, but the people will remain for ever. India and Pakistan will certainly exist as India and Pakistan, as two great countries in the world, if tomorrow we both agree to settle all

our disputes by friendly negotiations with a spirit of give more and take less, forgetting the past and with love and trust for each other. Let us both not continue to be childish.

I make a special appeal to all the anti-social elements both in India and in Pakistan, and others who spread communal hatred, to please think of the future, think of our existence as free independent countries and desist from indulging in any act which may create increasing misunderstanding and hatred between our two countries. If we delay in our becoming good friends, others much stronger than us both may be tempted to "fish in our troubled waters", and perhaps the chances of our remaining as two sovereign independent countries may be seriously threatened. No true Indian and no true Pakistani would ever want this.

In this context the following extract from a paper written by the President of Pakistan in 1960 is most revealing and apt. He said:

"As a student of war and strategy, I can see quite clearly the inexorable push of the North in the direction of the warm waters of the

Indian Ocean. This push is bound to increase if India and Pakistan go on squabbling with each other. If, on the other hand, we resolve our problems and disengage our armed forces from facing inwards as they had to do and we face them outwards, I feel we shall have a good chance of preventing a recurrence of the history of the past which was that whenever this sub-continent was divided—and it was often divided—someone or other invited an outsider to step in."

Our respective religions teach us that we, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, are all children of the same God—although we worship Him in different ways. Let us keep up the greatness and the sanctity of our religions by deciding to get together as friends soon. God will be happy if we do.

The combined economic, industrial and manpower strength of the 640 million virile people of friendly India and Pakistan will be formidable and their strength will certainly help all to work for peace for mankind in a truly democratic way—and the world wants peace.

UTTAR PRADESH

Women's Federation's true colours

FROM S. K. RAU IN LUCKNOW

THE true nature of the National Federation of Indian Women came to light on the very first day of its sixth Congress held in Lucknow.

There were 14 foreign delegates and all of them came from Communist countries including Russia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Albania.

Governor B. Gopala Reddi was told that it was not a political body. Thereupon he agreed to inaugurate it.

From the very beginning the conference discussed more about political ideologies than about the problems of women. There was an all round attack on US policy in Vietnam and the Western attitude towards Suez crisis, and a call to the women of Israel to revolt against their Government.

Some of the delegates pointed out that while they did not object to the conference's digression to the political field, opportunity should be given to them to place the other side. They were over-ruled by the President and this led to a walk-out by sixteen of the delegates.

The foreign delegates talked as if they were addressing a political meeting in their own country, according to many Indian delegates. They never bothered to understand or study the problems of Indian women. Surprisingly, they were mono-

polised by a few top leaders of the Federation and were not allowed to mix with other delegates or visit the homes of Indian women. When this

suggestion was put to them, the sponsors said that the foreign delegates had not come for this purpose!

The climax came at the time of election of members to the Council of the Federation. The President announced a panel of names and said they were all elected! No nominations were called and no election took place.

"There is nothing Indian or of a Federation in it" was the cryptic comment of one delegate.



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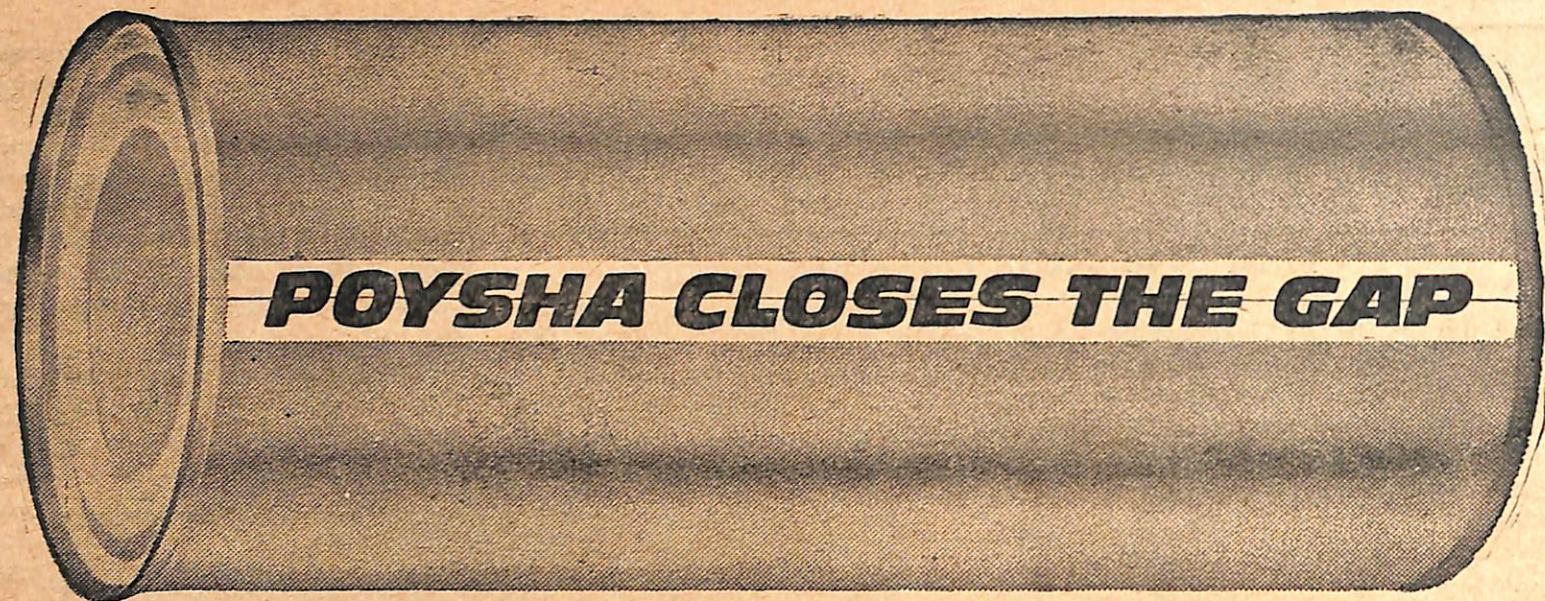


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After Independence

BY J. B. KRIPALANI, MP

OUR INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT was not designed merely to remove foreign rule. Beyond that it had political, economic, social, moral and cultural aims for the all-round development and advance of the country.

In resolution after resolution, the Congress, before independence, reiterated the fact that foreign rule had resulted in the political, economic, social, moral and cultural ruination of India. In the political field, the Congress was pledged to democracy and secularism. In the economic field, it was pledged to the establishment of social justice. In the social field, it stood and worked for Hindu-Muslim unity, the removal from among the Hindus of the pernicious system of untouchability and for equality between the sexes.

In the moral and cultural fields, it accepted Gandhiji's principles of truth and non-violence—which are the marks of real culture—the encouragement of learning through a system of national education, and the encouragement of the fine arts. Pioneer work in all these directions was carried on before independence. It was expected that this work would be extended after *Swaraj* (independence) when the representatives of the people would be entrusted with the task of governance.

"Democratic" election methods

In the political field, we have established a democracy with universal adult franchise and a secret vote. We have had four general elections. They were reasonably peaceful. But we took away from them a great deal of democratic value. We have allowed the different governments to use the influence of their office to manipulate the vote in favour of the ruling party. We have allowed the play of caste and communal forces to work in the elections. We have given free play to big money to exercise its harmful influence on the voter. Pledged to prohibition, we have allowed the use of liquor to influence the votes of certain communities used to drink. We have failed to educate

"our masters", the voters. The result is that the universal vote, granted in our Constitution, is coupled with almost universal ignorance. With all these handicaps, the electorate does sometimes bring about the defeat of important persons in the Government and the Congress. That augurs well for the future of democracy. The credit for this goes entirely to the people.

In the administrative field also there is not much improvement. The officials consider themselves, as they did under the British

rule, the masters of the people and not their servants. From time, to time, Congress ministers keep reminding their subordinates that they must realise that they are working under a democracy, where the people are the only masters. The lack of integrity and efficiency among the officials has become notorious. Letters are not promptly answered. Sometimes important letters and files have the habit of mysteriously disappearing. The bureaucracy, not equal to its administrative tasks, has been further burdened with the task of managing our industrial and commercial life, as much of it as is under the control of the Government.

In the economic field, we have decided to industrialise the country on the Western pattern through big mechanised and centralised capital industry, through the five-year plans. But the plans were neither properly made or executed. This was admitted by a former Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. In our anxiety to industrialise the country, we neglected our agriculture and consumer industries, which supply the everyday primary needs of the people. Also, whether in the government or the private sector, we failed to assign



Acharya Kripalani

priorities. Licences and permits were indiscriminately granted. Powerful industrial houses managed to get licences for industries which never started, preventing others from getting licences, and starting business. In order to finance big industry and the ever expanding administration beyond our needs, not only did we squander away our sterling balances with Britain but also went in for heavy foreign loans. We find that today we are unable to pay the yearly service charges on these loans and have to ask for a moratorium. Our imports have exceeded our exports, with the result that there is no industrial country in the world with which we have not an adverse trade balance. Even with small countries like Yugoslavia and Rumania we have an adverse balance of payment.

