

HIMMAT

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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

“PRISONERS OF INDECISION” —OR POLICIES?”

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Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

world-wide acceptance

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1965

PUNISHING THE PRESS Editorial

New Horizons

In pre-Independence era, India had plans and programmes for social and economic betterment of the people. But there was a fundamental weakness—the weakness of their belonging more to the Government than to the people.

Independence came, and with it a new awakening, and people's plans, for the people by the people. The results were tangible—more and more of better and cheaper things; a better way of life for more and yet more people of our land.

We of DALMIA ENTERPRISES have been constantly endeavouring to produce more and more of such goods that contribute towards improved living standards of our people. We are doing this not only since Independence but almost for a quarter of a century. The task is not so easy. Yet we are going ahead, undauntedly, in the hope of seeing a brighter tomorrow.... a new dawn.... along the new horizons.



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, April 2, 1965

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Ceylon Mandate

PRIME MINISTER Dudley Senanayake is to be congratulated. The electorate, 85 per cent of whom voted in some constituencies, have flatly rejected Mrs. Bandaranaike's coalition with the Trotskyites and Communists.

The rejection of any pro-Chinese sentiment was demonstrated by the complete rout of China's most ardent exponent, Mr. K.M.P. Rajaratne, and the loss of their electoral deposits by the pro-Peking Communist Party's two candidates.

Senanayake's first declared action will be to "clean up the financial and economic mess" he inherited. As a gesture he has renounced the use of the foreign limousines and expansive mansions Mrs. Bandaranaike built for her Cabinet. But it will take more than gestures. He will have to demonstrate a determination to give honest, hard-working government and not yield to the demands of any pressure groups—racial, religious or economic.

He has no margin for complacency. The Opposition is liable to give him turbulent times. His coalition is drawn from elements that have clashed bitterly in the past—Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim, Buddhist, Christian. His own pro-Sinhalese United National Party must now work with the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress, champions of the Tamil minority in the north. The UNP, which favours free enterprise, must find common ground with C.P. de Silva's Socialist group that broke away from Mrs. Bandaranaike. The new Minister of Industries and Fisheries, Mr. Philip Gunawardene, head of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna Party, was in earlier days a militant Marxist.

No platform of political compromise will hold these divergent elements together if they regard their mandate as an opportunity to enhance private power or increase their minority's political strength. To maintain unity, Prime Minister Senanayake will have to set out common national objectives and move towards them with such pace and selflessness that the divisive forces do not have a chance.

Punishing the Press

INDIA'S ADMINISTRATION is in love with controls. The very word appears to hold a strange fascination for it. Yet another has been born with the Income Tax (Third Amendment) Rules, 1965. In this, the Government has drastically curtailed the amount of tax-free expenditure allowed for company advertising.

For many companies this would mean an average reduction of 67 per cent on present allocations.

In a free and democratic economy, control of advertising immediately gives control of the press. This is the most serious aspect of the whole business.

As HIMMAT goes to press the Indian Society of Advertisers has advised members to suspend all advertising pending Government review of the situation.

The controls appear to be entirely arbitrary. Completely ignored is the fact that many consumer-

product firms cannot maintain sales, or employment, without substantial advertising, whereas other firms who supply heavy industrial equipment and services need spend much less. Turnover, unrelated to the nature of the product, is a misleading index.

What the public may not realize, and what the Government has chosen to ignore, is that without advertising a great number of smaller newspapers—particularly those in local languages—will inevitably close. Following earlier Government promises of support for this sector of the press, it is disturbing.

One can appreciate the Government's wish to limit tax exemptions but not this punitive regulation directed as it is against the main source of revenue for a free and independent press.

The Government would carry the people with it much more effectively if, in its necessary search for more revenue, it set an example by controlling the travelling and expense accounts of its own personnel.

The new Rules are so anomalous and harsh that one can only assume the Finance Minister has not fully scrutinized the regulations nor fully comprehended their effect. His promised review of the matter is awaited eagerly, and confidently.

Vietnam Smokescreen

AMERICA'S USE of gas has spread a smokescreen over Communism's continuing bid to take South Vietnam. Explanations by Mr. Rusk and Mr. MacNamara that it was non-lethal will not at once relieve the nausea inevitably caused in people's minds by the word "gas".

The furore in the world's press over the gas attacks last week could and should have been avoided.

At the same time, those who now denounce such action of war are strangely silent when it comes to denouncing the murder of civilians by the Viet Cong.

Washington's apparent fresh determination to stay there and lend its strong fist in the fight to keep South Vietnam free is to be welcomed. Where Washington must be chided is for the political expediency which so often backs the wrong men and withholds support from those who could do most.

Washington cannot succeed with a policy that on one hand fights for democracy in Vietnam's jungles and on the other abets the assassination of men like the late President Diem and the frustration of the plans he had, as he put it, for "saturating the country with Moral Re-Armament".

Diem knew that military might and economic aid alone could never create a free and united Vietnam. He also knew that Vietnam needed a revolutionary aim which could overtake Ho Chi Minh's Communism and answer the bitterness and corruption bred during 23 years of non-stop war.

Until Washington understands this and ignores those "experts" in its administration who often "advise" against Moral Re-Armament, its attempts to help secure freedom in Asia will not succeed.

Briefly Speaking...

The man who makes no mistakes does not usually make anything.

EDWARD JOHN PHELPS 1822-1900

End This Cruelty

THE UNION MINISTER for Transport told Parliament that State Governments would ban hand-pulling of rickshaws as soon as alternative employment could be provided to rickshaw-pullers.

Could the Government not help with credit facilities and licences for scooters so that rickshaw pullers and the public both benefit?

And what about men employed in dragging hand-carts who struggle with crushing loads? Is there no society for the prevention of this cruelty?

Outstrips Indonesia

ONE REASON given for Indonesia's belligerent attitude to Malaysia comes from a Canadian journalist, William Stevenson, in his book *Birds' Nests in Their Beards* (Hutchinson 25s). He states that Malaysia is "an experiment which could seriously undermine the Chinese crusade for militant Communism in the underdeveloped countries."

The author also says, "On the doorsteps of China and Indonesia, colonialism died in a way that frustrated Communist plans. Without violence. Without propaganda. The results speak for themselves. One clearly visible result is prosperity. Malaysia has seized from Indonesia the role of the world's biggest supplier of natural rubber..."

India That is India

How DIVISIVE can we be? Mr. U. M. Trivedi, leader of the Jan Sangh in the Lok Sabha, said that political importance in India has shifted, thanks to English, from Uttar Pradesh to Madras State. Mr. Trivedi quoted from a speech by the late Shyama Prasad Mukherji about the political

GRAND DESIGN

The winning entry in the *Grand Design for India* Competition will be published on April 16.



Yes, I'm taking my wife this time because when it comes to bargaining and arguing she is an expert.

eminence of the Hindi-speaking U.P. in the words "India, that is Bharat, that is U.P." He added that the situation had changed. "Now it is India that is Bharat that is Madras."

If the U.P. had eminence in India's politics, it was not because of Hindi, but because U.P. produced men who were giants, the Motilal Nehrus and the Tej Bahadur Saprus of life. The U.P. also, during the Independence Struggle, made a great contribution because its people decided to put the nation before themselves and their States.

Changing Times

RELATIONS between China and the Soviet Union, far from being improved, appear to have worsened. Edward Crankshaw says in *The Observer* that Mao asked Kosygin in Peking not only to repudiate the whole of Khrushchev's anti-Chinese line but also to apologize for it.

In Europe, Roumania is wiping out all traces of Moscow's influence. Streets bearing Russian names are being renamed, the Roumania-Soviet Institute is closed and Russian-type army uniforms have been altered. A new pattern is emerging in Europe. Where it will lead only the future will tell.

R. M. L.

The week in India

TRIVANDRUM — For the fourth time since 1956 President's rule has been decreed for Kerala. The newly-elected Legislative Assembly was dissolved following the failure of any party or coalition of parties to muster enough strength to form a government.

NEW DELHI — 62 million children are enrolled in primary and secondary schools the Union Ministry of Education announced. The percentage of school-going children in the 6-11 age group will be 77.8 per cent by the end of 1966.

