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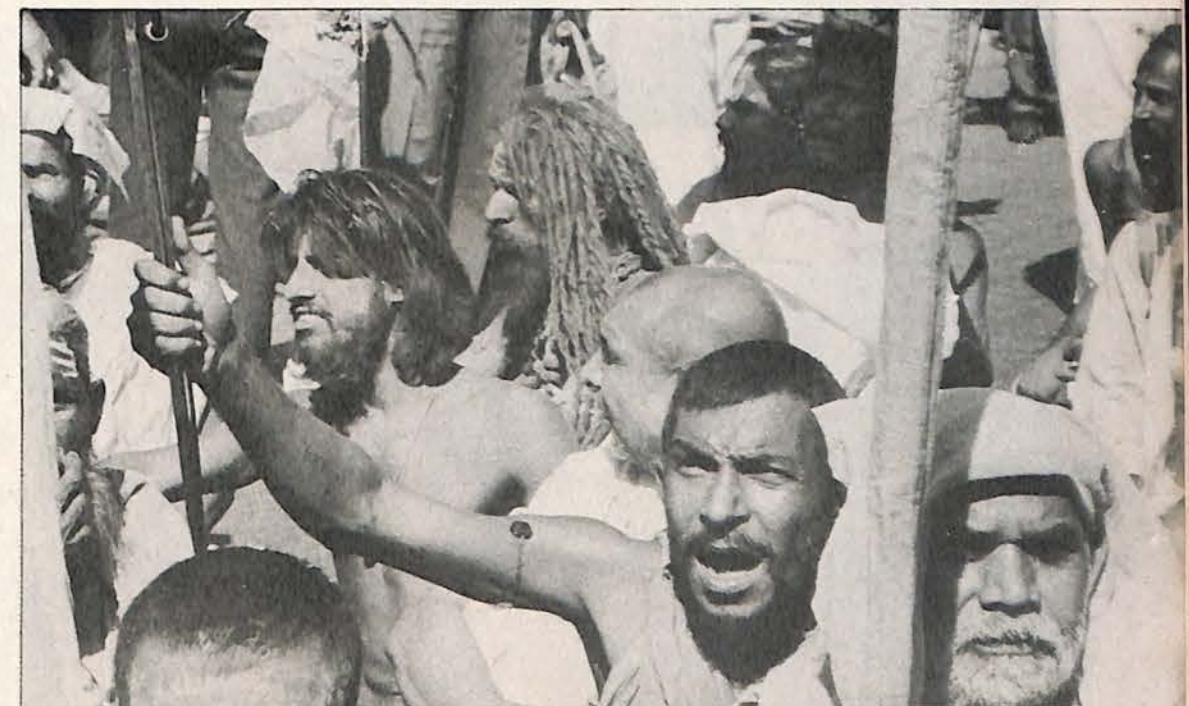


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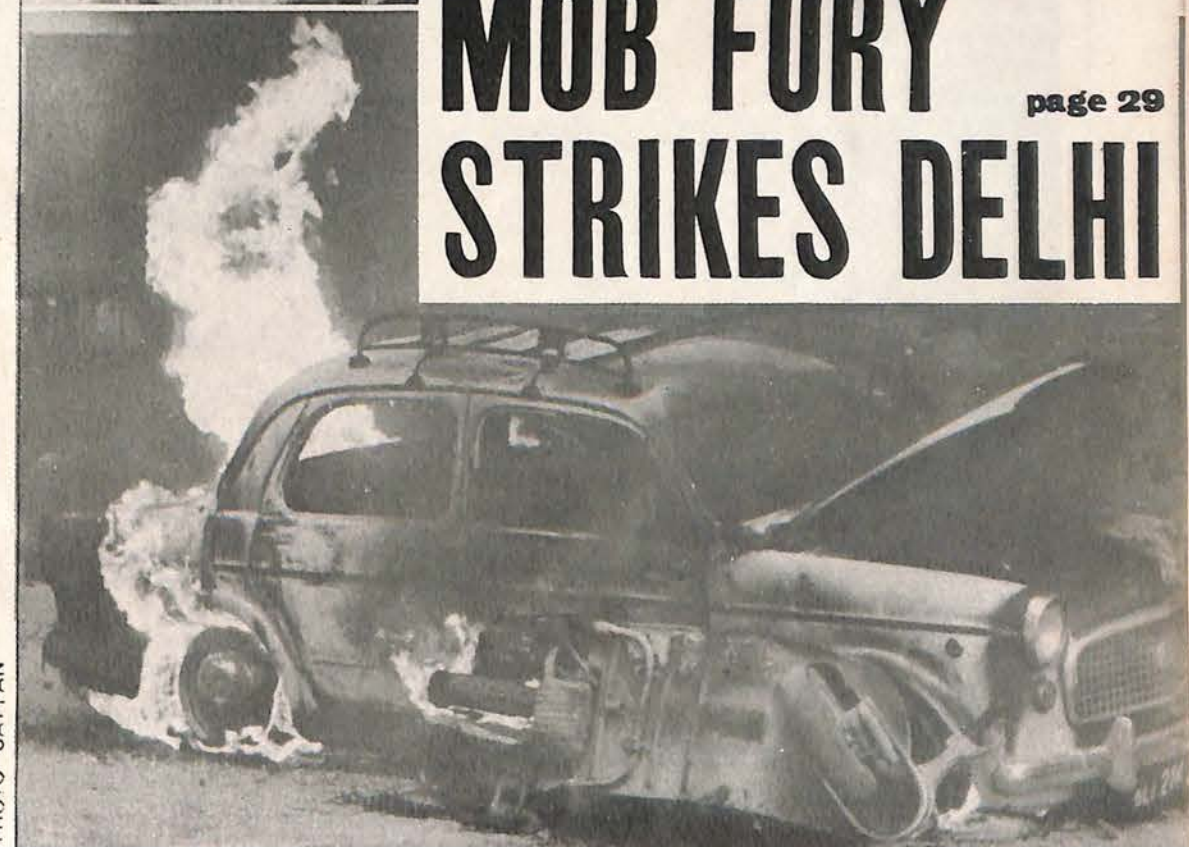
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PHOTO SATYAN



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday November 11 1966

Our Own Executioners

"THIRTEEN starvation deaths have been reported to date from different scarcity-hit areas of Bihar," says the front page of *The Hindustan Times* of November 5.

The paper continues: "Six children and an old man have died of starvation in Chauparan, Itkohori and Barhi areas of the tribal district where food scarcity has forced a large number of Adivasis to live mainly on a hill root called *jethi*."

"The old man, Sobaran Naik of village Belkapi in Barhi tehsil, succumbed to hunger on Monday last after struggling for about a week..."

"A Monghyr report said a Harijan Jethu Manjhi of village Bariarpur near the town of Jamui died of starvation on October 22. On receipt of information, the sub-divisional officer of Jamui visited the village personally examined the dead man's pots and pitchers and found not a single *chhatak* of food grain in his thatched hut.

"Only three days before Jethu Manjhi's death, some PSP workers had submitted to the sub-divisional officer a list of 40 starving persons and requested him for the issue of free ration cards to them."

Were the free rations issued in time or did red tape or plain callousness hold them up?

In the same issue of the paper is a report that of the 1200 tubewells in Bihar, 500, with a capacity to irrigate 700,000 drought-ridden acres, are lying idle for want of spare parts, or power, or due to improper maintenance. Demand for pumps, has resulted in a black market for them.

Food grains being rushed from Madras and Andhra were held up by violent demonstrations for a fifth steel plant in Andhra Pradesh. They were "striking at the belly" of the suffering people of Bihar, accused the Union Food Minister. Over 80 trains were held up in Andhra.

While Opposition and Government blame each other in Parliament, Jayaprakash Narayan wrestles to bring relief to the starving people of Bihar. "This is an occasion," he says, "when everyone in the country, rich or poor, has to do his bit to save fellow-countrymen from painful death." He has appealed for money, vitamins, blankets for the coming cold winter of the north, medicines and all types of food stuffs.

Administrative machinery of Bihar is known to be incompetent. Jayaprakash has appealed to

university students to help with labour and know-how and for industries to follow Tata's lead and donate funds. All honour to Tatas for their handsome Rs. 3 lakhs contribution to famine relief.

But should not firms like Tatas, Birlas, J. K. Industries and others loan Jayaprakash some of their best officers for three months or six months to tackle and answer this emergency in Bihar? Cannot some executives of an enlightened firm like Kirloskars, which makes the finest water pumps, also take the responsibility for energising the idle tubewells?

Somewhere the nation has got to feel like one and move like one. Through compassion and humanity, through common aims and work, India shall be welded into one again. And the pain of men like the Sobaran Naiks of life, struggling for food, need not and will not be repeated.

Today we are our own executioners. We can decide to be remakers of our nation.

Sweat, Dare and Struggle

"TRUTH WILL BE its aim and fear and tyranny its foes." We said this two years ago when HIMMAT started. Our aim remains the same. It is a tribute to the effectiveness of HIMMAT that in the last months it has faced attacks from those forces who are out to destroy truth and justice in this country. On the other hand, as this anniversary number shows it has become the platform for statesmen of many nations.

"HIMMAT will not stop at explaining the world, it will try to change it," we said. "It believes that the new age will be carved out by courageous and humble men and women, who are honest about their natures, but are unconquerable because God is their master." In the creation of this new age, HIMMAT firmly believes that this great and ancient land of ours will lead the way.

This new India is not going to be born as a result of the next elections, interesting as they will be.

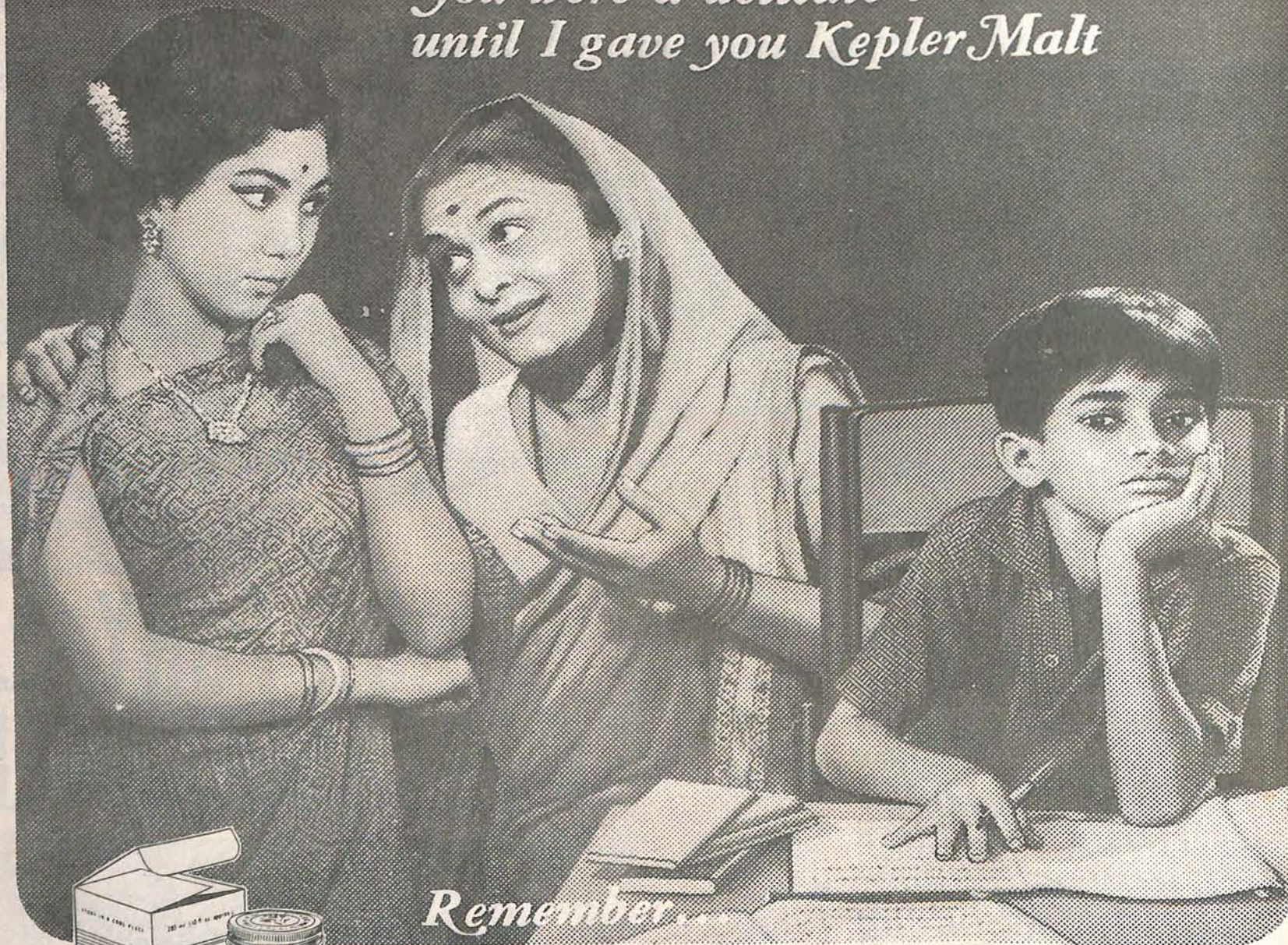
It is not going to come out of men who are well-intentioned, but who prefer to blow with the wind because it is easier.