The result of this misconceived planning and bad execution is that we had to devalue the rupee last year. This too we did without taking the usual precautionary measures. Our exports have diminished by about 15 per cent since devaluation. We have naturally to get our imports dearer. We cannot stand in competition in the world market in spite of our cheap labour. We not only went in for heavy loans from foreign countries, but we progressively indulged in inflation. This is the worst kind of taxation that a government can impose on its people. It hits the poor badly. The result is an ever-rising spiral of prices. Also the food situation, whenever there is a failure of rains, becomes critical and there is famine in the land.

Spirit of violence

In the social field, in spite of partition of India, the communal question remains with us. The caste system, as we said, which was disappearing from our social life, has been revived in the political field, injuring our democracy. There is a spirit of violence all around. Though some women enjoy high positions, the prevalence of violence makes the free movement of women, which they enjoyed during our freedom struggle, difficult if not hazardous.

The greatest harm has been done to our moral values. Bribery, corruption, nepotism have free play in the political and administrative fields.

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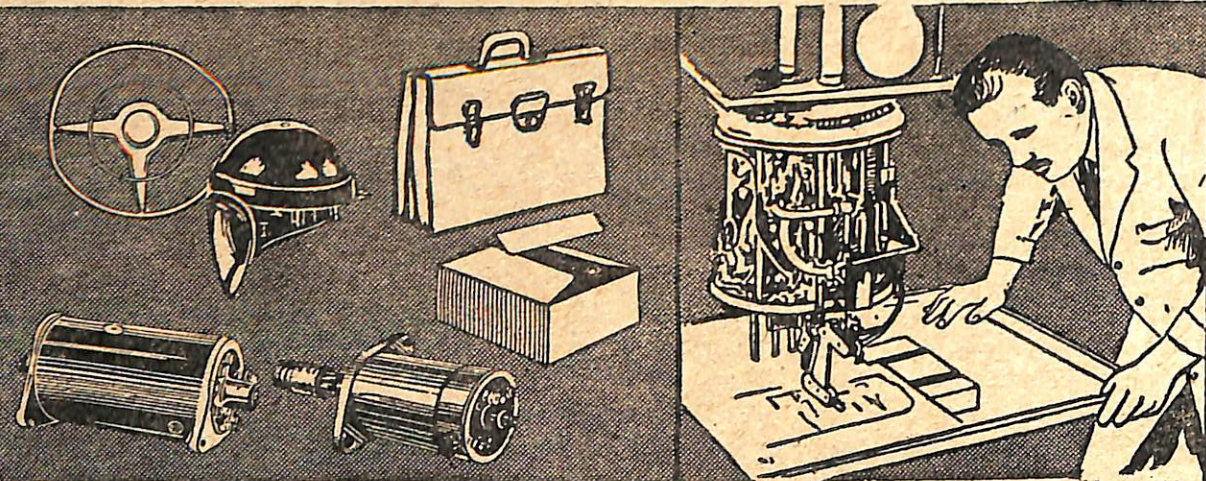
This is aggravated by the system of licences, permits and quotas. In the industrial and commercial fields, black-marketing and adulteration is widespread. It is said that in our country even poison is adulterated. Tax evasion is common. Arrears in tax payment run into crores of rupees. There is a general lack of mutual trust and confidence. How can true

culture prosper among frustrated people? There may only be a veneer of it among the newly rich.

The picture painted here does not suffer from exaggeration. It is a general topic of conversation whenever people meet in their homes, clubs, the bazars, the market places, trains and buses. The all-round deterioration cannot be compensated by the gigantic industrial and river valley schemes. It may be that their

beneficent rewards will be enjoyed by the grand-children of our grand-children. There seems to be no hope in sight in spite of the large promises ever made by the congress, or the revolutionary promises made by the new non-congress state governments. The only hope is a radical re-valuation of our values and a realistic recasting of our plans. Unless this is done, there seems little hope for the progress of our country.

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Switzerland—today and tomorrow

BY PAUL CHAUDET,
former President of the Swiss Confederation

ANYONE who attempts a diagnosis of Switzerland in 1967 finds a situation not unlike that in most countries of the world, namely a certain disorder.

There is uncertainty and nervousness in the air. Where can this stem from? It comes from the confusion that reigns in international relations with its frequent and brutal changes, and from the resulting insecurity which makes all long-range planning hazardous.

But this disorder has a positive aspect as well.

How many of our citizens have not been shaken out of their habit of living as if the most favourable conditions of life would last forever! We have started to realise the need for self-discipline which the measures against inflation have focused for us. What is true in all sectors of production, where the spirit of research and initiative needs to take the offensive again, is also true in the political arena. We get pre-occupied by the desire to come to artificial agreements between parties.

Mediocre satisfies no-one

The Swiss people are beginning to realise that a peace built on mediocre compromise satisfies neither governing nor governed. If the feeling that we must take a grip on ourselves grows and leads to a finer awareness of the values which we must safeguard, it may not signal true progress, but at least it would mean the beginning of it.

In our national life as well as in foreign affairs, alibis cannot cloak blunder and inadequacy. We need physical and moral resources, will and faith to face the great problems before us like the revision of our Federal Constitution and the question of an eventual membership of the United Nations, to mention just two of them. We shall need to act while remaining unconditionally faithful to the principles which have helped us build our country and which would give her reason and right to exist in the future.

These considerations—deliberately

outlined with some severity—about Switzerland today lead us on naturally to express what we see for the Switzerland of tomorrow.

First of all an awakening of our public spirit. The indifference shown



Paul Chaudet

by our citizens to national elections or public debates can only weaken the most genuine democracy and lead to disorder and an undermining of the authority which has sprung from the mandate of the people.

In a climate where the principle of authority finds again its rightful place, we want to see a new and serious study made of the right separation of tasks between the Confederation, the Cantons, the Communes and private enterprise. We would add to such a study a long-needed plan of action with an order of priorities and a corresponding financial programme.

We shall be forced to revise our administrative and technical set-up and its method of operation. This is because the tasks of interest to the public sector will inevitably grow as a result of population growth.

Federalism reborn

We would like to see, too, a renaissance of federalism—a term often seen in a wrong perspective. Take an example: Why do the Cantons want to remain responsible for public works for which they pay only the smallest percentage of the overall costs? At the same time, these very Cantons demand financial contributions from the Confederation to support public education where a true federalism would mean that they would retain full control of the moral, intellectual and physical training of their youth.

Finally, I want a nation that knows how to display without weakness her will to live, maintaining her armed neutrality, and preparing her military, civil, economic and psychological defence as well as demonstrating her sense of solidarity.

Although the State is neutral, it is true that you cannot prevent its citizens showing their personal reactions to certain events in the world. These citizens must, however, try not to condemn or to support openly this or that belligerent. We have no lesson to give except to show our honour. We can add to that a social policy which is adapted to the real needs of the citizens and their families, and a most active participation in international, humanitarian and technical aid programmes without racial and ideological bias towards the people to whom aid is given.

Country with a mission

May the Swiss people remain proud and jealous of their independence, faithful to the principles of their founding fathers, and anxious never to turn aside from the mission which has made our country a symbol and guardian of human liberties. On such a basis its future will be worthy of its past.

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Escaped death to work for hate-free Indonesia

"INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH!" With this slogan, Indonesian schoolboys and students displayed incredible courage in their struggle against the Dutch. One of the fighters in the famous 17th Brigade, composed of students, was Ario Pireno.

For four years he interrupted his education to wage war in the Central Java jungles. Towards the end of the struggle he was captured and would have been executed if the cease-fire which preceded independence had not intervened.

Mr Pireno became President of Indonesia's 4.5-million-strong youth front. He was Vice Chairman of the Liberation Front for West Irian. Though years passed by, bitterness against the stubborn Hollanders remained in his heart. While visiting the Moral Re-Armament Training Centre which is now under construction in Panchgani, India, he found a cure for this feeling. He decided to go to Holland during his scheduled stay in Europe. HIMMAT had a talk with him there. Mr Pireno is an assistant lecturer in International Relations at the Islamic University of Jakarta.

"I do not regret for one moment that we fought for our freedom. It was our duty. I am proud of it. But I am sorry for my feelings of hate. Because of this we could only see the bad side of the Dutch and we have refused to admit that we need the Dutch to build up our country. They know more about Indonesia than any other foreign nation.

Dutch left but hate stayed

"Furthermore, even if the Dutch left us, hate never did. When we had at last pushed them out of West Irian, we started hating the Malaysians, a nation that speaks the same language as ours. Then we turned on our own compatriots. As a result hundreds of thousands of Indonesians got killed," Mr Pireno told us.

How have you been received in Holland?

"This has been far beyond my expectations. There is a great openness to Indonesia. During my short,

two weeks' stay I have been able to talk to about 20 of the leading people, including the Minister of Development Aid, the Socialist leader who was Prime Minister when we struggled for independence, three former cabinet ministers and some experts such as the internationally renowned economic planner Tinbergen. All of them seemed keen to help. I told them that Indonesians and Dutch can, on the basis of Moral Re-Armament, demonstrate the kind of unity all the world needs."