NEW DELHI — The production of the Government-owned Hindusthan Housing factory doubled from 1961-62 to 1963-64 "without any increase in the upper levels of management and with very little additional investment in machinery".
LUCKNOW — The Congress Party executive of Uttar Pradesh expelled 109 members for contesting seats against Congress nominees in recent civic election or for working against Party interests.

NEW DELHI — The Government has accepted West Germany's offer to set up a complete television station in New Delhi and train Indian technicians.

NEW DELHI — Only 21,200 houses have been built under the Village Housing Scheme compared to the 127,000 called for in the Third Plan. The scheme was to have been begun in 5,000 villages but "State Governments have only drawn up lay-out plans for 2,800 villages" according to the Union Ministry of Works and Housing.

KOHIMA — Discussions in the Naga underground parliament on whether to accept a solution to the Naga dispute within the Indian Union have been inconclusive. The underground will ask the Burmese Government to allow its leader, A. Z. Phizo, to enter Burma where they can meet him.

NEW DELHI — The annual report of the Ministry of External Affairs states that Peking's aggression against India in 1962 was motivated by ideology as much as by expansionism, and that in China's ideological designs India is the key to the vast "intermediate zone" of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

NEW DELHI — India will likely obtain 14 million tons of wheat and half a million tons of rice during the next two years from America under a new PL 480 agreement.

"Prisoners of Indecision" — or Policies?

by R. M. Lala

MRS. VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT claimed national attention by calling leaders of Government "prisoners of indecision". True, but why does India's leadership continue to suffer from the paralysis of indecision and what is the way out?

No one in India expects the Cabinet to make the right decision on every point. But they do expect the Government to be honest in any decision it makes and put national interests and security first.

One great failing of the Shastri Government is that it continues under the shadow of policies framed by Mr. Nehru in 1955, some of which have since lost utility for the nation and which, in view of recent developments, even Mr. Nehru would have modified. When Mr. Hiren Mukerjee, M.P. (Communist), alleged some time back that Mr. Shastri was deviating from Mr. Nehru's policies, the Prime Minister wasted half an hour in the Lok Sabha defending himself against the charge.

Carrier Ahoy!

When the controversy was raised of the American aircraft carrier being called for by the late Mr. Nehru and being stationed outside Calcutta, Prime Minister Shastri was under considerable pains to deny that such an arrangement was ever made by the late Prime Minister.

Why was he so touchy and concerned by the allegation? Could not Mr. Shastri have raised his voice firmly to say, "The facts given by Mr. Sudhir Ghosh are incorrect, but even so, if the late Prime Minister for the security of India asked for air support and if to defend our sacred soil an aircraft carrier of the United States was stationed in the Bay of Bengal, I see no wrong in it."? The nation would have respected such a stand.

If the truth be known about the aircraft carrier, Mr. Sudhir Ghosh was right in his general assumptions but he was wrong on the actual facts. HIMMAT is reliably informed that the late Prime Minister did write to the President of the United States for air support in November 1962 when

China was threatening the plains of Assam. Obviously, if the United States wanted to give the support, it had either to fly planes from bases on land or bring closer to India's shores war planes stationed on aircraft carriers. A United States aircraft carrier was in the Bay of Bengal at the time, though not as close to Calcutta as Mr. Ghosh made out, according to our information.

Scant Gratitude

The Prime Minister should have rapped the knuckles of the M.P.s who threw up their hands in horror and made capital of the aircraft carrier incident. The same M.P.s would have gratefully acknowledged the help in November 1962. We have shown scant gratitude for the support of friends who have helped us in our need, whilst we have shown respectful deference to the dead wood of dead policies.

Mr. Shastri had a golden chance to break with these outworn policies on the occasion of the aircraft carrier incident. He missed it. If he does not break with these policies soon, his Government may well break upon the rock of them.

Some of these policies need to be reconsidered in view of fresh information available to the Government.

I understand from reliable sources that Mr. Nanda has more than enough evidence in his hands (a) to ban the Left Communist Party, (b) to discipline the Right Communist Party and (c) to take stringent action against Diplomatic Missions which have financially aided the Communists.

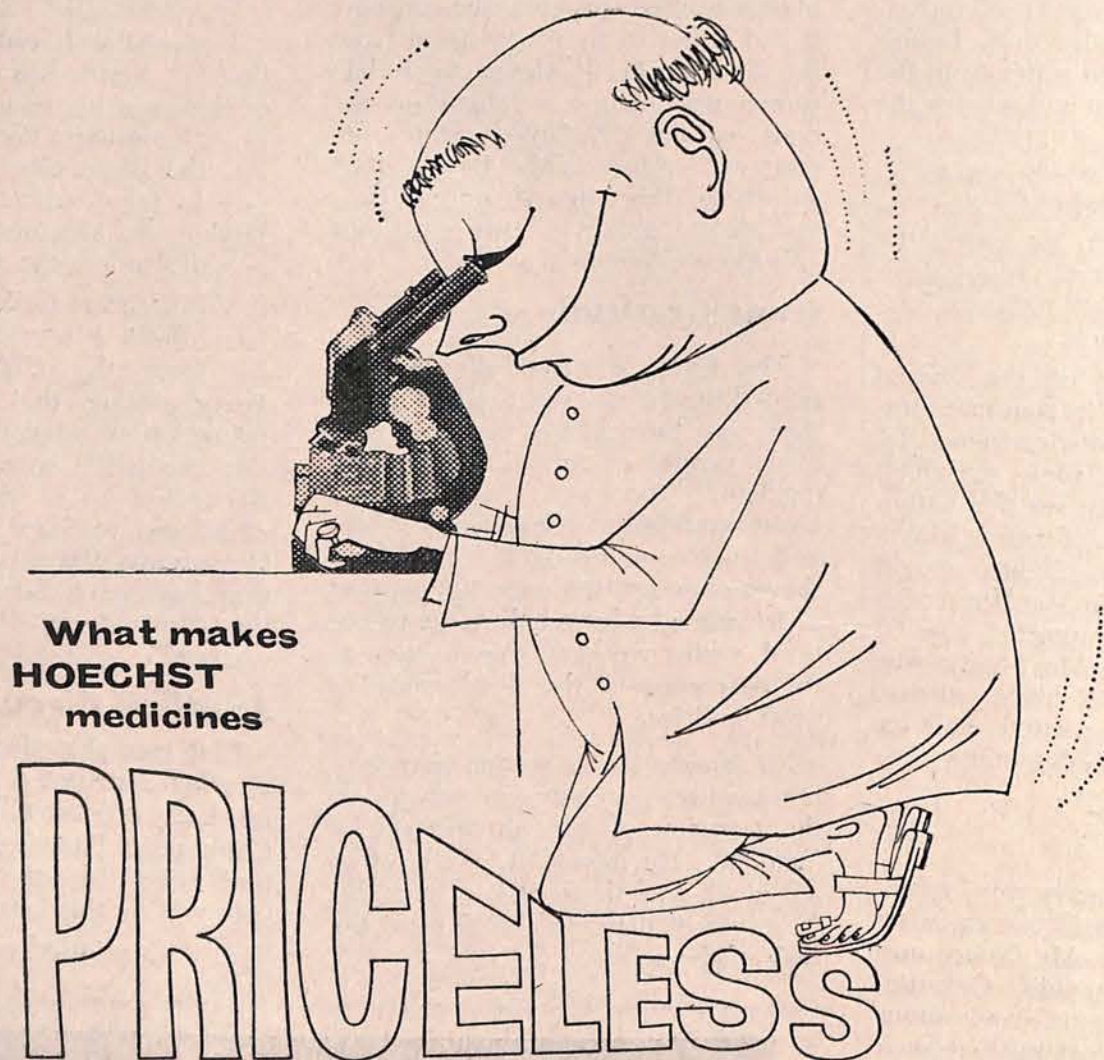
With some difficulty Mr. Nanda has admitted the existence of a circular from the Chinese Communist Party stating that their Telangana insurrection failed because there was "no Socialist country near India". According to a note surreptitiously circulated to State units of the Left Communist Party of India, the situation had now changed and it was time "to revive the Telangana type of warfare".

Another Circular

Is it true that there is also another circular distributed to Left Communist Party officials telling them that the Communist Party's biggest error was that units did not simultaneously revolt within the country when China

Continued on page 16





What makes
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EQUIPMENT!