It will be born out of the sweat, dare and struggle of men who will resolutely tackle the nation's will, its selfishness, bitterness, tyranny (cloaked under respectable philosophical terms) and its callousness that permits some to have too little to eat, whilst others have too much.

This path will mean clash and conflict, but nations are not changed on the cheap. HIMMAT has willingly chosen this way. It will not be deterred by threats or blandishments and the men who feel that blackmail and bullying will make us tone down our message or weaken our will to struggle, do not comprehend us.

HIMMAT is young in age, but its strength lies in the dedication to an idea, in the selfless devotion of its readers who, by word of mouth, by letters and in their spirit, advance the battle for this new age.

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Briefly speaking...

Talent develops itself in solitude; character in the stream of life.

JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE
1749-1832

Not Same Old Story

A PLEASANT-FACED, fairly well-dressed young man poked his head into my cab at an intersection the other day. "I am a soldier," he said, "but I've lost my money and cannot get back to camp. Could you lend me Rs. 2?" His English was excellent. I shook my head. "I'm not a beggar," he said, "I'm a military chap."

The lights changed and my taxi took me on my way.

Two days later I was back in another car. The same cheery young man put his head through the window again. "I am a teacher..." he

began. I interrupted. "Two days ago you were a soldier. How is it you are now a teacher?" He grinned cheerfully. "That was two days ago. I'm not using that story now," he replied and went merrily on his way to the next victim in the car behind.

Worth Investigating

MADRAS has the highest rate of suicide in India, 19.5 per lakh of population per year, nearly double that of Mysore which comes second. This is revealed by a survey conducted by a Gujarat Government Committee. Rajasthan has the lowest figure of 1.634.

It is worth investigating the reasons why the suicide rate is so high in this southern state. Is it the rigid social structure or is there any other reason?

Male percentages of suicide are higher in all states except Gujarat, where the female rate is slightly higher.

Standing for Tickets

BOMBAY was treated to the undignified sight of scores of Congressmen hanging around the building Riviera while the MPCC was interviewing aspirants for tickets in the next elections. Even a Peshwa (King) would have given visitors from other parts of the state something to sit on. Surely the organizers could have arranged for suitable accommodation on the terrace of the building at Marine Drive if they had no other room. The men who are applying for tickets are future legislators and ministers. Surely they deserve better treatment.

Whose Mischief?

ABOUT ONE THIRD of the Congress MLAs are either Ministers or Deputy Ministers in the re-organized Cabinet of the Punjab. Also included in it—presumably to keep them from worse mischief—are three persons against whom strictures were passed by a judicial commission presided over by a former Chief Justice of India. These three gentlemen who are suspended from active political participation as a result of the Das Com-

mission's report are back in the political business. There have been serious charges levelled in the Parliament that the gentlemen were thrust on the Chief Minister, Mr. Mussafir, by Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi. Mrs. Gandhi has not replied to the charge. If it is true that she has intervened, it is a sad commentary on the working of our political life in the highest quarters.

The Show Goes On

IN THE MIDST of student strike violence and firing by the police, when all public transport, including taxis, was not available, the cast of "Twin-City Sing-Out" travelled long distances by foot and bicycle to present their show to the Interact Club at Wesley Boys' School, Secunderabad. Over 100 picked students from the best schools and colleges in the city were in the audiences. They repeatedly applauded the songs, dances, skits and speeches. One of the cast, a law student, said, "Students today are giving leadership in our country. We on the stage, who are students, want to see a new India, but we realize we must begin with ourselves."

At the end of the performance the audience eagerly talked with the cast. A number have asked to join "Twin-City Sing-Out".

Computer Poetry

A YOUNG WEST AUSTRALIAN, Cedric Armstrong, has invented a machine which writes poetry. Called SLURP (Special Logic Utilizing Rationalization Processor), it cost ten dollars to build and has already won a prize of 150 dollars at a Science Talent Contest, organized by a teachers' association. Whilst the machine has not yet entered into competition with Keats and Shelley, its prospects appear to be promising. Cedric hopes to improve its performance by introducing into it a 500-word vocabulary.

R.M.L.

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A Plan To Counter China's Aims

by Rt. Hon Sir Alec Douglas-Home, M.P.

You have kindly invited me to enlarge upon the theme of collective security for Asia which I recently outlined at the Conservative Party's Conference in Great Britain. It starts from certain premises.

First while we all hope for peace and must work to organise it, the United Nations Organisation is not yet strong enough to enforce it and therefore security must lie for the present in systems of collective security operated by allies. That is provided for in the Charter and one such system, namely N.A.T.O., has secured the physical safety of Western Europe and the Atlantic area.

Secondly, the world is still a dangerous place where subversion and aggression are directed against free and independent nations. Even the newest nations are subjected to these threats and the reality and the consequences were terribly illustrated in the recent experience of Indonesia.

Thirdly, the balance of danger has shifted. The Soviet threat to Europe and to the Atlantic area has been modified.

This resulted partly from Russia's knowledge that the nuclear strength of the West was overwhelming and because in the trial of strength over Cuba, the nerve of the United States held and partly because of the growing threat of China to the eastern frontier of the Soviet Union.

Preserving Independence

The Soviet leaders are certainly convinced that the main threat to their security in the future will come from the expansion of China directed towards the rich provinces of central Asia which Russia now claims as her own.

Various opinions may be held as to whether such an assessment is right but one thing is beyond dispute. Every country in South-east Asia is also apprehensive, so is India and so further afield are Australia and New Zealand.

This feeling of insecurity has been much increased by the fact of the war in Vietnam. It would end quickly but for the backing which China gives to Vietnam. This inevitably sharpens the apprehension of those

who feel that China's ultimate intention is to dominate, control and finally overrun her neighbours by the sheer weight of numbers.

I therefore tried to set out in the broadest terms, a blue print for Asian security which would at once remove any excuse China might make as to her fears of hostile encirclement and preserve the independence of the newly emancipated countries of South-east Asia and of others whose apprehensions are real.

These objectives could be achieved by a belt of unaligned countries consisting at least of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. Such a political concept seems to be in keeping with the desires of their peoples. Such was the aim of the 1954 Conference in



Sir Alec Douglas-Home
former British Prime Minister

respect of Vietnam. Such was the conception reaffirmed by Laos in 1963 and such is the system favoured and practised in the Cambodia of Prince Sihanouk.

The only alternative would be a fortified line along the Mekong river

On your toes

DOWN WITH HYPROCRISE!

I was happy to see that the Praja Socialist Party has expressed full support for the people of Tibet in their continuing and heroic fight for freedom. This intention is contained in the Party's election manifesto adopted unanimously at its Lucknow meeting.

A polling of public opinion would surely show that most Indians feel keenly about the subjugation of Tibet. The International Committee of Jurists, widely acknowledged to be an impartial body, has plainly charged Tibet's colonizers with genocide. Refugees living in India can document charges of the systematic persecution of their country, their religion and their women.

And yet New Delhi stays silent. One might understand (immoral though it was) the late Mr. Nehru's silence over China's aggression in Tibet if one condoned his paramount concern for "friendship" with China whatever the price. But incomprehensible today is New Delhi's steadfast determination to remain non-aligned with truth and justice in the Tibet affair.

Our foreign policy pundits are warming up just now with frequent pronouncements about illegal regimes in Rhodesia, South West Africa and elsewhere. And there is no harm in that. But when will we realize how hypocritical and pompous this sounds

to foreign ears unless we are consistent and also condemn the illegal regime in Tibet. We not only maintain this inconsistency but compound it by supporting UN sanctions against the African "illegal rulers" along with the seating of Tibet's "illegal rulers" in the world body.

Of course, it makes us a write-off in international councils.

This should make every red-blooded patriot work with a furious energy to see India once again become a nation of stature in the world. It would mean that other nations would no longer look at us and say: "Who are they to pontificate and preach? They can't get along with Pakistan. Their nationals are a frequent source of trouble in the nations where they have settled. They can't seem to solve their most elementary internal problems—food, language, corruption. And the Government has to maintain a four-year-long undemocratic State of Emergency in order to rule."

This could change overnight. And, by God, it must. But will it? Plans, resolutions and manifestos will never do it. A new leadership with new motives can.

Mrs. Gandhi, Asoka Mehta and some others must be dreading February. To love your nation intensely and yet have to fight a general election chained to so many party hacks who are in love with their perks and their posts but don't give a damn for India is a very grim trial to survive.

FREEBOOTER

VERDICT!

This week **HIMMAT**

SALUTES Jayaprakash Narayan's efforts in Bihar to curb the State's "worst famine in a century" and **STRONGLY URGES** regional agitators and "we-demanders" to notice how different JP's unbroken tradition of giving is.

RESPECTS the sentiments of the ban-cow-slaughter enthusiasts but **DRAWS THEIR ATTENTION** to Rajaji's statement that "peace and communal harmony are also precious cows that need protection".

CONGRATULATES Jan Sangh MP **U. M. Trivedi** for rallying all opposition groups in the Lok Sabha for his no-trust motion and **HOPES** the Opposition will sustain this spirit for its showdown with the Congress monolith in February.

RAPS Andhra agitators over their wanton destruction of Rs. 1 crore worth of railway property and **ASKS** if this regard of theirs for national wealth improves their intrinsic claim for a steel plant, in the eyes of the nation.

COMPLIMENTS the railways for their efforts in running trains through Andhra during recent disturbances and especially for the introduction of pilot trains for passengers' safety.

WELCOMES Chief Minister Naik's and Home Minister Desai's condemnation of the actions of the Shiv Sena in beating up some non-Maharashtrians, but **SUBMITS** that the Home Minister may need to demonstrate more concretely his abhorrence of such acts.

PATS THE BACKS of all the Members of the Administrative Reforms Commission for their suggestion that the Lok Pal—a type of Ombudsman—be given the powers and position of the Chief Justice of India.

SIR ALEC—Continued
and the present South Vietnamese frontier. That could only be held by the presence of substantial American ground and air forces.

The latter may have to be the answer if China and North-Vietnam leave no alternative but it would be a bad second best to non-alignment.

Behind the belt of neutral states there would, if there was to be confidence in S.E. Asia, have to be a collective security system consisting of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia and the Philippines. The idea of a "Maphilindo", namely a political, economic and military association between these countries, has always been attractive.

The end of the Malaysian-Indonesian conflict has brought this once again within the bounds of possibility.

India's Policy

The attraction which I see in it is that after a period of preparation this would provide an alliance for safety by Asians for Asians.

When the sense of security was sufficiently established, Europeans and American troops could be withdrawn from the mainland of Asia although if the Asian countries so desired, provision for access for entry in an emergency could be made.

Such a collective security system would take time to build. The Communists are adepts at preparing for a take-over by means of subversion.

The only counter to this is an intelligence service which is a highly trained instrument of the government of the independent country concerned. To be alerted is to be forearmed.

Nor can the infrastructure of the military alliance be built in a day.

India has so far preserved a policy of strict non-alignment. In the face of Chinese pressure on her neighbours and Chinese presence on her frontier, it is probable that in future she will be compelled to revise her policy.

Certainly nothing would contribute more certainly to the security of S.E. Asia than the knowledge that India was its base.

There remains the oceans and the air. There is no doubt that the powers which are in the best position to guarantee that they are kept free for the use of all nations, are the United States, Britain, Australia and New Zealand.

They have the ability to do so and their interests are closely identified with those of the Asian countries

who depend upon these lifelines with the outside world.

I therefore proposed that the existing A.N.Z.U.S. Treaty which includes the United States, Australia and New Zealand should be enlarged to take in Britain.

Strategic defence by land, sea and air, must be co-ordinated so that there would need to be the closest liaison between the Asian system and A.N.Z.U.S. but this would be a matter of practical organisation which should not present any difficulties which could not be surmounted.

This conception has several advantages. It removes, after a period of preparation, American and European troops from Asian soil.

It provides for the deployment of power by each partner where it can be used most effectively for the common purpose.

It gives defence in depth and could be the forerunner, if China persists in expansion, of a defence system in which, although it might not be formalised, Russia, India and the United States would find an identity of interest in holding the ring.

Of course, one hopes that China will come to her senses and learn that brinkmanship in a nuclear age cannot pay. But the course of prudence for the Asian countries who wish to live in freedom would seem to lie in common action.

