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# HIMMAT

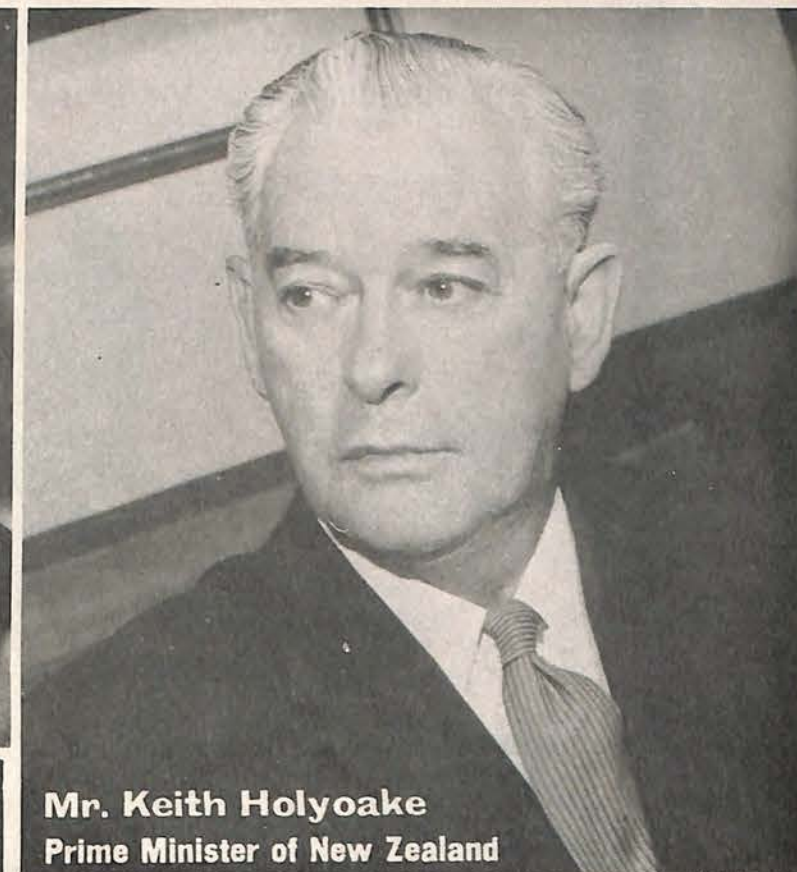
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Asia's new voice

