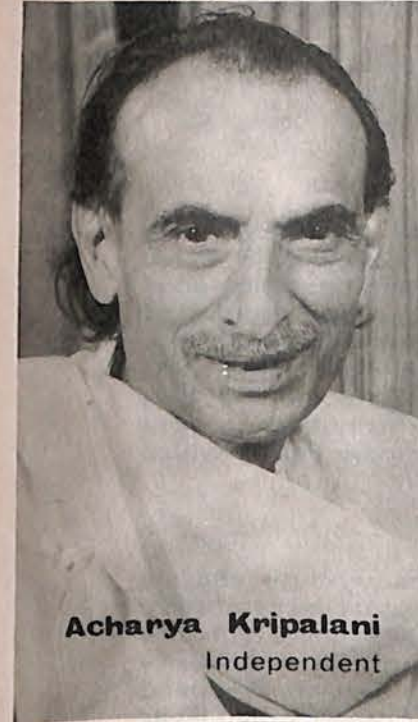


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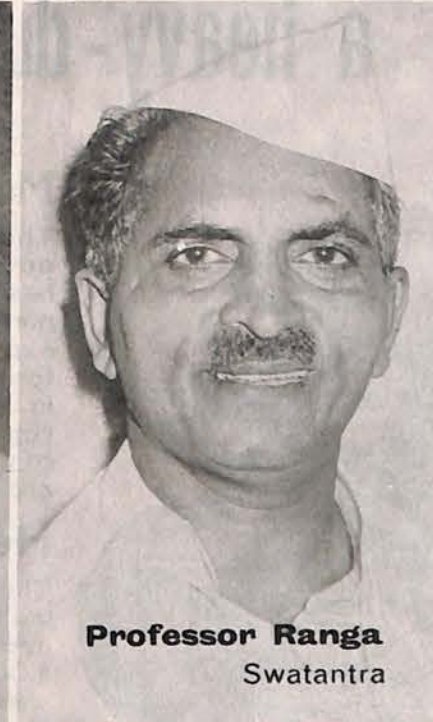
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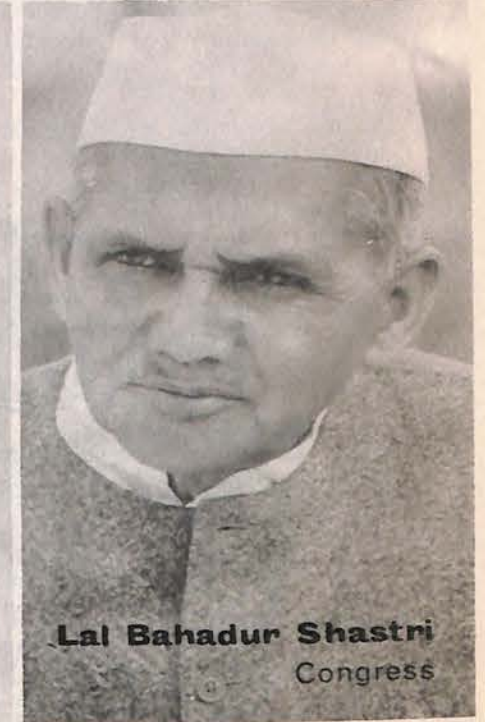
**Acharya Kripalani**  
Independent



**S. N. Dwivedi**  
P. S. P.



**Professor Ranga**  
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**Lal Bahadur Shastri**  
Congress

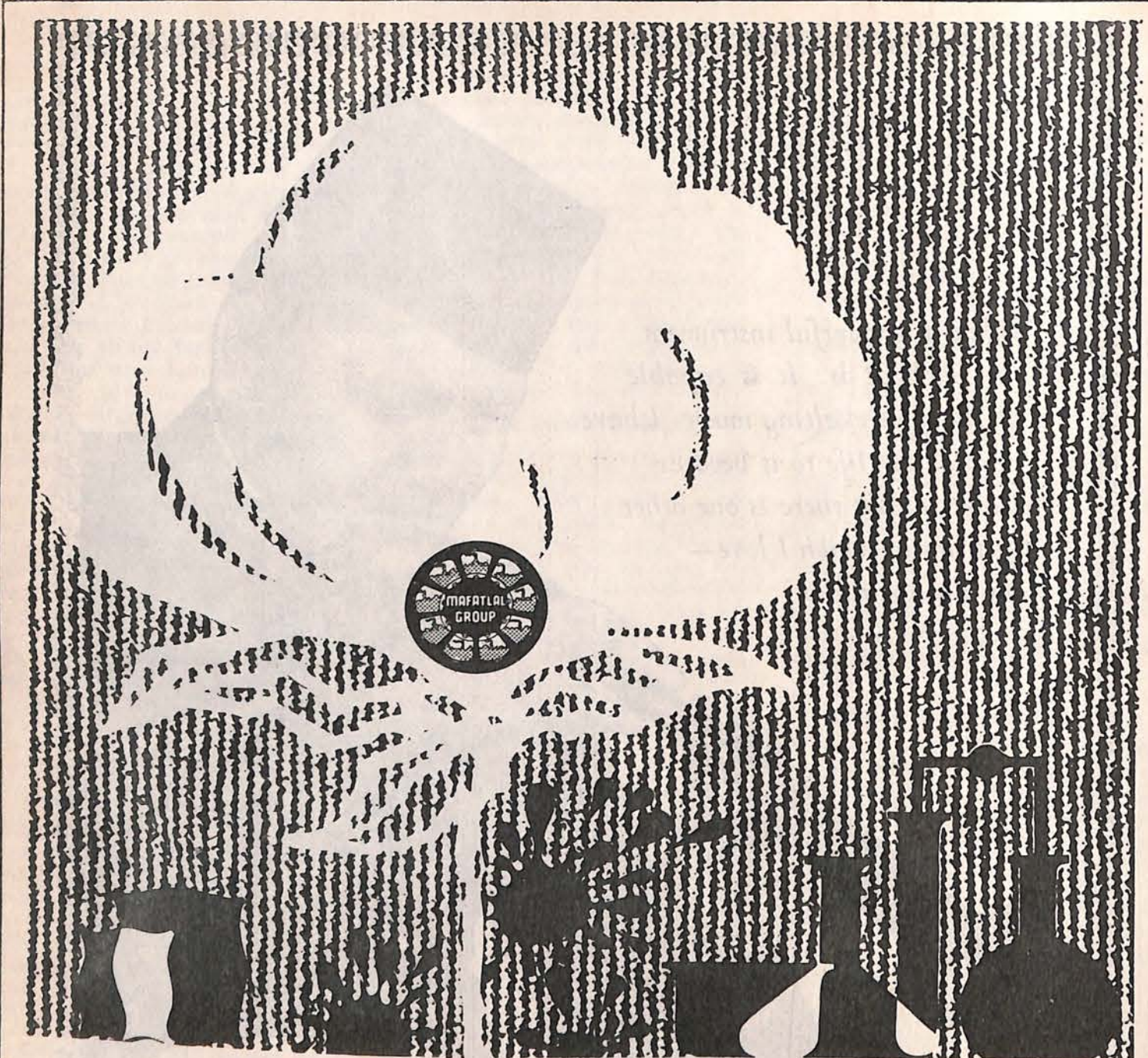


**BEYOND  
NO-CONFIDENCE**

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March 26  
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**PAKISTAN TODAY** Page 9