It is not too soon to start.

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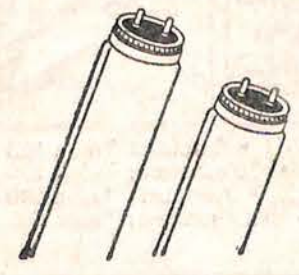
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Under the Lens



by **R. VAITHESWARAN**

UNDERSTANDING CHINA

2

There were a considerable group of high-ranking diplomats and Party officials who were worried about Chinese reverses in Asia and Africa and presumably pleaded for a readjustment of Sino-Soviet, Sino-Indian and Sino-Japanese relations.

In the economic realm there was an examination of the failures of the Leap Forward period. The economic experts sought to substitute economic for ideological considerations in development. Many scholarly articles advocated that profit should be used as a measure of effectiveness of public enterprise, and should form the basis of investment, not merely political and ideological factors.

In the educational sphere, professors attributed far greater importance to academic studies than to ideological studies of the classics of Marxism and Leninism and the works of Mao Tse-tung.

It is not known whether the leading lights of the Peking Party set-up and the Peking University were consciously advocating the lines of policy which for lack of a better term

SAY THAT AGAIN...

The Congress is developing vested interest in kindling the border agitations.

K. S. KUNJAN NADAR, MLA
Madras

Our goal is an elementary one... to give each man in the world a chance to seek the highest and the deepest of the human experience, as he sees fit.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON

we shall call "the opposition", (there was in fact no organized opposition). It is clear, however, that some scholars like Wu-han, for 17 years Vice Mayor of Peking, used ancient themes to express critical views against the excesses of the Leap Forward and the fanatically held conviction of Mao Tse-tung that ideology could overcome all obstacles. Being a pragmatic people many, many Chinese leaders may well have reacted to the unreality of the "fantasy-like" expectations of Mao.

Mao Tse-tung's fears of the softening up of the Chinese people and Party by prosperity were real. The opposition to his policies was formidable and growing. Mao may have calculated that the time had come for him to act. Peng Chen, the Mayor of Peking, and the Peking Party, were to be made examples of. Mao probably anticipated that the swift action in dealing with Peng Chen and the Peking apparatus would quell all opposition. He was wrong. His action rebounded. It united those who were critical of his policies. They grouped around Liu Shao-chi, veteran of the Long March days and close friend of Mao. The opposition actually emerged stronger than before because they were now united together against Mao's policies.

One knowledgeable source told me that Mao is in a minority in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Liu Shao-chi, apparently has the majority with him. The Liu Shao-chi group were so strong at the Central Committee meeting of 11th September, 1966, that Mao had to order the Red Guards to take over the meeting. Reminiscent of the Red bayonets that dispersed the famous Constituent Assembly of the Soviet Union in 1918, the Central Committee of China in 1966 passed the much publicized 16-point resolution under the shadow of the armed Red Guards.

Lin Piao, who is a great soldier who is very popular with the People's Liberation Army, was one of those who gave Mao total unconditional support during this crisis. Mao has resurrected him into a political figure as a completely dependable and loyal supporter. No one knows whether Lin really feels capable of succeeding Mao. He wouldn't perhaps be human if he were without ambitions in that direction. But contrary to what is generally believed, the present struggle is only indirectly



A Chinese mother, with her children... "softening up by prosperity."

a struggle for succession. It is essentially a struggle between Mao and those who oppose him.

However, Lin Piao's name and adherence to Mao is being constantly pushed to the forefront. Peking newspapers are full of his pictures with Mao. But by background he is a military and not a political man. His loyalty to Mao and the circumstances of the military controversy almost forced him to assume political leadership after having been out of it for a long time.

Chou En-lai's role is as enigmatic as ever. He appears as a faithful supporter of Mao and Lin Piao on all occasions. His speeches, however, moderate the excessive exuberance of Lin Piao. Perhaps he is the link between the two groups. Perhaps the hard line emphasis of Lin and the softened tone of Chou are the pre-determined nuances of the political game agreed upon between them.

Liu Shao-chi is said to be still fighting. His speech of self-criticism according to the sources I quoted above, was really a criticism of Mao. Liu is also reported to have requested Mao to dismiss him. If Mao does this, however, he will have to call the National Assembly in order to replace Liu Shao-chi. Liu may calculate that should this materialize he will have a majority in the National Assembly against Mao.

Continued on page 12

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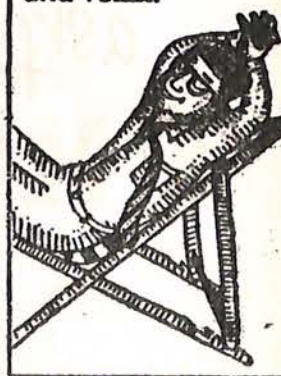


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ASP/UBL/33

THE WEST INDIES cricket selectors have chosen a strong and exciting team for their tour of India beginning in December. Ten of those who helped the West Indies retain their title of World Champions have again been selected.

First of these, of course, is Captain Gary Sobers—the greatest all-rounder in the world. Then there is Conrad Hunte, one of the best opening bats in the world; Rohan Kanhai, the world's most exciting stroke maker; Basil Butcher, a heavy scorer of runs in the true Caribbean style; Seymour Nurse, the man in form and prolific run-getter in the past year. All-rounder Holford, a cousin of Sobers and one of the finds of the past England tour, will surely do well in India.

The bowling department is headed by the greatest fast bowler in the world today—Wesley Hall. With him is his controversial team-mate, Charlie Griffith. Lance Gibbs is an artist off-spinner of the highest class. The

WEST INDIES XI

—a cracking good team.

• DICKIE DODDS

last of the ten who toured England is wicket-keeper Jackie Hendriks.

The six new men will, I believe, greatly strengthen the West Indian side. There are two opening bats to contend for an opening place with Conrad Hunte. These are Robin



Sobers — the greatest all-rounder

Bynoe of Barbados and Brian Davis of Trinidad. Both have played test cricket. Bynoe toured India and Pakistan in 1958-59. Although an excellent slip fielder he looks an improbable cricketer as he moves about the field, but at the batting crease he at once gives the impression of professional authority.

The other opening bat, Brian Davis, has a technique nurtured on the true Caribbean wickets. It is said to be suspect against bowling which moves in the air and off the seam. In India, however, he will find pitches similar to his own and he may do well. Deryk Murray comes back into the side as wicket-keeper after his time at Cambridge University. His batting is now to be reckoned with and he will be first choice behind the stumps. Lester King is a fast medium seam bowler of experience who moves the new ball well and can be used as a stock bowler.

Neither Rex Collimore nor Clive Lloyd have played test cricket. Collimore is quick through the air for his type and difficult to get at. In India on the harder wickets, his task will be more difficult but it will be interesting to watch his progress.

Clive Lloyd, aged 21, is the youngest of the party. A left hand bat, he is a fielder of great brilliance.

This West Indian touring team looks to be even better equipped than the one which recently beat England. Against India's proved strength on her own grounds it is a series to look forward to with the keenest interest.

AUSTRALIAN REORIENTATION

by K. E. BEAZLEY, MP

Mr. Kim E. Beazley is a prominent member of the Parliamentary Executive (Shadow Cabinet) of the Australian Labor Party. He has been a member of Parliament for 21 years and is secretary of the Labor Party's Foreign Affairs Committee. Mr. Beazley is a noted Labor Party historian and theoretician. In this article, written exclusively for HIMMAT, he discusses Australia's future role and place in Asia—Ed.



If a change in political control is a revolution, no revolution in human history can match the coming of independence to India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Indo-China and the Philippines in the last two decades.

In the midst of these upheavals Australia, by contrast, has pursued a comparatively conservative course. It has rejected Labor Governments. Its Prime Minister for 17 years was almost the last statesman with a persistently imperial bent of mind. Yet fundamentally the Australian people have been revolutionized by the events around them.

Australia's reactions are no longer those of a British dominion. It is probable that they are not yet those of an independent nation, since foreign policy is still largely discussed in terms of an implied obligation to loyalty. At Suez in 1956, Sir Robert Menzies was still implying an obligation to loyalty to Britain's policy. Today there are voices suggesting an obligation to loyalty to United States policy. What Australia urgently needs is the sense of an obligation to loyalty to what is right. That is maturity.

Groping towards this, Australians are seeking how to express an obligation to meet the needs of humanity. Australians, who for too long have accepted an immature and colonial role, are suddenly precipitated into a situation where the world expects more of them than they expect of themselves. Federated and self-governing since 1901 and thinking of themselves as denizens of a new democracy, they now realize they are regarded by the emergent world as an old democracy and are expected to give leadership.

Asia has an unlimited demand for capital. Sukarno has been going through the motions of rejecting foreign capital at the precise point of time when none is offered. Fifteen per cent of the world's population resides in Western Europe, North America and a few other places. This 15 per cent produces and receives 70 per cent of the world's capital investment in any year. Take Japan and Russia out of the remaining 85 per cent of the world's population and the amount of capital investment advancing the great bulk of humanity is negligible. Japan's 100,000,000 produce as much in industrial volume as fifteen times their number in the rest of Asia put together.

Today the traditional sources of capital are discouraging or even forbidding foreign investment. To plough back investment at home for technological advance has replaced the past search for spheres of investment. A new technology, such as that associated with television and electronics generally, is more significant as a field of investment than a new country.

Australians cannot meet the unlimited need of Asia for capital. Indeed Asia, in Japan, has already a model of how to produce a vast multiplier on top of comparatively slight foreign capital. It was a demonstration

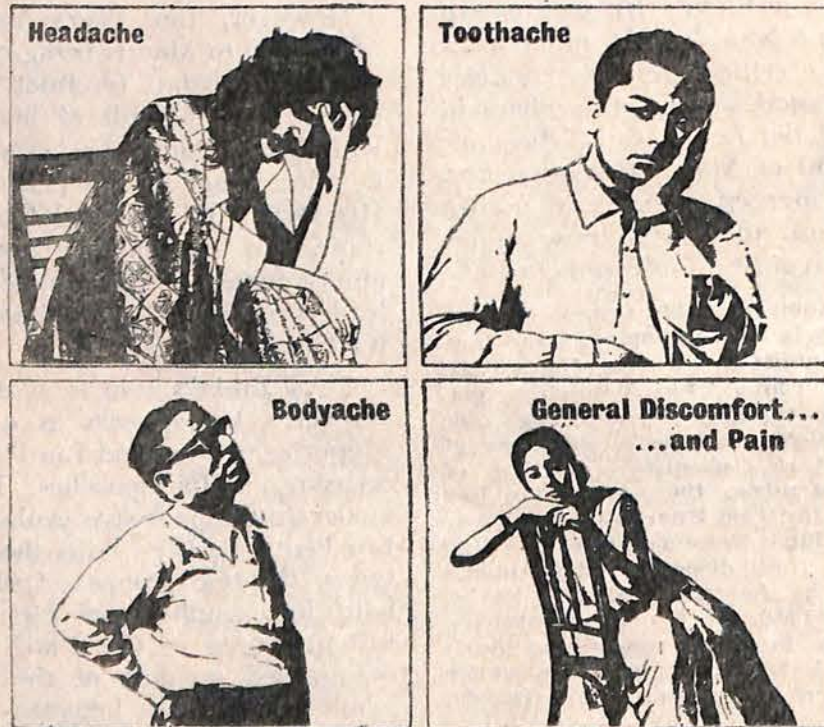
of unity, discipline, purposeful education, an abandonment of blinding pride, and a national purpose. Japan's true destiny is to multiply her own experience in Asia, with integrity in government, unions and society.

Australia has, however, made pioneering in discoveries in

- * tropical agriculture
- * temperate agriculture
- * arid agriculture and irrigation
- * tropical medicine
- * public health
- * union organization

and in industrial and agricultural flexibility. The world needs these skills. Some of us long to see Australia make strategic investment—gifts in fertilizer industries, in dairying technology, in medical technology and in irrigation. The Indian sub-continent is the logical place to begin.

All political parties in Australia have now eliminated race policies from their platforms and the way is clear for a new relationship with Asia. Tension with Indonesia has gone, and a wholly constructive partnership with Malaysia and Singapore has developed. For all the mistakes of its history the purpose of government in Australia has been the well-being of the governed. The next step in Australia is that the purpose of Australian government must clearly be the well-being of mankind.



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The speeches of Lin Piao and Chou En-lai at the mass rally to celebrate the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" on August 18 and the subsequent important speeches at rallies of students and teachers on August 30 and September 15 confirmed the view that Mao Tse-tung is fighting principally against his own colleagues in the Party. "We will strike down those in authority who are taking the capitalist road, strike down the reactionary bourgeois authorities, (Italics mine) strike down all bourgeois royalists, oppose any act to suppress the revolution and strike down all ghosts and monsters," declared Lin on August 18. His September 9 speech is even more definite. "The main target of the attack is those persons in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road."