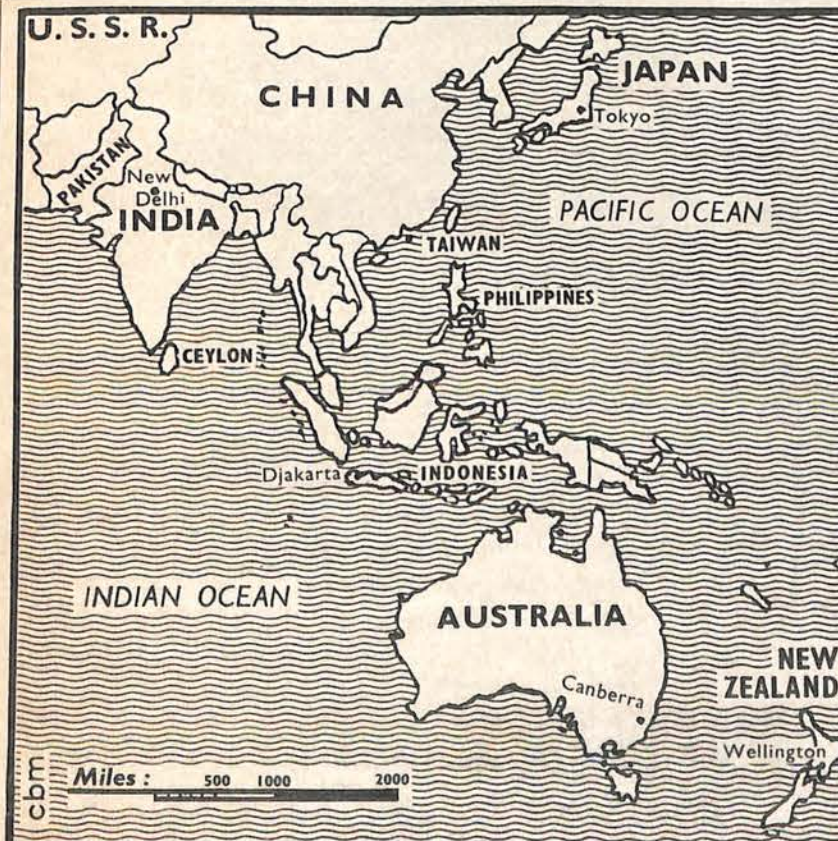
WEEKLY



**Sir Robert Menzies**  
Prime Minister of Australia



**Mr. Keith Holyoake**  
Prime Minister of New Zealand



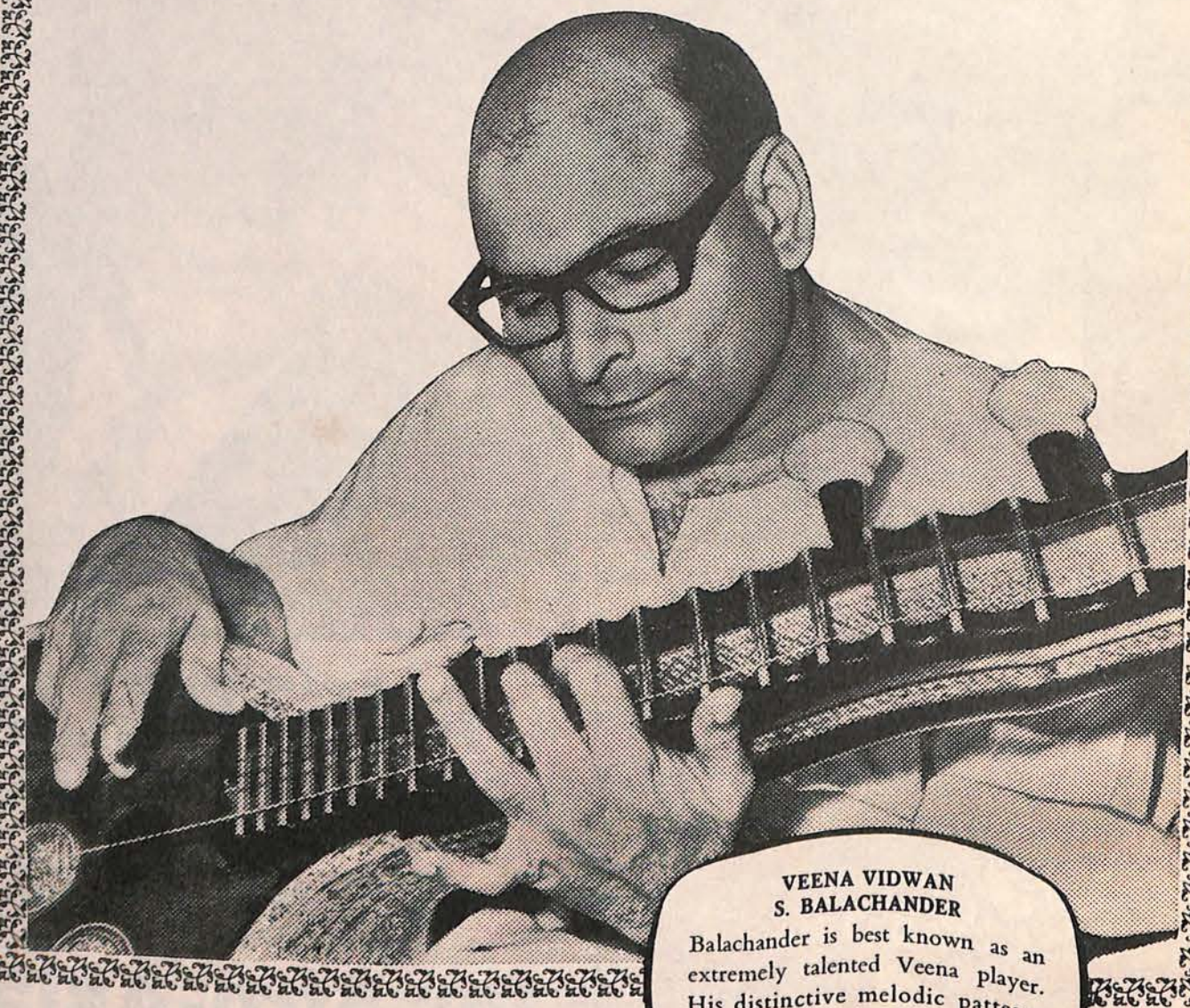
## AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND for Afro-Asian Membership?

by Rajmohan Gandhi  
Page 22

Friday  
May 21  
1965

**KENYA'S "AFRICAN SOCIALISM"**

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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, May 21, 1965

Vol. I No. 29

## Bombs, Words, Deeds

INDIA welcomes Soviet assurances of friendship. At the same time it is important to recognize that the Soviet Union cannot risk support on issues concerning China.

While Mr. Shastri spoke eloquently in the hall of the Soviet Parliament on the nuclear menace resulting from China's second atomic explosion, his Soviet hosts were significantly silent on the issue. When questioned on China's atomic blast by newspapermen, Mr. Kosygin replied, "I do not think there is any nuclear blackmail on the part of China." Assurances of Soviet support should not lull us. Mr. Shastri needs to pursue his plan for a nuclear guarantee with renewed vigour.

It is fashionable nowadays to say that China was prevented from advancing into India due to Russia's split with China on the occasion. Could this be really true? Mr. Khrushchev himself told the Supreme Soviet: "Some say China has stopped hostilities apparently because India began to receive support from the American and British imperialists. Yes, evidently, the Chinese friends have taken this circumstance into account..."

Soviet help for the fourth Five Year Plan will be greater than for our third Plan. Projects of steel, power, oil and mining will receive priority. India will welcome this, too. Geographically, it is important for India to have friendly relations with the Soviet and also for the Soviets to have a friend in India.

What India needs to beware of is her tendency to lean more on the American side one day and on the Soviet side another. Our leaders spend considerable time obtaining foreign aid and political support. But if they spent equal time recreating the backbone of our own nation, India would command greater respect.

To begin with, we need to end the mentality prevalent in Government secretariats and elsewhere that the world owes us a living ("Aren't we the world's largest democracy?"). It is time that our leaders taught us a measure of self-reliance. If we do not have it, we shall be driven to dependence by economic compulsions and to alignments by political fears.

## African Socialism

MR. CHOU EN-LAI said on his African trip that Africa is "ripe for revolution". There are indications that the timetable of Mr. Chou may have been put back.

In Kenya, President Kenyatta has refused a Soviet arms shipment. He has also taken over the Lumumba Institute—another Soviet gift. Furthermore, the Government of Kenya has issued a definitive statement, "African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya", which virtually refutes the outlook and speeches of Vice-President Oginga Odinga. One possible reason for the arms refusal is given

by *The Scotsman* of Edinburgh: "The Soviets insisted that Kenya accept 40 Red Army men for several months to train the Kenya Army to use arms. This the President flatly refused. He was already worried at the number of political leaders being turned out by the Lumumba Institute and he did not want the army subverted."

China has a plan for Africa. But what is heartening is that Africans are beginning to plan even more intelligently on a political and economic scale. Kenya has just published its blueprint on African Socialism. It could be a beacon light for the continent. It is perhaps the most important document to emerge from Africa in the last decade. HIMMAT presents the first Indian analysis of the document on page 5.

## Tilting at Windmills

*Take care, your worship, those things over there are not giants but windmills... Didn't I tell you, Don Quixote, sir, to turn back, for they were not armies you were going to attack, but flocks of sheep.*  
 — SANCHO PANZA TO DON QUIXOTE

WHILE Prime Minister Shastri's Moscow hosts were entertaining him at the Bolshoi production of "Don Quixote" last week, we witnessed at home a display of "knights in armour" mistaking windmills for giants and flocks of sheep for armies of troops.

First to blunt his lance while tilting at windmills was Mr. Madhu Limaye. As was expected, his writ of appeal against the Speaker for refusing Parliamentary discussion on the accounts of the Lok Sabha Secretariat was thrown out of the Punjab High Court. Their Lordships ruled that the Court had no jurisdiction over the conduct of business in the House.

Then we read of some "lady knights"—or were they battle-axes?—who warned Defence Minister Chavan not to set foot on Maharashtra soil again until the "Pakistanis were driven away". The Socialist Women's Convention at Poona, in their resolution, threatened demonstrations. He is known, they said, as Shivaji II and he should prove himself! The poor man is sandwiched between Pakistani troops to the right and agitated women to the left.

Another tilt was an unfortunate attempt to make political capital out of the collapse of part of the fly-over ramp being built near Marine Drive in Bombay. The injured were hardly on their way to hospital when the local Swatantra Party office issued a press note to say their representatives were busy collecting samples of the cement. Were the politicians as concerned for the injured as for nailing blame on political opponents? Will they be as eager to examine cement in other constructions where no political points can be scored.

Those responsible for the accident should be brought to book, but for reasons of right and wrong, not Right and Left.