You mean those cogs, pulleys and things?
No, we mean modern up-to-date equipment. Like the electron microscope, which can magnify a virus several thousand times. And the electrochromatograph.

Electro what?

ELECTROCHROMATOGRAPH. Then there are giant antibiotic plants which are so completely automated that there's hardly an operator to be seen. And great gleaming—

Stop! I'm impressed.

Equipment is just one thing. Then there's cease-

less research, fierce testing, stern quality control and (kindly desist from breathing so heavily) experience. Experience distilled from a century's pioneering work—worldwide experience that backs every HOECHST medicine, whether it's made in India or elsewhere.

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HOECHST medicines are priceless. Exactly! Your doctor knows this and that's why he recommends our medicines with confidence. So now, lie back and relax...



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Swatantra Party Examined

"THE RAISON D'ETRE of the Swatantra Party is that but for it, India would have gone Communist on the Chinese model," said a leading spokesman of the Swatantra Party. "It offered an alternative channel to the discontent of the nation and the incipient role of Communism in the Congress Party."

The youngest of national political parties, it has emerged as the most effective critic of Government policies on the right. The prestige of India's elder statesman, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, whom many consider the greatest living Indian, his killing pen and common sense critique and the organizational abilities of the Party's efficient General Secretary, M. R. Masani, have brought together the more bitter opponents of Nehru Socialism, "free-enterprising" businessmen who felt the need for a separate forum and the urban middle class dissatisfied with Congress rule.

With the handicap that attaches to a party that is professedly against Socialism, the emergence of the Swatantra Party in three years as the second largest party in the country, with 25 members in Parliament, 207 seats in State Assemblies (reduced after the action against the Bihar unit of the Party) and 9 per cent of the total polled at the Lok Sabha elections, is remarkable.

Steamroller Majority

In a country used to the steamroller majorities of the Congress Party since 1947, where failure and frustration led most non-Communist critics of Government back into the fold of Congress, it re-established faith in Parliamentary Opposition.

Its immediate programme is defeat of the Congress at the next elections. "They are prisoners of the Past," said Mr. Masani about the Congress Party. "They can never escape. The only way to free them from the shackle of the Nehru legacy is to deny them their majority." The Party is therefore committed to electoral understandings with every other group except the Communist Party.

In practice, however, this may be hard to achieve because of temperament, as well as by training, the leaders of the Party are as far from the purely Hindu appeal of the Jan

Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha as they are from the bizarre combination of left wing fervour and linguistic fanaticism of Ram Manohar Lohia.

Not all the Swatantra leaders, however, will agree with the stand of Rajaji that defeat of the Congress is the first duty. Many of them are concerned that opposition to the Congress should not strengthen ideological opponents of Swatantra.

As in Kerala, the question of a viable alternative government will remain. This will bring out the basic affinity of Swatantra politics with the ideas of the more practical and less doctrinaire Congressmen. It was the hope that Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri

Under the Lens

might prove to be such a person, that kept the Party in an uncertain stage of limited opposition for sometime. Though the Party has reverted to its role of vigorous opposition once again, any shifts in Congress leadership and power factions is bound to re-open the question.

The representation of the Party as an anti-planning, anti-Socialistic, pro-free-enterprise Party is not altogether undeserved. The Party Statement of Policy is a classic re-statement of the philosophy and the merits of private enterprise. The effect of its telling criticism, often correct, of the inefficiencies of State enterprise and the evils of statism is blunted by what seems a blindness towards the injustice and selfishness of Indian capitalist enterprise and the glaring inefficiencies of private management.

Swatantra criticism that the present food situation is a result of the failure of Government policy is correct. Their plea for more consumer goods is welcome. Their definition of Indian agriculture as "the basic industry" should have been recognised by the Government long ago. Their call for more encouragement of initiative and enterprise is a realistic one.

But the Party has failed to convince a large number, even of Congress critics, that their alternative of "minimum" government is the way out of "over government". Nor have the majority of businessmen of India

set an example of patriotic effort to justify the claims of Swatantra.

The greatest success of the Swatantra Party has been in establishing the effectiveness of intelligent and reasoned Parliamentary Opposition. The Party has educated the literate masses of India on fundamental issues like non-alignment and foreign policy, atom bombs, gold control, defence and State enterprise by presenting an effective critique as well as a political and economic alternative. Public criticism has been more bold and intelligent since it was founded.

The greatest weakness, apart from its doctrinaire commitment to free enterprise, has been its failure, as yet, to provide a moral alternative to the Congress. The commitment of many to the Party has not grown beyond their disgruntlement with Congress.

Western liberal tradition, from which Swatantra borrows a great deal, seeks an explanation for the moral decline of a nation in its institutions. The main reason for corruption, for example, in the view of some of its leaders, is the opportunity that the power of patronage provides in a state that controls more and more.

Banner of Revolt

But this is only partially true. The "nouveau riche" of nascent industrial economies in America and Britain, operating under free enterprise, were as corrupt and callous as the "new class" in India that Mr. Masani refers to. The root cause really lies in the manner in which the forces of industrialization break the traditional bases of morality and faith.

The role of the Swatantra has become much more important after the passing of Nehru. Nothing is certain in the country any more, because there is no force—in terms of aims, personalities or even a common need—to hold this country together. With the Congress Party not strongly united, and alignments shifting constantly in the Party, the nation needs an alternative that transcends the purely political.

The Swatantra, which raised a bold banner of revolt against the Congress six years ago, may have to prepare the nation for an era of united effort inside and outside the Congress.

R. VAITHESWARAN

Foreign Aid and Debt Repayments

By M. S. Dabke

SOME TEN YEARS AGO, Indo-Soviet co-operation was heralded with the Russian offer to us of the Bhilai steel mill. Soviet assistance started at the time when our First Five Year Plan was in the last lap. By and large, Russia virtually ignored the developing countries till this time. The reasons are two-fold, political and economic.

Up to 1950, Russia was not able to export appreciable quantities of manufactures. Her own industries were still inadequately developed when the Second World War broke out and the great damage done by the War was only made good around 1950. Naturally, it took Russia at

It will be seen in Table No. 1 that the United States is clearly the leader. The grand total of aid from the U.S. to India now stands at \$5,933.7 million or Rs. 2,825.6 crores. This shows an increase of Rs. 233.1 crores since the figures were last compiled in August 1964. Out of the total aid to India \$1,371.3 million or Rs. 630 crores amount to grants which are not repayable. Only 30 per cent of the total U.S. aid to India involves Foreign Exchange payments. Nearly a quarter represents grants.

Due to historical and Commonwealth ties, the United Kingdom has great interest in our prosperity and British assistance to us would con-

moderate aid from the Soviet Union. The rates of interest and periods of repayment of loans from the free countries are more favourable to India.

In prospect, the United States is marching towards the "Great Society" and hence opens greater and dependable avenues of assistance. With all her balance of payments difficulties, U.K. has a keen interest in India and aid from her would continue for some years to come, at least at the present level. While Germany's interest in India is growing, Russia is confronted with the economic difficulties of her own as pointed out already. Inevitably, the recent shift in Soviet economic policies points to a prospect of restricted assistance in future years.

TABLE No. 1 Foreign Assistance (Figures in Rs/crores, as per latest estimates)

Country	Loan	Grants	Aid through Aid India Consortium
U.S.A.	2,825.6	630.0	880.95
U.S.S.R.	383.8	1.2	Not a member
UNITED KINGDOM	289.3	1.5	206.67
WEST GERMANY	359.9	2.1	265.95

least five years to set her own house in order before she could sight beyond her frontiers.

What will be the future pattern of Russian aid to India? Purely economic factors indicate that the rate of industrial growth there is falling. While there are strong competing claims inside the country for resources, the rulers' promise to execute an ambitious plan for housing is yet to be redeemed. Some more factors that would limit Russian aid to outsiders in years to come are, (i) no signs of relief in expenditures on armed forces, (ii) abnormally high sales of gold to pay for wheat imported last year, and (iii) the vast programme for chemicals contributing to the present shortage of capital goods. The easiest and the most honourable way out, therefore, will probably be to avoid making fresh commitments while honouring those made already.

In this context our intention to rely on larger Soviet aid during the Fourth Plan period needs review.