**GROWING BIGGER EVERY DAY**

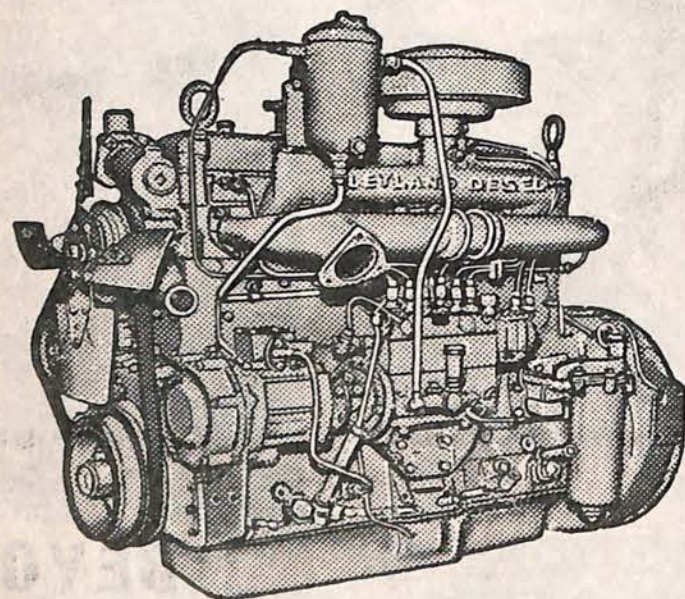
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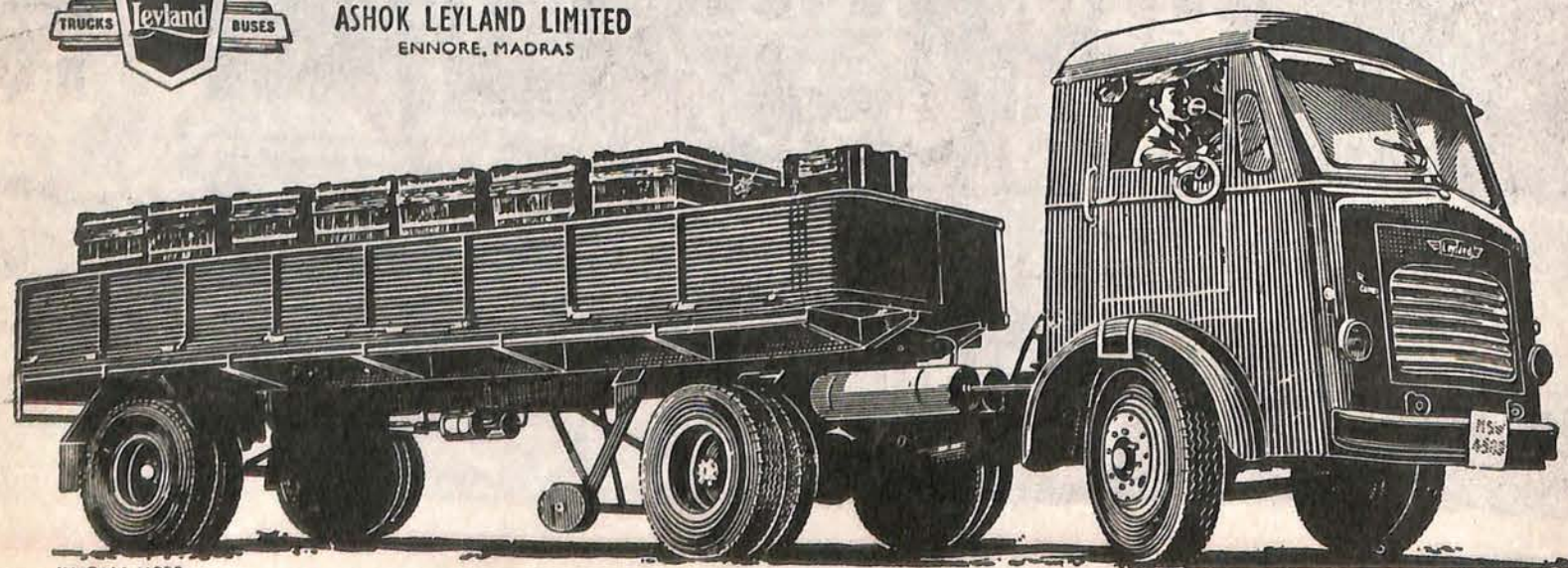
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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, March 26, 1965

Vol. I No. 21

## The Dalai Lama

IT IS A WELCOME sign that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is going on a journey to Buddhist lands in Asia. The Government of India has shown wisdom in approving his journey.

By his courageous stand in Lhasa and later by his presence in India, His Holiness has done more to awaken India to Communist China's designs than any single person. It may be that the statesmanship of the Dalai Lama can now do for these Buddhist lands what his people's suffering has done for India.

The Dalai Lama has been a gracious guest in India. Although in the earlier years India did not back his case in the United Nations, never has he embarrassed his hosts. For what little we have done for his people, like financing Tibetan schools, he has shown ample gratitude.

We do not—and in a way we cannot—do enough for thousands of Tibetans who have made India their home.

Representatives of other minorities are nominated to the Rajya Sabha by the President of India. Should not this privilege be extended to our Tibetan brothers until the day their land is once more free? They could then have someone to look after their interests in Parliament. To abide by the Constitution the person selected could opt for Indian nationality if the Tibetans approve.

This is one way to show our respect and solidarity for Tibet.

## Down to Earth

THE SOVIET UNION last week reached a far forward position in the race to get a manned vehicle to the moon. For its pioneering skill in enabling a man to wander in outer space, the Soviet is to be congratulated. The achievement is no less remarkable for being an expected outcome of previous developments.

As Lt. Col. Aleksei Leonov emerged from his capsule to walk in "nothingness", millions who watched their TV screens in Russia gave a cheer.

Another famous Russian who "emerged" last week was Nikita Khrushchev. He also raised a gentle cheer as he left his Moscow apartment to vote in local elections.

It seemed not long ago that Khrushchev, in his way, was also trying to pioneer. Having "dethroned" Stalin and striven to wipe away the memory of that regime, Khrushchev was frank enough to admit that,

even after 47 years of "Socialism", the Soviet Union had not learned how to create the new type of man—a man who can cure selfishness and corruption and douse the fires of hatred in society around him.

The Soviet, at least in terms of the spectacular, has been a pace-setter in space. Why could it not set the pace on earth in modernizing man, not just his space capsule, his house, his car, his TV set, but also his motives, hopes and character?

In short, produce a truly "modern man" who knows how to build economic justice without class war, win civil rights without race hate and unite nations without dictatorship and fear.

Was Khrushchev perhaps hurried from the scene because he was one man in the Kremlin who was beginning to realize that this change in society could only happen through a change in human nature and the putting aside by Communism of its out-of-date theories and dialectics?

## End Double Standards

OVER KASHMIR we are pained when nations treat India's case and Pakistan's in the same light. We insist that Pakistan be regarded as "the aggressor". India, however, treats the Vietnam situation without any reference as to who the real aggressor is.

On the International Control Commission we accuse the U.S. for bombing North Vietnam. We demand they both stop fighting. We should tell the aggressor to vacate. If an intruder enters a house it is unreasonable to ask the householder to stop resisting.

It is time India spoke out clearly on the Vietnam issue without one eye on Moscow. India's vital interests are involved. If South Vietnam succumbs to Viet Cong guerrillas, Malaysia will be open to a pincer movement from China in the north and Indonesia in the south. Mr. Wilson who is committed to defending Malaysia knows this. That is why he has resisted pressure from the extremists of his party (see page 11) and backed American retaliation.

If today the U.S. does not fight back in South Vietnam, tomorrow Malaysians and British will be fighting in the jungles of Malaysia and Indians in the snows of the Himalayas.

Reports indicate that Viet Cong control about two-thirds of South Vietnam. To ask America to negotiate now before North Vietnam has ceased to support the Viet Cong would be to condone aggression. The aggressor must vacate first.

## Briefly Speaking...

No Government can be long secure without a formidable Opposition.

BENJAMIN DISRAELI 1804-1881

### Loans Without Tears

IMAGINE a man taking a loan payable on a certain date. As the day of reckoning approaches he goes to his creditor and draws an equivalent sum of money to repay the creditor the loan he is already unable to pay.

The Government of India, I'm afraid, is in this business in a big way. We have asked the International Monetary Fund for a standby credit of \$200 million to repay loans.

### Believe it or Not

AN EXPERIENCED Delhi pressman told me in all seriousness that the Government encouraged and welcomed the no-confidence motion in Parliament. He said there was so much criticism of the Council of Ministers within the Party at the handling of the Orissa affair that the only way to shut them up and close the ranks was to face a common challenge. And what could be better than a no-confidence motion?

### Any Time is Tea Time

THE TRADITIONAL "cup o' tea" is going to be made easier for everyone in Britain. The International Automatic Vending Exhibition, which opens in London this month, will display an automatic machine which uses leaf tea and fresh milk instead of powdered ingredients to brew a fresh cup of tea.

This enterprise will no doubt help India's tea exports. Who knows, we may one day have a vending machine which dispenses *iddlies* as well.

### Voice Heard

HIMMAT's proposals for abolition of excise on printing paper (Rs. 150 per



"Thank you, Sir, for inaugurating our new factory. We shall let you know soon what we intend manufacturing."

ton) appear to be reaching a successful conclusion. The Newsprint Advisory Committee has now urged the Union Government to abolish excise duty on such paper used by periodicals.

### Refreshing

MR. R. JAGANATHA RAO, Union Deputy Minister for Law, says tax laws in the country need "a complete overhaul". He should know.

A BOUQUET to Bombay dockers for unloading a food-grain cargo in the record time of 48 hours last week. The foodship was diverted by the Government of Iran on condition of its shipowner that it would be cleared in a stipulated time. The dockers did it!

R. M. L.

## The week in India

**NEW DELHI**—The no-confidence motion against the Shastri Government over its handling of charges against the former Orissa Chief Ministers was defeated in the Lok Sabha 315 votes to 44. The Prime Minister refused the demand for a judicial inquiry into the affair. He attacked loose talk of "Cabinet drift and indecision". "This Government is here and will remain here with strength," he said.

**TRIVANDRUM**—Kerala's Governor has reported that no party has the strength to form a stable ministry in Kerala. The Union Government is making preparations for continued President's rule for a year or possibly until the 1967 general elections.

**NEW DELHI**—India is considering setting up television on a nation-wide scale with the construction of 250 transmitters over the next twenty years.

**NEW DELHI**—The International Monetary Fund has approved a temporary arrangement allowing India to draw up to 200 million dollars in the next twelve months in order to help its balance of payments.

**BOMBAY**—Over 35 per cent of the food grown in India goes bad, according to the All-India Food Preservers' Association. They estimate that if even 10 per cent of this was saved there would be no food shortage.

**HYDERABAD**—Prime Minister Shastri, opening the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural University near here, said that India was importing 600,000 tons of food grains every month.

**NEW DELHI**—A Bill seeking to check publication of obscene literature in India as well as its import from abroad received wide support in a Lok Sabha debate amid warning that the incidence of such literature was greatly increasing and menacing the minds and character of youth.

**AGRA**—Examinations of the University of Agra have been postponed by the Vice-Chancellor due to agitations being carried on by teachers for extra pay allowances.

**LADAKH**—The Chinese are reported to have completed a network of feeder roads linking all military posts established by them in the occupied area.

**NEW DELHI**—Prime Minister Shastri called on Indian businessmen to accept a voluntary ceiling on profits and create a sense of effective partnership with labour in building the nation.