The Red Guards were created as an emergency instrument of control because the Communist Party could no longer be relied upon at least as far as Mao's own faction was concerned. That the Red Guards were an emergency measure and not an instrument deliberately prepared over many months is substantiated by the facts that have come to light. For example, the Red Guards were first

mentioned in an article only on June 24, 1966, in an emergency edition of the Party organ, *Red Flag*, by a Professor of Peking University. The Red Guards were introduced officially to the public only during the mass rally on August 18.

Mao Appeals To Masses

They are not very well indoctrinated, and have often acted according to their own beliefs. Certainly their criticism of Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic, was not an act of a well-prepared ideological task force. Some Red Guards have even criticized Mao Tse-tung for excessive smoking and having a swimming pool in his house. When 2000 Red Guards tried to enter Hong Kong the People's Liberation Army had to use force to stop them. (Though this report has been denied by the British authorities of Hong Kong it has been confirmed by eyewitnesses' accounts obtained by one Asian embassy in Hong Kong).

The official versions of the speeches of Lin Piao and Chou En-lai on the occasions mentioned above confirm that Mao is appealing to a higher tribunal than the Communist Party—the masses.

Referring to the Central Committee Resolution concerning "the Great Proletarian Revolution" Lin

Piao declared, "It is the latest embodiment of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is imperative to act resolutely...to rouse the masses boldly and resolutely to oppose monopolies and things which should be done by the masses themselves, rely firmly on the revolutionary Left, win over the middle, unite with the great majority, concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary Rightists and thus carry the Great Proletarian Communist Revolution through to the end."

At the back of the verbiage and the jargon is a repudiation of the Party and an appeal directly to the masses. *Mao Tse-tung is thus in the unique position of being the first important Communist to repudiate the Party in the name of Communism.*

It will thus be seen that behind the pranks and excesses of the much-publicized Red Guards is a serious ideological struggle involving the survival of Mao Tse-tung himself as the leader of Communist China. In a way this is not strange. One is reminded of a similar situation in the Soviet Union in the 30s. Stalin must have felt himself in a like position around the middle 30s. *Would he press on relentlessly and ruthlessly to achieve his aims even if it involved the mass liquidation of all his older comrades, or would he surrender to the forces of doubt and questioning in his ranks and thus liquidate his own leadership? He chose the former road.* He perhaps had an advantage in that he had already ousted his critics from leadership in the Party and could rely on the Communist Party he had created with his chosen men as his chosen instrument for his aims for the Soviet Union. *Mao Tse-tung had to create the Red Guards because he had not taken care to keep the Party under his firm control.*

Though the excesses of the Red Guard, bad as they are, bear no relation to the systematic legal murder of his colleagues by Stalin, there is a similarity between the suicides of frustrated intellectuals in China in 1966 and like incidents in the Russia of the 30s.

Events in China thus focus not essentially the problem of China but the dilemma of Communism and dictatorship which contains the seeds of its own ultimate failure.

THE FUTURE OF MY PEOPLE

by His Holiness the Dalai Lama

Exclusive to HIMMAT

It was in March 1959 that my people rose in open rebellion against the Chinese, whose invasion of every aspect of Tibetan life and government had by that time become intolerable to the people of Tibet and to my Government. As a result, I, along with members of the Tibetan Government, was forced to flee the country and seek asylum in India, where a large number of the Tibetan people followed me.

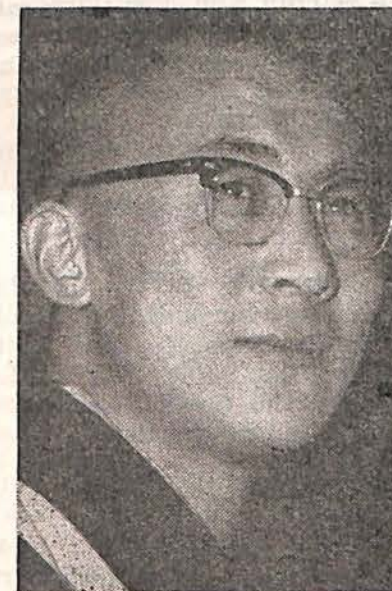
There are at present 80,000 Tibetan refugees in India, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim where they are working to rebuild their lives and to preserve the Tibetan way of life in the hope that some day they will be able to take it back to Tibet. It is indeed with these hopes and in these efforts that our energies must be directed; over the past few years the Chinese have systematically destroyed everything Tibetan in order to wipe out the identity and thus the sense of nationhood of the Tibetan people.

For the Chinese Communists, whose aim it is to bring about a Chinese order in Tibet, this is as it should be. They have conducted forced indoctrination meetings where members of families denounce each other; wives have been separated from husbands and forced labour imposed on the people; Tibetan children have been separated from their parents and sent to China to be indoctrinated; Tibetan

men and women have been forced to marry Chinese so that the remaining vestiges of Tibetan nationhood will be eliminated. The practice of religion has also been banned and many monasteries have been desecrated or completely razed, while others have been converted into arsenals.

Along with their efforts to wipe out the traditional Tibetan culture, the Chinese have imposed considerable hardship on my people. The reports reaching me from Tibet are very grave. *Famine conditions are widespread, and suicides have become a common feature of Tibetan life today.* There are cases where whole families have committed suicide in order to escape Chinese oppression. Yet the majority of my people in Tibet still have hope and the unswerving faith that they will one day be free. This fact is borne out by their resistance to the Chinese

Continued on page 20



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Haste Causes Andhra Trouble

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Hyderabad

A cavalcade of motor cycles and cheering students led the Vice Chancellor of Osmania University, Dr. D. S. Reddy, from his lodge to his office. He was received ceremoniously at the entrance of the magnificent Great Hall of the Arts building by the academic staff. He presided over a brief Senate meeting which unanimously confirmed him as Vice Chancellor.

The previous day the High Court of Andhra Pradesh rejected his petition against the order of the Government removing him from office, but the Supreme Court had granted a stay pending consideration of his appeal.

Almost simultaneously, as Dr. Reddy was being reinstated by popular choice, the Governor of the State who is the Chancellor of the University was handing orders of appointment as Vice Chancellor to Dr. P. Narsimha Rao, Principal of the Guntur Medical College. In unseemly haste he had been telephonically informed of his new appointment the previous night. He rushed to Hyderabad to take his orders. From the Government Guest House he claimed the authority of his new position. Everyone connected with the University, academic staff, administrative staff and students, in a unique display of unity, unanimously rejected the new appointment.

The Government is accused of pursuing a vendetta against Dr. Reddy for presuming to fight for university autonomy. Certainly the Governor was ill-advised in hastily appointing

a new Vice Chancellor during the pendency of judicial proceedings. The Government is thus responsible for the present inflammable crisis. It is of its own making. It is laughable that there should be over an august body such as a university, two Vice Chancellors simultaneously claiming jurisdiction.

Dr. Reddy and the teaching staff of the university are fighting precisely the kind of arbitrariness revealed by the actions of Chief Minister Brahmamanda Reddy. In spite of personal animosity and avoidable personal bitterness of both sides, the struggle is one of principle. The minimum that the Government has to grant is reconsideration of the Universities Bill which increases non-academic representation in the governing bodies of the university at the expense of academic, and takes away the voice of academicians in the appointment of the Vice Chancellor.

The Chief Minister is also fighting for the responsiveness of university education to democratic demands like a regional medium of instruction, but his hasty actions confirm the worst fears of the upholders of university autonomy. No democratic state can allow, without protest, dis-

Continued on page 20

Election Winds

by ANTENNA

BHARUCHA—SHAH—MEHTA

The Bombay North (West) constituency, which extends from the suburb of Bandra to Borivli, looks like an interesting contest. The BPC has chosen former Maharashtra Health Minister Shantilal Shah, who resigned recently from office. The PSP is putting up Mr. Naushir Bharucha, a veteran Municipal Corporator (18 years) who has spent five years each in the Bombay State Assembly, and the Parliament. Mr. Bharucha won the 1957 election on the crest of the wave of the Samiti agitation for a separate Maharashtra State, beating Mr. Pataskar who later became Governor.

The Swatantra Party, Bombay Branch, has recommended Mr. Madhu Mehta, its energetic General Secretary, for this Lok Sabha seat. Endorsement from the Central Committee of the Party is now awaited.

A Marathi paper in Poona reports that the editor of a Bombay yellow journal may also stand from there, presumably as an independent with support from certain Leftist parties.

BOMBAY CABINET PROSPECTS

Congress Assembly circles in Bombay believe that Mr. V. P. Naik will be re-elected Chief Minister after the elections. There is some doubt whether the present Home Minister will be once again allocated his portfolio.

TRICORNER PRESTIGE FIGHT

Mr. S. K. Patil is tipped to be the next Union Home Minister, after the elections, and this has put some people in a flat spin.

They are planning to back George Fernandes strongly to make sure that Patil—Bombay's Congress boss for 25 years—is knocked out. They see no other man in sight but Fernandes who can do it. Another Left leader Mr. M. D. Kotwal of the Dockworkers' Union is also planning to stand from South Bombay, which will mean a tri-corner contest splitting the Left and labour votes. Efforts will no doubt be made to persuade him to withdraw or a suitable bargain arrived at between Fernandes' SSP and Kotwal's DSP party.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

MP Converts "Teach-in" to "Preach-in"

FROM ANTHONY REYNOLDS

Toronto

China is getting almost as much attention in North American universities these days as sport. Discussions have taken over at least one football stadium. Last week Toronto University sponsored a "Teach-In" at its Varsity Arena and more than 5000 students and citizens paid from Rs. 14 to Rs. 35 to hear politicians, diplomats and Far East experts dissect the China problem in wide-ranging debate.

Prof. Hiree Mukerjee, leader of the Right-wing Communist Party in the Lok Sabha represented one viewpoint. He told reporters on arrival that his Party's hope was that eventually India, China and Russia would "tilt the world balance toward a socialist future".

At the "Teach-In" he had the highest praise for the Chinese Revolution. He avoided discussion of China's invasion and seizure of thousands of square miles of Indian territory in 1962. "I want to forget about it," he told his Canadian audience.

China's Motives

But he offered interesting insight into China's motives. "India appeared to see the way towards socialism, and then began to waver. But I want to say here, emphatically, that her heart was in the right place. Unfortunately China at that point did not recognize this."

Perhaps Mr. Mukerjee misunderstood the purpose of the "Teach-In" which, as defined by the steering committee, was to present a reasoned analysis of China's position. A vitriolic attack on American policies, likening them to those of Hitler and charging that Americans single out Asians to be the target of special weapons such as atom bombs, the alleged "germ warfare" of Korea and napalm, formed the bulk of his address. The Canadian press labelled this a "preach-in".

Viewpoints, as numerous as speakers, included those of Chinese novelist Han Su-yin and Chester Ronning, former Canadian High Commissioner

in New Delhi, now special envoy to Hanoi. Both Chinese and American Governments were approached to send representatives but declined.

Most speakers agreed that China would not fight in South-east Asia unless severely provoked. Professor Shinkichi Eto of Tokyo University, who is currently studying China from Hong Kong, emphasized the cardinal point in Mao Tse-tung's military thinking; attack must never be launched unless victory is certain. China "will continue to shout and to aid the North Vietnamese by all means except military reinforcement," he assessed.

This was supported by an author who will shortly publish a study on the Chinese army. "China pledges support for revolution but it also makes it clear that revolutionaries abroad must rely on their own, rather than on Chinese resources," he said. The collapse of the Indonesian coup was a case in point.

Conflict of Ideas

Four times during the weekend thousands of serious-faced students, intent upon some understanding of a vast problem, pushed into the stadium to enter the conflict of ideas being pursued there. Two million from Los Angeles to Halifax listened in through hook-ups with Canadian and American radio stations and closed-circuit connections with 13 Canadian universities. A *Toronto Globe and Mail* columnist commented, "I suppose there has never been an age when so many youngsters have carried on such a search (for truth) in such a diligent fashion."

The week in Asia

PNOM PENH—Cambodian Chief of State Prince Sihanouk announced a Vietnam "counter conference" here in response to the recent Manila and New Delhi conferences. Leaders of North Vietnam, the South Vietnam Liberation Front and Cambodia will attend.

HONG KONG—One and a half million Red Guards saluted Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung in a gigantic propaganda rally in Peking. Marshall Lin Piao was also cheered by the Red Guards.

SEOUL—Six Americans and a South Korean were killed in an ambush by North Korean troops only several hundreds yards south of the border. Two South Korean officers were killed in another clash shortly afterwards.

SINGAPORE—The War in Vietnam was carried into North Vietnamese waters for the first time when US Navy ships heavily shelled a vital Communist base just north of the Demilitarized Zone in a plan to sever supply routes to the South.