Among the democratic countries helping India's development effort, U.S.A., U.K. and West Germany are the most prominent.

continue at the present rate of approximately £150 million per year. But the significance of British aid to India is that the United Kingdom took a leading part in organizing the Aid India Consortium.

In Table No. 2 is given a brief resume of the terms under which assistance to India is given by the four principle sources, viz., U.S.A; U.S.S.R; U.K; and West Germany. Assistance from the World Bank and allied institutions is also considerable but such is beyond the scope of this article.

The assistance from democratic countries is massive in contrast to the

TABLE No. 2 Terms of Loans

Country	Interest Rates	Period of Repayment	Grace Periods
U.S.A.	Varying from 4% to 1/4%	Long, often up to 40 years	Usually 7 years during which no interest is charged
U.S.S.R.	Normally 2% to 1/2%	Twelve years	No grace period
UNITED KINGDOM	Recent trend 3% to 1/2% (after rebates)	Twenty-five years	Usually 7 years during which no interest is charged
WEST GERMANY	Normally 4% to 3 1/2%		

Performance Lags

What is our performance in the light of this allocation of massive foreign assistance? Introspection disappoints. After one and a half decades of planning our standard of living is trailing tragically behind the targets, rate of growth is far from being impressive and debts and repayments are soaring high to an alarming proportion. For instance, India's External Debt formed 10 per cent of the Plan finance for the First Five Year Plan. During the Second Five Year Plan it rose to 24 per cent and for the Third Five Year Plan it is estimated to be 29 per cent. Our Foreign Debts tripled during the period 1955-59 and now stand increased ten-fold compared to figures at the beginning of planning. Our External Assistance is now well set for the Rs. 3,400 crores mark.

Loans with the maturity period of

7-10 years formed 10 per cent of the External Assistance during the Second Plan period and these would be due for repayments during the Fourth Plan. The crushing burden, however, would be felt during the Fifth Five Year Plan when loans with the maturity period of 11-14 years raised during the Second Five Year Plan would be repayable. Loans of this span of maturity formed 33 per cent of External assistance during the Second Five Year Plan.

The major bulk of these loans has to be repaid through exports. If exports had been rising at a speed that would overtake the repayment instalments there would be no cause for alarm. To achieve this the planning should have been export-oriented since its inception. But it was not.

The magnitude of the problem of interest payments on our Foreign

around Rs. 5,000 crores. Our population then would be 500 million. In other words, our net per capita Foreign Debt would come to Rs. 100!

Have we the right to commit future generations so heavily?

The answer is yes, provided we have honesty, efficiency and hard work; in essence, if we have integrity.

From farm to factory the atmosphere today is polluted with frustration. All incentives have disappeared. The administrators of tax laws are disgruntled and the people distressed. The impact of planning is felt not in better flow of consumer goods and services but through exacting taxes and levies. The crisis of confidence is deepening and our planning seems to have misfired.

Just a few illustrations. Our non-development expenditure has gone up from Rs. 518 crores in 1950-51 to

TABLE No. 3 India's Debt Repayment Obligations during past 5 years and projected average annual repayments during Fourth Plan period:

1960-61	Rs. 50 crores
1961-62	Rs. 94 crores
1962-63	Rs. 90 crores
1963-64	Rs. 96 crores
1964-65	Rs. 140 crores
4th Plan Average	Rs. 245 crores

Debt can be judged from the fact that in the First Plan it constituted only 3 per cent of our export proceeds. At present interest payments constitute 13 per cent of our export earnings.

When we add instalment payments to the interest payments the emerging picture unnerves completely. But that is not the end of it. Total repayments during the Fourth Plan period would amount to Rs. 1,100 crores. When interest is added, annual repayments during the period would work out to Rs. 245 crores, around 10 per cent of annual revenue.

The worst aspect, however, of our recklessly rising Foreign Debts is that we have reached a stage where further loans have to be raised to repay existing ones. It is a killing impasse.

In other words, we have mortgaged the nation's future. On a modest reckoning, additional External Debts to the extent of Rs. 3,200 crores would be contracted during the Fourth Plan Period. Deducting Rs. 1,100 crores towards repayments, the net hang-over of External Debts at the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan would be

Rs. 1,655 crores in 1963-64, an increase of over 300 per cent. If the Central and State Governments adopt a vigilant policy of plugging wasteful expenditure, we should be able to build up additional current resources of about Rs. 200 crores per annum without additional taxation, or Rs. 1,000 crores during the Fourth Plan period. It is interesting to see how this figure of projected savings ranks close to the amount of Rs. 1,100 crores slated for repayments of External Debts during the Fourth Plan.

Poor performance of Public Sector Undertakings is yet another pointer to perished incentives. The Memorandum for the Fourth Plan has saddled the Public Sector Undertakings with the task of mobilizing a surplus of Rs. 900 crores during the period. But during the first three years of the current Plan, the surpluses of Public Sector undertakings amounted to no more than Rs. 139 crores against the Plan target of about Rs. 450 crores.

Whether the Fourth Plan target of Rs. 900 crores will be salvaged from the papers is now anybody's guess.

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Britain's Immigration Explosion

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

INDIA and other Commonwealth countries will shortly be visited by senior British officials. They will come to discuss ways of controlling immigration. This is one of the steps announced by Harold Wilson in an attempt to answer what the *Evening Standard* describes as "one of the most serious domestic crises this country has faced for many years."

Another is the introduction of a bill against racial discrimination and incitement of race hatred and the appointment of Mr. Maurice Foley, M.P., to co-ordinate Government action and encourage local authorities and voluntary efforts. "It is accepted," the Prime Minister told the House of Commons, "that once immigrants are here they should be treated for all purposes as citizens of the U.K. without discrimination."

This assurance drew unqualified support from the Leader of the Opposition, Sir Alec Douglas-Home. M.P.s decided to set up an all-party committee "to promote a bi-partisan approach to immigration policy and to treat it as a national rather than a party problem".

One million coloured people live in Britain. Since 1945, 225,000 Indians and Pakistanis have entered the country. Given the present rate of influx and of birth, there will be nearly 3 million by the end of the century.

Most come because of economic hardship at home. So there needs to be economic co-operation within the Commonwealth which can lift the living standard of less fortunate members. Leaders of Jamaica, Barbados and British Guiana, meeting in Georgetown, have urged Britain to speed development within the Caribbean as a way of easing the immigration problem.

The Government is giving priority to tackling the housing shortage, reason No. 1 for racial unrest. Immigrants concentrate in the towns where there is the biggest opportunity for work. Spreading industry over more areas of the country will help lessen the overcrowding in the South and the Midlands. The Government has plans, too, to improve educational and medical facilities which will have immediate bearing on the problem.



Harold Wilson

There is increasingly in Britain a live conscience that will not tolerate, much longer, outdated attitudes.

Exorcize Racism

The "shock" report produced last week about London's housing, the publicity given to "Smethwick", have led to a greater readiness for public discussion of the issues involved. To examine the implications of a great and growing flood of immigrants and to seek ways of promoting the welfare, the health and the social surroundings of those who are already here, points out the *Daily Express*, is not racist. "In fact, that is the duty of a civilized nation."

"We have to exorcize from the conduct of our own national affairs," says the Prime Minister, "the evil spirit of racialism and intolerance. We cannot have first and second class citizens in this country."

The new appointee, 39-year-old Mr. Foley, says he will attack racial discrimination through local committees of influential employers and trade unionists in 20 or 30 areas that have large coloured minorities. He regards as most important his plans to introduce positive policies of integration. "This cannot be done by legislation or coercion," he emphasizes. "It's a matter of conscience, of human behaviour. We owe it to the world to make this thing work. If we can't, heaven help us all."

De Gaulle's Men Lose First Round

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Paris

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS do not usually make world news. But the eyes of many political observers, not only in Europe, have been turned to France, where the French people have been electing their mayors and local councils for the next four years.

These elections were closely watched for two reasons. On one hand it was already the first round in the Presidential race of November where de Gaulle—if his health allows—will try to win another seven years of power. The municipal elections were also of greatest importance for de Gaulle's only serious rival in the Presidential elections, the Socialist Mayor of Marseilles, Georges Deferre.