When did you meet MRA?

"In 1955 I was selected by the Ministry of Education to attend an MRA Assembly in the West. Later I attended the Baguio Assembly in the Philippines where Dutch Senator Dirk de Loor apologised for his country's attitude towards Indonesia. This caused a great stir in both our



countries. But as the Dutch Government remained stubborn over West Irian in spite of this, I for one very fervently participated in the actions to nationalise Dutch interests in 1957."

What happened to you in the years before the 1965 coup?

"They were very troubled years. I kept aloof from politics. As Sukarno banned MRA, I was not nominated as youth representative in the National Council as had been intended. General Mustopo said to me, 'You are an MRA man. You must be looking for a job.' He made me his secretary.

"By coincidence I got involved in social work resettling Jakarta street vagabonds as peasants in the vacant areas of Sumatra and Borneo. I organised them in 'companies' of 150, trained them and sent them out in batches of 450 outside over-populated Java. The Government helped finance this scheme and gave each



Ario Pireno

new settler six acres of land. This has been a success, giving a decent living to about 2000 young, uprooted boys. The Foundation that I created for this work is called: Pioneers for a New Life."

What, in your opinion, was the greatest fault of the Dutch in Indonesia?

"Indonesia was entrusted to them. If they had really lived the faith they pretended to adhere to, they might have created something unique. They missed tremendous opportunities."

What, if any, was their achievement?

"In the field of education they achieved a great deal. Also I admire what missionaries and doctors have done. European doctors were willing to brave hardships in the villages to care for the sick—a thing Indonesian doctors often refuse to do."

What is the present situation in Indonesia?

"It is not yet fully stabilised. There is a grave economic crisis. In the six weeks I have been outside the country the price of rice has gone up 100 pct. There is 'A New Order' which means going back to the principles of the Indonesian Pantjasila and moving away from Sukarno's Nasakom (Nationalism, Faith and Communism). This is good. The first point of the Pantjasila is 'Faith in God'. If all people in Indonesia really practice what they believe in whether they are Muslims or Christians, it would be a great advance. General Suharto deserves, I think, the full support of everybody. The conflict between the generations is wrong, for all ages are needed."

What do you intend to do?

"I want to work for the practical application of the ideas of Moral Re-

continued on next page

BOOKS

Glimpses of China

ORBIT OF CHINA, by Harrison E. Salisbury, Secker & Warburg, London; Pp 222; price 30 sh.

THERE is no doubt that a bamboo curtain keeps the world outside China guessing as to what exactly is the condition within. One way of getting that knowledge is to make a survey of the states closely surrounding China—as Mr Salisbury has done.

His aim is understanding. He wants to see why China is on the rampage, and by what means the world may be saved from an eruption from China. So he goes to Hong Kong and circles round China, meeting and talking with people in Cambodia, Thailand, Laos, Burma, India, Mongolia and Japan. His journalist's eye enabled him to detect what he wanted to find out about the real relations between these countries and their dangerous big neighbour.

At Hong Kong his Chinese hosts could not collect other Chinese for a dinner as they refused to meet an American. In Thailand though there was no Communist problem the Chinese there remained a separate people. Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, whose "life is like a constant news-reel", was walking a tightrope of non-alignment, whose inconsistencies often bewildered people. The Government of Souvanna Phouma in Laos, with its blending of right, left and centre, was also following a sort of "neutrality", which indicated fear of antagonistic big powers, not a well-considered policy.

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Ne Win of Burma showed the same mentality in another way. He wished to seal his country off from the outside world. Mr Salisbury declares that Burma is turning into a hermit country, becoming less accessible than China. But it was there that a "larger and more militant and active Communist movement" was to be found than in any other South East Asian country; and the paradox is that Ne Win is better at fighting Communists than anyone else.

Passing on to the Soviet-Chinese frontier, the author describes the alteration in relations between Russia and China. In 1949 the Chinese had received honoured treatment at the frontier. But when the author visited the region in 1954, '61 and '66 he noticed more and more stringent measures against the Chinese.

The author's explanation is that rapidly-increasing population and insufficient food supply are pushing the Chinese outwards, and their economic difficulties are making them truculent. They expect a show-down with the United States. The Red Guard aberrations are government-sponsored training for the inevitable street fighting expected to follow the nuclear attack.

The author's conclusion is that it is not by military action that China can be prevented from causing a world war, but by economic measures which would better the conditions of the millions there. And for that, it is the countries of Asia that should take the lead, for antipathy to the West is so great only an Asian solution can be effective.

Though this suggestion is left rather vague the author gives a very good picture of conditions in the countries surrounding China, and through that some revealing glimpses of China itself.

P.L.S.

West European tour

FAR BEYOND THE SEAS, by A. G. Sheorey, Nagpur Times Press; Rs 10.00; pp 171.

THIS is a reprint of articles appearing in the Nagpur Times, which the author edits, during his tour last year of Western Europe. It is a personal account of his brief visits to West

Germany, Britain, France and Italy, where he had an audience with the Pope.

Mr Sheorey, whose services to literature have won a Mahatma Gandhi Award, views these countries sympathetically and with insight. West Germany he found prosperous but uneasy about the past and future. The English, he felt, had a "strong national character" which would help them over their present economic difficulties. The French and Italians seemed to him "comparatively, more easy-going peoples". He was struck by the fact that in Europe, "Everything worked on time. The clock was the master to which everyone paid homage."

Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit writes the foreword.

A. de L.F.

Swami's philosophy

TO LIVE TO BENEFIT MANKIND, by Swami Nirmalananda Wesley Press, Mysore. Pp 38 Price, Re 1.

SWAMI NIRMALANANDA who lives in silence and solitude in the hills of Mysore State watches the world and its maddening race for power, position, wealth and luxuries with a straight eye and mind. His warnings and insight are profound but too often understanding of such a philosophy comes only to those who have been through the maddening race. Perhaps a greater task for the Swami is to capture the thinking of those who have not yet entered the race, i.e. the country's youth.

H.V.S.

ON THE SPOT—from page 17

Armament. Here in Holland I was challenged by a man who knows Indonesia well to help cure the hates which still put the lives of millions of people in jeopardy. An Indonesian Chinese, living and working in Amsterdam, is trying to make his house in Bandung available for this purpose. I have found my Dutch friends in MRA ready to join me in this venture."

P.H.

viewpoint

Competition the "soul" of insurance

First prize to M. M. Talwar, Bombay 3.

COMPETITION is the native soil of manhood and self-reliance. It is also the spice of life. Competition is the *sine qua non* for General Insurance; nay, for any efficient business. Commerce and insurance without competition would amount to a body without soul!

It is competition which spurs on every Indian insurer to vie with every other. It is competition which compels him to keep his premium rates at their lowest. Again, it is this attribute which compels every insurer to give his very best. Little wonder then, that the premium rates prevailing in the field of General Insurance in India compare most favourably with those in any other country. Take out competition by nationalisation and the premium rates would soar like a kite, and touch an all time high.

Gandhiji visualised the resultant state of affairs if competition was taken out of commerce. That visionary thought of the possible horrors resulting from stifling state control and nationalisation. So he said: "... In my opinion, the violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State." But today his short-sighted political heirs are bent upon nationalising everything, including that indispensable service called General In-

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died two years after retirement!)

An insurer knows from experience that he has to jump out of his bed even at the dead of night to cover a risk, in this competitive venture. He knows that he has to settle a claim promptly and with a smile if he is to continue to have the valuable business (no matter howsoever small). But what would a servant of state do in such circumstances? He will just mutter "jaane do" and turn in his cosy bed if it is night, or turn his neck and yawn if it is daytime. And he can afford to do so, with impunity, being a servant of state (not the public!). But can an insurer do so now, without being thrown out of business?

Nationalisation not feasible

Second prize to Vinod Chowdhury, Delhi 7.

THE DAMOCLES SWORD of Nationalisation now hangs over General Insurance. Not content with having life insurance completely in its control, the Government is said to be thinking of monopolising general insurance as well. It can be proved easily that nationalisation of this industry is not economically feasible at all; the logical corollary would be that only competition in general insurance can ensure low premiums and quick payments.

Politicians' memories are proverbially short but surely the present Finance Minister cannot have forgotten the words of his eminent predecessor, Dr C. D. Deshmukh, who held office at the time of the formation of the Life Insurance Corporation in 1958. Dr Deshmukh had then unequivocally declared that as far as general insurance was concerned, nationalisation was neither desirable nor necessary. He was right.