## BEYOND NO-CONFIDENCE

by R. M. Lala

LAST WEEK I listened to the no-confidence motion against the Shastri Government.

I heard Mr. Dandekar's succinct and brilliant speech that could have heightened standards of debate in any parliament; I heard halting speeches, fiery speeches and some unconvincing ones. I heard the "Mahabharata" quoted by a Congress M.P. and the Public Accounts Committee report quoted by an Opposition member. I heard the Prime Minister's dignified reply and Mr. Dwivedi's summing up of the bold motion he had moved. Next came the call for division—a shuffling of members rushing to their respective seats.

The speaker called for "Ayes", "Noes" and then a musical note chimed. Members pressed the button on each desk—and a festival of lights burst on the desks of the House. Thirty seconds later on two scoreboards the tally appeared:

Ayes 43, Noes 315.

The second no-confidence motion against the Government in nine months was defeated.

Secure in power, confident of its overwhelming majority, the Congress colossus appeared to sink back into its business of ruling over the largest democracy in the world.

And what about the Opposition?

They had worked hard and put considerable punch and power into the debate. "You can throw out our motion," thundered S. N. Dwivedi at the Congress benches, "but in the next elections the people will throw you out." Will they?

The Congress may have its differences but one thing they are united

on. That is, to stay in the saddle firmly for the next seven years at least. Whilst it is possible that in a state or two there may be a rebellion against the High Command (as in Kerala) unless the two pillars of the Congress, Mr. Shastri and Mr. Kamaraj, split, victory in the next elections appears certain.

### Exposure Not Enough

I asked the leader of the Opposition in the Upper House, Mr. Dayabhai Patel (Swatantra), how he foresaw the future. He replied: "With the exposure of numerous cases of corruption of Congress Ministers there is hardly any prospect of the Congress retaining its absolute majority at the next elections. If the Opposition combines for election purposes it will be still more difficult for the Congress. This will mean there will be some sort of a coalition Government or unstable Governments as were in France. In either case I hope that by the 1972 elections a strong opposition party will emerge capable of assuming power."

Important as it is for the Opposition to expose what is wrong, it is more important that the Opposition goes even further. For whilst it is true that the Congress has greater opportunities for corruption it is a national problem. It is not the monopoly of any party, class or state.

Take Orissa. There is little doubt in the public mind that the two former Chief Ministers, Messrs. Patnaik and Mitra, are the major beneficiaries. But the corruption has gone down the line. Some civil servants must have

played ball. The disease has gone deeper than politicians dare face.

A *Times of India* news item said that the Education Minister of Orissa had told the State Assembly that during school examinations invigilators were found helping the students with answers and that outside examination halls, microphones broadcast the answers to question papers!

A generation is growing up without any sense of right or wrong. There are no moral fences. What is true of Orissa is, to an extent, true of other states. When fathers boast of cheating the Government of taxes at the dinner tables, children boast on the playing fields of how they cheat their teachers.

Who is going to rebuild these moral fences across the nation, brick by brick, man by man, day by day?

Some patriotic parliamentarians are beginning to see this problem. Said one of them: "It will mean scraping the barrel of dirt from the very bottom and starting again."

"How can the moral fences be rebuilt all over India?" I asked one.

Thoughtfully, he replied: "How? It is a big task. You either need to be a Mahatma Gandhi with his moral conviction and his political machinery or you need a group of men who want no political power, whose burning zeal will transform our national climate."

The future belongs to the party that will fight this moral battle.

The Congress can join in it.

The Communists can participate.

The Opposition may pioneer it.

Without this dedication to the mo-

Continued on page 16

### LAST CHANCE TO WIN Rs. 100 FOR YOUR "GRAND DESIGN"

The Editor of HIMMAT announces a competition for the best article on "A Grand Design for India". In 1000 words it must cover what should be the national objectives of India's policy at home and abroad. The best article will be awarded a prize of Rs. 100. Closing date is extended to March 31. Entries should be sent to:

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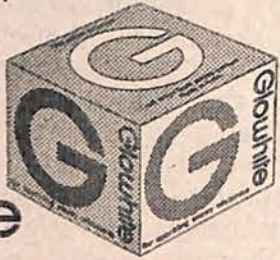


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## In more ways than one...

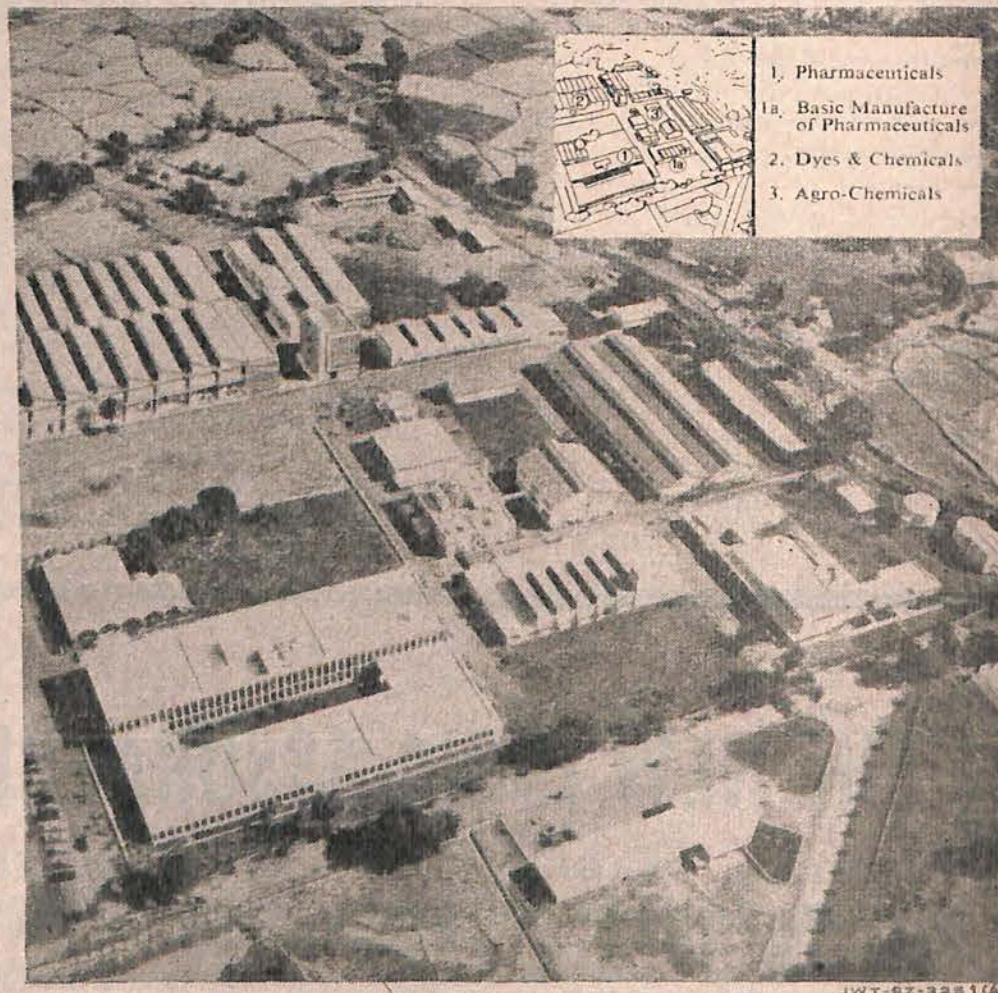
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JWT-62-9231(A)

HIMMAT, March 26, 1965

# Crisis of India's Communist Party

FEW COMMUNIST PARTIES in the world can boast of influence with and approval of the government to which they are opposed. The Right wing Communist Party of India has this unique position. Mr. Dange and his Communist colleagues bask in the sunshine of official favour and have the ear of the highest in the land. If the Chinese had not invaded India in 1962, it is conceivable that they would have become respectable enough to be included in a "national" government, headed by the Congress Party.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.) and the Soviet Government also extend their full support to the Indian Communist Party. While genuine liberals in the Party have welcomed the progressive measures of de-Stalinization quite sincerely, the official silence on the subject for many years suggests an element of opportunism in the support given by the C.P.I. to the official line of the C.P.S.U.

The conspicuous defeat of the United Front (led by the Right wing C.P.I.) in the Kerala elections is therefore a blow not only to the C.P.I. but also to the Indian Government and the Soviet Communist Party. There is bound to be some heart-searching and "criticism and self criticism" in New Delhi as well as Moscow. Will there be a change of leadership as well?

### Dange Image

There will be many who will attribute the defeat to the "Dange image" especially in the wake of public allegations of misappropriation of funds and "weakness of character" as exposed in "the Dange letters". These charges have never been clearly and satisfactorily refuted.

Both the majority and the minority reports of the committee investigating the authenticity of these letters stress the importance of Mr. Dange's personal denial as evidence. The minority report adds, in what seems like a last plea to save Mr. Dange, "We would not like to condemn Comrade Dange without being one hundred per cent certain about the genuineness of these letters and without satisfying ourselves that there does

not exist an iota of doubt about their genuineness."

There would seem to be no doubt that some of the leadership and cadres went over to the Left wing largely due to personal antipathy to Mr. Dange's leadership. The leader's exit might neutralize or win back to the fold many such people. But this would only marginally affect either of the Communist Parties. It is essential to explore the deeper causes of Left wing strength and Right wing weakness.

According to the published figures of Party membership, the combined Communist Party was strongest in the

## Under the Lens

states of Andhra, Kerala, Tamilnad, West Bengal and Bihar, with U.P., Maharashtra and Punjab trailing behind.