SYDNEY—China will pay a record price of £36 million for one and a half million tons of Australian wheat, said the Chairman of the Australian Wheat Board.

SEOUL—Over one million people greeted President Johnson on his arrival in South Korea, the last stop of his Asian tour, for talks with President Park.

DJAKARTA—The Indonesian Government closed the Bung Karno University here in its campaign to eradicate left-wing influences. Two Communist leaders caught printing pro-Communist pamphlets were among those arrested during the drive.

TEL AVIV—An Israeli goods train was blown up within a few hundred yards of the Jordan border, apparently by Arab saboteurs of the Palestine Liberation Front.

HONG KONG—Six Hong Kong fishermen were kidnapped by junks from the Chinese mainland, one of which allegedly carried a Red Guard.

CAIRO—The UAR and Syria signed a joint defence treaty providing that an attack on one country is an attack on the other.

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Easing Tensions between Austria & Italy

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Vienna

By the end of the First World War a part of Austria, called South Tyrol, became part of Italy. Ever since then the Italian-speaking part of its population has increased. At the end of the second world war a new agreement was signed between Austria and Italy, granting certain rights to the German-speaking part of the population. But many people were not satisfied with it and a hot-blooded minority started an action-movement against the Italian authorities.

Agitation in the past years had led several times to tensions between the two countries. Recently two young Italian Customs officials were shot at Malgo Sasso and a wave of anti-Austrian feelings swept through the Italian press.

A group of Austrian students, who call themselves the "International League for Reconciliation", asked for an interview with the Italian Ambassador at Vienna. When the *Charge d'Affaires* received them, they handed to him a sum equal to more than 100 US dollars, which they had collected as a sign of their sympathy, for the two young Italians.

"We know," they stated, "that it is not enough to apologize for the attack in Malgo Sasso. We know also that no material help can compensate for such a loss, but we would like you to accept this initiative as a gesture which may contribute towards the removal of the tension between our people."

Signor Calenda, from the Embassy, answered the Austrian students, saying that the personnel of the Embassy were deeply moved by this spontaneous gesture. The students announced too, that they would continue to collect funds to pursue their aims.

Tamils prepare to
learn Sinhala

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

There is a bitter dispute going on within the Federal Party, an important Tamil component in the National Government, about whether the Tamils should agree to learn Sinhala. A recent meeting of the Tamil General Council which dealt with this issue was described by observers as "stormy".

The dissidents are to be disciplined, and the Council supported their leaders who have agreed that Sinhalese teachers should be sent to the predominantly Tamil North and East. But some Federal Party leaders say children should only have to learn Sinhala if their parents agree.

This is an explosive issue at a time when the Government coalition was never more in need of strengthening after their loss of the three recent bye-elections and when Mrs. Bandaranaike's opposition stirred up so much emotion about alleged Tamil "domination".

Meanwhile, Tamil government servants in Jaffna, following a conference convened by the Government Agents there, have agreed to accept Sinhala as the official language and the Government will provide facilities for them to learn the language.

ties for them to learn the language.

This month the bill to implement the Shastri-Sirimavo Pact, settling the fate of 800,000 Tamil immigrants into Ceylon, will be presented to Parliament here. Although its implementation is to be extended over fifteen years, it will not be easy to decide which are the 525,000 Tamils to leave Ceylon whom India has agreed to accept back.

The Ceylon Workers, Congress, the largest (membership: 350,000) trade union representing Tamil estate labour, supports the pact, but says that repatriation must be on a voluntary basis. Ceylon is to give 300,000 of the remaining Tamils citizenship. The speed with which this pact is put into force on both sides of the Palk Strait may be decisive.

The week

elsewhere

US DIRECTIVE

LONDON—Commanding officers of American Army and Air Force units have been ordered to repatriate immediately all potential spies. This includes men with heavy debts, records of immoral conduct, men who have attained sudden and inexplicable wealth or with mental and emotional instability. The Pentagon directive says that at least 20 per cent of hostile intelligence assignments deal with spotting potential recruits and assessing their weaknesses.

ZAMBIA'S EXPULSIONS

LONDON—Mr. Bowden, British Commonwealth Secretary, has sent a note of protest to the Zanzibar Government because of the expulsion of some white people from Zambia. The reason given for their expulsion was that they were "racially-minded", though no specific charges were made against them.

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS MERGE

ROME—After a 19-year division the Italian Socialist Party and the Social Democrat Party have been merged again. The new party is called the United Socialist Party. The breach was caused when Signor Saragat,

now President of Italy, walked out of the Socialist Party with the Social Democrats as a protest against a Socialist alliance with the Communists. Deputy Minister Nenni has been chosen leader of the new party.

INCENTIVES IN POLAND

WARSAW — Poland's Communist Party has recommended financial incentives for factory workers and managers to help overcome production problems.



"Do you think the High Command can make up differences?"

The week in India

MADRAS — The Panamanian ship *Progress* broke in two after being grounded by 65 mph cyclonic gales and 22 crew members are believed lost. Three other ships were grounded by the storm.

NEW DELHI — Finance Minister Chaudhuri ruled out any further devaluation of the rupee and said the Bell Commission had made no such suggestion.

NEW DELHI—Laotian Crown Prince Vong Savang and Princess Manilay Vong Savang arrived here on the beginning of 15-day State visit.

NEW DELHI — Rampaging students burnt three buses and damaged two more during riots here. In Lucknow students stoned the Lucknow-Allahabad passenger train, until dispersed by police. Tear gas and lathis were used to break up violent student riots in Morabad.

BOMBAY — About 30,000 shops and establishments remained closed here for a day in sympathy with hardware and steel merchants who are on a bandh protesting against alleged intimidation by their employees.

AMRITSAR — The Akali leader Sant Fateh Singh threatened the Prime Minister and several other Ministers that if common links between Harijana and Punjabi Suba are not broken, he will launch a protest march.

HYDERABAD — Fourteen people were killed in riots that swept Andhra in demand that the Centre allocates the fifth steel plant for the state. The Navy was called out to guard vital installations in Visakapatnam while in Narasaroopet mobs forced an MP and an MLA to resign.

NEW DELHI — India asked America for an extra two million tons of wheat and a quarter of a million tons of rice to meet demands from the states for the remainder of 1966, said Food Minister Subramaniam.

NEW DELHI — The Congress Working Committee discussed the serious drought situation in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in a special meeting here.

SHILLONG — Six policemen were killed and 13 were injured by Mizo raiders in the hill areas. About 2500 Mizo National Front members are reported to be under training in a Pakistani military camp.

Why bother with the Moon?

by Reginald Holme

It WILL COST 20,000 million dollars to land two US astronauts on the moon in two or three years time.

People in countries where many thousands live on the pavements ask: "Why spend all that money getting to the moon?" *Surveyor*, which landed on the moon in June, showed the surface to be arid rock and pebbles. What value is there in reaching it?

Moon exploration, like space exploration, can yield many benefits to man on earth. Methods of communication, developed from space satellites, already bring the nations and their peoples closer together. Events in Asia and Africa, and con-

ditions in those lands, can be seen over television from satellites like Early Bird, 22,000 miles out in space, by millions in richer nations.

The moon itself, once reached and lived on, has many advantages to offer. They are:

1. Secrets of the origin of life on earth may be discovered. In the field

FRONTIERS OF science

of biology scientists will investigate growth development and genetic make-up of terrestrial micro-organisms.

2. From the moon, which has no



A shot of the moon's surface from a US space-craft.

atmosphere, a much clearer view of the solar system and the great universe of stars—our home—can be obtained. For example, in an observatory on the moon a 40-inch optical telescope would be equal in resolving power to the 200-inch instrument on Mount Palomar, California.

3. As a platform for launching probes into the mighty spaces of the universe the moon would offer the advantage of low gravity—only one sixth that of the earth's. This means a space shot would take far less fuel.

4. The "dark side" of the moon, which is invisible from earth (since the moon always keeps one "face" only towards the earth), would provide a very quiet listening post for radio emissions from all parts of the cosmos. The reason is that the back side of the moon is shielded by the whole mass of the moon from radio interference originating on earth.

5. The moon may contain minerals that would be of value to earth's people.

Aerospace industry techniques in getting to the moon are constantly yielding new methods and materials of benefit to earth dwellers.

One of the latest is a quick-acting adhesive used in America's space-craft. This glue fixes instruments to the walls of Gemini, Explorer and the walls of space vehicles without bolts or rivets which could weaken or cause leaks in the structure.

This glue is now being used by surgeons to join the ends of small arteries in human beings, without stitching.

Letters

FOR A NEW AGE

Like so many in Europe, I am grateful for HIMMAT's world perspective each week and for the constant effort, in your columns, to modernize the thinking and living of men and women everywhere.

The lust to control and so wield great power is one of the diseases of our faithless age. Its strangle-hold grows. With an outside ego and imperial motives, men cannot have a true understanding of national and international affairs, or give an effective strategy to any country. Statesmanship, greatness and leadership are disappearing assets everywhere and freedom, the most precious of these intangibles, is in danger.

Only if these trends are reversed and the will of God becomes central in men's lives, will the thinking, the talents and creativeness of each reach the peak of development for the good of all. Incorruptible men are called for to bring about a new age. And the eternally vigilant voice of HIMMAT has a key part in helping India reach the summit

of nationhood that is her destiny in the next centuries.

DOE HOWARD*

Brent Eleigh, Suffolk
England

* This week's Rs. 10 winner.

NO SHORTAGE OF FOOD

I was really very sorry to read the concluding portion of R.M.L.'s comments on 'Students' Sacrifice' in HIMMAT dated October 28, 1966 in which it has been stated that there is scarcity and acute poverty in the country.

I have great regard for the forthright and unbiassed views courageously published in your magazine. May I respectfully submit that there is no shortage of foodgrains in the country nor is there acute poverty which we had not experienced previously. What is the real famine in our country now is of humanity at all levels and that is the real reason for the student unrest.

R. NARAYAN

Calcutta-1

HAPPY BIRTHDAY HIMMAT!

I am reminded of a statement the First Elizabeth, Queen of England,

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

made when she was knighting one of her young sailors for a great deed of valour during the Battle of the Armada in the 16th Century:

"Your deeds are older than your looks; Your looks are older than your age!"

It is impossible to believe that HIMMAT is only two years old, for HIMMAT'S deeds are older than her looks; and HIMMAT'S looks are older than her age.

HIMMAT's influence is beginning to submarine through deep waters of stagnancy and sluggishness. Unlike some other magazines, HIMMAT is not dedicated to gossip. Its journalism is so clear, clean and thought-provoking.

As a school teacher, I am so happy that our youth have something so creative and challenging to read.

IVAN SASSOON

Calcutta 14

OSTAD OSRAM says

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The Future of My People—from page 13

in face of the serious consequences they and their families will have to undergo, giving evidence to the great faith which my people have in the cause of our freedom.

As part of that faith and of that hope, those of my people in Tibet look to us in exile to preserve and carry on our culture and traditions. The task, therefore, remains for us in exile to preserve our identity. With this end in view we have set up schools for our children, where they can study the Tibetan language, Tibetan literature and religion. We also have plans to set up an Insti-

tute of Buddhist Philosophy and Higher Tibetan Studies. Further, Tibetan drama groups have been formed to carry on our traditional songs and dances. Co-operative handicraft centres have been formed to produce Tibetan goods and preserve the old arts and crafts of Tibet; many of the goods produced at these centres have gained a ready market both in India and abroad, and there is every hope that the traditional crafts of Tibet will flourish under these centres. We have also started a museum where ancient and valuable works of art from Tibet are dis-

played and rare Tibetan manuscripts which we have been able to bring away are preserved.

But the preservation of our traditional way of life and culture is not enough; we must look ahead. It was in this spirit and with this idea that we drafted our new Constitution. This Constitution is based on democratic principles and ideals upon which we hope to build a truly progressive society for the Tibet of tomorrow. On the other hand, we have tried not only to base our Constitution on these ideals but to fit it to the needs of a Tibetan nation with its own unique culture and history.

At the same time, in thinking of tomorrow we must not forget today, for it is today that we must sow the seeds of a better and more prosperous country of tomorrow. It is therefore now that my people in exile must be trained in the new methods of progress; we must train them as administrators, scientists, teachers, doctors, engineers and all those other professions which go to make a strong and progressive society. In this venture we have received very valuable assistance from organizations all over the world. We owe the greatest single debt to the Government of India which has assumed full responsibility, financial and otherwise, in rehabilitating my people.

I have always held a firm belief in the goodness of humanity; it is with this belief and with the hope and faith of a scattered nation behind me that I now appeal to all freedom-loving peoples to assist us in our struggle for freedom.

Andhra—from page 14

missal of a Vice Chancellor during mid-term. There are no charges, misconduct or maladministration, against Dr. Reddy. Besides, where was the hurry to appoint a new man, when the petition of Dr. Reddy was known to be pending before the Supreme Court?