General Insurance is mostly comprised of annual contracts by various competing firms with business and industry, the terms of the contracts varying according as the nature of the occupation and the overall economic situation. If general insurance is left to a Government monopoly

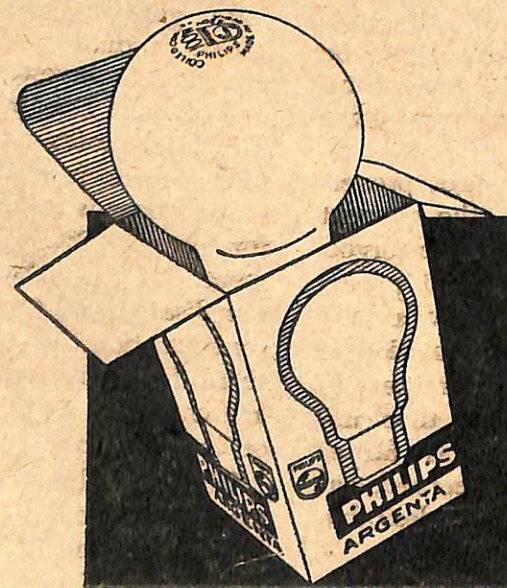
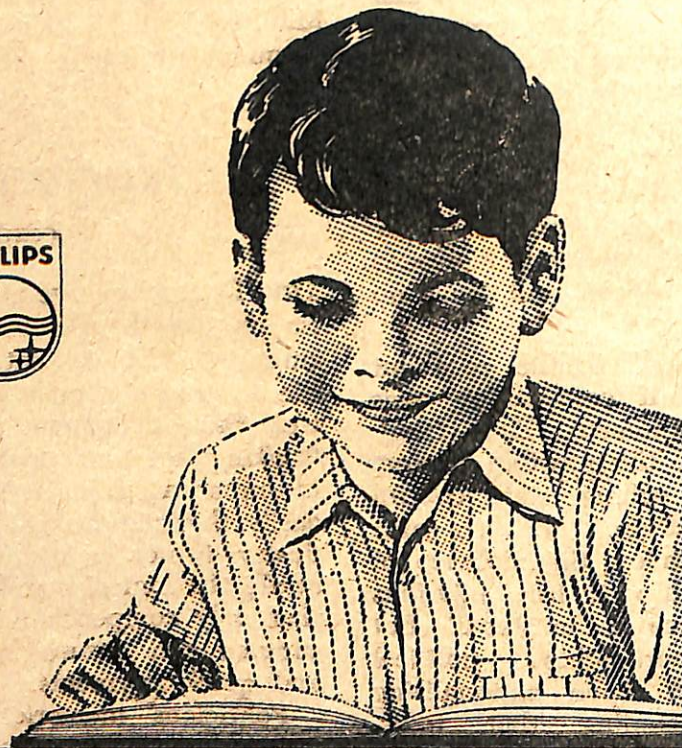
like the LIC, it will be much less responsive to changes, a fact apparent from the inflexible attitude of the LIC, in the present financially good year for the corporation, towards lower premiums and quicker payments.

Of the total investible resources of about Rs 55 crores with the 136 private general insurance companies (both Indian and foreign) 90% are already invested in Government and Stock Exchange securities etc. The total profits of all these companies come to just Rs 3 crores. If the Government is looking for a milk cow for revenue it is in for disappointment. If the *raison d'être* for nationalisation of general insurance is concentration of economic power, then also there is no case, for there are as many as 40,000 shareholders of these companies.

There is, therefore, no economic case for nationalisation. Rather, keeping in view the LIC's own dismal record of service to its customers, it cannot be denied that vigorous competition alone can ensure a healthy general insurance industry. These are obvious facts, but some quarters in our Government seem to have a knack for missing the obvious—and must be constantly reminded of it.

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Sino-Soviet pact only in cold storage

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

TOKYO A prominent Japanese military expert and keen observer of Chinese affairs sees three alternatives facing China in the present power struggle:

1 Mao and Lin Piao will get full control. That is not likely to happen. At the present they only control two cities, Peking and Shanghai, and four provinces. Even if they gain more control they will never be able to control the whole.

2 It is more likely that President Liu Shao-chi will win control. At the moment he is under house arrest. He has great influence in the administration all through the country, which he has built up. The majority of the provinces are loyal to him. Liu and his followers dislike Mao because of his "idealism" and "hanging in the air" but they respect him "on the surface". Under the surface they disagree with him.

3 Maybe entirely new leaders will emerge. Nobody knows. Even

if new leaders emerge, they cannot control all of China. Most likely China will disintegrate and Communist warlords will control certain provinces.



Mao — Full control not likely

If the Mao-Lin Piao team wins, which is doubtful, relations with Russia will worsen. If Liu wins relations will improve. If new leaders emerge, relations might improve. Russia is sitting on the fence, watch-

ing. The Sino-Soviet pact of 1950, therefore, has not been dissolved.

UK industrial strife shakes Pound

FROM GORDON WISE

LONDON India, Australia, New Zealand and other countries with sterling balances have reason to be concerned about the effects of unofficial strikes on the British economy.

The September trade figures showed such a gap that there was loss of confidence abroad, pressure on sterling and the resulting shoring up by the Bank of England. This continual state of economic emergency means that one prolonged strike, such

as the recent near disaster of a British Railways tie-up, or the disputes in the docks, could topple the balance towards devaluation.

It is because Britain is the banker for the sterling area that reverses or booms in her internal economy immediately react upon the nations with whom she is associated.

By the same token, Britain is subject to other countries' difficulties. The refusal of the American Congress to approve President Johnson's request for a 10 per cent tax rise, to pay for increased Vietnam war costs, has meant a rise in US bank rates. This, in turn, forces a rise in the British bank rate.

The Minister of Labour, Ray Gunter, has pointed out that over

Ek-minit!



"That was lovely, darling — now play 'Greensleeves'!"

continued on page 25

The week in ASIA

SAIGON — Between July and September, allied forces seized enough arms to equip a 12,000-man North Vietnamese division, including 1458 AK-47 Chinese automatic rifles.

HONG KONG — The Chinese launched a massive "back-to-classes" drive among Red Guards. At a Peking rally they were told to carry on the "struggle" in classrooms rather than streets.

TEHERAN — Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi of Iran crowned himself on the famous Peacock Throne brought by Persian conqueror Nadir Shah from India in 1739. The throne is inlaid with 27,000 jewels — diamonds, emeralds, rubies — and has over one ton of pure gold.

TOKYO — A Viet Cong guerrilla claimed he had tamed Mekong Delta hornets and trained them to attack on order. His "winged irregulars" had wounded 300 American and South Vietnamese troops in two years, he said.

TAIPEH — Typhoon Carla claimed 100 lives in Formosa, 572 houses, and property worth \$5 million.

PNOM PENH — Head of State Prince Sihanouk declared he would never accept an international review of Cambodia's frontiers. Cambodia and Thailand are tied up in a border dispute and there have been clashes with South Vietnamese troops also.

RAWALPINDI — Army Chiefs of India and Pakistan discussed the recent border clash in the Uri sector. They also planned resumption of common links between their army HQs.

KATHMANDU — Nepal's King Mahendra, now in the United States, is likely to seek more US aid in the context of China's recent posture towards India. The Chinese boycotted his send-off ceremonies.

PHUNTSHOLING — Mr K. Hanumanthaiya, leader of India's first parliamentary mission to Bhutan, said here that what China had done in Tibet had made the Bhutanese people feel that China was a danger.

E.I.D.-PARRY IN THE HOME

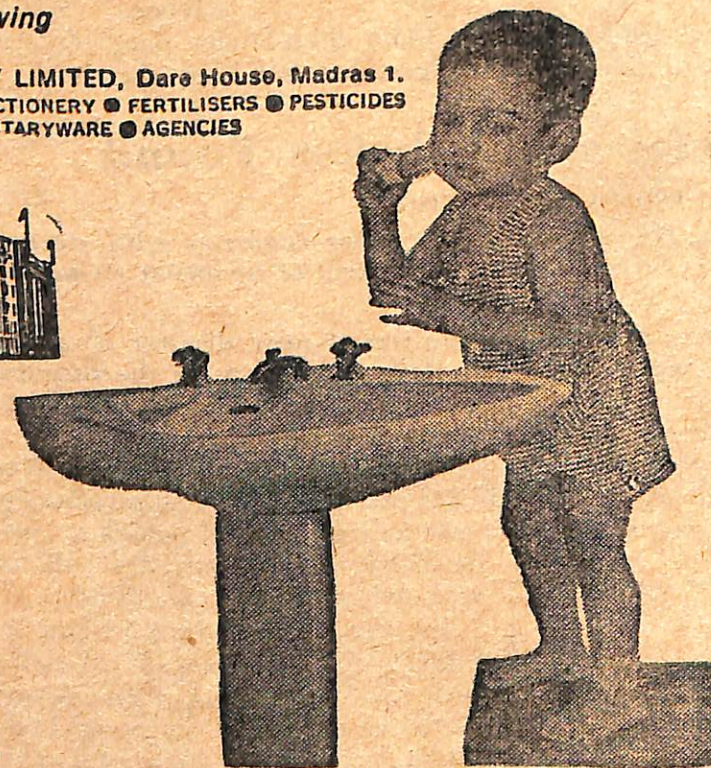
The pottery section of the E. I. D.-Parry Group's Ranipet factory first began with the manufacture of earthenware jars for sulphuric acid—produced by the Fertiliser section. From plain jars for sulphuric acid, pottery progressed to plain jars for every thing else, to not-so-plain jars and finally cups, saucers, vases, ceramic ornaments and attractive and long-lasting vitreous "Parryware" which is now so popular. Parryware is made with the technical advice of Doulton & Co. Ltd., the premier sanitaryware manufacturers in the United Kingdom.