## Briefly Speaking...

The greatest of faults is to be conscious of none.  
THOMAS CARLYLE 1795-1881

### Dig, Dig, Dig

IN BOMBAY every attempt is made to widen roads, which is good. But there is no city to my knowledge where workmen, on some excuse or the other, from one department or another, delight in digging up roads more frequently than in Bombay. Their zeal soon wears off and they do not appear to feel as responsible for filling up the holes they dig. The Hydraulic Department digs for pipes, the B.E.S.T. for cables, the Telephone Undertaking for their lines—all attack our roads and footpaths.

Lamington Road at one time was dug up continuously for two years. One would have thought they were prospecting for gold!

Perhaps the Honourable Minister for Urban Development could appoint a "Diggers' Co-ordination Committee".

### Square Pineapple

AUSTRALIAN fruit experts have developed, after five years of research, a square pineapple. They claim it is juicier and with a "more pleasing complexion" and no rough edges! With all the agricultural research institutions we finance in India, could not our experts produce a square mango, without a stone and ready sliced?

### Forty Percent

IS ILLITERACY being eradicated or is it growing in the world? Darwin J. Flakoll, writing from Paris on UNESCO, says, "...the number of illiterates in the world is increasing rather than diminishing at the rate of twenty to twenty-five million persons each year."

"It is a shocking fact," he says, "that more than 700 million men and women all over the world cannot read or write. This figure represents forty per cent of the world's population."

He ascribes the growth of illiteracy to inadequate primary school facilities in many countries.

The Director General of UNESCO, M. Rene Maheu, is quoted as saying,



"Oh, by the by, how are things these days down your way?"

"At a time when science is opening the gateway to the stars, it is unthinkable that two-fifths of mankind should still be prisoners of ancestral darkness." M. Maheu called for "a general mobilization of all mankind" to meet this challenge.

### Censuring the Censors

I SAW the jungle picture "Hatari" recently. Eighty per cent of the audience was under 18 at a 6.30 show in the suburbs. Where wild life is concerned, it is a superb picture, but the producer's standard joke appears to be portrayal of characters, a man and a woman, with only the top half of their pyjamas. At least one other scene is unsuitable for the young. Yet the Bombay Board of Film Censors has issued it with a Universal Certificate without these cuts.

I have had some dealings with the censors here. In the film to be censored were the words: "We are fed up with false promises made by our leaders." The censors asked the distributors to delete the words "made by our leaders". I tried to explain without avail.

One would expect that the Censors Board would be at least as concerned about the morals of our young people as they are about the reputation of our leaders.

R. M. L.

## The week in India

**NEW DELHI**—Prime Minister Shastri told the Lok Sabha that India's policy not to make the atom bomb "stands for the present".

**NEW DELHI**—Prime Minister Shastri assured the Lok Sabha on the eve of his departure to the Soviet Union that India stood firmly for a withdrawal of all troops to the status quo ante as of January 1, 1965. This would include a removal of Indian troops from the area leaving the police to patrol the border as they were doing on January 1.

**NEW DELHI**—Union Food Minister C. Subramaniam announced that the zonal curbs on the movement of grain would not be altered at least until the end of the present harvest. The Government intended to build a buffer supply of 2.5 million tons of wheat and one million tons of rice by 1966.

**CALCUTTA**—Pakistan has occupied almost all the Indian enclaves in East Pakistan.

**NEW DELHI**—The Government banned the flight of a Pakistani military aircraft over Indian territory in retaliation for Pakistan's refusal to let an Indian Air Force plane cross Pakistani territory en route to the Soviet Union.

**NEW DELHI**—Union Home Minister G. L. Nanda described the second Chinese nuclear blast as "a blow to the security of the world", and called for the "strongest and severest condemnation of this retrograde step".

**NEW DELHI**—The External Affairs Ministry has denied being invited by America to consider joining a North East Asia Treaty Organization to replace SEATO, with Japan and Australia the other major Far Eastern participants.

**SHILLONG**—The Indian Government has ordered the closure of the Pakistani Assistant High Commission in Shillong.

**LUCKNOW**—Chinese troops are probing the Mana Pass on the border of Tibet and U.P. There is evidence of increasing military activity by the Chinese all along the northern border.

**SHILLONG**—The Nagaland peace mission will meet underground leaders on June 8. Informed sources report that 15 out of 17 points in the peace mission's proposals have been accepted by the underground leaders.

**NEW DELHI**—A writ petition filed by Mr. Madhu Limaye, an S.S.P. Member of Parliament, has been dismissed by the Punjab High Court. Mr. Limaye had challenged the action of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha in refusing to admit cut motions moved by him regarding the financial demands of the Parliament Secretariat.

## A Beacon Light for Africa?

# KENYA DEFINES AFRICAN SOCIALISM

by R. M. Lala

A SMALL red booklet\* of 55 pages issued by the Government of Kenya on "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya" might well rank as the "bible" of African political and economic development. In the last year there has been a lot of loose talk from many quarters on "African Socialism". To Vice President Oginga Odinga of Kenya and some of his friends, African Socialism is little other than Communism.

President Kenyatta, his Economic Planning and Development Minister, Mr. Mboya, and others in Government re-defined African Socialism and rejected outright Marxist Communism as the doctrine for Kenya.

The second part of the booklet deals with concrete economic plans for the future of their country.

The blueprint has a strident note. Its sense of urgency commands attention. For Kenya "it is a choice between rapid growth and little or none, not between rapid growth and a little less".

In his statement, President Kenyatta says Kenya will develop on the basis of the concepts and philosophy of democratic African Socialism. "We rejected both Western capitalism and Eastern Communism and chose for ourselves a policy of positive non-alignment."

### Impressive Achievements

He speaks from a position of strength. In less than two years of independence, Kenya's achievements have been impressive. Since independence the Wage Earners' Index has remained stable. This year, for the first time since the Mau Mau emergency in 1952, the country will have a balanced budget and meet all her recurrent expenditure from her own resources. An indication of Kenya's advance is that her small farmers have increased the value of their gross marketed produce from £11.6 million in 1963 to £14 million in 1964, an increase of nearly 21 per cent in a year.

\* Government Printer, Kenya. 5 sh.

The prosperity of Kenya owes not a little to the wisdom of Kenyatta. Although he has suffered considerably and was interned for no less than 10 years, one of his first acts on being released was to appeal to the white man to forget the past and he appealed to his own people to forget it too. It is on this rock of understanding that he began to build the structure of a future Kenya.

### Checks and Balances

"In the phrase 'African Socialism' the word *African* is not intended to describe a continent to which a foreign ideology is being transplanted. 'African Socialism' is a term describing an African political and economic system...the principal conditions the system must satisfy are:

- (i) it must draw on the best African traditions;
- (ii) it must be adaptable to new and rapidly changing circumstances; and
- (iii) it must not rest for its success on a satellite relationship with any other country or group of countries."