The Left Communists claim major support in Andhra, Kerala and West Bengal and sizeable strength in U.P. and Tamilnad. The official estimate of 30 per cent of the membership going with the Left is an underestimate, for even the organizational report of the 7th Congress of the C.P.I. constantly emphasizes the lack of any mass contact in villages. "Our Party's links with the masses, except in the case of the working class, are not close. Even in the case of the working class we are very weak in the key industries like railways, mines, plantations, etc." (*New Age*, January 3, 1965, page 8).

Again, the report says elsewhere, "It is no exaggeration to say that except on the trade union front there is no clear mass line on any other mass front. This is one of the main reasons why the T.U. front is alive and functioning. Various other fronts are almost sleeping." This clearly establishes that the strength of the C.P.I. is confined to urban areas and industrial classes. In predominantly peasant bases, such as Malabar, Telangana and the Tanjore district of Tamilnad the Left Communists must be expected to be strong.

The programme of the C.P.I., in marked contrast with that of the pro-

China Left wing, has a definite stake in constitutionalism and democracy. There is no reason to question the *bona fides* of the statement in the programme that "the C.P.I. strives to achieve the establishment of national democracy and create the conditions for the advance to the goal of establishment of Socialism by peaceful means".

Though the statement is later qualified by what is called the need "to face up to all contingencies", meaning thereby readiness to resort to violence, there is no doubt that the Chinese type of guerrilla warfare is not anticipated except as a last resort.

This is understandable because the Right wing of Communist leaders after many years of hard, constitutional struggle to win parliamentary and trade union rights and wage demands are reluctant to sacrifice the legal framework that has assured them these definite gains for the more nebulous promises of a bright proletarian future, following the rigours of an armed struggle.

On the other hand, the poor peasants in the countryside who are the backbone of Left wing strength are hard to organize and have less of a stake in constitutionalism. They are far more susceptible to the vague but promising slogans of "land to the tiller" and so on. The decisive factor, however, has been the superior effort that the more dedicated Left wing Communists seem to bring to their work among the peasants. A more extremist stand against authority is also more appealing.

### Conditional Support

The programme of the C.P.I. has a conditional offer of support to the Congress Party. It is astonishing in the extent to which it endorses most of the policies of the late Prime Minister. If one makes allowances for the illogical, ideological predilections, such as that Western economic aid is the instrument of neo-colonialism while Socialist economic aid is a means of building national economy, there is little to distinguish the declarations of the Congress Left from those of the Communist Right.

"No national democratic front would be real unless the vast mass

HIMMAT, March 26, 1965

following of the Congress and the progressive sections of the Congress at various levels take their place in it," affirms the Party Programme. "It is the task of the Communist Party to make ceaseless efforts to forge unity with the progressive forces within the Congress, directly and through common mass movements...."

The role of the C.P. inside the country in its relationship with the Congress corresponds to the alignment of the Soviet Union with the Government of India. Both are aspects of a more sophisticated approach to power, just as both reflect the degree of *bourgeoisization* of revolutionary zeal as the realities of power interests clash with the demands of outdated theory.

The crisis in the Indian C.P. as well as in international Communism is in part a reappraisal and a readjustment of reality with the strait-jacket of outmoded ideology. In part it is also a reflection of the corruption of power.

The organizational report of the 7th Congress of the Indian Communist Party is surprisingly frank. Speaking of the corrupting influence

of parliamentary democracy on Indian Communists since 1952, it says, "The tendency of *bourgeois* habits and methods developing in the Party, love for easy-going life, selfishness, hankering after places in *bourgeois* parliamentary institutions, scant respect for collective decisions, revolutionary phrase-mongering and doing nothing, and such other things developed.

"This resulted in the weakening of our links with the masses. In some cases, corruption also crept in.

".....Unless and until these tendencies of indiscipline, *bourgeois* habits and methods are fought out systematically, our Party cannot advance....."

So far the C.P.I. has failed to show any evidence of the will to deal firmly with corruption and selfishness in its own ranks. As long as this is the case, there is little possibility of their winning over the peasant masses from the Left wing Communists.

It is true that the image of a liberalized, democratic, Socialistic order that does not impose intolerable sacrifices of freedom as in Stalinist Russia or Maoist China has a positive appeal

to the urban intellectual and middle and working classes. But there is no long term alternative to dedicated work and sacrificial leadership. The large vote for the Left wing Communists in Kerala may well be an indication of the latter.

The Left wing Communists have an immediate advantage over their revisionist counterparts as long as both operate in terms of dogmas that were established a hundred or at least fifty years ago. Their appeal to orthodoxy has a greater validity in purely Marxian terms.

History, however, is on the side of the revisionists. The changes in the modern world have repudiated most Marxist formulations. The best that even seasoned Marxist scholars like Mills can claim for it is the relevance of its approach and methodology. But the logic of revisionism is repudiation.

Sooner or later, the Communist Party of India, like its counterparts elsewhere in the world, must recognize this fact and stop appealing to "Marxism-Leninism", as if it were a packet of absolute truths.

R. VAITHESWARAN

# PAKISTAN TODAY

From Our Special Correspondent

"IS THERE always so much space given in the press to Kashmir affairs?" a visitor to Karachi asked. "Certainly," was the reply, "and I think they must keep certain headlines about Indian violations of the border set up in type."

Pakistan's relationship with India is the key to her policy and the question of Kashmir is the key to that relationship. The recent Presidential election has made no difference to that and it is important that Indians understand what the great majority of Pakistanis think.

Since Nehru's death things have become worse, not better. President Ayub's initiative in inviting Prime Minister Shastri to Pakistan and the talks that followed have come to nothing. They have proved as abortive as the proposal the President made to Mr. Nehru that their countries should have a joint defence. "Against whom?" Nehru had asked, confident that China was the true friend of India.

The feeling today is that the Shastri Government has gone further than Nehru ever went. Mr. Chagla says, "Kashmir is now an integral part of India." Mr. Chakravarti echoes him at the United Nations. But if that is so, why, asks a Karachi editorial, does the joint communique issued in New Delhi recently by the Prime Ministers of India and France recommend that a peaceful and equitable solution to the problem of Kashmir should be found?

## Kashmir Frontier

Why, it is further asked, is the greater part of the Indian Army stationed on the Kashmir frontier and not facing the areas which the Chinese are threatening, if China is truly the enemy? If China is not truly the enemy, why all these arms from the Western powers? When they are stock-piled, may it not be against Pakistan that they are used? So runs the argument.

Even if it is conceded that the Shastri Government has no aggressive intentions today, who can guarantee, it is asked, that in ten years' time the Hindu Mahasabha and the

Jan Sangh may not be in charge of India with very different intentions?

Why then, Pakistan wants to know, should America or Britain object if she turns to China and Russia for friendship and aid? In the days of India-China, *bhai-bhai*, America had no word of protest and continued to supply India with all she asked for. Let her conduct herself in the same way today towards Pakistan. Why should Pakistan trust India's promise of non-aggression? Was not Goa occupied after proclaiming non-aggression? These are the questions asked in Pakistan.

Easy and popular support for anti-American feeling can quickly be raised by mentioning her support of arms to India. Fewer appreciate and appraise the million dollars a day that comes in aid from that country or wonder how long it will go on.

## To Peking and Moscow

There is universal approval of the visits of the President to Peking—where no President of Pakistan has officially been before—and to Moscow. That is true for all parties. It is not an election issue; it is a national platform.

The Presidential elections have left much bitterness behind, particularly over disagreements as to the nature of the Constitution and the powers of the President. Feelings were, and are, so high that supporters of differ-

ent parties are often not invited socially to the same functions. Many people feel that if President Ayub had not reversed the intended dates of the elections, Miss Jinnah and the United Opposition Party would have had time to give the President a yet stiffer fight.

## Dollars for Jute

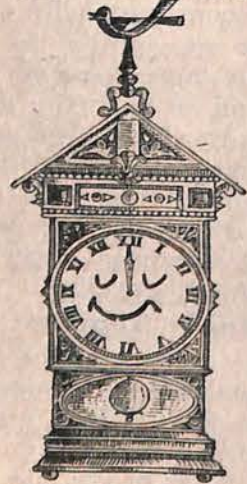
Industrial expansion goes on apace. New buildings catch the eye in Karachi, not least the 14-storey Inter-Continental Hotel. Though heavy, light, medium and cottage industries have been built, agriculture remains the main occupation of the people. Jute from East Pakistan is the great foreign-exchange earner and brings in nearly two hundred million dollars a year.

Development plans, however, are neutralized by the explosion in population. During its 18 years Pakistan has increased its numbers by nearly one-third. Few Pakistanis believe in methods of birth control. More believe that "every child that is born brings his own bread from heaven". The population has also increased due to the refugees, who have arrived over the years.

Pakistan has other problems, similar to those in India, besides Kashmir, population explosion and refugees. Among them are the increasing

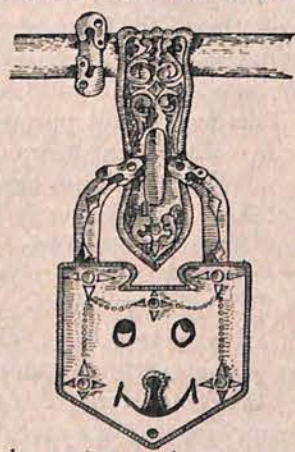
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following of the Congress and the progressive sections of the Congress at various levels take their place in it," affirms the Party Programme. "It is the task of the Communist Party to make ceaseless efforts to forge unity with the progressive forces within the Congress, directly and through common mass movements...."