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

the last decade, among major industrial nations of the "free world", only West Germany and Sweden have a better record in terms of days lost through strikes. But it is also true that Britain is near the top of the list when it comes to the number of unofficial stoppages. And these count for 90 per cent of Britain's labour troubles.

The question is how to handle this. Many urge that agreements between unions and managements should be enforceable by law, and penalties exacted if they are broken. Union leaders then could be taken to court for unofficial actions by their members. It could also mean that more strikes would be declared "official".

Others say that union leaders are out of touch with their members, that managements are too hidebound, or that the Government is responsible



Mr Ray Gunter

for enforcing the present wages and prices control, therefore interfering with free collective bargaining.

Perhaps there is truth in all of this, but the main point is that change is necessary and all change is painful.

The streamlining of British industry is meaning that fewer men are required to produce the same amount. The guards, who are now complaining, realise that automated trains of the future may not need guards at all. Despite pledges of no redundancy there is a genuine fear of the sack among the workers. Agitators do not create these fears, but they often exploit them.

The *Daily Mirror* asked for permission from the Wages and Prices Board recently to increase the selling price of their paper by one penny. This was refused. One reason given was that the newspaper staff was said to be 25 per cent overmanned. Labour-saving machinery has often been introduced into British industry, but the labour has been kept on.

More time and trouble needs to be taken to explain these changes to British workers, and the reasons for them. It is a war for survival for Britain. But the nation does not yet regard it as such.

Pompidou, Kiesinger formulate their aims

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

GENEVA After a long pause in the summer months, the Parliaments in Paris and Bonn have started to meet again. The French Parliament started in with a no-confidence motion against the Government, which was relatively easily defeated but which announced a heavy political winter in the French capital.

Both Prime Minister Pompidou and Chancellor Dr Kiesinger gave long interviews to the editors of the most popular weeklies of their respective countries. Interviews with heads of government, at least on the continent, used to show a certain respect toward the man in power.

The Prime Minister was asked some questions on different economic and political subjects, and answered clearly or vaguely as he wanted.

At the high point of the interview with Mr Pompidou, the journalist of the *Express* asked the Prime Minister: "How do you want people to fight if it is only to preserve something? One only fights to conquer something. You have not been able to define a project for France which would be big enough so that people

would like to give their lives to accomplish it. The General (de Gaulle) has fought, in his time, to give back to France her rightful rank. What do you want to do?"



M. Pompidou

ideological engine...

"I accept that Europe is the ob-

continued on next page

The week in INDIA

CALCUTTA — 1296 cases of tickless travel were detected on a two-day swoop on the Howrah-Kharagpur-Balasore section of the South-Eastern Railway. Free trippers and rice smugglers paid a fine of Rs 3250.

TRIVANDRUM — For the second time within a month Kerala University cancelled the pre-degree examination in Physics because of suspected leakage of question papers. The police have been asked to hold an inquiry.

JAMSHEDPUR — Metallic corrosion was costing over Rs 150 crores a year, according to Mr Jehangir Ghandy, Chairman of the Metals Research Committee of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

ALLEPPEY — The Revolutionary Socialist Party plans to form a "Red Guard" organisation by reshaping its volunteer force in Kerala. It would meet any situation arising out of "special circumstances".

NEW DELHI — Delhi police will employ detective dogs to spy on criminals. They will patrol the streets at night and will pin the suspects down till the beat constable appears.

INDORE — To create awakening among women, 12 women Sarvodaya workers began a 12-year countrywide "Lok Yatra." This is in response to an appeal of Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

HYDERABAD — Chief Minister B. Reddi said that even though he was an enthusiast of the public sector, "the performance of the undertakings in the central sector is such that it is encouraging some of us to revise our views". There was a growing feeling that these were meant only for those working in them.

NAGPUR — 800 crimes were reported in the last 12 months where the culprits belonged to the age group 10-18. According to the Commissioner of Police, the boys were either school-going children or attending college.

CHANDIGARH — Haryana Chief Minister Rao Birendra Singh said he would retire from active politics in 1970 and take a "sanyas". "I have served the army, the Congress and headed a United Front Government. Now I want to lead the life of an ascetic," he said.

jective. But Europe will not exist without its cultures, its habits, languages, passions, without those of Germany, Italy, France, etc. What we aim at is a confederation animated by a common spirit, by a common will to create a different civilisation from the one existing around Washington or Moscow..."

And when the man from the *Express* asked him: "Do you think you will have time to achieve all this?" Pompidou answered: "...I do not know... I believe deeply that while General de Gaulle will be at the helm there will be no crisis. And this is quite extraordinary because you know as well as I do that this country is practically impossible to govern. The miracle is that it still exists and that it rouses in the world

love or hostility—almost never just indifference."

In the interview with Chancellor Dr Kiesinger, the three-man team of the *Spiegel* attacked on similar points. As first question they asked: "Mr Chancellor, if Adenauer in the eyes of the people was seen as the strict father and Erhard as the good uncle—how would the Chancellor Kiesinger like to present himself to the German people?"

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- Reserve Bank of India Building, 6, Parliament Street, NEW DELHI-1.

davp 67/258

The week elsewhere

MAURITIAN INDEPENDENCE
PORT LOUIS—Mauritius will become an independent country within the Commonwealth on March 12. The announcement was made following talks between Premier Sir Seewoosagur Rangoolam and the British Government in London. The Indian Ocean island attained full internal self-rule last August.

SUEZ FLARE-UP

SUEZ—Israeli shelling wrecked oil refineries which process 80 per cent of Egypt's petroleum products. This was in retaliation for the sinking of an Israeli destroyer by Egyptian rockets. Russian warships moved into Port Said, at the North end of the Suez Canal, and Alexandria, in what observers regarded as a warning to Israel.

BRITAIN BARRED

LUXEMBOURG—Tough conditions imposed by France amounted to a veto on Britain's early entry into the

European Common Market. French Foreign Minister Couve de Murville laid down conditions: dissolution of the sterling area; restoration of Britain's balance of payments; and unqualified acceptance of the Common Market's tariffs and agricultural policy with no transitional period. He also hinted that Britain should first devalue her currency.

Other ECM countries, though supporting Britain's entry, are known to share French fears over her economic stability. Observers felt there was little likelihood of Britain joining the Common Market while de Gaulle remained in power.

ISRAELI OIL LINE

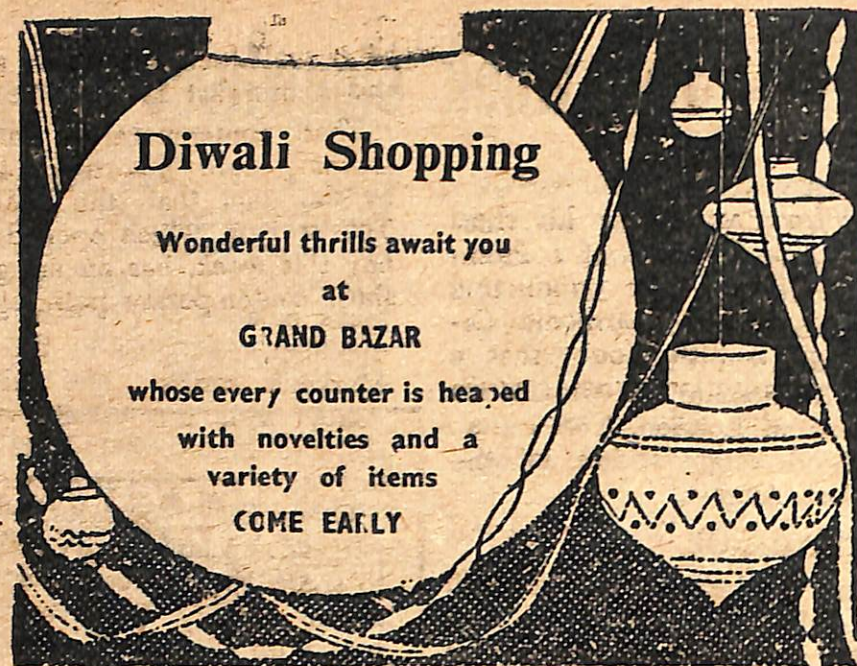
TEL AVIV—A giant oil pipeline, bypassing the Suez Canal, will be built from Eilat on the Gulf of Aqaba to the Mediterranean, announced Israeli Radio. The 42" pipeline will be able to carry 50 million tons of oil a year. European financiers are said to be backing the scheme.

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Indian art scores abroad

DESPITE FAMINES and failures of social and economic policies and resulting recessions and unemployment, the art scene in India has given consistent evidence of health and vitality.

Culture before trade?