That the Government acted in this fashion during another politically inspired agitation by students for a steel plant in the state makes the Government's unwisdom all the greater.

Though student violence is to be deprecated, the Government's willfulness is reprehensible. The Chancellor's acceding to the hasty and ill-conceived advice is the saddest part in the tragic tale.

The World's Youngest Prime Minister SAYED SADIQ EL MAHDI

Khartoum

SAYED SADIQ EL MAHDI, great-grandson of the famous Mahdi, and his country's youngest Prime Minister at 30, has been in office for two months. During this time he has won the allegiance of many of the critical intelligentsia once hostile to the traditionalist Umma Party of which he is President, and drawn close to full reconciliation with his uncle the Imam El Hadi El Mahdi, Patron of the Umma Party and spiritual leader of the four million Mahdi followers. Till recently it looked as if there were going to be an absolute split in the Mahdi family, which has been the foundation rock of Sudan's faith and freedom.



The Prime Minister of Sudan

By Peter Everington—who interviewed him



What sort of man is Sayed Sadik? I have known him for seven years and have talked with him three times in recent weeks. Three qualities of his have always impressed me—his rapier mind which goes straight to the heart of the matter, his gift for articulating a point brilliantly in either English or Arabic, and his ability to relax in the middle of the whirlwind and give himself totally to the person he is with.

He is a man of action too, and he needs to be in the present situation. At the time he took office, incompetence and inter-departmental rivalry at the Ministry of Finance and Economics had reduced Sudan's reserves to £1½ million, leaving £35 million worth of her prize long-staple cotton unsold in the Port Sudan warehouses. Sayed Sadik transferred two senior officials who were causing the blockage and appointed a non-political Finance Minister, formerly in the World Bank, with powers to form a new economic policy and resist sectional political demands.

What of the Southern Sudan? Alternating blandishment and punishment by successive governments over the past five years has not yet induced either the Anya-Nya guerrillas to lay down their arms, or the

could bring a basis of unity to Cairo and Riyadh.

Sayed Sadik recognises the importance of bridging the great Arab-Negro divide in Africa. Last year in Nairobi he made a favourable impression by publicly admitting Sudan's error in allowing Egyptian and Algerian planes to fly through Communist arms to Congo rebels in 1964-65.

Recently when the Moral Re-Armament All-Africa revue "Harabee Africa" visited Sudan at his Government's invitation and expense, he entertained the cast of students on his river steamer for two hours with grace and sincerity, urging them to take this spirit of "Pull Together"

(Continued on page 24)

scores of thousands of refugees in neighbouring countries to return in any great numbers. Yet Southern leaders inside the country do trust Sayed Sadik, and find him approachable and reasonable. They draw cautious optimism from his recent decision that foreign missionaries, expelled against the wishes of the Southerners some years ago, be allowed to return in sufficient numbers to train Sudanese clergy.

Determined to Modernise

In fact Sayed Sadik is recognised all round as being a revolutionary new element in the Umma Party. Graduated in Politics, Philosophy and Economics from Oxford only nine years ago, he is determined to modernise the Umma Party, untying it from the traditional control of the Mahdi family, and drawing to it broader national components.

This was the basis of conflict with his uncle the Imam, just as it is the basis of conflict between progressives and traditionalists throughout the Arab world. United, the Mahdi family

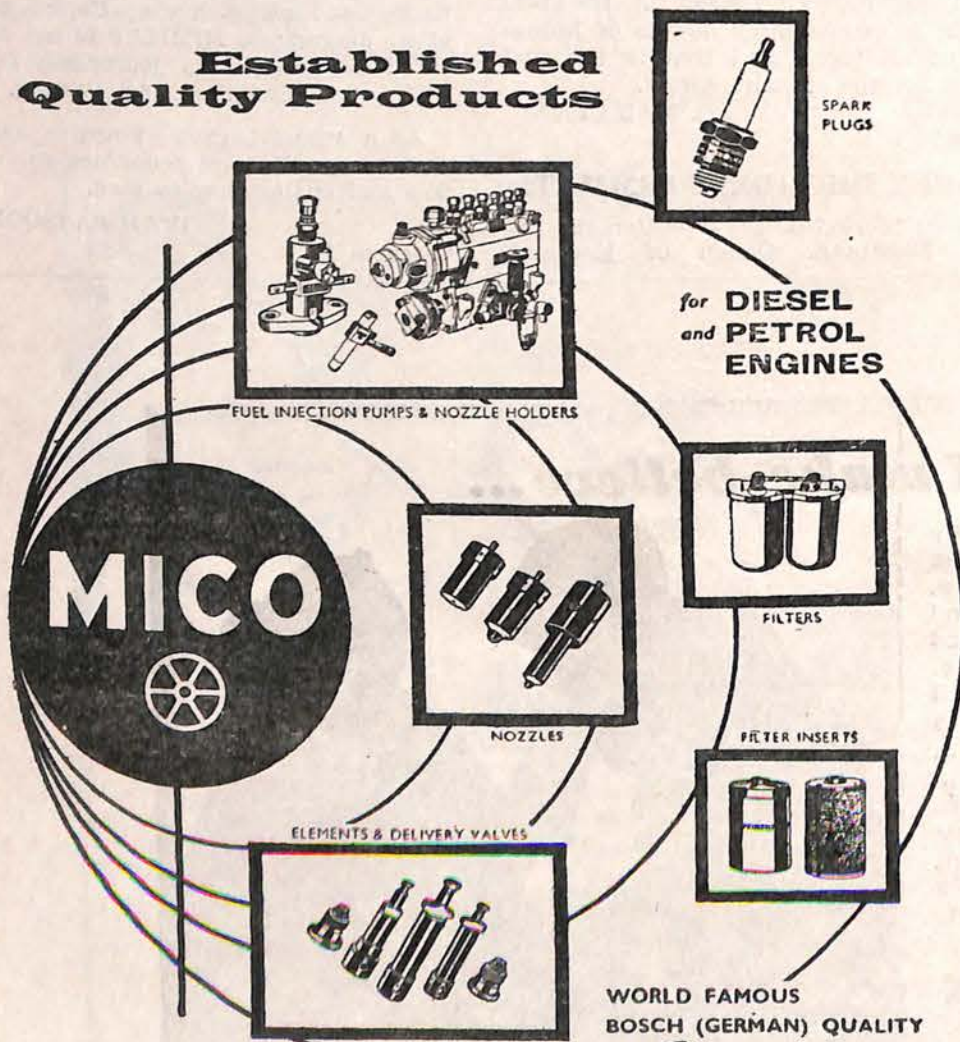
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Fighting World Poverty— task of next decades

Dr. Bruno Kreisky, Former Foreign Minister of Austria and Vice-Chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party, answers questions by HIMMAT's European Correspondent Pierre Spoerri.



As Foreign Minister you had a lot to do with the creation of united European institutions, especially in the economic field. In Asia, many people fear these institutions will increase the gap between rich and poor nations. Do you see how this could be avoided?

"In a united Europe many parties will fight for solidarity with the developing countries—especially the Socialists who used to fight poverty in their own nations and will now fight it amongst all nations. This will be one of the main tasks of the next decades."

As Foreign Minister you have visited many Communist countries. Do you think the Communist ideology itself has changed?

"No, only its outside appearance has changed?"

Do you think more cultural exchanges and more trade will lead to a greater liberalization in the Commu-

nist countries?

"I do not think that there will be more liberalization in Communist countries as a result of influence from outside. Only the people inside these countries can win more liberty by exploiting every chance to lead freer lives. We can only grasp the outstretched hands which are offered to us."

In an interview you said that freedom could only grow inside the Communist world through the conscience of individuals. How could this process be furthered?

"I believe that inside the Communist nations the individual is working harder to win more freedom and that he takes greater personal risks to do it. Take the cases of Djilas and Mihailov in Yugoslavia, the political economists in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and poets in Hungary."

Many people coming from Eastern Europe to the West get disappointed and cynical because they don't find in the West what they hoped for. How could this evolution be reversed?

"The Western world just is not as perfect as it is often presented. We shall only convince the people of Eastern Europe that our democratic order is better than theirs if we succeed in creating a true social democracy."

In Asia there is a gap between the older and the younger generation, especially in political life. Is this also true in Europe and how could youth be encouraged to take responsibility for their countries?

"This is true also in Europe. The way to get youth to take a real interest in political life is to reach a right division of labour between the generations and to give the youth a bigger share of responsibility."

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The Right To Learn

by V. V. John, Director of Education, Rajasthan



PRESIDENT JOHNSON SAID the other day, paraphrasing something that H. G. Wells had said earlier, that the world is engaged in a race between education and chaos. Currently we are not in that race, for, with us, education itself provides the chaos. Would this be an example of our reputed talent for synthesis?

We have seemingly come to accept academic anarchy, involving strikes and the closure of universities, as we accept the weather. On the "man-bites-dog" formula of journalists, strikes should no longer be news. They should report only instances of students refusing to strike. Strangely, this does not happen.

I was the other day on the campus of a large college* where, amidst reports of strikes and closure of colleges elsewhere, the students asserted their right to study, and not only stayed in, but also prevented trouble-makers from entering the campus. This remarkable phenomenon was not reported in any newspaper. Fortunately, there was no chance of those students behaving otherwise in a search for publicity.

Taunting Letters

I met, and talked to, many of the students and their teachers. The students had not been frightened into good behaviour. They were a lively crowd, seventeen hundred of them, a fifth of them girls; and they held strong views on the way those in authority were mismanaging affairs in certain respects. But they had decided that above everything came their right to study. Besides, they liked their teachers and their Principal.

In another large college, where life was quiet, the office-bearers of the Students' Union received a taunting letter from somewhere in Uttar Pradesh; a bangle accompanied the letter, suggesting lack of manliness in those who did not join the general upheaval. The taunt usually works.

* Government College, Ajmer

These anarchic occasions make the educated young indistinguishable from the uneducated, except to the former's disadvantage. Far too often the behaviour of college men is such as to make common people doubtful about the value of education. In a recent instance, a band of student agitators on the rampage raided a small sweetmeats shop and ate up all the sweets without paying for them. The poor vendor's wife and children probably starved for the next few days.

On another occasion, also recently, students stopped everyone on the public road and extorted contributions for the strike fund. A rickshaw-wallah had to part with a large part of his day's earnings, lest his vehicle should be damaged. These are but two small instances of the terror we are living through.

Most student agitations now lead to an orgiastic destruction of public property. The old pattern was to begin peacefully and lapse into violence later, and the authorities made it a habit to blame it on anti-social elements who had infiltrated into the student body. Latterly the routine has changed. The stir begins with violence, and an early target is the vice chancellor or the head of the institution concerned.

The old dodge about anti-social elements from outside can no longer work; we have home-grown vandals on every campus. The new dodge is to talk of police excesses, ignoring the origin of the trouble and how the police happened to come in at all. Such is the amazing educational progress we have made in the last few years!

I would not, in a spirit of despair, yearn for a day when students will have ceased to agitate and to protest. Considering how quickly the older generation lapses into cynicism and lets things drift into eventual dis-

aster, youth has to look after its own interests and work out its own destiny. When war comes, we realise all too clearly, how old men make mistakes and young men pay for them. In many places in the country, the voice of youth has been the only voice raised in protest against such grave abuses as corruption, hoarding and profiteering.

The pity is that youth does not seem to realise (a) that even the most vigorous protest need not involve the abandonment of classes; (b) that such abandonment will hurt no one except themselves; (c) that there is a difficult curriculum; and (d) that brickbats and personal violence are not a substitute for a right cause and the right arguments.

Cheated Generation

The older generation, not excluding the teachers, has been cheating the younger generation for long. At the moment I am not referring to the bankruptcy they will inherit as a result of our improvidence. In the field of education, consider what has been happening in the last few years. Everyone laments that standards have been falling. Who allowed them to fall? The students, whom we now blame, did not make the decision. The decision-makers, in the matter of curricula, teaching methods and examinations, who have allowed this country to trail far behind others, are answerable to the younger generation for this betrayal.

Continued on next page

"One wishes the students did agitate about things that are really wrong."

-from page 23

One sometimes has the suspicion that academic people want to ensure that their pupils do not turn out to be smarter than themselves. We have drifted far, far from the attitude of the ancient GURU who, according to the Sanskrit saying, desired to be vanquished by his disciple.

It may be that we lowered standards in response to student strikes or popular clamour. As these exercises in appeasement work out finally to the detriment of the students themselves, the academic cynics can, amidst all their discomfiture during student disturbances, laugh in their sleeves.

They would find kindred spirits among the students too, for there are students who have nothing to lose through truancy; they delight in the fact that strikes and their fruits help to level the good student with the bad. It is a vast conspiracy of the wicked and the stupid against the better elements in the student community.