The role of the C.P. inside the country in its relationship with the Congress corresponds to the alignment of the Soviet Union with the Government of India. Both are aspects of a more sophisticated approach to power, just as both reflect the degree of *bourgeoisization* of revolutionary zeal as the realities of power interests clash with the demands of outdated theory.

The crisis in the Indian C.P. as well as in international Communism is in part a reappraisal and a readjustment of reality with the strait-jacket of outmoded ideology. In part it is also a reflection of the corruption of power.

The organizational report of the 7th Congress of the Indian Communist Party is surprisingly frank. Speaking of the corrupting influence

of parliamentary democracy on Indian Communists since 1952, it says, "The tendency of *bourgeois* habits and methods developing in the Party, love for easy-going life, selfishness, hankering after places in *bourgeois* parliamentary institutions, scant respect for collective decisions, revolutionary phrase-mongering and doing nothing, and such other things developed.

"This resulted in the weakening of our links with the masses. In some cases, corruption also crept in.

".....Unless and until these tendencies of indiscipline, *bourgeois* habits and methods are fought out systematically, our Party cannot advance....."

So far the C.P.I. has failed to show any evidence of the will to deal firmly with corruption and selfishness in its own ranks. As long as this is the case, there is little possibility of their winning over the peasant masses from the Left wing Communists.

It is true that the image of a liberalized, democratic, Socialistic order that does not impose intolerable sacrifices of freedom as in Stalinist Russia or Maoist China has a positive appeal

to the urban intellectual and middle and working classes. But there is no long term alternative to dedicated work and sacrificial leadership. The large vote for the Left wing Communists in Kerala may well be an indication of the latter.

The Left wing Communists have an immediate advantage over their revisionist counterparts as long as both operate in terms of dogmas that were established a hundred or at least fifty years ago. Their appeal to orthodoxy has a greater validity in purely Marxian terms.

History, however, is on the side of the revisionists. The changes in the modern world have repudiated most Marxist formulations. The best that even seasoned Marxist scholars like Mills can claim for it is the relevance of its approach and methodology. But the logic of revisionism is repudiation.

Sooner or later, the Communist Party of India, like its counterparts elsewhere in the world, must recognize this fact and stop appealing to "Marxism-Leninism", as if it were a packet of absolute truths.

R. VAITHESWARAN

# PAKISTAN TODAY

From Our Special Correspondent

"Is THERE always so much space given in the press to Kashmir affairs?" a visitor to Karachi asked. "Certainly," was the reply, "and I think they must keep certain headlines about Indian violations of the border set up in type."

Pakistan's relationship with India is the key to her policy and the question of Kashmir is the key to that relationship. The recent Presidential election has made no difference to that and it is important that Indians understand what the great majority of Pakistanis think.

Since Nehru's death things have become worse, not better. President Ayub's initiative in inviting Prime Minister Shastri to Pakistan and the talks that followed have come to nothing. They have proved as abortive as the proposal the President made to Mr. Nehru that their countries should have a joint defence. "Against whom?" Nehru had asked, confident that China was the true friend of India.

The feeling today is that the Shastri Government has gone further than Nehru ever went. Mr. Chagla says, "Kashmir is now an integral part of India." Mr. Chakravarti echoes him at the United Nations. But if that is so, why, asks a Karachi editorial, does the joint communique issued in New Delhi recently by the Prime Ministers of India and France recommend that a peaceful and equitable solution to the problem of Kashmir should be found?

## Kashmir Frontier

Why, it is further asked, is the greater part of the Indian Army stationed on the Kashmir frontier and not facing the areas which the Chinese are threatening, if China is truly the enemy? If China is not truly the enemy, why all these arms from the Western powers? When they are stock-piled, may it not be against Pakistan that they are used? So runs the argument.

Even if it is conceded that the Shastri Government has no aggressive intentions today, who can guarantee, it is asked, that in ten years' time the Hindu Mahasabha and the

Jan Sangh may not be in charge of India with very different intentions?

Why then, Pakistan wants to know, should America or Britain object if she turns to China and Russia for friendship and aid? In the days of India-China, *bhai-bhai*, America had no word of protest and continued to supply India with all she asked for. Let her conduct herself in the same way today towards Pakistan. Why should Pakistan trust India's promise of non-aggression? Was not Goa occupied after proclaiming non-aggression? These are the questions asked in Pakistan.

Easy and popular support for anti-American feeling can quickly be raised by mentioning her support of arms to India. Fewer appreciate and appraise the million dollars a day that comes in aid from that country or wonder how long it will go on.

## To Peking and Moscow

There is universal approval of the visits of the President to Peking—where no President of Pakistan has officially been before—and to Moscow. That is true for all parties. It is not an election issue; it is a national platform.

The Presidential elections have left much bitterness behind, particularly over disagreements as to the nature of the Constitution and the powers of the President. Feelings were, and are, so high that supporters of differ-

ent parties are often not invited socially to the same functions. Many people feel that if President Ayub had not reversed the intended dates of the elections, Miss Jinnah and the United Opposition Party would have had time to give the President a yet stiffer fight.

## Dollars for Jute

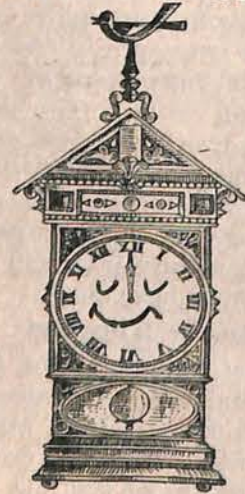
Industrial expansion goes on apace. New buildings catch the eye in Karachi, not least the 14-storey Inter-Continental Hotel. Though heavy, light, medium and cottage industries have been built, agriculture remains the main occupation of the people. Jute from East Pakistan is the great foreign-exchange earner and brings in nearly two hundred million dollars a year.

Development plans, however, are neutralized by the explosion in population. During its 18 years Pakistan has increased its numbers by nearly one-third. Few Pakistanis believe in methods of birth control. More believe that "every child that is born brings his own bread from heaven". The population has also increased due to the refugees, who have arrived over the years.

Pakistan has other problems, similar to those in India, besides Kashmir, population explosion and refugees. Among them are the increasing

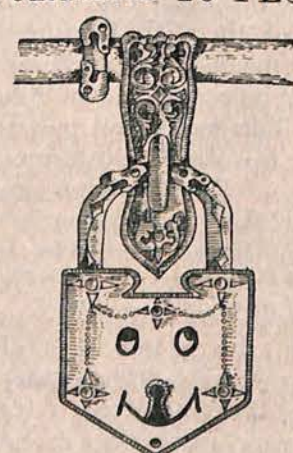
Continued on page 16

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## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Behind Bonn's Diplomatic Failure

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Zurich

DURING recent weeks the West German Government has been under heavy attack from almost every quarter. First, Chancellor Erhard and his Foreign Minister succeeded in making their allies in the West furious. They irritated the French by trying to be better friends with the Americans. Then they pushed back the Americans by trying to make up again with the French.

Simultaneously they tried to start new policies with Eastern Europe. But several overtures to Eastern European countries did not lead further. And an invitation to Mr. Kosygin to fulfil his predecessor's intention to visit Bonn was turned down in the rudest of terms while the Russian Premier visited the East German Trade Fair in Leipzig.

Finally, the attempt to appease and please both Israel and the United Arab Republic created new enemies in both camps. After long hesitation, Chancellor Erhard seems now to have decided to put all his eggs into the Israeli basket.

The cost of this belated decision seems to be quite heavy. The leaders of the Arab world will hardly hesitate now to break diplomatic relations with Bonn and to recognize East Germany, if Bonn goes ahead and exchanges ambassadors with Israel.

At the same time, similar storms seem to be brewing in different parts of Africa. The German officers who

were helping to train the army of Tanzania—while the Chinese are training the air force—abruptly left Dar es Salaam when President Nyerere announced the opening of an East German Consulate in his capital.

Other African nations may follow suit although they will be loath to lose the important economic aid they are receiving from Western Germany.

What is the real reason behind the diplomatic failure of Bonn? The Chief Editor of Germany's most important daily *Die Welt*, Hans Zehrer, in an editorial tries to answer that.

#### Half a Policy

He writes: "In Bonn we have a policy of bending our knees because on one hand out of a bad conscience we try to act morally, on the other hand we don't act morally enough to be believed and to convince others. So with half a morality and half a policy we inevitably land between two millstones and become suspect with friend and enemy. But this policy is only the result of the spiritual situation in our country, as poli-

cies do not develop in a vacuum."

Then Zehrer speaks in very honest terms of the way the Americans helped to rebuild Germany after the war and how the "economic miracle" had helped to create a state of illusion where everybody believed that all automatically had become new.

The article ends with a real call to the nation: "We must use this shameful defeat not only to review our whole policy towards the Middle East but all of our policies and to carry self-criticism to the roots of the problem... We have to recoup what we have failed to do in the last twenty years: the spiritual renewal of our people. On this our whole destiny depends now."

Zehrer, who is the right-hand man of Axel Springer, the most powerful man in the German press, has also just written the foreword for the last speeches of the British author Peter Howard, which were published in Bonn on the day of his death.

In this foreword, Zehrer picks out a quote of Howard which is valid for the leaders of the Bonn Government: "Without great men and women, there will be no great society. A nation of moral and spiritual pacifists treads a road which must inevitably end in military and ideological defeat. Moral and spiritual pacifism will end in the loss of freedom... There must be an explosion, a hurricane of the forces of the heart. It must come forth from those who have recognized that the great task of our age is the modernization of man."