"Drop everything else and see this show" was the headline of a British daily when "Art Now In India", an exhibition of 30 Indian painters sponsored by the Lalit Kala Akademi, was shown to the English city of Newcastle a year ago. The successful trade agreements negotiated at the hands of Ambassador K. B. Lall, till recently India's representative to the European Economic Community, was due largely to the climate of confidence he created by putting culture before trade, so to speak.

India contributes to the world

Whether it is the news of Ravi Shanker, the noted sitarist, getting a standing ovation at London's Royal Festival Hall, or of Husain, one of India's foremost artists, being awarded the "Golden Bear" at the Inter-

national Film Festival for his short film "Through the Eyes of a Painter", or of Zubin Mehta conducting the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, there is little doubt that a significant contribution is being made by Indians in the field of arts.

Two outstanding shows of the season are:

Zubin Mehta, the Director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, who comes with his Orchestra to India and will be performing this month in Bombay and Delhi. Zubin, who left the shores of India as a young student, returns today as a maestro.

Contemporary art

Satish Gujral, a renowned Indian painter, who will be exhibiting his paintings at Bombay's Gallery Chemould. Satish's sojourn in Mexico gave a new dimension to his thinking and feeling as a painter. Today

he is well known both as a painter and a muralist in ceramics.

That contemporary painting is claiming more importance, is proved by the fact that the Maharashtra Tourist Fair, which opened in Bombay this week, has an art gallery to show contemporary painting.

K. G.



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Schools' Essay Competition Results

For the schools' essay competition "The change needed in Indian character", entries were received from 20 cities in 11 states. The prize-winners are as follows:

1st Prize—Rs 100: S. Daya, Adarsh Vidyalaya, Madras.

2nd Prize—Rs 50: Neera Gupta, St. Mary's Convent, Allahabad.

3rd Prize—Rs 25: R. A. J. Bosco, Jeyaraj, St. Louis Friary, Chittor Dt. A.P.

4th Prize—Rs 15: K. Mahesh, Kendriya Vidyalaya, Madras.

The winners of the six consolation prizes will be informed by post.

FRONTIERS OF science

Man-catching spider's web?

CITIES and their car traffic get ever more complex. Here is what may be the busiest crossroads in the world. It is a highway exchange in Los Angeles, California. Every weekday an average of 367,000 vehicles



(equal to the number of cars in the whole of India) weave their way through its web. (Photo below, left).

The exchange has, however, saved traffic jams that formerly occurred here as streams of cars tried to cross each other on the same level or stuck in roundabouts that quickly got overloaded.

Minimum and maximum speeds are set for motorists using the exchange. There are fast and slow lanes for them to travel in. Once they have mastered its complexities, Los Angelenos can get to and from work with greater ease and safety.

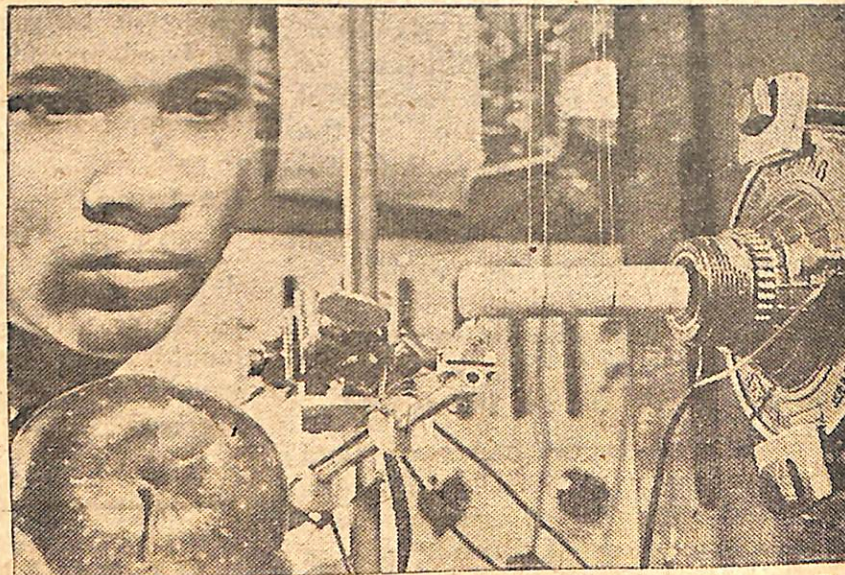
"No-touch testing" now possible

FRUIT can now be tested for ripeness without being cut open.

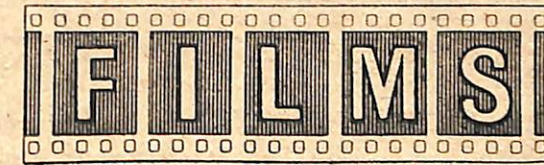
Tests show that sound waves, passed through an unripe or over-ripe apple, send out a different frequency from those that go through a ripe one. (The apple in the photo below has been sampled.)

This is one of many uses of "no-touch testing" techniques being developed in America. Aircraft castings

continued on next page



"Cinderella" (Sophia Loren) gets her Prince (Omar Sharif) at last in "More than a Miracle".



"More than a Miracle"

METRO, BOMBAY

IT IS more than a miracle that this production of Carlo Ponti was thought by MGM to be worth the celluloid. There would be little even for the publicity department to hold out to the public without such names as Sophia Loren and Omar Sharif in the cast. But even they both disappoint.

Allowing for the fact that there is hardly a line of dialogue worth listening for, stars as experienced (and as highly paid) as these two should have been called upon to offer more.

Prince Ramon (Omar Sharif) is more interested in breaking wild horses than selecting a bride, much to the annoyance of his mother and the seven eligible princesses who wait in the palace drumming their bejewelled fingers in nervous boredom.

Galloping over the Spanish countryside the prince is thrown and his wild white stallion disappears, to be found later in the possession of Isabella (Sophia Loren), a village

wench who, not recognising Ramon as a prince, sets about giving him as rough a ride as the stallion.

A series of over-drawn and drawn-out episodes involving a monk who floats around like Mary Poppins, witches who cast a paralytic spell on Prince Ramon, and a dishwashing competition between the seven princesses and Isabella finally result, not surprisingly, in the Cinderella winning her prince.

Possibly Sophia Loren has never claimed that acting was her main box office attraction, but Omar Sharif, in "Lawrence of Arabia" and "Dr Zhivago", had led one to expect more.

SCREENER

SCIENCE —from page 30

and welds, space rocket components, household appliances and foods are all being tested by inaudible sound, invisible radiation, magnetic and electrical devices.

The techniques save money. Checking of jet engines, which formerly took five days and cost around Rs 3500, can now be done in five hours for Rs 150 per engine.

This India

GOD'S INDIA AND INDIA'S GOD

THROUGHOUT HISTORY when men have occupied the position God alone should have, slaves and graves have resulted. The problems that dog us today are a result of the way we have treated God for decades. We bribe Him, cajole Him, appease Him to keep Him quiet. Our demands, of course, are numerous. But in this land of temples, mosques and churches we have either pushed Him to the back benches or right out of the door.

There goes a story. A man went to pray in a temple belonging to a set different from his own. The priest wouldn't let him in. Turning away gloomily the man met God who inquired why he was so sad. The man told Him. Replied God, "Don't worry too much. They haven't let me in either."

If we are honest our gods in India (apart from self) are titles, transistors and talk. We, of course, have our pet philosophies which we passionately propound. Many follow the fatalistic approach—I can live as I please, and blame God when things go wrong. Some regard God as a person with a stick, to be treated with deference.

God is a loving father and could be a personal friend to the 510 million people of our land. He has a unique plan for every individual, which He reveals to anyone who listens to the voice in their heart, and obeys its directions.

A leading businessman in Delhi commented recently, "I am surprised that God is so patient with us Indians. He could have written us off long ago."

This country is not finished yet. But to reverse the present trend will require men and women who will say "yes" to God and "no" to their ambitions, pride and jealousies. Givers, not seekers. Patriots, not defectors. Men who make the decision as the following lines go:

"To give and not to count the cost,
To fight and not to heed the wounds,
To toil and not to seek for rest,
To labour and not to ask for any reward,
Save that of knowing we do Thy will."