Deferre actually won his election with a comfortable majority, controlling 41 of the 63 seats in the new city council of Marseilles. In spite of his victory the bitter campaign leading up to the election will not have helped him to enhance his already slender chance of beating de Gaulle.

But the biggest losers of these municipal elections were without any doubt de Gaulle himself and his party, the Union for a New Republic (UNR). Both de Gaulle and the leaders of the old parties which the General had pushed into the cold when he came to power, realized clearly that the true issue of these elections was who would control France after de Gaulle has gone.

To secure his reign even after his death, de Gaulle wanted representatives of the UNR Party in as many

of the key positions of the national life as possible. The old parties who were defeated several times in national elections had kept their strength intact in the local councils all around the nation. That was what the real battle was all about.

There is no doubt that de Gaulle's men lost this round. They may have won a few seats here and there, and in Paris itself the UNR will be the strongest group in the city council occupying 39 of the 90 seats. But none of the important towns fell into the hands of the Gaullists.

The tactics of de Gaulle's men and of the Communists were practically the same. They both said to the electorate: "There is no centre. You will have to choose between de Gaulle and a popular front." The French people refused to accept this alternative. So the centre parties reconquered practically all the seats they had held previously.

The Socialists who had played with the idea of a popular front with the Communists decided in most cases against such a manoeuvre. Only in the Paris region, in 37 of the 39 suburban industrial concentrations, did the popular front lists win with a

Continued on page 12

The week in Asia

COLOMBO — Dudley Senanayake, leader of the United National Party, is Ceylon's new Prime Minister. His party gained 66 of the 151 seats contested against Mrs. Bandaranaike's Freedom Party which won 41. He will preside over a five-party coalition which will include the Tamil Federal Party and six nominated members representing minority interests. Mrs. Bandaranaike delayed her resignation for 36 hours after the results were known in an attempt to gain Federal Party support for a coalition with the Communists and the Lanka Sama Samaj (Trotskyites).

SAIGON — President Johnson offered "economic and social co-operation" to North Vietnam if she withdrew her troops and ended all subversion.

RANGOON — Buddhist monks held mass meetings in Mandalay, Bassein and Rangoon protesting against Government interference in the monasteries under the guise of a "purification" campaign. They said the people were facing hardship at the hands of President Ne Win's "ex-Communist advisers".

SINGAPORE — Radio Malaysia accused Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio of being a secret member of the Communist Party of Indonesia for 12 years. "Communism has become part of Indonesia's national identity," Subandrio is reported to have told police officers in Djakarta. RAWALPINDI — Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi signed a border agreement with Pakistan demarcating 300 miles of the Kashmir-Sinkiang border. In Kabul he offered Afghanistan a loan of £10 million.

TOKYO — The U. S. will move its nuclear-powered task force—a giant aircraft carrier, two guided missile frigates and a guided missile carrier—from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

PEKING — A top delegation from the U.A.R. is negotiating an 80 million dollar loan which was offered months ago by China but only now is being taken up in the face of the cancellation of West German aid.

KARACHI — President Ayub Khan's Muslim League gained a majority of 103 seats over the Opposition in elections to the National Assembly.

SAIGON — Viet Cong rebels are running short of supplies and ammunition due to heavy American raids on North Vietnamese supply dumps.

PEKING — *The People's Daily*, official organ of the Communist Party, promised Chinese soldiers, arms and war material to the Viet Cong when asked for.

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LETTERS

EXAM SHOCK

Sir,

I have just written my S.S.C. exam a few days back. I had heard something about Exam Hall corruption, but I was shocked to see with my own eyes the amount of cheating that goes on in this first University exam that a student sits.

One of the rules the candidate must strictly follow reads: "Candidates will be expelled from the examination hall if they speak to or communicate with any other candidates." But the students in my hall talked to each other and discussed their answers as if the examination hall was a coffee house.

What was more shocking and unbelievable was that the supervisors encouraged cheating. Either they turned their backs on the cheating or themselves told the students whatever answer the students asked. They were easily bullied and bribed by the students. Is this a supervisor's job? And above all, the students think it perfectly all right to be "a little bit friendly and help each other". Is it not the supervisor's duty to expel such students? Yet nothing is being done.

If such things happen in the easy S.S.C. exams, I wonder what happens in

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS-cont'd.

great majority. Of the cities with a population of more than 30,000 inhabitants, the Communists took over control in 34 cities (25 at the last elections), while the Socialists succeeded in retaining power in 32 (41 at the last elections).

De Gaulle will have several months now to think over how to deal with the paradoxical situation where the voters do not seem to tire of de Gaulle but obviously show no great desire to have him followed by his disciples.

Middle East Turmoil

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

A GERMAN housewife here answered her doorbell a few days ago and was confronted by an unknown woman silently holding a sign, "All Germans Go Home!" In Tripoli, 60 miles to the north, 20 demonstrators were wounded by police shotguns when they threatened to get out of hand.

In Beirut itself between ten and fifteen thousand people massed in Riadh Solh Square. They stoned a

the higher, tougher, and critical exams. What happens to patients who are treated by an unqualified doctor who passes through cheating and bribing? What happens to our glorious Five-Year Plans if they are conducted by engineers who know nothing about their job?

The life of the nation depends on the honesty in the examination hall. Are the Universities going to sit back and watch this life being slowly quenched and the hope of India dragged in the dust?

S.S.C. CANDIDATE

Bombay 6

(Name supplied).

BOLD VENTURE

Sir,

Congratulations for your bold venture. Definitely at this critical juncture, when the whole nation is repeatedly facing the threat of external aggression, lowering of moral standards amongst our own people and a uniform state of stagnated affairs, you are doing a great national service by producing some creative literature.

I request your weekly to work for the unification of our youth for a progressive society. You must mobilize our youth in fighting evils of corruption, red-tapism and in working for a more humanitarian society. Our youth have to imbibe the spirit of the father of the nation and working capacity of Nehru.

K. SHANTARAM PAI

Mangalore

portrait of Lebanon's recent State Guest, President Bourguiba of Tunisia, and broke windows in the Tunisian Bank in protest against Bourguiba's recent rather moderate statements about Palestine. Their placards read: "Down with West Germany and its Agent, Israel"—"Bourguiba, Agent of the Imperialists"—"Let Us Fight". German embassies in several Arab capitals were given rough treatment as relations moved toward the break point.

Whatever reservations some Arab moderates may have as to where all this high emotion will lead, none dares do other than go along with the popular cry against Israel and any who aid her.

The Arab States and Israel are more evenly matched, militarily, now than was the case in 1956 at the time of the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt. However, President Nasser can hardly contemplate a war with Israel while 40,000 of his troops are still tied down in Yemen. Over this turbulence lies the show of the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean.

THE BOMB THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

by Stephen Foot

Author of "Life Began Yesterday", "Three Lives and Now", etc.

IN OCTOBER 1970 the international scene appeared to be more peaceful than it had been for many years. China was the one question-mark.

Since 1964, when they produced their first Atom bomb, the Chinese had given top priority to the development of Nuclear weapons and had just succeeded in producing a Hydrogen bomb five hundred times as powerful as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima twenty-five years before.

Peking was celebrating this outstanding technological achievement, won, as they proudly boasted, without any help from Russia.

October 10, the Double Ten, had always been a red-letter day. This year it was proclaimed a holiday throughout the whole of China. More than a million of the leaders of the country were summoned to Peking to join in the great demonstration.

The President of the Chinese People's Republic announced that on October 10 there would be a gigantic procession, headed by one of the new bombs on its way to the test area.

At exactly 12 noon the President gave the signal for the procession to start. Five minutes later two million Chinese were dead in Peking.

The explosion of a Hydrogen bomb in the streets of Peking might have been sabotage. It might have been over-confidence. Every seismograph in the world recorded the explosion.

The General Assembly of the United Nations Organization was in session. A special meeting was hastily called to hear the latest news.

The Representative of Japan took the floor. He said: "Five years ago the inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki decided to prepare for the possibility of an accident with an Atom bomb anywhere in Asia. With the help of the Japanese Government, they established an aerodrome with planes instantly available day or night to fly to the rescue, with every kind of nuclear protection. Peking is less than 1000 miles from Hiroshima. The rescue planes are already on their way. I am expecting a report at any moment."