## Wilson Survives Rebellion Over Vietnam

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

London

MR. WILSON has survived a rebellion inside the Labour Party over the Vietnam crisis. For the moment he has won over the Left wing M.P.s leading the revolt. The rebellion started when 49 Labour M.P.s signed a motion attacking the Government for its support of the United States airstrikes against targets in North Vietnam.

The Prime Minister said that the American attacks were justified because the character of the war in Vietnam had changed.

"A year ago the general supposition was that the fighting in South Vietnam was a spontaneous, so-called rising on the part of the Viet Cong people," he said. "Now there is no attempt at all to deny the responsibility of North Vietnam, who have said they are fighting a war in South Vietnam. That does make a very big difference."

The Government acted quickly following the M.P.s' assault, bringing off a political compromise with the rebel Left wing. Both combined to sign a motion backing the American military action but urging the cessation of hostilities and the beginning of peace talks. Mr. Wilson had brought the rebels back into the Government fold.

The Labour Government is trying to ride two horses—the war horse and the peace horse. A Labour Party official told me, "It is fair to say that much of the Labour Movement is pacifist-minded, but we all know we can't go into a conference naked."

One problem is that short of a North Vietnamese withdrawal there is very little basis for peace talks. Without such a withdrawal a peace parley could easily slide into accepting or condoning aggression.

Yet if the Government does not press for peace talks Mr. Wilson may lose control of the rebels again. He must see he stays on the back of both horses with the reins fully in his hands.

#### OAU and After

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

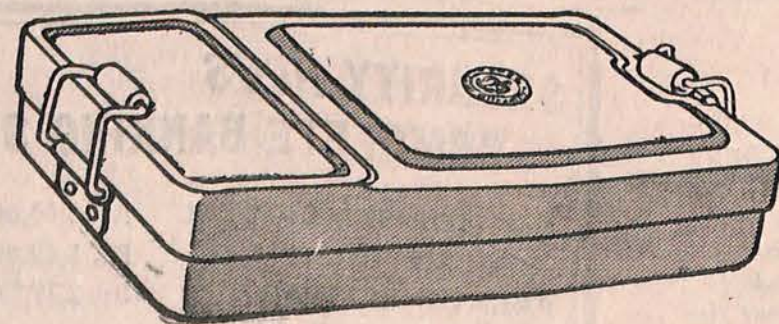
THE 12-DAY MEETING of the O.A.U. Council of Foreign Ministers ended in Nairobi with deadlock and division over the means to implement a settlement in the Congo.

The Ethiopian Foreign Minister, commenting on the outcome of the conference, said: "We are admittedly passing through a difficult period now and the Congo question has divided Africa into two or three groups."

He added: "We must stop advancing our own national causes when talking about the Congo. We

Continued on page 12

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## The week in Asia

**PEKING**—China is facing the possibility of the worst crop failure since 1961 due to acute water shortage and insect swarms.

**DJAKARTA**—Communists are pitted against Muslims in a violent struggle for power through much of East Java that was set off by a Communist organization's seizure of land from Muslim landowners.

**HANOI**—North Vietnam voiced its determination to "actively support the struggle in the South to liberate South Vietnam" and see a unified Vietnamese state under Communist rule.

**DACCA**—Pakistan has charged India with occupying the East Pakistani enclave of Dahagram in the Cooch Behar district. New Delhi after investigation denied the charge and called for an early meeting of the Chief Secretaries of West Bengal and East Pakistan.

**KUALA LUMPUR**—Artillery was used for the first time by Malaysian troops battling Indonesian guerrillas in the jungles of Sarawak. The use of artillery in such an isolated area indicates the advanced state of preparedness Malaysian forces possess to deal with any Indonesian threat. It is one reason the Malaysian Prime Minister has dropped his demand for a complete withdrawal of Indonesian guerrillas before negotiating.

**HANOI**—Radio Hanoi claims that in the last month over one million youth have volunteered for a para-military organization aimed at increasing North Vietnamese army reserves and relieving the army of unessential duties. Their professed readiness to join, to fight and to go anywhere needed, gives the group its name, "The Three Ready Movement".

**SAIGON**—Raids on ammunition dumps and staging bases in North Vietnam by U.S. and South Vietnamese aircraft continued following a "go gradually towards Hanoi" policy. The U.S. has made it clear that the raids will continue until Hanoi indicates a willingness to withdraw aid from the Viet Cong.

**KATHMANDU**—It is reported that Khamba tribesmen in Tibet still have 150,000 to 200,000 men in action against the Chinese, making China "fear for its position in Tibet". Some 5,000 Khambas are based in Nepal, too many for the Nepalese army to expel. China may use their presence to exert pressure on Nepal.

must first save the Congolese people themselves."

The pro-Government *Ghanaian Times* stated in Accra: "The failure of the Organization for African Unity Council of Ministers to break through the problem of the Congo poses a serious question mark before Africa. At issue is not only the ability of the OAU to deal effectively with the many issues confronting Africa, but, more seriously, its very capacity to endure."

### Tshombe Gathers Support

A resolution sponsored by Cameroun, which proposed a plan to replace white mercenaries by an African peace-keeping force supplied by states acceptable to the Leopoldville Government, failed to gain the required number of votes. This happened not by the strength of the opposition to the resolution but through the ab-

sence from the final session of three countries who would have supported the Cameroun suggestion—Libya, Gabon and the Malagasy Republic.

Commenting on the support that M. Tshombe can now expect in the OAU from 15 of the 34 member states (newly independent Gambia making the 35th) the *Liberian Star* stated: "As a realist M. Tshombe must be fully aware that the salvation of the Congo lies with sympathetic friends, but certainly not with the OAU as a whole. By dogged determination he has come a long way for 15 OAU members to speak up for him as against 2 a year ago."

Assuming the countries he has invited to assist in the General Elections (which will continue from March 18—April 30) are among the 15, the following countries appear to have given him their support: Senegal, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Chad, Gabon, Central African Republic, Nigeria, Liberia, Morocco, Zambia, Malagasy Republic, Libya, Ethiopia, Cameroun and Sierra Leone.

### "Undiplomatic" Activity

It is significant that many of these countries are members of the recently formed association of former French territories The Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (OCAM). In practical terms any assistance for the Congo involving personnel will best come from French-speaking Africa.

The *East African Standard* commenting on the conference stated: "Whether all or some of the politicians like it or not, and whether or

not Mr. Tshombe is personally popular, he is an international figure. What his convictions and purposes are will very largely determine the course of events in the Congo."

Tshombe's principle opponents seem to have been Ghana, Guinea, Algeria, the U.A.R., Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and the Congo (Brazzaville). The remaining 12 countries are either undecided or "neutral". As the whole question has now been referred back to the Heads of State meeting in Accra on September 1 an intense period of diplomatic (and some undiplomatic) activity may be expected between now and then.

Obviously by September the situation in the Congo will have changed considerably from the dilemma facing the OAU this past week. In the interval the General Elections will have been held. The rebels no doubt will try to sabotage and will certainly boycott these. It is more than likely that Mr. Tshombe will be elected leader of a government which will have the support of most of the country with the exception of the rebel influenced north-east. But this may be sufficient to establish him once and for all as the legitimate leader of the country.

### Political Assassination

In spite of a local political assassination and threats of strikes Nairobi was calm throughout the conference. Mr. Tshombe had a polite welcome. His own tribute to Mr. Kenyatta, which was warm and generous, impressed many of his own critics.

Two elements emerge that are certainties following this meeting. The first is that African Unity will not be achieved merely by getting Africans together. East Africa's independent weekly *The Sunday Post* observed this factor: "There has been a tendency in the past to assume that because all the states live under the umbrella of Pan African nationalism they are similar in personality and outlook. It is only now, through conferences like this, that African statesmen are beginning to realize that there are essential and particular differences between individual states."

The second is ideology. For some African states their ideology takes precedence over the demands of African unity and, regrettably, before a peaceful solution in the Congo.

## VIEWPOINT

### Student —or Parent? —Indiscipline

by Malathi Rangaswami, Madras

STUDENTS' indiscipline seems to be the favourite topic of discussion of the day. In social gatherings and newspaper columns the "problematic teen-agers" are discussed with great vigour. But what everyone seems to forget is the fact that students as a community did not drop from the blue skies but are our children, yours and mine.

Let us stop and think for a while as to how far we, as parents, are responsible for their behaviour. Do we realize that we have a far greater responsibility than merely getting them admitted into the best schools and providing them with good food and clothing?

Like charity, children's education begins at home. Parents are the best educators. Ours is the God-given responsibility of bringing up good citizens. We are quick to point out that we behaved with greater restraint and with more respect towards our elders in our younger days. We bitterly complain about the insolence

and impertinence of the younger generation. But we fail to realize that times have changed and the mental make-up and attitudes of today's youngsters have also changed along with the times.

When we were young we grew up in an atmosphere charged with the electricity of the glorious fight for freedom. We saw great men like Gandhi, Nehru and Satyamurthy lead the people in an unprecedented revolution using *satyagraha* and *ahimsa* as the sole weapons. We heard poets like Rabindranath Tagore and Subramania Bharati rousing the people out of their age-old stupor of slavery and degradation and infusing them with such a spirit of freedom and love for their country that broke their bonds. We lived for a big aim, namely, the freedom of our Motherland and every moment of our life was spent in striving to achieve that goal.

After independence came the anti-climax. We forgot all that we had stood for and fought for and relapsed

into our selfish, narrow lives. It is here that we have failed our children.