This is not all. Almost every political party has developed a student wing. This would be commendable if, in intention and in practice, it were to develop political conscious-

ness among students and train our future leaders. But the kind of "demands" that the young agitators make, and the methods they employ for pressing them, are not such as would produce honest leaders or honest rebels. Obviously the present leaders are not keen that the mantle of succession should fall on intelligent and capable people.

One wishes the students did agitate about the things that are really wrong. One of them is the failure of our educational system to keep pace with educational progress in other countries.

If no one else would do it, students should protest against the mere statistical expansion of education, which is achieved without regard to the quality of equipment, standard of academic work, availability of competent teaching personnel, and efficiency of examining procedures.

They should protest against the practice of taking decisions on academic matters, such as the study of languages and the duration of courses, on grounds other than academic. They should protest against the continuing sell-out to the hooligans.

Standing on a roadside some time ago, I watched a procession go by, and one of their slogans was, "Students, Unite!" Students have united in many places to demand what amounted to lowering standards. They should now unite to assert their right to study, and to ask for the raising of standards. Our student unions have a dismal record of utter futility. Students' organizations in other countries have been able to contribute not only to what are known as extra-curricular activities, but also to curriculum-making and, in some places, even to academic administration. Not only students, but even teachers, seem to be unaware of the opportunities they are missing. It is, hopefully, not too late to reverse the present trends and salvage our education.

Brave feelings are not enough. Every campus should establish a committee for vigilance in education, consisting of students, teachers and public men; their chief duty should be to examine and publicly denounce everything that interferes with the nation's right to learn.

for the welfare of far-flung tribes and townships.

Sayed Sadik El Mahdi's future, and that of his country, will lie in his success in building a team round him, of politicians, civil servants and youth, who will go out to tackle what must be done with a new patriotic aim, and an awareness of what is at stake in the continent.

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GANDHI SAYS

"Cry of the heart must be heeded... terminate the bondage."

Bangalore, Nov. 5

"Prisoners convicted of grave crimes and serving imprisonment in gaols are allowed to correspond. Here is a young girl who longs to use her life to serve and clean up India. She is not only being detained against her will, but is being attacked for writing a letter asking for help to restore her liberty."

Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi said this before the Mysore High Court when hearing continued last week on the *Habeas Corpus* petitions for the freedom of Miss Janaki Varadhan and Miss Usha Chandiram.

Mr. Venkataranga Iyengar, counsel for Mr. Varadhan and Mr. Chandiram, who, according to Mr. Gandhi, are keeping their daughters under unlawful detention, had said that Usha had written her letter slyly and sent it out slyly. Displaying a copy of *HIMMAT*, dated October 7, which had said "Usha smuggles out a letter", Mr. Iyengar asked "How was the letter smuggled out?"

"I want to be free"

Mr. Gandhi, who argued on his own behalf, said, "I submit that it is the unchallengeable right of every person wrongfully imprisoned to write letters seeking help and smuggle them out." Saying that he was not going to reveal how Usha smuggled out the letter, Mr. Gandhi added, "What matters is not how Usha sent out the letter, but what she says in it. She says she is in a cage. She twice says, 'I want to be free'. She says, 'I have no freedom whatsoever'. She asked for her friends to move the Courts, if that were the only way of securing her liberty."

Mr. Gandhi said, "It seems as if they have tried her for a crime and punished her for it. Her crime is love of country. Her punishment is rigorous imprisonment. I can understand the desire of worldly-minded parents to find comfortable and secure jobs for their sons and daughters. But if their sons and daughters wish to sacrifice promising careers and live to remake the country, it is something for the parents to be proud of. Janaki and Usha are seeking not the liberty to flout their parents, but the liberty to fight for India."

Referring to Mr. Iyengar's insistence on discovering how the letter was smuggled out, Mr. Gandhi said, "This very powerful desire to find out how Usha sent out the letter and the anger at her sending it out, is solid proof of the fact of her detention."

Among the annexures submitted by Mr. Chandiram, along with his affidavit were a letter from a lady from Canada expressing her gratitude at Usha's fight, a money order sent by a friend in Delhi to Usha which also contained, in shorthand, the words, "fighting, your freedom", a letter from Usha to her father written in May in which she had spoken of her decision to give her life to work with Moral Re-Armament, Usha's passport and address book.

Fundamental Rights

Referring to the letters that came to Usha, Mr. Gandhi asked, "Who has filed them here? Not Usha to whom they belong. Mr. Chandiram has. There is no evidence that she has even received them. Her things are being treated the way she is being treated. She and her things are being regarded as his property, to be used in any way he likes."

Mr. Iyengar in his arguments said, "The Hindu philosophy is that father, mother and teacher are gods and should be treated as such by their sons and daughters. God is a foreign idea to this country."

He expressed his displeasure at Usha using the word "God" in her letter.

In his reply Mr. Gandhi said, "I deny that to treat father, mother or teacher as God is part of Indian philosophy. If it is, it should immediately be discarded. The idea that an adult son or daughter should be forced to crush his or her personality and be made to subjugate himself or herself completely to the will of his father is one that goes completely against the fundamental rights that belong to every citizen."

Reading out Article 19 of the Constitution which guarantees the freedom of speech, expression, movement and occupation to every Indian citizen, Mr. Gandhi said, "Here is an attempt to destroy all these freedoms as far as Usha is concerned."

Emphasising the suffering and agony of Usha, as expressed in her letter, Mr. Gandhi said, "Here is a cry of the heart. It must be heard and heeded. It is now 60 days since she was seized. I appeal to Your Lordships to terminate her 60 days of bondage."

Mr. Iyengar stated in the course of his pleading that Mr. Gandhi's aim in the course of the proceedings was to get the girls to say something in Court which would help him defend himself against the charge which the Madras police were making against him.

Answering this point, Mr. Gandhi said, "I am looking forward to the day when the Madras police will charge me. Their promise remains unfulfilled thus far. I want the liberty of the two young women, who are now being detained."

Stating that the other side was more interested in attacking Moral Re-Armament than in the freedom or otherwise of the girls, Mr. Gandhi said, "If the learned counsel oppo-

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site has any questions on Moral Re-Armament, I shall gladly furnish the answers outside. But Moral Re-Armament is not before the bar here. The fact that throughout the lengthy arguments and affidavits *their emphasis has been on attacking Moral Re-Armament and not on denying the charge of unlawful detention, suggests that powerful and entrenched forces are behind this whole thing.*"

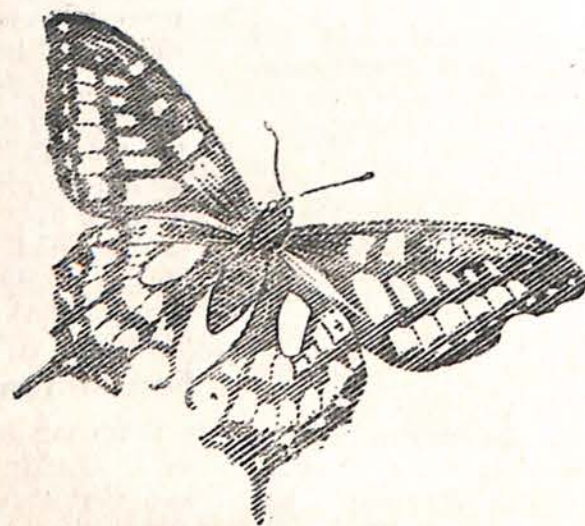
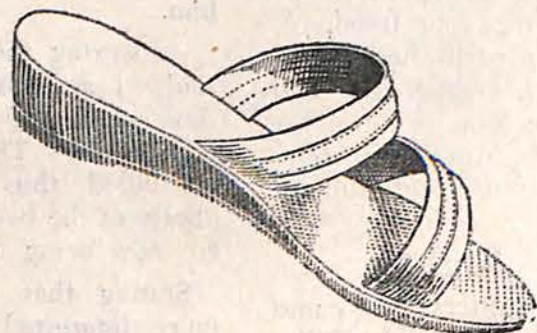
Stressing that Mr. Chandiram's averment that he and his family were out of the jurisdiction of the Court could not be true, Mr. Gandhi asked, "Why has he not stated where he was?" This honourable Court has all the powers it can have to ask him to produce his daughter. Only the summoning of the young ladies will establish the real truth about their freedom or lack of it. Any other attempt to discover, on the basis of

arguments and even on the basis of affidavits would be unsatisfactory.

"In spite of repeated questioning, till this moment not the remotest suggestion of an answer has been made to the fundamental question 'When can the girls be produced in court?' Avoiding an answer to this question tells its own tale."

Justices Narayana Pai and Ahmed Ali Khan reserved judgement.

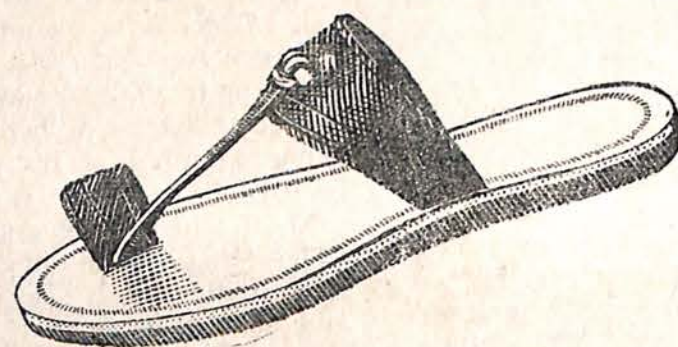
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This was a Life

JOHN CURTIN
1885—1945

JOHN CURTIN was born the son of a policeman in a country town in the state of Victoria, Australia. He rose to be Prime Minister during the most dangerous period of that country's history. At an early age he entered the labour movement and became secretary of the Victorian Timber Workers' Union in 1911. He went to Western Australia in 1917 to edit a labour newspaper.

In 1928 Curtin won the seat of Fremantle in the Federal Parliament, lost it in 1931, but regained it in 1934, holding it until his death in 1945. He was elected leader of the Australian Labor Party in 1935. Curtin saw the gathering clouds of war and orientated his Party's policy to deal with the coming storm. In 1941, with Japanese sweeping all before them in their advance through Asia, he became Prime Minister.

The early years of Curtin's administration were critical for Australia. He brought Australia's policy a new independence. He saw that Australia's destiny lay with Asia and he broke with tradition by linking Australia's policy more to Asia and the USA, than to Britain and Europe. This trend has developed increasingly since the war.

He was swift to put Australia on a realistic war footing. Though his Party was opposed to conscription of men for military service, Curtin saw it as essential for Australia's defence and his Party gave him their backing to introduce it for the war's duration.

Despite heavy preoccupation with the war, Curtin found time to make radical changes on the home front. His banking measures gave the Federal Government a control of economic fluctuations. He introduced "full employment" as a plank of the government policy and extensive social legislation.

Curtin was able to maintain his Party's unity because he dealt with important issues and never attacked opposing personalities. In early years he had been a rationalist, but he found a faith in God. He broadcast in 1942 calling for "the moral and spiritual re-arming of Australia".

In 1945 John Curtin died just five weeks before the Japanese surrender. He was a man who governed with his heart as well as his head and his concern for the welfare of people made him probably the most popular and effective Prime Minister Australia has ever had.

K.C.B.

The Nation

Mob Fury Strikes New Delhi

Never before has the capital witnessed such widespread arson and mob fury as it did on Monday, November 7, when police had to fire 209 rounds on violent anti-cow-slaughter mobs. Seven were killed, 100 injured. The procession of 100,000 demonstrators converged on Parliament Street and were sparked when Swami Rameshwaranand, an M.P., urged the Sadhus to break the police cordon, enter Parliament House and prevent ministers from going out.

Jan Sangh leaders say that in spite of their appeals, the Sadhus followed the Swami's instructions and the police had to lathi charge, teargas and finally fire. Retreating processionists turned their attention to Government buildings, banks, restaurants, and cinema houses, attacking in blind fury parked cars, streetlights and public property.

They did not hesitate to ransack the house of Congress. President Kamaraj. Rags soaked in petrol were flung into his drawing room and Mr. Kamaraj barely escaped.

In Parliament, Opposition members called for an enquiry to find out whether these disturbances were pre-planned and who was behind them. In the Cabinet meeting later that evening, as also in the Party meeting, Home Minister Nanda was criticized. The Lieutenant-Governor of Delhi, Mr. A. N. Jha, admits that the Government had no inkling of any plan to create trouble. So much for good Government.

It is conceivable that the Home Minister may have to resign and if so, it is likely that Mr. S. K. Patil who is believed to have criticized within the Cabinet Mr. Nanda's handling of the situation on Monday, may replace him.

But the events of Monday raise larger questions:

1. Is this a dress rehearsal for a revolution? HIMMAT's Delhi correspondent phones through to say that one of the Swamis reminded the processionists that November 7 was the day of the Bolshevik Revolution.