While the Japanese Representative was speaking, a message was handed to him. He read it out:

"Peking completely destroyed. Fires blazing all over city. Only limited fall-out."

China had succeeded in producing an almost "clean" bomb. The next message from the Commander of the Rescue Squadron gave some hope that there might be a few survivors:

"Only building still standing is State Prison on outskirts of city."

There were some survivors. The massive stone walls of the prison and underground cells had given ideal protection. Some of the Peking morning newspapers had been preserved. They all gave lists of the principal guests at the demonstration. They included 3020 members of the People's National Council out of a total of 3073—in fact, the leadership of the whole nation.

This loss of a million picked leaders of the nation was a crushing blow. It struck the imagination of the whole world and offers to help in the work of rehabilitation poured into the H.Q. of the U.N. A special joint meeting of the General Assembly and the Security Council was called.

During this meeting a remarkable message came by special plane from Peking. The heading was "Provisional Government of the People's Republic of China". It was signed by 53 members of the Chinese National Council. It read as follows:

"We, the undersigned, are the only surviving members of the Council of the Chinese People's Republic. We accept responsibility for the whole country and claim recognition by the U.N. and all the governments it represents."

In a memorandum accompanying this message, the 53 M.P.'s explained that they had been in prison because they were firmly opposed to the existing policy of preparing for an aggressive war and had dared to say so. The new Government intended to throw the whole country open to inspection by the representatives of the U.N. and they now invited Gene-

ral Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese leaders in Formosa to meet with them as soon as possible in order to settle the differences between them.

It was an historic meeting of the U.N. India, to the amazement of the other delegates, proposed that the new Chinese People's Republic should be admitted to membership.

The Prime Minister of Australia, said:

"Many of us in Australia think that the time has come for us to take our place as an Asian country and to plan how we can help India and China to solve their problems."

The Representative of the U.S.A. said: "I am instructed by my Government to say that they intend to adopt a completely different policy with regard to China.

"The American people have been shocked beyond measure at what has happened in China.

"As a first practical step the U.S.A. has ordered the whole Pacific Fleet to concentrate in Chinese waters. All Hospital Ships, Medical Staffs, Monitoring equipment and Blood Transfusion Units will be available for the rescue operation."

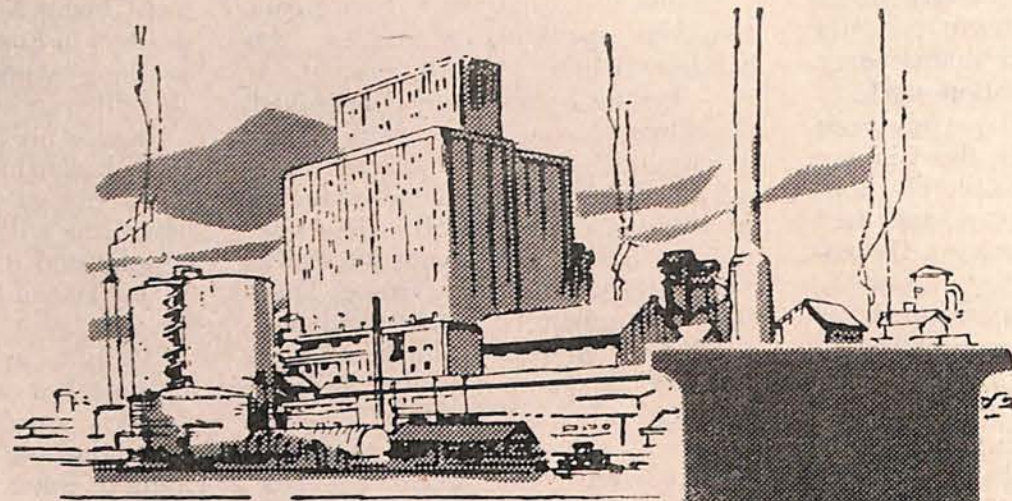
The Representative of Brazil made a notable contribution to the debate. He said: "How can we help in this world emergency? This is the question that must be asked by every country."

Then he went on: "But there is something more to be done. We must ask ourselves whether, directly or indirectly, we are in any way responsible for what has happened?"

The Secretary-General of the U.N. spoke last. He said:

"I have been at the heart of this Organization since its foundation twenty-five years ago. Today I am aware of a deep change of heart. China's disaster has given the shock we needed. Without it, like the old League of Nations, we were doomed to failure. Today I see hope.

"Today our target is the rehabilitation of one country. Tomorrow it must be the rehabilitation of the world."



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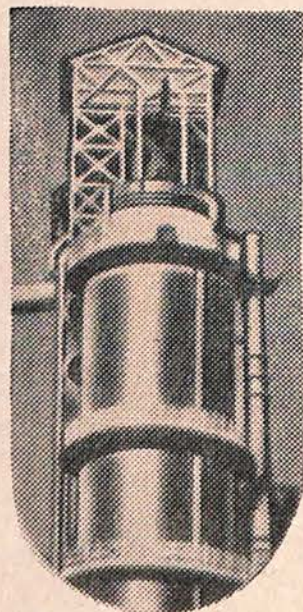
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FOR WOMEN

Where Women Run Machines

by Jini Taleyarkhan

"I HAVE LIVED all my life with the machine," said Mrs. Yamutai Kirloskar, wife of the well-known businessman S. L. Kirloskar of Poona.

Mrs. Kirloskar hails from Wai, the small village town situated at the foot of the Wai Ghats which wind up to picturesque Panchgani and Mahableshwar.

Thirty-eight years ago—in 1927—she went to live in Kirloskarwadi, near Satara, as the bride of Mr. Kirloskar. Now she is the mistress of the estate called Lakaki with its spacious bungalow and magnificent lawns and garden.

Gardening is Mrs. Kirloskar's hobby—but her life is devoted to her factory where she employs only women. When asked what inspired her to start such a venture, she replied, "I used to spend a lot of time in social work but I found it was not enough and not satisfying." She believes that women's problems cannot

be answered by social work and charity.

"Samaj Kalyan Yantra Kamgar Mahila Sahakari Karkhana" is what the women's factory is called. Besides turning out special bearings used in motor cars or diesel engines, the main function of the factory is to give women confidence and self-assurance and a sense of being needed.

"We Work Hard"

The most human factor about this undertaking is the way Mrs. Kirloskar selects her workers. Those who are unfortunate, those who are really needy and those women who have some slight physical deformity or blemish and are therefore not likely to be married are the ones who find a home in this factory. There are many touching stories of how these ladies have come into their own, as it were.



Mrs. Kirloskar

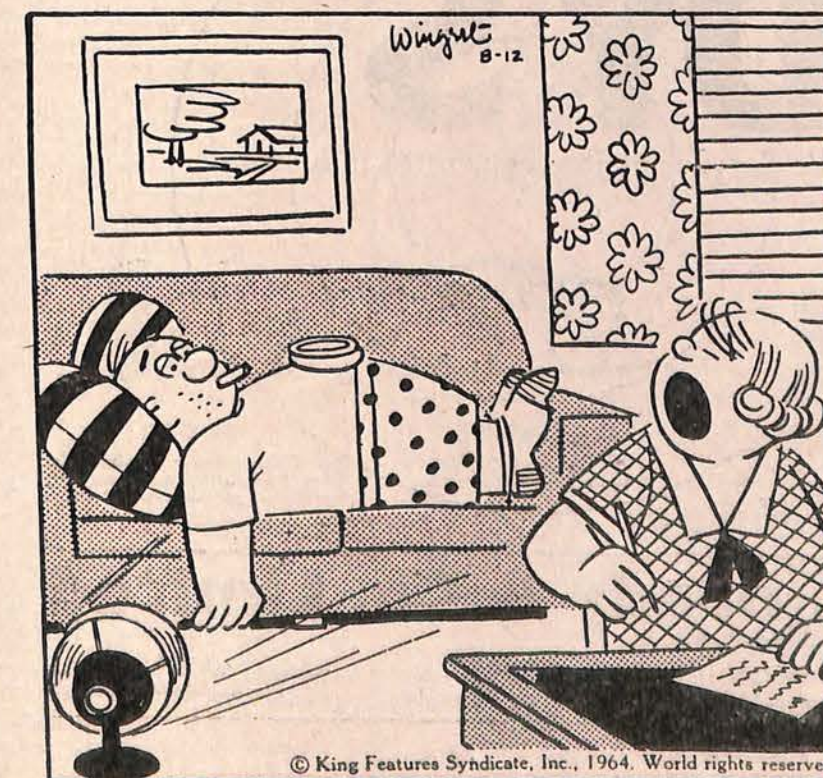
Only six years ago the factory started in Khirkee near Poona in a very small way. Today the numbers have multiplied many times. Wages have gone up—the women earn as much as Rs. 100 or Rs. 200. Also in the last two years they have received a bonus. One widow, for instance, is able to send her son to college. All the workers have been encouraged to open savings accounts.