The two African traditions mentioned as an essential basis of Socialism are political democracy and mutual social responsibility. Even in a tribal community there were traditional checks and balances to prevent abuse of power, like customary law and religion, and political rights did not derive from economic wealth or status.

"African Socialism differs politically from Communism because it ensures every mature citizen equal political rights and from capitalism because it prevents the exercise of disproportionate political influence by economic power groups. Another fundamental force in African traditional life was religion which provided a strict moral code for the community. This will be a prominent feature of African Socialism."

The blueprint goes on to say, "The historical setting that inspired Marx has no counterpart in independent Kenya."

It shrewdly observes that capitalist society has not evolved into Marxian Socialism as Marx predicted, but has indeed been "modified in directions

that Marx might well have approved" and mentions progressive taxation, dilution of property rights, planning, controls, etc.

Equally clever is the blueprint's assessment of present Communist society where management incentives, various forms of ownership and interest rates have diluted Marx. "The sharp class divisions that once existed in Europe have no place in African Socialism and no parallel in African society. No class problem arose in the traditional African society and none exist today among the Africans."

Mutual social responsibility, the second important aspect of African tradition, is looked upon as an extension of the African family spirit to the nation as a whole, and emphasises the duty of the State to education, medical care and social security of the nation. In fact, Kenya is on the eve of starting a National Health Scheme, which India is a long way from. Every member of the traditional African society had a duty to work and "African society has the power and duty to impose sanctions on those who refuse to contribute their fair share of hard work."

### Flexibility

"A rigid doctrinaire system would have little chance of survival," says the blueprint. Kenya is willing to borrow technical know-how, and financial assistance, from any country.

"The fact that other countries are more advanced is not a matter of jealousy but of opportunity," says the document. For a country just launching on its voyage of economic discovery, Kenya shows remarkable perception and appears to be willing to learn from the mistakes of others. No doubt India's economic planning, her massive advance and her equally colossal mistakes, have helped countries like Kenya. They seem to have learnt that running co-operatives "involves greater discipline and training than has hithertofore been necessary".

On foreign exchange too, the docu-

Continued on page 19

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**Crisis in the Caribbean**

THE CARIBBEAN has always been vital to the United States of America. The Monroe doctrine which declares that "We (the U.S.A.) should consider any attempt on their part (European powers) to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety" has, with one exception, been evoked only with regard to the lands adjoining the Caribbean.

The French have added to the strategic importance of the region by transferring their atomic research experimental stations to this area.

With Castro's success in Cuba, it has become the foothold of Communism in the Western Hemisphere. Vulnerable to the techniques of infiltration and subversion, the Caribbean is a weak link in the chain of U.S. hemisphere security.

The history of the region is one of bloody revolution, cruel dictatorships and occasional U.S. intervention to restore order and stability.

**Cuba's Violent History**


For example, the history of Cuba after two years of U.S. occupation which ended in 1902, was one of coups, corruption and violence. In August 1933, a group of non-commissioned officers led by Sergeant Fulgenio Batista overthrew the bloody and tyrannical regime of Machado, in an attempt to forestall armed intervention by the United States. Batista himself became a ruthless dictator. He was overthrown in 1958, with U.S. help, by a comparatively unknown young man named Fidel Castro. Unwittingly, the U.S. helped to put into power the first Communist regime in the Western hemisphere.

The neighbouring island in which the Dominican Republic is situated, fared no better. This country where 32,000 U.S. troops are now keeping a precarious truce between the so-called "loyalists" and "rebels" had been earlier under U.S. occupation from 1916-24. The U.S. presence had no effect on the temperament of the nation which succumbed again in 1930 to the 31-year-long deadening dictatorship of General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo. U.S. battleships stood by near San Domingo when in Octo-

ber 1961 Trujillo fell by an assassin's bullets. Elections were held a year later. But the Government of the victorious candidate, Juan Bosch, was replaced by a *junta*, after only seven months in office. That was about a year and a half ago. The present civil war started on April 24 as a pro-Bosch and anti-*junta* attempt ostensibly to restore constitutional democracy in the country.

President Johnson is categorical about the fact that "what began as a popular democratic revolution com-

Under  
 the  
 Lens  
 by **R. VAITHESWARAN**



mitted to democracy and social justice very shortly moved and was taken over and really seized and placed into the hands of Communist conspirators". He is determined, quite rightly, that "the American nations cannot and must not and will not permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western hemisphere".

Yet, ultimately, the only solution to the threat of Communist take-over is a stable democratic regime which is devoted to social justice and reform. Military intervention has its limitations and, in the absence of a serious attempt to produce an ideological alternative, will be short-lived in its results.

**Failure of Intervention**

In the meanwhile, American action has buttressed the school of thought which believes that the United States does not set much store by alliances and agreements, where her own vital interests are concerned. Was the situation in the Dominican Republic so serious that the United States was compelled to push aside her obligations under the charter of the Organization of American States? The Caracas resolution of the O.A.S. specifically called for a "Meeting of consultation to consider the adoption of appropriate action in accordance

with existing treaties" whenever there is a serious threat of Communist take-over.

The nationalist, anti-Big Brother sentiment thus generated may, in the long run, prove more harmful to U.S. interests than any temporary gain from her unilateral action.

The United States has yet to learn the lesson of the failure of her successive interventions in Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua since the beginning of this century and in Guatemala more recently. In almost every case, the U.S. attempt to prepare for elections where rules of the game were observed, was repudiated soon after their withdrawal. Neither has the refusal to recognize governments that came into power by coup succeeded in moulding the Latin Americans towards democratic ways.

**Monroe Doctrine**

The Monroe doctrine may have been an adequate instrument in ensuring military security. But it cannot meet the more insidious penetration of ideology. While military power, overtly or otherwise, has succeeded in throwing out a pro-Communist government, as in Guatemala, the United States and the Latin American countries have still to find effective and practical ways of finding and training a leadership for a stable, sound and democratic alternative to Communism.

The dictum of Theodore Roosevelt that it is the right of the United States to exercise international police power to remedy any "chronic wrong-doings or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society" may have been well-intentioned—certainly, U.S. occupation has often resulted in greater education, better roads, etc.—but it has never led to a radical cure of the conditions of chaos which in the old days led to tyranny and in the present helps planned Communist take-over.

In the Caribbean, as in Vietnam, the problems are two-fold. First, the absence of a democratic, selfless, united, reform-oriented government. Second, the possibility of mass move-

Continued on page 19

# NAGALAND: My Land and It's Future

by Niketu Iralu

BEFORE 1965 IS OUT, unless the decade-long festering sore is healed, Nagaland's infection will spread into the surrounding areas and the Brahmaputra could easily become the Mekong of India's North East. Nagas do not relish the prospect but unless we can accept a totally new perspective and India learns to cope with this situation, the repetition of Vietnam may become inevitable.