Neeraja Chowdhury

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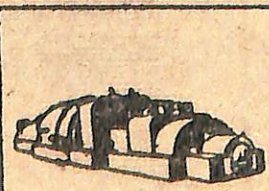
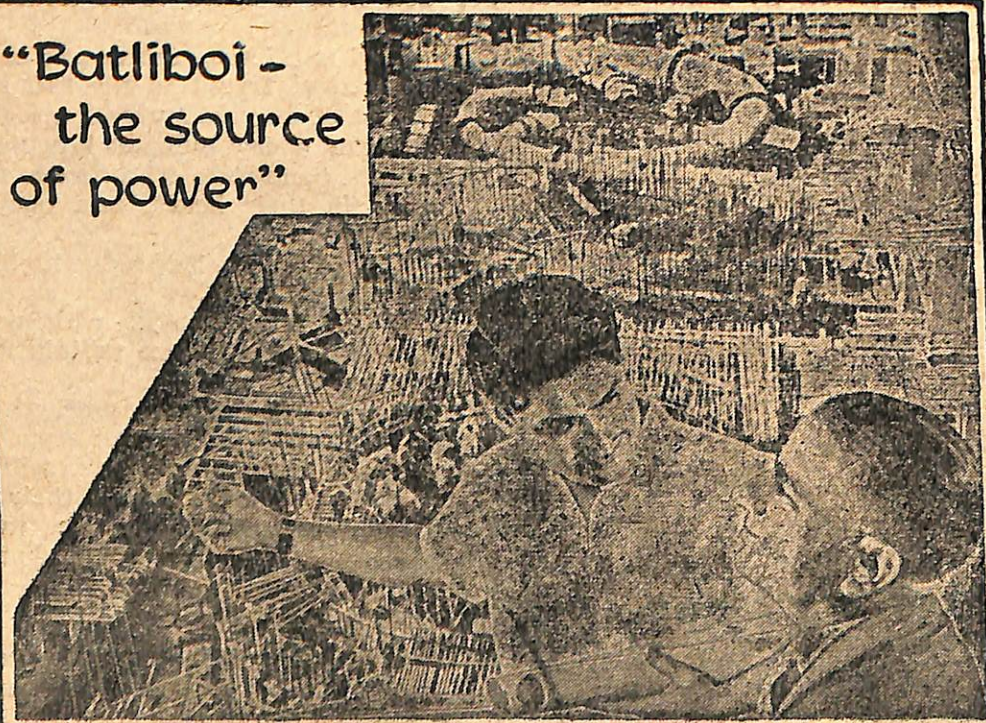
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This was a Life

WILLIAM BOOTH

1829-1912

TRUDGING through London's dockland on a July night in 1865, William Booth watched the five-year-old children blind drunk at the bar-room doorways; he smelt the sewage that made the river Thames "the great stink"; and he knew that God was calling him to cure these evils.

Today the whole world respects Booth and his Salvation Army. They exposed the European traffic in teen-age prostitutes in the 1880's; transformed thousands from the Dom "criminal tribes" of Central India into skilled artisans; saved 5000 fishermen's lives by life-boat action in the icy seas off Norway; achieved the shut-down of the French penal colony of "Devil's Island".

Booth, the Army's founder and the first General, started life as a pawnbroker's assistant. At 15 he opened his "war against all iniquity", beginning with himself: returning a stolen pencil-case, confessing to stolen apples and cheating — and losing his job for standing up for his principles. Soon he was agitating. When respectable people found his message too hot for them, he turned to the masses. Thousands joined him. The Army was born.

They welcome opposition. "If the Devil is not attacking us, we should attack him!" said Booth. His pioneering forces in country after country faced stones, beatings and murder as they tackled corruption. He told his cadets, "I sentence you all to hard labour, for the rest of your natural lives!"

Later, Booth became an honored friend of Theodore Roosevelt, Gladstone and Winston Churchill. Mahatma Gandhi took looms invented by the Salvation Army for his Swadeshi home-spinning movement.

On his death-bed, Booth's last command was: "Do more for the homeless of the world. Mind, I'm not thinking of my country only, but of all lands."

Asked his secret, he said it was his vow as a schoolboy "that God should have all that there was of William Booth". His daughter Eva added: "His real secret was that he never took it back."

H.M.

LANGUAGE HASTE

SEEING the unbecoming haste with which the regional languages have been made the media of University education, despite the contraventions and warnings of many eminent people like Rajaji, Chagla, K. M. Munshi and Gajendragadkar, one wonders, do our leaders think that the language of learning is superior to the learning itself?

The claim of some Hindi dogmatists that only about 2 per cent of India's population knows English is simply infatuated. Do they know that it is this minority of English-knowing people that is holding India as one nation today? This fact has been admitted by Dr Triguna Sen himself. Moreover, when only 20 per cent of Indian citizens are educated (of course, not in Hindi!), can this 2 per cent be considered only as a minority?

S. CHANDRASHEKARA,
Bangalore 12

ENGLISH ASSET

AS a Swedish doctor I have been very astonished to see the propaganda put forward to undo the English language in India. In Scandinavia we consider English as the outstanding international language. English has thus been made a compulsory subject for all Swedish school children.

The Scandinavian scientific journals are all in English. The text books used in medical schools of Sweden are almost all English or American. The means of communication is Swedish. At the well known Karolinska Hospital we had daily X-Ray rounds and weekly clinical conferences entirely in English for the benefit of visiting doctors.

In my position as a medical officer at the Pharmaceutical Laboratory of the Royal Swedish Board of Health I have to read lots of reports, letters and papers in English.

In an age when tourism flourishes and international understanding becomes more and more important the knowledge of English in India seems to me a great asset. Neither from the international nor economic point of view can the policy to undo the English language be considered as wise.

HARRY FERNGREN, MD,
Stockholm, Sweden

WHAT A LIFE!

I AM enthused by the brief account of Cyrus II (HIMMAT October 6, 1967) under the feature "This was a Life". The generous treatment he gave to his defeated adversaries, and the benevolence he showered on the subjects of his former foes, endeared him so much to the people that he was not only called "father" by the Persians (his own people), but regarded as "master" and "law-giver" by the Hellenes (whom he conquered) and "the anointed of the Lord" by the Jews.

Letters

When Nabodinus, the last Babylonian prince, was taken prisoner after the fall of Babylon, Cyrus, as was his custom, treated him with great clemency. When he died in the following year, 538 BC, a state of national mourning was proclaimed in which Cyrus took part.

In the very first year of his rule at Babylon, Cyrus issued a decree permitting the Jews to return from captivity and to rebuild their temple at Jerusalem. Further, he gave orders that all the gold and silver vessels that had been carried off and held by Babylon should be restored to them.

I am sure HIMMAT will continue to bring to the notice of its readers lives like that of Cyrus II, to inspire in them feelings and attitudes of a noble character.

JINENDRA SENA, Dhuri, Punjab

CONGRATULATIONS, DR

I take this opportunity to convey my heartfelt congratulations to Dr Paul Campbell for having contributed an article remarkable for its rare brilliance. I refer to the one with the caption "STERILISATION — India beware" (HIMMAT, September 29).

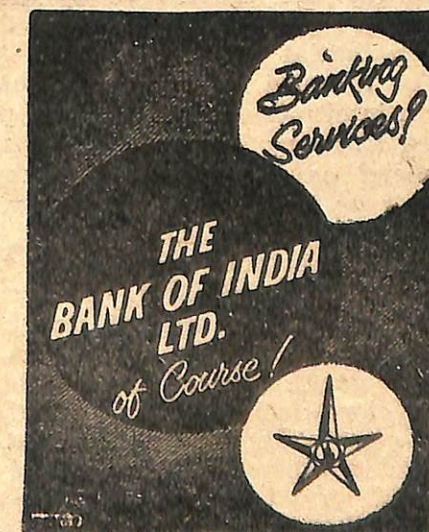
I personally have derived much inspiration from reading this. The world needs more Dr Paul Campbells.

ALFRED C. LEEVY, Delhi
Foreign student from Dominica,
West Indies.

GUIDE TO POLITICS

HIMMAT is an excellent weekly and I am very interested to read all its contents. It keeps a high standard unlike any other magazine or weekly; its writers and editors are well informed about what they put in black and white. HIMMAT, I should say, is a great guide in the world of politics for those who have a clear conscience.

FR. JOSHUA PEEDIKAYIL,
Kadampnanad, Kerala





Asian teamwork

by Rajmohan Gandhi

"A NATION'S SUREST defence is the respect and gratitude of her neighbours."

India's relations with Pakistan are not particularly cordial, and it is obvious that intelligent men need to work patiently and with imagination to make them so. It is also necessary to look beyond these two countries and work for a partnership among all the nations of South Asia — Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Burma, Malaysia, and Singapore.

These nations have much to give one another and, together, to the rest of the world.

Learn from these nations

In this context one is grateful for the recent visits of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to Ceylon and Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai to Nepal.

India needs the friendship of the country surrounded by sea and of the mountain kingdom. And we can learn much from the progress in recent years of these two. Dudley Senanayake and his team and King Mahendra have led their peoples in a definite direction and not merely reacted to narrow clamourings. They have set the pace for change and not tried to run, against their convictions, with chauvinist hate-mongers at home.

Winning the confidence of our neighbours is everyone's job, not just of the Government. It certainly should be the concern of the AICC, the national body of the ruling party. In the old days, Jawaharlal Nehru used to fight for a world outlook. Resolutions on international affairs were passed at every session. Perhaps the views expressed were not always fair or impartial. But the world seemed to matter.

The Jabalpur session of the AICC certainly cornered the front pages of our newspapers but its discussions had nothing in them to attract or interest our neighbours.

The ASEAN nations—Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines, with the likely addition of Ceylon — have come together for trade. They are not

anxious for India's membership because of our poverty and our politics. Nor is our Government eager for association with ASEAN.