"My workers are like my sisters," said Mrs. Kirloskar. "We share our problems and our joys."

When asked about her future plans and aims, this was the answer she gave: "My aim is that the example of this factory be taken up and that throughout the country thousands of such factories spring up. We work hard. Hard work is the answer to any problem."

Mrs. Kirloskar is the Chairman of the Maharashtra State Council for Women's Education. With her sound, solid ideas she will be a great asset in this capacity.

HUBERT



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PRISONERS —from page 5

last invaded India and that when China next attacks they should recruit rowdy elements like the *goondas* to participate in such a revolt?

The Indian nation now has a right to know the answer to certain questions, some of which should be raised in Parliament:

(1) Does the Government of India have any evidence that arms were smuggled from China through Burma and Nagaland into India for such an armed revolt?

(2) Is it true that a sum estimated at Rs. 16 crores was distributed by two foreign Missions in India?

(3) Are North Vietnam and Indonesia these two foreign Missions?

(4) Are there "seven parties" inside the Indian Union through whom this substantial amount has been distributed? If so, who are they?

(5) Is it true that the Bank of China has distributed to sources in India a sum totalling Rs. 7½ crores?

(6) Was most of the money given out by China on the eve of the gene-

ral elections in India in 1957 and 1962?

(7) Is it correct that, according to the investigation of the C.B.I., a major beneficiary of the funds from China was Mr. S. A. Dange, Chairman of the now pro-Moscow Communist Party?

Why is the Government so reluctant to disclose these particulars to the Indian nation?

The only conclusion one can come to is that if the Indian people know these facts they will demand more decisive action. The Government is concerned that such action would strain relations with Moscow.

Why Defer to Soviet?

The Government needs the authority to say to the Soviet Union, "We have been your friends and will continue to be so, but it has to be the relationship of two self-respecting nations. We cannot sacrifice our freedom for your friendship."

While the Government may feel the need for the Soviet veto on Kashmir, the Soviet Union also needs India's friendship. Why should India

defer to the Soviet Union more than Roumania or Albania do?

The truth is that deep inroads have been made into the security of our country. And the Government needs to break through the present paralysis of indecision, to tell the nation the truth and to spark her once again with a patriotic fervour to defend herself as happened in 1962.

The Government must realize that Mrs. Pandit's charge of indecision represents the honest feeling of a great number of people. What Mrs. Pandit should realize, however, is that she can now help the Government to face the *cause* of its indecision—a refusal to abandon out-worn policies.

Mr. Nanda will get all the support he needs from the Indian nation provided he decides to stand up for what he knows in his heart is right for India, whatever the cost to him personally. He need not be overruled by his colleagues where national interests are concerned. He can still:

*Dare to be a Daniel,
Dare to stand alone,
Dare to have a purpose true,
Dare to make it known.*

This was a life

GUISEPPE GARIBALDI

1807-1882

GARIBALDI, the most romantic figure of a romantic epoch—the Italian *risorgimento*—captured the imagination of his age.

Fighting was his life. If it was not directly for Italy's cause, it would be for someone else's. It was in fighting for the independence of the young Republics of Latin America that he first earned experience and fame as a guerrilla captain.

All through his South American adventures, Garibaldi never forget his life's aim of forging a united Italy out of a patchwork of warring states. In Montevideo, with this in view, he formed the Italian Legion who first wore the famous "Red Shirts".

In 1848, after 14 years of exile, Garibaldi set sail with some of his "Red Shirts" for Europe. He discovered Italy in ferment, everywhere in revolt against French and Austrian rule and local tyrannies. He hastened to join the fray. As the pocket rebellions collapsed under Austrian arms, he was placed in command of the garrison in Rome which, together with Venice, was still holding out. His gallant defence of Rome, and his subsequent flight across Italy into exile pursued by four armies, has become a legend.

Within six years he was back in Italy. When Piedmont-Sardinia, the only truly independent Italian state, went to war with Austria in 1859, Garibaldi was placed in command of the Alpine Infantry.

In 1860 came his greatest feat. In the teeth of official opposition, he set sail for Sicily with 1,000 of his "Red Shirts". It looked like madness—a thousand ill-armed volunteers pitted against an island garrison of 24,000 Neapolitan regulars. His march across Sicily turned into a triumphal procession. He crossed to the mainland and, to the astonishment of all Europe, proceeded to take Naples. Having handed over his "conquests" to King Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont-Sardinia, he quietly returned to his island home of Caprera.

This was the contribution of Garibaldi's creed of direct action to the unification of Italy. Though in the end it took more than such exploits to create a great nation, Garibaldi ranks foremost amongst the makers of modern Italy.

Q and A

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

Q—Will there be any result to Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's March in U.S.A.?

GAUTAM, Hyderabad.

A—Latest reports of the final demonstration of 35,000 Negro and white civil rights workers in front of the Alabama State Building in Montgomery indicate a great advance for the immediate cause of getting Negro voters registered in the South. Undoubtedly, the increased tempo of civil rights demonstrations in the U.S.A., following favourable judgments of the U.S. Supreme Court, has helped to bring in the Federal Government as a more active instrument on behalf of Negroes. The day is not far off when all Negroes in the U.S.A. would have secured equal rights, in practice as well as in law, with their white compatriots.

It will leave behind, however, a trail of bitterness and hate. President Johnson will find uniting his nation in its world responsibilities a far more challenging task than was that of enforcing civil rights. Dr. Martin Luther King, for his part, will find the demands of his Christian training in the work of healing hearts and uniting people more exacting than the agitational requirements of civil rights demonstrations.

Q—Should students take active interest in politics? If they should not, how can they become enlightened leaders?

N. Ch. VEERACHARY, Hyderabad.

A—What we need is Patriotism, not Party Politics. Students should take a keen interest in the affairs of their country and the world.

One of the unfortunate developments of the past years has been a lack of aim in the nation which has turned youth towards sex and cinema. Students love their country and will respond to the call to live for their nation.

This is not always best done by agitations and demonstrations, which often play into the hands of interested political groups. Students must not allow themselves to be used by any political party.

The best way to equip ourselves is to find a destiny for our lives, an aim for our nation, and a concern for the world.

Enlightenment is not intellectual brilliance, but selfless care for the other man and for the nation. Leadership is enlightened only when it is based on absolute moral standards. The leader accepts the moral discipline in his life that he expects of the nation.

Q—Why hasn't India got Television yet. Will India ever get T.V. and if so, when?

MERWIN D'COSTA, Jamshedpur.


A—India has an experimental T.V. set-up in Delhi which is used for educational purposes in New Delhi. There are proposals for setting up T.V. stations in some of our bigger cities. But it will be many years before these proposals are implemented. It would be surprising if India had anything resembling the T.V. network of Japan or Western Europe or even some Latin American countries for the next ten years.

The technical know-how and equipment needed for the manufacture of T.V. sets and the setting up of T.V. broadcasting systems is a priority if T.V. is to be anything more than a rare curiosity in our capital city. This will need foreign exchange that we are not likely to have during the fourth Five-Year Plan. Above all, a widely used T.V. network involves an increase in our purchasing power which it is unrealistic to expect till the end of the fifth Five-Year Plan.


at

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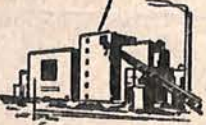
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What Communists Can Do

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THE WEST takes China's atom bomb very seriously. Their information is that China is building up a powerful atomic arsenal, and moving fast towards a delivery system.

They believe that Peking will not be satisfied even if all Asia went Communist, nor even if Africa turned red. They believe Peking wants Europe and America communized. This they are not prepared to accept.