I have been to every State of the Union except Kashmir. Everywhere people ask me, "Why are Nagas creating so much trouble? Why can't they stop fighting and become peaceful citizens?" The Naga's reply in his heart is, "We may be troublesome but at least we are on our own side of the fence."

## Hostiles or Patriots?

As a Naga I admire and respect the fighting spirit of my people who have fought for what they believe in for ten years. To me they are not "hostiles" or "rebels" but patriots who are fighting today just as my grandfather and his generation fought domination of the British.

One of my grand-uncles died of a musket wound while defending our village. The British were the first "outsiders" to come up to our hills to take our land, and my grandfather fought them because that was the thing to do when others invaded your

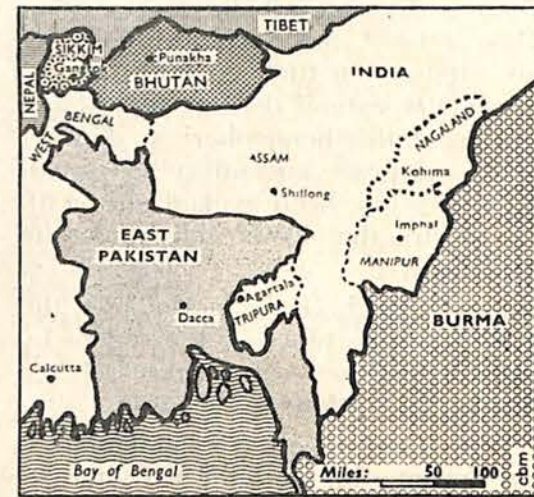
homeland. This custom still holds true today, with all peoples.

We became part of British India because we were defeated by the British. Once the time came for the British to leave, our leaders made it clear that we chose to decide our own future. India, as to be expected of any government, refused to let us do so. And Nagas, as to be expected of any people with self respect, decided to fight it through. We feel we have fought as any others in our position would have fought and perhaps be hailed as nationalists and patriotic anti-imperialists or what-have-you.

The fight for independence started in 1945 when Mr. A. Z. Phizo returned to Nagaland from Burma. He and his family had been away in Burma since 1935. During the war he and his younger brother had collaborated with the Indian National Army in their fight to drive the British out of the sub-continent.

The brief but hectic months of the war in the Kohima area and the momentum of events in India building up towards freedom had begun to make a deep impact on the thinking of the Nagas who had so far remained more or less indifferent and tribal in their outlook. Now they began to think of being responsible for their own future as everyone had begun to do all over post-war Asia.

On his return home Mr. Phizo



Nagaland lies in India's strategic North East corner near China.

immediately set to work to mobilize public opinion for his plan for the Nagas. His plan was "to reclaim the right over our own land that belonged to our forefathers". To a sensitive tribal minority people on the border with a deep concern for their own survival, in the midst of teeming millions of other races around them, his plan was a stirring revolutionary call and not to be resisted for long.

## Patronizing Attitude

Mr. Phizo walked from village to village often carrying his own belongings in a rucksack. He established direct contact with the village and youth leaders. The fearless zeal and tremendous capacity for leadership he displayed soon won the confidence of the people, and before long he became the President of the newly formed Naga National Council.

Under his leadership, the Naga National Council declared independence on August 14, 1947. They later sent a message to the Government of India stating their inability to accept the Constitution that had been drawn up. When the first general election came along, Nagas boycotted it and instead presented the result of a plebiscite that overwhelmingly supported the demand for independence.

At this crucial stage, Indian leaders failed to discern the intensity of their feelings. They adopted a patronizing attitude that seemed to say, "Don't feel too bad. If you stay with us long enough you'll forget all these

things. You'll come to agree that we are right and you are misguided."

Churchill once said, "The finest combination in the world is power and mercy. The worst is weakness and strife."

India at this time had power and prestige and could have shown the understanding of a strong and trustworthy brother whose big-heartedness disarms the suspicions of a jealous smaller brother. Then the story would have been totally different.

The question now for India is how to win the Nagas and others like them on the border to stand and fight with her for a revolutionary plan for Asia. India must learn that giving them money, roads, hospitals and schools alone will not win them nor cure their hates and fears, no more than America has succeeded in doing in Vietnam.

We trusted Gandhi. We said, "We can solve our problems with him." For her own sake and for the sake of mankind, India today must once again produce giants who may not be saints or mahatmas but whose selflessness and concern of heart is as great and real as was Gandhi's. We want to see an India that can proclaim a master plan for the whole of Asia that will interest even China. Unless India will proclaim a plan for the whole of India to answer the needs of our continent, the tribal minorities will feel insecure. But we will stand with an India like that on the world scene.

## Uniting the North East

On our part, we Nagas are so madly driven by pride, hate and a determination to prove ourselves, understandable as these are, that it has become impossible for us to reckon with the gigantic upheavals taking place around us. This could mean our own ruin. We have got to face the fact that we who pray to God Almighty to bless our plans give Him little say in the matter.

"Listen, Lord, for Thy servant heareth" is revolutionary and the only safe way in charting the destiny of a people.

God is not mocked. Without His will guiding us we will fight and build in vain.

If we stubbornly fight on the way we have done, India may one day be compelled to grant us independence.

This may prove to be a costly salve for our hurt pride. Pakistan and China will use us to achieve their ends though we may think they help us to achieve ours. The road of such unholy mutual exploitation will end in disaster for us and our children.

An independent Nagaland may not mean much more in Asia's history than the story of Tibet repeated.

No answer can come to the problem in Nagaland in the context of Naga-

land alone. We need to see that India needs to see it in that perspective. I feel so much for what is happening. The deaths, the sufferings, the pains that have happened to so many people.

I want to take a force trained in MRA to the north east. I want my people to know about this idea. Free from hatred and bitterness, Nagaland can be a tremendous force for the unity of the north east and India.

## NEXT TEN YEARS

SIR: Your editorial "Next 10 Years" (HIMMAT May 7) suggests a very realistic approach to the growing menace of Red China. The "strategy" you advocate to meet this enemy is sound and if followed will definitely prove invincible. China has cast her eyes on India, because she thinks that we are torn by dissensions and therefore internally weak. It is up to us to show her how very wrong she is.

We must "be prepared militarily" as you put it, because although we abhor violence, it sometimes becomes necessary for a man to employ violence to protect his own home. But the greatest strength we have in this land of Gandhiji and Buddha is our spiritual strength. In this connection let us remember Emerson's words: "Great men are they who see that spiritual is stronger than any material force, that thoughts rule the world."