Within seventeen years we have forgotten the price and meaning of freedom. Our children do not know the tears of the struggle but only the fruits of freedom. But we must all realize that freedom is as much in peril now as it ever was.

The recent student demonstrations in the South over the language issue took everyone by surprise. It was as if a sleeping giant was suddenly roused. The potential of the student community is amazing. If this can be channelled for building up and unifying the nation rather than using it for violence and destruction, there is no doubt that it will give a new meaning to our freedom.

### Out of the Rut

In order to achieve this let us give our students a big enough aim that will take them out of the rut and make them feel proud to fight to achieve it. This aim should be nothing less than the preservation and strengthening of the freedom won by the toils and sacrifices of our fathers.

It should be as much our aim as it is the students'. Have we parents, by our words and deeds, inspired the younger generation to this noble task? Should we fail in our responsibilities here, it would be no wonder if our children lose faith and confidence in us and yield to undesirable influences.

In order to achieve this aim let us choose to let God rule our lives. Let us fight to check the spreading tide of atheism and instil in our children a true faith in God that will help them to stand absolutely straight and fearless against any odds. Let us set aside all our dishonesty and selfishness and develop that spirit of sacrifice which inspired our beloved leaders to achieve freedom. Let us not rest until we see India become what she was always meant to be—the greatest nation in the world.

Contributions to the Viewpoint Column representing the personal views of readers on important topics should not exceed 500 words.—ED.

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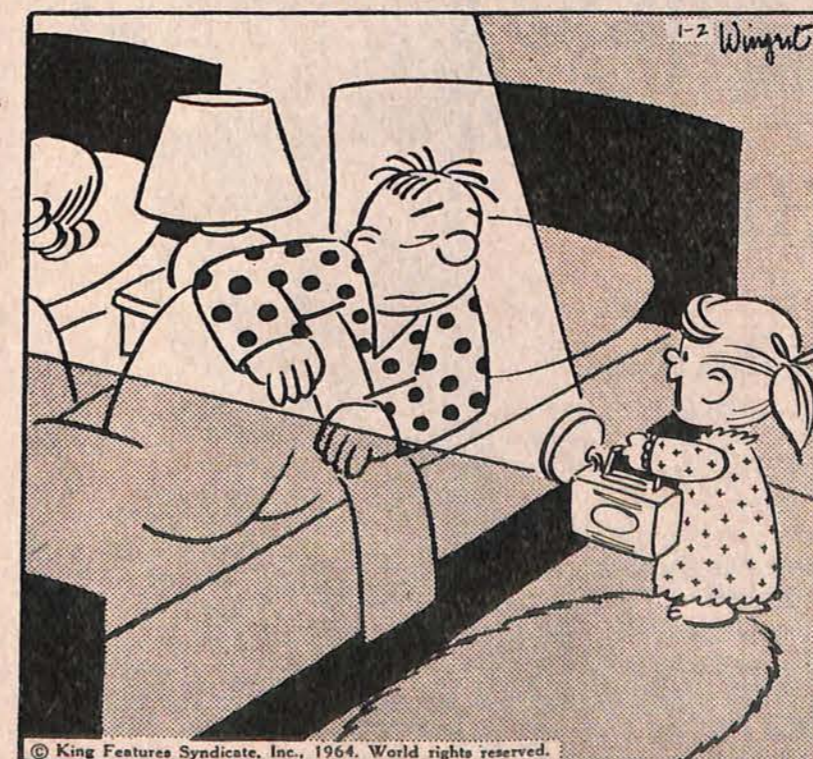
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## FOR WOMEN

# First Lady of France

by Claire Evans

"BEHIND every great man is a great woman," goes the saying. And the realist asks: "Is that why there are so few great men today?"

French women might well ponder this question as they look at their country's record in the last thirty years: the unpreparedness at the time of the German invasion in 1940, the succession of short-lived governments after the war, the absence from the political field of any recognized leader who would command enough respect to replace General de Gaulle.

In 1945, a diplomat from another country who knew France well and loved her was asked why she had collapsed so completely in 1940. "Her motto was *bed and bribe*," he replied. "Do you wonder?"

The nation could never have adopted that motto if the women had not been willing. It is said, "When the women clean the house, the men wipe their feet before going in." We set the standards. Women who want to attract attention to themselves, whether by swaying of hips or sharpness of tongue, attractiveness of face or brilliance of mind, become the tools which destroy nationhood. They never build character.

### Serve not Outshine

General de Gaulle has many friends. He also has enemies. Not everyone agrees with his policies. But friend and foe alike pay tribute to the greatness of his character. At his side, or, more truthfully, behind him, stands a great woman.

Journalists, who have a hard job getting into the confidence of the Presidential household, agree in their reports of Mme de Gaulle. She believes that her task is to serve, not outshine, her husband. So she does not ply him with questions, nor with requests for money. She possesses that calmness of spirit, that peaceful approach to the events of life which



Mme de Gaulle is presented to the senior officers of the liner France before its inaugural cruise

is such a treasure in the life of a statesman, or, indeed, of any man.

The story—perhaps the legend—of their first meeting is characteristic. De Gaulle, then a young officer, was sitting at a table with some family friends, and their daughter. As he talked, French fashion, he used his arms to underline a point, and spilt a cup of coffee over the girl's lap. Instead of the fuss he dreaded, when he looked up, he met the calm, amused gaze of a pair of clear eyes.

### An Officer's Bride

He has been able to rely on her ever since not to make a fuss. The tragic days of 1940, when she fled to England with her children, the lonely years of exile which followed, the short-lived triumph of victory, the retreat at their beloved country home, and the return to official life, she took it all in her stride, just as she used to pack up unquestioningly for the next garrison, as an officer's bride.

Mme de Gaulle has always believed that a woman's beauty was best worn inside. This may be the secret of her own quiet charm: she has always been herself, both in the modest clothes allowed her by her tastes and a narrow budget, and in the best clothes a fashion-conscious country provides for the President's wife.

Her stout conviction is that moral standards and faith in God are the corner stone of a sound home life and a sound national life as well; a woman's part is to keep those standards untarnished, shining in private and

public life to inspire all men. Because of that conviction, in spite of her unassuming ways, she wields great authority. A weekly magazine headlined this week: "Because Mme de Gaulle has noticed a pornographic book, all publishers tremble."

Such appears the first lady of France. According to her wish, very little publicity is made of her. To the people, who call her affectionately "Aunt Yvonne", she is practically unknown. But she has undoubtedly lent to her high position an unusual quality of sober dignity.



FOR SHEER DELIGHT

**No-Confidence**—from page 5

ral battle for India, in her schools, colleges, business houses, press, armed forces, trade unions—no political solution will work.

Without this new drive for a revolution of character the Congress Party cannot deliver the goods. It will end up like the Kuomintang of China.

Without it, the non-Communist Opposition by its exposures and allegations—necessary as they are—will only create more frustration and division in the nation till people feel, as many do already, that violence or dictatorship is the only answer.

And without it the Communists will not only further sow division within their own ranks, but will be used by foreign powers to destroy this nation.

The revolutionary issue before the Indian nation is whether all true patriots will join this moral battle for the nation.

Leaders of all parties who talk of "national integration" and unity, but do not accept moral standards in their lives are frauds—and they know it. But they too can change and join in this battle.

We have the choice of having in future:

- (a) An India captive of hate, greed and the poverty of millions.
- (b) An India where frustration bursts into revolt and anarchy.
- (c) Or an India rebuilt on the moral foundations of Gandhi whom we have praised and betrayed.

If the Congress Party has betrayed Gandhiji, as the Opposition claims, let them take on the task to make his principles regnant. The nation demands a new quality of leadership. They need not wait for several years to provide it. They can provide it today. That is the historic task of India's opposition parties.

**PAKISTAN**—from page 9

strangulation of corruption and spiralling prices, the increasing gap between the very rich and the very poor and the rising indiscipline and revolt of youth.

Two editorials in the *Morning News* of Karachi, February 14 and 15, 1965, were headed "Curbing Corruption". The first began:

"Nothing seeks to tarnish a welfare regime's image more than corruption in administration. That President Ayub has taken serious cognizance of the evil shows the grave proportions it has assumed in Islamic Pakistan."

The opening sentence of the second editorial read:

"The evil of corruption has assumed an epidemic form in most of the Government departments, but it is more rampant and more gruesome in offices having direct public dealings."

The editorial goes on to say:

"Clearly such overspending and bribe-taking at the licensing and other trade levels are among the major causes of the current inflation and ever-soaring spiral. When Rs. 5 to 6 crores out of Rs. 15 to 20 crores allocated for the Works Programme and development purposes 'stick to the fingers' of functionaries, the deleterious impact on the national economy and growth rate hardly needs any elaboration."

Both President Ayub in Pakistan and Home Minister Nanda in India run up against the same difficulty in trying to bring an answer to this disease that is threatening ruin to their countries. President Ayub in his Election Manifesto said:

"There are special anti-corruption forces under the Central and Provincial Governments. But all the laws, measures and forces are unable to prevent corruption."

Mr. Nanda, speaking in Bombay, February 3, 1965, said:

"Corruption cannot be eradicated by meetings, committees and resolutions alone."

Youth is as frustrated, restless and purposeless in Pakistan as in most other countries. Where is the leadership that will go all out to create the new type of man, so that the rising generation can be freed from the shackles and quarrels of the past and build a new world—a world where every talent is used for the benefit of all and the exploitation of none? The youth of Pakistan, like the youth of India, will readily respond to such leadership.

India and Pakistan have the same problems. Cannot they find the same answer and give it to the world together?