2. What about the forthcoming demonstration which the Leftist parties want to organize with students? Will there be a repetition of recent events? Communist leader Bhupesh Gupta may well accuse Sadhus of walking in procession with kerosine tins in their hands, but will his demonstration be different?

3. Is the India of 1966 becoming like pre-Hitler Germany or pre-Mao China, with the extreme Right and Left forces powerful on the streets while an effete Government looks on?

4. At this rate, will there be another election?

R. M. LALA

BANGALORE CASE JUDGEMENT

Bangalore, November 7

A Division Bench of the Mysore High Court today dismissed the petition filed by Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi seeking the issue of a Writ of Habeas Corpus for setting at liberty Miss Janaki Varadhan and Miss Usha Chandiram from the allegedly unlawful and illegal custody of their fathers.

The judgement in the case against Mr. Varadhan ran to 98 pages and that related to the case against Mr. Chandiram to 80 pages.

Mr. Varadhan filed a complaint against Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi, as Chief Editor of HIMMAT, for alleged contempt of Court. The Court has ordered the issue of a notice to Mr. Gandhi.

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An Answer Exists

By Rajmohan Gandhi

New Delhi, Monday

FROM THE THIRD-FLOOR TERRACE of a Connaught Circus building, I can see at least six smoke clouds. There are thousands on the streets and pavements down below. The eyes feel the teargas and the ears hear gunshots. Every few minutes the crowd below is increasing by groups who run from the Janpath-Connaught Circus crossing and from opposite the Regal Theatre, fleeing from something.

Seven Dead

Rumour says that about ten people have been killed in police firing near Parliament House. (Later official figures give 7 dead, over 100 injured, 209 rounds fired.—Ed). Apparently shop windows have been smashed in a number of places, and a lot of stuff has been looted. A good number in the streets carry sticks.

The crowds have collected and have been demonstrating to force the Government to ban cow slaughter. It is difficult to assess how many feel strongly or genuinely about the matter. Giggles can be frequently heard, and a good proportion are obviously having an uninhibited holiday.

Entitled to Views

Perhaps a fair number sincerely feel that a prohibition of beef-eating and of the killing of cows will produce quick and tangible benefits to the Indian scene. They are entitled to their views. But how today's commotion will help the Indian man, woman, child or cow is hard to perceive. If manslaughter (I am not using the word in its legal sense) is to be the result of a demonstration against cowslaughter, then the methods of agitation can fairly be questioned.

Cows are wonderfully useful animals. I do not think worship-

ping a cow will result in a cure to human suffering. I think *God deserves worship. A cow deserves care.*

If every now and then reminders are needed that it is not Congress alone that is responsible for the national mess, today's wildness provides a strong one.

Equally Blind

Mr. Kamaraj is one-sided and wrong when he maintains that the Opposition parties have created most of India's problems. He is mistaken in believing that if all Indians became obedient Congressmen the national landscape would become peaceful and beautiful. *But if any Opposition leaders feel that discrediting and destroying the Congress regime automatically means a new day for the land, they are equally blind.*

Costly Dream

The nationalist view that held the foreigner to blame and anticipated happiness and glory merely as a result of the transfer of power, was a pleasant illusion. The Marxist view, cherished and implemented by the Congress Government, that transfer of control from "landlords" and "capitalists" to bureaucrats and politicians would bring about an economic paradise, has been a similar and extremely costly dream. The revivalist view, which demands state power to enforce the alleged views of one religion on all belonging to it or not, *cannot*, if successful, change India.

The white man impoverished India, said the Congress leaders during the freedom struggle. They were wrong. The white-capped ruined free India, shout the saffron-robed or saffron-capped demonstrators today. They too are speaking a half-truth.

India's problems have not been created by one class, caste or crowd of people. All of us have been responsible.

The rationalist view that holds that if only the Government were in the hands of eggheads, technocrats, intellectuals and thinkmen, all would be well, is irrational. "Intellectuals" have seldom achieved agreement on who, apart from themselves, should be accepted as intellectuals. The superior cynicism of many a self-styled technocrat is not likely to galvanise the cheerless population of India.

Plan for Renaissance

A new type of man is the answer for India. Moral Re-Armament is the answer for India because it produces the new type of man. It has created, is creating and will create in ever-increasing numbers, the unselfish and fearless man to whom remaking India and the world is more important than making more for himself.

Where everything and everyone has failed, God still has a plan for India's renaissance. Men and women who live by absolute moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love and who seek and obey God's will can prevent India's plunge from chaos to anarchy into tyranny.

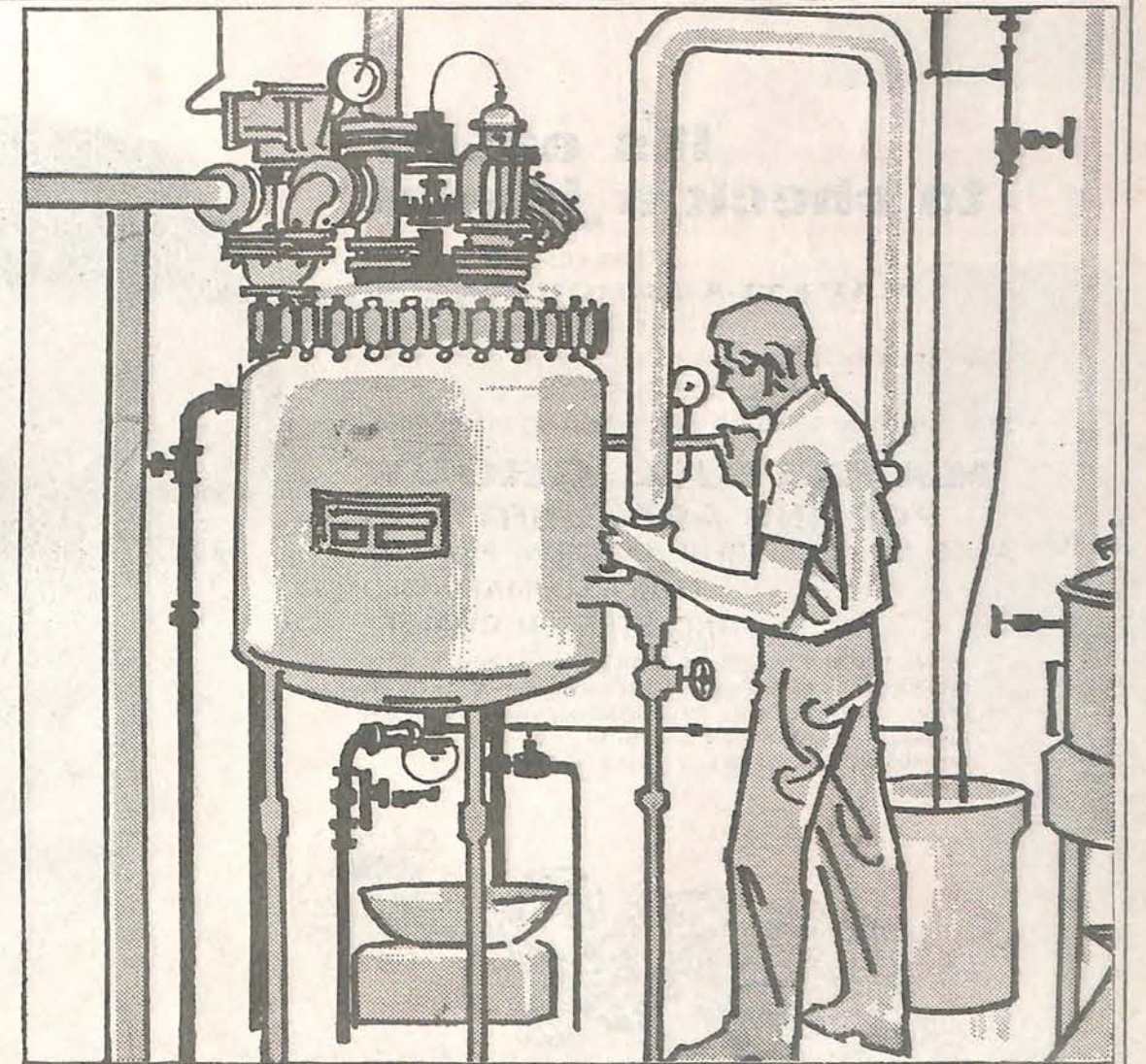
For Every Indian

We virtually guaranteed today's dangerous drift when years ago we kicked the character of man into unimportance.

God, who loves India and Indians as He loves all the peoples of this earth, has a perfect plan for every man, woman and child.

When man listens, God speaks. When man obeys, God acts. When men change a nation can change. It is up to every Indian.

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3. Over the past few years, Pfizer has successfully developed indigenous substitutes for many imported raw materials. These research efforts have saved substantial foreign exchange.
4. In India, Pfizer has two manufacturing plants, research laboratories, sixteen branch offices and over 2000 employees.



Science for the world's well-being

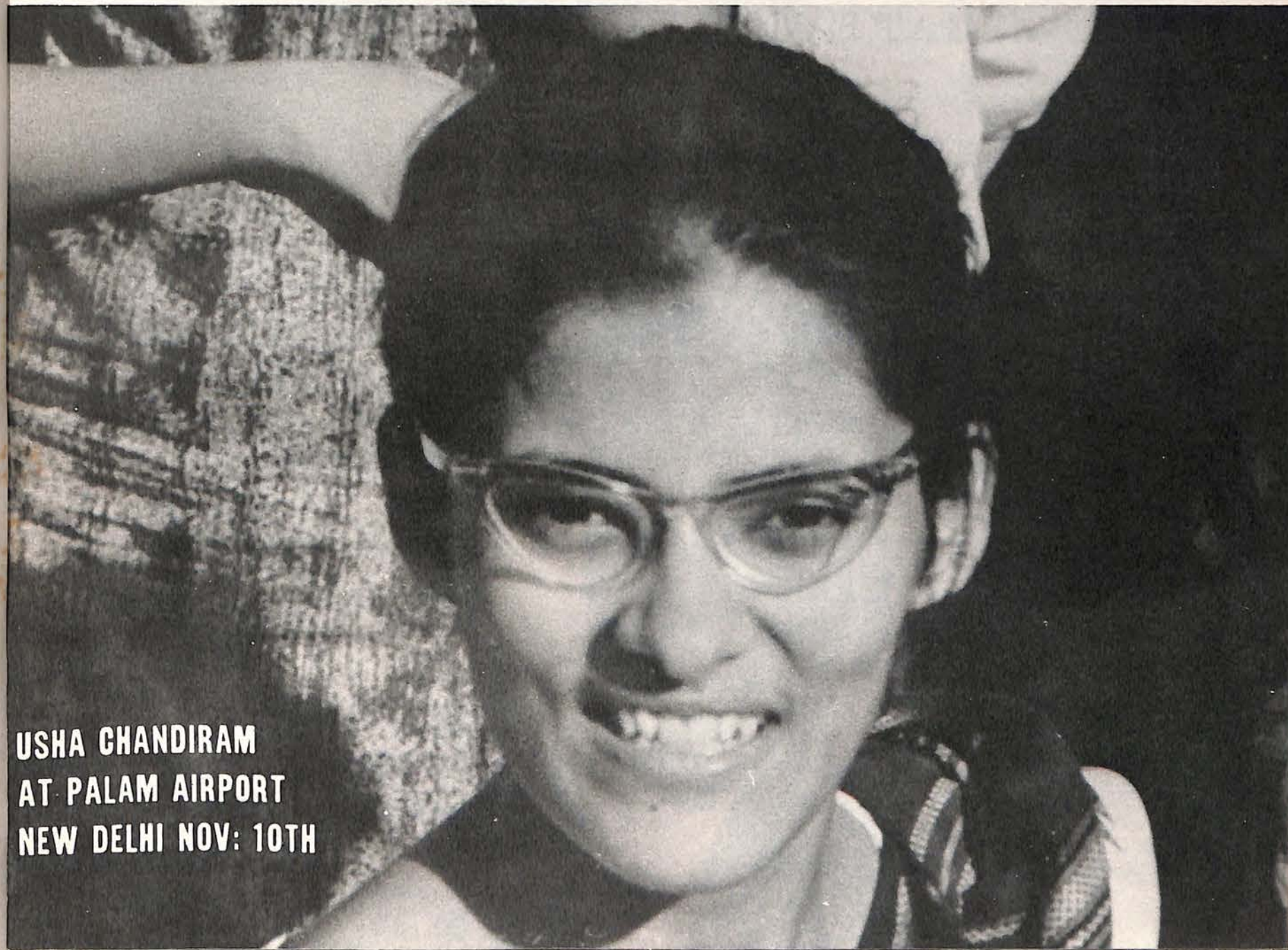
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USHA CHANDIRAM
 AT PALAM AIRPORT
 NEW DELHI NOV: 10TH

USHA "I have taken on a job for life"

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