Let us set our house in order and unite in heart against the forces of evil and God will give us the strength to meet the very real danger from China. B. G. R. KRISHNAMA

Secunderabad

## LETTERS

### CHINA'S DESIGN

SIR: I hope and pray India will make Pakistan vacate her territory and the menace at the Rann of Kutch.

But a war between India and Pakistan is like a war between brothers and sisters. Such a thing being common doesn't make it right. It is absolutely wrong. India and Pakistan have too many things in common and too many friends and relatives living between them to be enemies.

India and Pakistan can and must become friends. It will take honesty and foresight on both sides. Pakistan must fully understand China's design for Asia. India and Pakistan can unite only on as big an aim as freedom and new leadership for Asia. Pakistan must live above her "cut the nose to spite the face" policy.

JANAKI VARADHAN

Bangalore

### "POP-GUN" ACHIEVEMENTS

SIR: Pope, the 18th century poet, considered man as "the glory, the jest, and riddle of the world". How true this is of us in India. We have a glorious past, but today we are a prey to corruption, selfishness, starvation and above all to illogical reasoning.

We break away from those who wish to befriend us. We find fault with those who indirectly protect us against a full scale invasion. We find it difficult to accept the thesis established by our ancient and glorious ancestors that the enemy of our enemy is our indirect friend. We construe non-alignment as deliberately getting out of line with those whose friendships are vital to our very existence.

We revel in cannon-sized hopes and claims and pop-gun achievements. We preach the pious platitude of non interference with our neighbours and we take upon ourselves the privilege to criticize them. We spread the fare of strong but impotent protests before those who invade and occupy our frontiers. "Chaos of thought and passion all confused" seems to possess us and to make us a laughing stock.

B. V. CANARAN

Nainital Dist.

## COOK WITH RATH—RATH IS BEST

# RATH

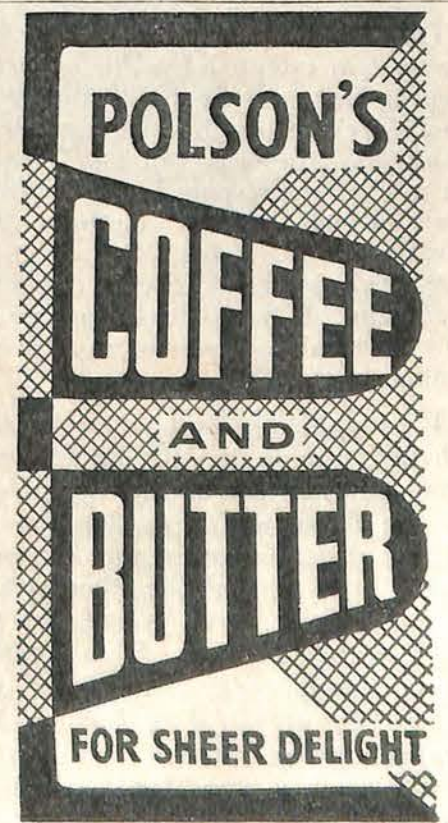
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# Television—Learn from Others' Mistakes

by Anthony John Howard

**I AM against censorship. Occasionally I have suffered because of it. Sometimes I have been reluctantly grateful for it, because it has saved me from murky pitfalls. But, if you are going to do away with censorship, then you have got to introduce responsibility of the highest order. And in Britain at least we have failed to do this.**

India will soon be starting a Government-run television service. And this problem will become a massive one from the start. What is good for the people? Who is to decide what is good? The politicians? Not on your life, for they will exploit any broadcasting service to their own advantage. The men who run the service? Not unless they are exceptional in every way, because like the unexceptional leaders of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) they will be liable to such pressures from their producers, administrators, Governors and herds of lesser civil servants, all of whom must have their say, that they will ignore public feeling altogether.

## Not So Starry-Eyed

The optimum to date seems to be the system adopted by the Government in Britain to deal with Independent Television—the Independent Television Authority (ITA). This is an unbiased, responsible governing body which, usually tactfully but always firmly, steers ITV along its very tricky course. Often we in ITV complain. I have done so myself. But all in all we owe more than we realize to the ITA.

It's tough to write about television when you're in it. It's an exciting, quick-silver medium which grips you by the throat and never lets you go until it discards you, empty of ideas, on the heap with all the other withered husks who have contributed so much in their heyday. It's a medium in its infancy with adventures and innovations ahead of it that are beyond imagining. Those who say that everything has been done on television are speaking nonsense. Like any

*"I'm in love with television," says Anthony John Howard who works in Independent Television, Britain. "But I'm not so starry-eyed that I cannot see some of its mistakes—mistakes from which India, opening its own service, would do well to learn." This month the first daily TV programme starts in New Delhi.*

medium it can be exploited, and it needs responsible handlers to become the powerful, uncomfortable, probing means of communication it is meant to be. So you see I am biased. I'm in love with television. But I'm not so starry-eyed that I cannot see some of its mistakes—mistakes from which a country like India opening its own service would do well to learn.

In British television, with outstanding exceptions, too many producers think the same thoughts, believe in the same things and feed the same food to a picture-hungry public.

So many people bracket television with the theatre and cinema. They are wrong. Its style is different. Its techniques, operation and function are all different. Most important of all its audience is different. These pictures go straight into the homes—the sitting-rooms and bedrooms—of millions of people. They sit in twos and threes gripped by the greatest conversation-killer of them all and are influenced by it according to their mental capacities.

## A Lot of Nonsense

It is true in Britain that both ITV and BBC produce many magnificent programmes. But there is also a lot of petty nonsense, which I cannot believe the public love as much as they seem to by the way they watch it. And it seems to me that the chief culprit here is the amount of air-time both channels force themselves to fill. A new service would do well to confine itself to a maximum of five hours in the twenty-four. Five hours of brilliant, provocative entertainment. For, if quality gives way to quantity as it has done in many ways in Britain,

everybody will suffer in the end.

A fault of the BBC is that it is virtually impossible to get the sack from it. Life there is a sterile certainty, according to many of its employees; secure, safe, but definitely sterile. Jobs for the boys leads to a one-type mentality and a top-heavy administration means that trying to get anything done involves a maze-like manoeuvre that boggles the imagination and ends in the sort of situation where four camera crews turn up to cover a single event. The Director-General and his cronies have made so many fascinating mistakes in the last couple of months that the five million pound deficit and the permanently low audience figures on the BBC channel astonish no one except the BBC chiefs themselves. In a recent popularity survey they had only one programme in the top twenty for a given week—and that was international boxing, which can hardly be credited to the BBC's producers. The other nineteen were all on ITV.