**This was a life**  
**HENRY DRUMMOND**  
**1851-1897**

PROFESSOR Henry Drummond was a fearless Scot who altered the thinking of his generation. He was born into a highly controversial age when Darwin's theory of evolution was shaking the loyalty of multitudes to God and morality.

Drummond militantly entered the arena to proclaim that the choice between Science and Religion was a false one. His books, "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" and "Ascent of Man", revealed that science was not opposed to God, but was the mechanism through which He worked. In Drummond, Darwin met his match. His books became best sellers.

But Drummond's real contribution to his generation was not his books, brilliant and widely read though they were. It was his mastery in the art of changing men's lives. When he was a young Arts student at Edinburgh University, life in all the faculties, but especially the medical faculty, was dissolute, cynical and reckless and no one made any attempt to do anything about it.

A few years later, due to the revolutionary passion of his commitment to what he called "the programme of Christianity", a great cleansing process took place in Edinburgh's academic life. Under Drummond's presidency, 600 students, mostly medicals, met every Sunday night to plan for the moral and spiritual regeneration of their nation and the world. Under his influence hundreds decided to put their careers to the service of mankind instead of themselves.

In talking to these men he said he would not deal with "intellectual doubts but with moral degradation". He knew from letters that had come to him that many in the audience "had their backs to the wall". They were beaten personalities. But he knew how to put them in touch with a Power which cured, and gave them a goal.

He had a beautiful home in Glasgow but he spent little time there. The world was his home. He travelled widely. He made three visits to America, one to Australia, one to Africa. He was a regular visitor to Europe and Scandinavia.

He was an original, gay, unconventional, brave man whose central aim was to do God's will and to use his gifts to enlist multitudes to do likewise, for the welfare of society.

**Q and A**

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

**Q — Who is responsible for Congress defeat at the Kerala elections?**

C. V. NALABANDA, Hyderabad.

**A —** The immediate responsibility rests on the electorate of Kerala who have expressed themselves quite clearly against Congress rule.

In the broader perspective of the past five years, the defeat is a result of the shortsightedness of the leaders of the Congress, including the rebel "Kerala Congress".

The Congress did not build upon the tremendous goodwill of the coalition of the united democratic front that defeated the Communists in the 1960 elections. On the other hand, they alienated the leaders of the Muslim League and sent them out of the alliance. They infuriated the Praja Socialist Party by appointing the P.S.P. leader as Governor. They could not prevent the growing estrangement between P. T. Chacko and Mr. R. Sankar. When Mannath Padmanabhan helped to defeat the latter's Government, they made virtue of necessity and talked of a "principled" Congress that would have no truck with communal leaders.

Whatever the sins of those who stand in opposition to the Congress or who left it—and they are many—the responsibility for allowing itself to be isolated is entirely its own.

A wise leadership can and must find areas of co-operation, common action with other democratic groups and parties. Compromises are not enough. Congressmen must begin to work hard among the people. They must emerge as the men of integrity who can be trusted by the people. No amount of political patchwork will be a substitute for the Moral Re-Armament of the Congress Party.

**Q —** The Soviet Premier, Mr. Kosygin, said that the American White Book on Vietnam was not a White Book but a Black Book. Please comment.

T. P. SATHYANARAYAN, Hyderabad.  
**A —** The Soviet Premier knows that the White Book—and it is "white"—is a factual indictment of North Vietnam and Communist China.

The report says, "In Vietnam, a Communist Government has set out deliberately to conquer a sovereign people in a neighbouring state. And to achieve its end, it has used every resource of its own Government to carry out its carefully planned programme of concealed aggression."

"North Vietnam's commitment to seize control of the South is no less total than was the commitment of the regime in North Korea in 1950 ... and their aggression is as real as that of an invading army."

Such a report is not likely to please the rulers of the Kremlin or Peking or even the proponents of "neutralization".

**Q —** The learning of ethics in our schools and colleges is essential in present circumstances. Discuss.

A. VIJAYA BHASKAR REDDY, Hyderabad

**A —** The learning of ethics and moral standards in schools and colleges would certainly be a help. But ethics is not an academic matter to be assimilated by the intellect. It is a decision to live straight according to certain absolute standards such as honesty and purity.

Immorality in India is not due to lack of moral teaching or religious discourses. It is due to the dearth of compelling example of a different way of life.

A minute of honesty is equal to one hour's moral teaching. What is the use of an obviously selfish, dishonest man teaching ethics? It will only lead to the reaction against morality that created a Lenin or Stalin.

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# The Secret of Peter Howard

by Rajmohan Gandhi

GOD KNOWS that I have everything to learn about life and the world. What little I know about it is, to a considerable extent, the result of my friendship with Peter Howard, who died in Lima, Peru, on February 25. Many around the world are similarly indebted to this remarkable Englishman.

I first heard of him in New Delhi in, I believe, 1948. I was thirteen. Sarat Chandra Bose, Netaji's distinguished brother, was speaking to a group of schoolboys after a debating contest and recommended to the boys a Peter Howard book, "Ideas Have Legs".

I met him first at a dinner in Delhi in 1955. He had brought to the capital a statesman's mission for Moral Re-Armament and one of his plays, "The Vanishing Island". His brilliance and wit—and understanding of world affairs, including Indian affairs—struck me at once as unusual.

In London in 1956 I met him again. Soon I was to find out that Moral Re-Armament was a practical, revolutionary attempt to build a sane and decent world. I knew that the greatest thing I could do with my life was to use it in this attempt. Since making that decision I have been close to Howard.

He invited me to join him on many of his journeys around the world, asked for by statesmen in Asia, Europe and North and South America. I accompanied him to Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Hong Kong, Burma, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Canada and the U.S.A. He visited India seven times.

## He Moved Fast

During the last six weeks of his life, spent in Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Peru, I had the privilege and joy of living and moving at his side.

He moved fast and hated casualness. I can hear him at Santiago Airport, Chile. Our plane was announced and some of us were walking casually from the airport lounge to the gate when we heard his clear, crisp voice from behind, "What's wrong here? Why are we so slow?"

Character, said the old schoolmaster, is what you do in the dark. Revolution, according to Howard, was the speed with which you

moved from rest to work, or rather from work to work.

He knew that a man without pace was a man without aim.

Howard knew what he was living for—to bring every man and nation under God's control. And not for a moment would he forget his aim.

He loved life and laughter. He would tease, poke fun and perform antics for children. Yet there was a reason for everything he said or did. "Mine is not a purposeless life," he told some friends recently.

Pace—and passion. He hated the self-concern and lust for approval that lay behind the muted voices and the controlled, leisurely manner of talking and walking of many who called themselves either God's soldiers or fighters for a new society. These men forget, he said, that Christ did not use loud-speakers when he addressed the multitudes on the Galilee shore.

## "I am a Revolutionary"

"I am a revolutionary," was his assertion. "If you think I am an idealist take another look at me."

He was more humble, perhaps, than any other person I have met. Tributes and honours from rulers of nations were received gratefully by him. Yet he was neither tickled nor embarrassed by them.

"Anything good I do comes from God. The rest is mine." This was his belief. Having dealt with his own pride in this devastating way, he found it easy to deal with the rebukers, scoffers and pin-prickers who tried to stop him.

Attacks never rattled him, for personal prestige was not his aim. "He who is down need fear no fall." This is the way I try to live," he told me a few weeks before his death. By this he meant that a man already aware of his nature need never be surprised or pained by the accusations of others.

It was at a conference in Delhi in 1963 that I heard him give his uncommon definition of a true leader—a man who gives others the credit when things go well and himself the blame when they go badly.

Because he had no desire to defend or sell himself he was able to use his astonishingly gifted mind and rare range of talents to defend, propagate and take to the millions the idea for which he lived.

His family were and are greatly attached to one another. They are

all superbly gifted. His wife Doe, niece of the famous Greek Prime Minister, General Metaxa, won the Wimbledon tennis doubles in 1933 and 1934. His eldest son, Philip, is a skilled journalist on the London Times, and his other son, Anthony, produces programmes for Britain's independent television. His handsome daughter, Anne, is married to one of Britain's outstanding young M.P.s, Patrick Wolrige-Gordon.

Howard, who deeply loved his family and his native England, decided also to love, with God's help, all families and nations as his own. When he entered a country he was perfectly prepared to live the rest of his life there, and die there, if God wanted him to.

I can hear him tell President Castello Branco of Brazil in January, "I love Latin America. I am prepared to sweat, strive and collapse here if need be." In the end he did.

The world's newspapers have written well and a great deal about this priceless man. They speak of his dynamism and brilliance, his successful — and profound — plays and books and his vigorous, tireless leadership. Some of them, however, have missed the point that what meant most to Howard was his relationship with God and mankind's relationship with God.

## Angered by Injustice

His vibrant, strong and arresting personality was the expression and result of a deep faith. And because his faith was real it aroused in him an uncontrollable passion to end the misery and injustice of mankind. To him it was not only evil but stupid and insane to have hunger, unemployment, slavery and the fear of atomic war at a time when man held in his hands the keys to limitless progress.

He felt it was tragic for a man not to have a personal faith, and he knew that the hypocrisy of many who talked of God but lived selfishly and undisturbed was a major cause of the diminishing of personal faith in the modern world. Yet he felt it was equally tragic for a man to have nothing else besides a personal faith; that, in fact, faith was unreal if it did not produce a burning concern for the material and spiritual well-being of all humanity.

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**“PRISONERS  
OF  
INDECISION”  
—OR  
POLICIES?**

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