The one possibility the West has not thought of is that China might change from within and accept an ideology superior to Communism.

I do not say that this is likely to happen. Nor have I seen any evidence that responsible leaders of Peking are considering giving up Communism at this moment. Yet two points are clear. One, serious questions are being raised, not only in Russia but also in China, about the adequacy of Communism. Two, the day must come when these questions are openly discussed at the highest policy-making level.

Many Japanese leaders, as well as responsible Indians, are convinced that it may be up to Japan and India to demonstrate in their nations a society so challenging and satisfying that sincere, questioning Communists in China might be emboldened to say that China should learn from Japan and India.

Easy to Criticize

It is all too facile to criticize the Chinese system and to maintain at the same time corruption, injustice and poverty in our own systems. Yet if we in India, and in Japan and in Australia, create a pattern of discipline and unselfishness we can first capture the attention of Peking's sincere men and then perhaps change them.

"Human beings must not act like animals. Man's conscience is most important. And the need is for everyone to be sensibly aware of satisfying the *spiritual* and material demands of human beings."

Mr. Khrushchev made these remarks on December 30, 1963.

Contrast this statement with the following from a Soviet textbook to which Beria, ex-head of the Soviet Secret Police, gave the introduction:

"Man is an animal. He is an animal which has been given a

civilized veneer. Man is a collective animal grouped together for his own protection before the threat of his environment. Those who so group and control him must then have in their possession specialized techniques to direct the vagaries and energies of the animal man towards greater efficiency in the accomplishment of the goals of the State."

When the non-Communist world has been turning increasingly materialistic, certain Communists have openly declared that man's conscience is most important.

Imitating Capitalism

The reasons are not difficult to find. The success of any society depends on discipline and unity. Before Communists have to run a nation, it suits their cause to have millions of workers and students demonstrating. However, once the State is theirs, they need some way to reverse this.

To achieve this transformation the Soviet government has tried many devices. They have used nationalism and patriotism, and have challenged the Russian people to make Russia the world's first nation in science, economics, armaments and space.

Today, however, top Russian leaders feel that the pull of these emotions is no longer enough. They are therefore resorting to techniques that are purely capitalist—*incentives, profits, competition.*

The result is obvious: the same failures that have dogged the West will now dog the new Russia.

Already suicides, divorces and alcoholism are mounting in the Soviet Union. Fathers who fought for Communism at considerable risk complain of the selfishness of their children who, they feel, are turning *bourgeois*. Just as the West did not know how to live with Asia and Africa, Russians are finding it difficult to deal with the Chinese and Cubans.

Some people have a self-righteous attitude towards the Communist denunciation of God. I don't, of course, agree with this denunciation. Yet I understand how cynicism can capture a human heart.

Take the case of Tom Keep, who was one of Britain's fiery Communist leaders, and who organized a strike in the British docks

that cost that country 217 million pounds in 1949. Pneumonia killed his daughter, whose body had been weakened by years of undernourishment. A priest came to him and offered to bury the poor girl free. Communist Party members came and asked Tom to join in a battle to smash the system. Tom joined the Party.

Without a real faith in our hearts, most of us would have done what Tom did. It was not until he met Moral Re-Armament and saw that the selfishness of men could be cured that he changed.

Take our own country, and consider the hypocrisy of many of us who call ourselves religious. We seem to believe that a dip in a certain river, or a particular kind of mark on our forehead, or a string across our chest are the signs of an elevated man.

I am not scoffing at traditions here. I honour true traditions, and am as proud as any of the greatness of our past. Yet if we are honest we all know that it is this observance of outward display combined with a Himalayan greed, deceit and callousness that has made hundreds of thousands hate the very idea and name of God.

Condemn Hypocrisy

Indian Communists rightly condemn this hypocrisy. Equally fairly, they condemn the cant of those who chant the virtues of free enterprise without showing sacrifice and honesty in their lives.

Genuine Indian Communists—and there are many of them—know that there can be as much hypocrisy in Communism as there has been in religion. They know that all Communists who shout for equality do not show this equality in their relationship with their colleagues, family or friends.

Yet I would seriously urge the Indian Communists to take on a task much greater than they have thus far envisioned. Should they not be in the lead in the all-out effort that is now needed to avert atomic war? Should they not be the first to take to Peking and Moscow an idea that resolves the contradictions of Communism? They can tell China and Russia that the Communist dilemma can end, that the new and revolutionary way of MRA can and must be tried.

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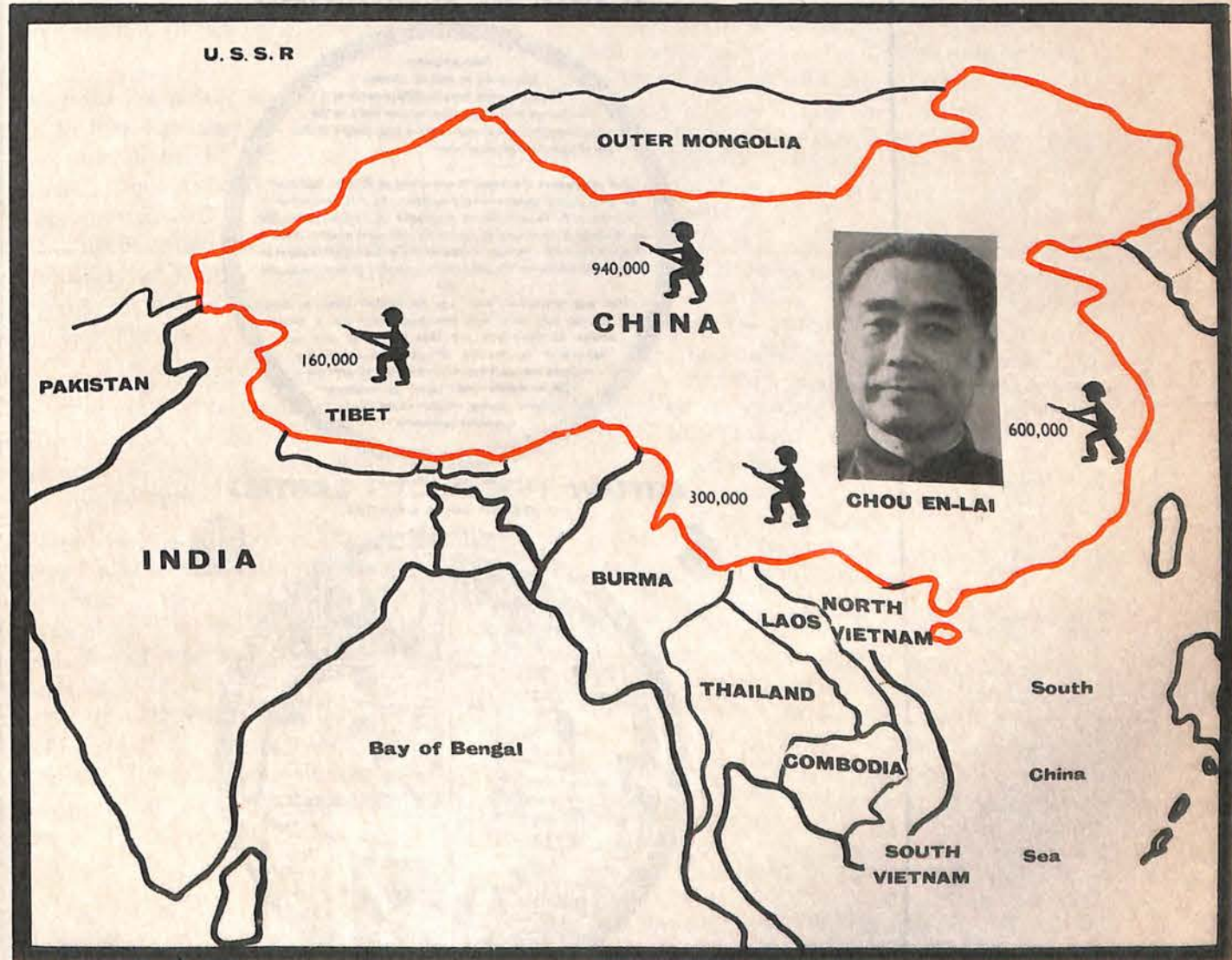
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Friday April 9 1965

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