## Unpleasant Bias

Again I will admit to bias. I have a story to tell which brands me as an anti-BBC man. But I think you will agree with reason. Most people in Britain feel that the BBC needs a good stomach-pumping and I would be delighted to apply the hose. And not just because I am in ITV. If anything I could do would help to remove the present Director-General from his fragile perch and install someone sensible like Dimbleby or even an outsider I would die happy.

Recently my father, Mr. Peter Howard, died. The night after his death the BBC had Tom Driberg, a professional politician who had unsuccessfully and for very dubious motives attempted to ruin my father's life work, to talk about him. I wrote an angry letter to Lord Normanbrook, Chairman of the BBC Board of Governors, complaining not about what had been said but about the fact that a man's worst enemy should be chosen to talk about him when he is dead. It seemed to me that this was

bias of a far more unpleasant kind than the bias I am guilty of in writing this article. My father, alive, could have eaten Tom Driberg with his early morning tea (a nauseating prospect), but dead he could only grin down from Heaven on the sort of battle he would have relished. The BBC's reply was to re-broadcast this tasteless item a couple of days later.

A week after that a letter arrived from Lord Normanbrook which read in part:

"...I do not think there is anything which would justify me in modifying what I said in my previous letter. I am more concerned with what is said on BBC programmes than in the personality of the spokesman; and I cannot find that anything said by Mr. Driberg in this programme was unfairly critical or hostile to your father's memory. Therefore I cannot see any occasion to invite some other spokesman to give a different appreciation..."

## Abusive Skit

Of course he had completely ignored the point I had made. Two days after I received this letter—the Princess Royal died. On the same night the BBC's sometimes brilliant, sometimes infantile "Not so much a programme more a way of life" presented an abusive skit about her brother the Duke of Windsor about the circumstances surrounding his abdication. Again I wrote to Lord Normanbrook:

"I see the BBC has done it again. First, like eager vultures they pounce on the death of my father. Now it is the Royal family that is subjected to this sort of cruelty. I imagine the Corporation will be as proud of itself as it usually is when it has succeeded in hurting decent people in this country. As one involved in the production side of Independent Television I know something of what is involved in this business. And I thank God that, however we may grumble at them, we have the I.T.A. to prevent us committing this sort of moral atrocity. You seem unable to do anything about Driberg and my father. Perhaps at least you may be able to do something about the Royal Family. After all, in this case, it would pay the BBC to do so."

Of course there was no reply to me. And of course the BBC apologized publicly. They're such great democrats.

"Cassandra" of the *Daily Mirror*, in my opinion Britain's most talented columnist, came under fire for attacking this "Not so much a programme . . ." and replied that his main com-

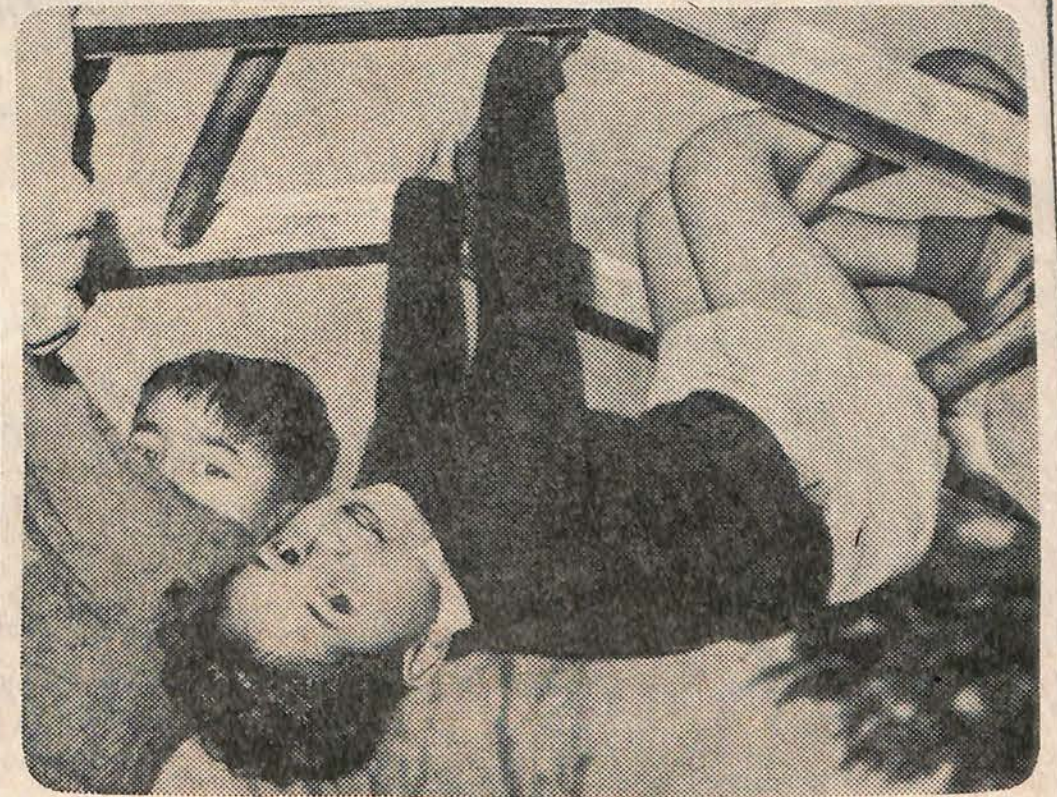
plaint about the programme was that "it has destroyed for a very long time to come the sensitive art of satire and irony on TV. . . . by their blundering incompetence those responsible for this programme slogged weed-killer all around the rose-garden and killed off the delicate bushes on which the sharpest thorns grow to prick and puncture our preposterous society. Sir Hugh Greene (still Director-General) has been knocked off his perch. . . ."

What more need be said? The lessons are there to be learnt. The medium is there to be used. But it's not the place for kinky exhibitionists who are determined to censor the censors and to show not just their

slips but their warped nakedness on the screens of a million homes. Drama needs to come to the fore.

Someone needs to start a television drama workshop where the young actors, designers, producers and technicians can come and construct new ideas and resurrect the best of the old ones in television theatre. Someone needs to. . . Yes, there are endless things that must be done. Some may be accomplished in my lifetime. Some I would like to accomplish myself. And a country starting out with a new service has the chance to learn from the mistakes of the stale old-timers and to produce something new, daring and right in fashion for the 1970s.