Yet formal groupings of this kind, without genuine links among peoples, can achieve but little. There may not be much to grieve over India's exclusion from ASEAN if as a people we can build solid bridges with our neighbours.

We are not going to succeed by claiming extra importance because of our size and population. Attitudes of superiority, jealousy and hate will of course kill any prospects of comradeship. But it will take more than a respect for one another's dignity to achieve the unity Asia needs.

The extra factor needed is a larger aim, outside of ourselves, which all the nations of this region can share and which takes their thoughts and energies to other parts of the world.

What the world does to, or for, Asia agitates us. We assume that America, Russia, Europe, Britain, Australia, Canada and Japan should look after us. We think that morally and spiritually this is good for the affluent nations.

What can Asia share?

What can Asia share with the world? This thought has not thus far disturbed us. To raise it, answer it and help implement the answer may bring unexpected benefits to Asia.

Is there nothing that Asians can do to help Africa? There are material and moral needs among the 250 million people in that continent. Aiding African nations in their quest for freedom, which some Asians had a part in, was fine. Creating a continent where all races and tribes can live in peace and with responsibility is a different matter and, as Asians discovered, rather more difficult. Yet Pakistanis, Ceylonese, Nepalese and Indians working together for Africa, in a spirit that is undemanding and wishes to serve, can contribute a lot.

In South America 200 million men and women live. They have

waited for decades for a solution for poverty, corruption and violence. Must we Asians exclude ourselves from that battle?

And if we probed the strong nations of Europe and North America we would discover a range of hungers there that need to be met. The tragic hippy trek to our lands is of course a sign of the discontent in today's Western society. We send these "flower people" back more-confused than they come.

The West's heart needs re-kindling and Asians can do that job with speed. Its crisis has been created by the de-Christianisation and secularisation of life there.

World will march with us

It may be just as selfish to think of one nation as it is to think of one caste, language group, class or race—and just as suicidal. An India-centered India will have to endure the unchecked run of poverty and tyranny. An India that wishes to serve the world will find her neighbours wanting to march beside her and the world keen to shoulder her problems.

This is not conjecture. When the "India Arise" force went to Britain with their show and their desire to be of service, Ceylonese, Australians and New Zealanders joined them. And the unity among them that was created could be a forerunner of major developments. Pakistanis in Britain saw "India Arise" in large numbers. Their popular cricket team came to a London performance and were chief guests. Pakistani businessmen, politicians and workers came. Some said they wanted to join the "India Arise" force.

Last week, in Perth, Australia, a number of Pakistani citizens along with Indians and other Asians joined Australians in raising money for a Moral Re-Armament centre now being built in Panchgani, 167 miles from Bombay. About Rs 8300 was raised.

"Panchgani may lie in India but it belongs to all Asia", an Indonesian visiting the place commented.

Teamwork by Asians is not impossible.

FIND THE BALL

Competition No 44

2nd Prize:



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On the ball wins the Jackpot*

*Each week half the prize of Rs. 50 will be awarded to the nearest entry. The other half will be carried forward to a "Jackpot" to be won by the first competitor who marks EXACTLY the centre of the ball. This Jackpot Prize will accumulate by Rs. 25 per week until it is won.

HOW TO PLAY

The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross (not circle, arrow, etc) where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and coupon and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1 before noon on Monday, November 13.

The winner will be announced in the following issue. There is no limit to the number of entries you can make, but only one cross may be marked on each picture. The Editor's decision is final.

Name _____
Address _____
I agree to the rules of the competition as outlined above.

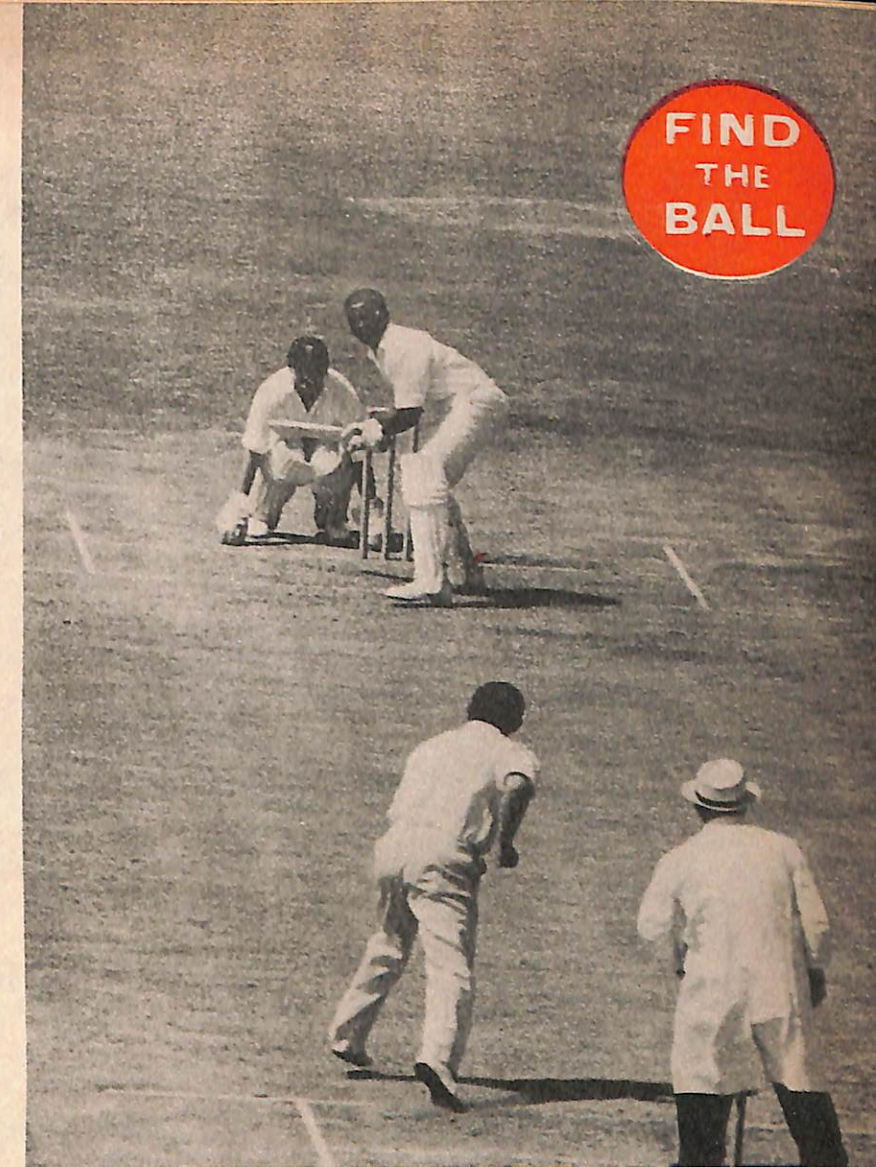


WINNER OF COMPETITION 41

is J. P. Fernandes, Phadke's Chawl, Malmaddi, Dharwar 7. Rs. 25 for nearest entry (1mm from ball).

2nd Prize (Hira Gift Box) to M. Sethumadhavan, Phoenix Tyres, 5, Macdonalds Road, Cantt., Tiruchi 1. (1.5mm from ball).

Next week's Jackpot: Rs 200



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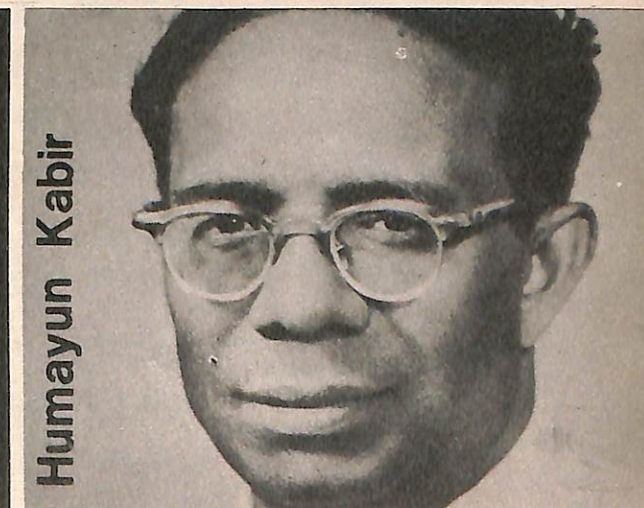
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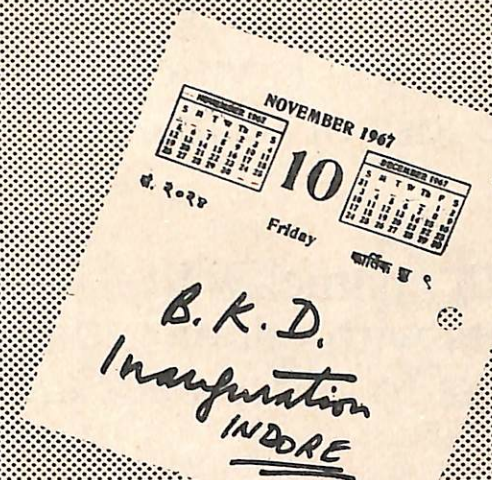
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