## CITIZENS OF TOMORROW



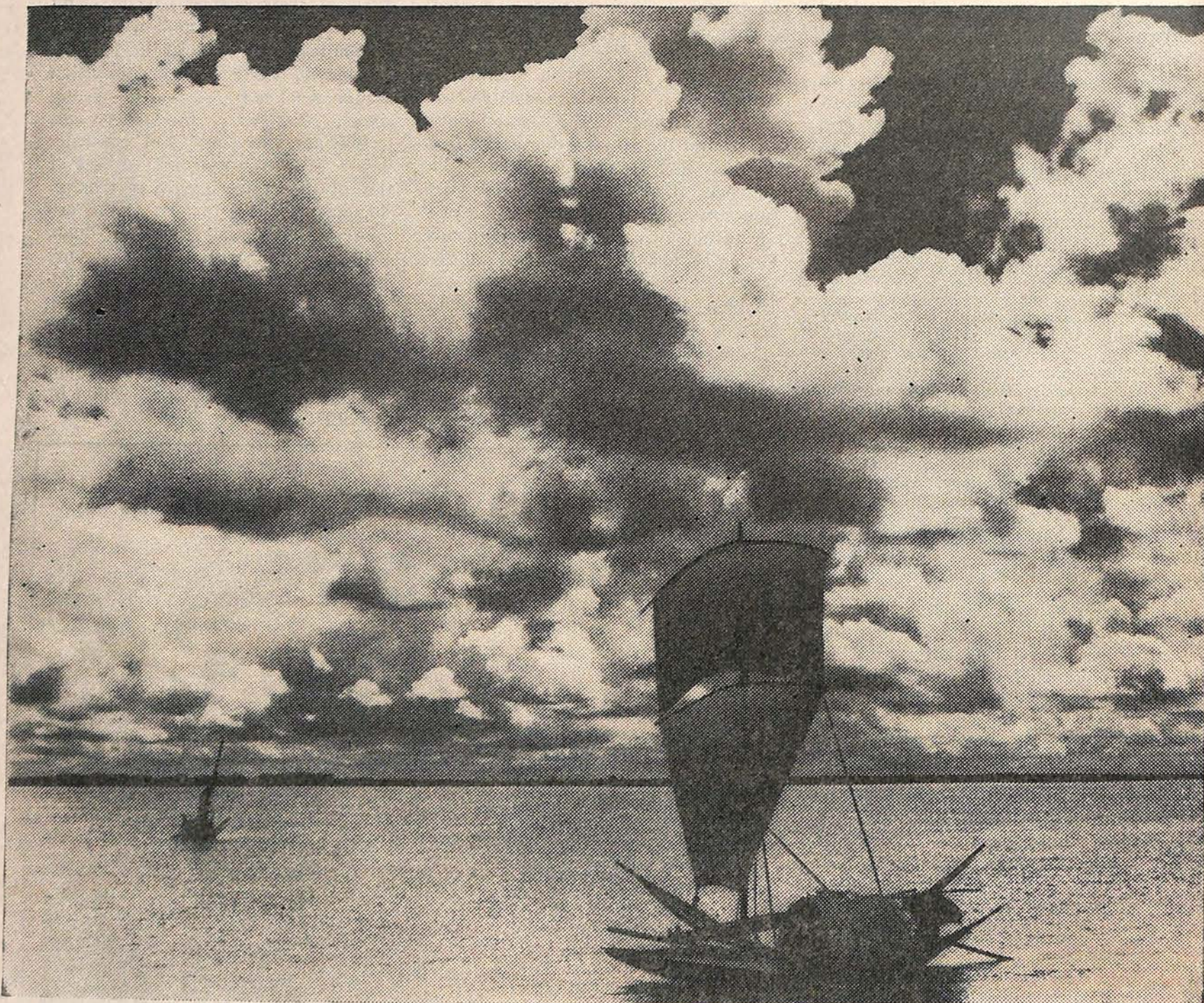
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With apologies to A. P. HERBERT

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HIMMAT, May 21, 1965

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Government Takes Over Lumumba Institute

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

KENYA'S LUMUMBA INSTITUTE, the controversial training school for KANU Party officials, is to be taken over by the Government and put under the management and control of the Ministry of Education. Built by Communist countries as "a gift" to Kenya, with two Russian lecturers and a Board of Management under the chairmanship of Bildad Kaggia, who has come under attack from the President for his Communist leanings, it is stated that President Kenyatta's plans for the institute had been "completely distorted".

Speaking in Parliament, where a crowded House of Representatives approved the Government proposal with only one voice in opposition (Mr. Kaggia's), the Minister for Planning and Economic Development, Mr. Tom Mboya, said: "There are those who would wish the institute to be regarded as nothing but a den where revolution is cooked, where subversion is discussed, where Communism is promoted and dished out.

"There are those who wish to give the image or the impression that the institute is the only place where true



Pres. Kenyatta and Mr. Mboya (rear)

nationalism resides, where true Socialism resides, and where true Africanism resides. Both images are wrong."

It was not to be regarded as a showpiece for one group or ideology. The Institute, which was officially opened at the time of Kenya's Republic celebrations last December, was promoted by the Vice-President Oginga Odinga. Mr. Gama Pinto, the Specially Elected Member of Parliament who was recently assassinated, was responsible for raising much of the funds.

Recent irresponsible statements by students of the Institute are believed to have finally provoked the Government into checking the activities of the institute.

### Sensational Soviet Novel

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

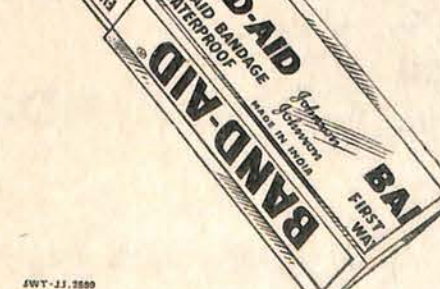
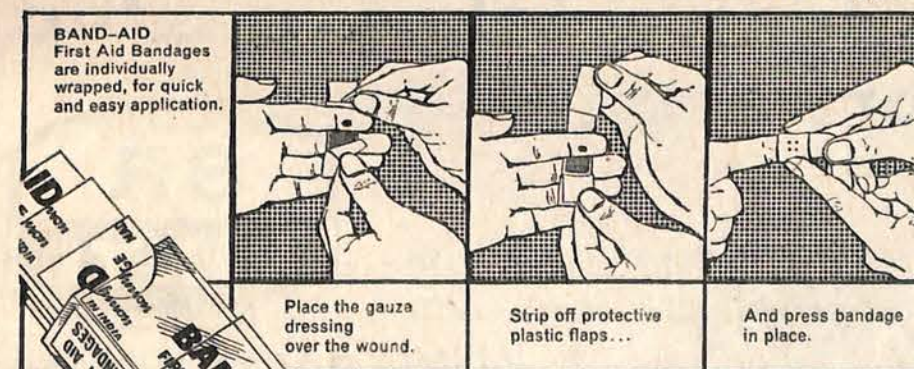
A NEW NOVEL smuggled from Russia reveals a wide gulf between intellectuals and the State.

Its author, Valeriy Tarsis, was for a time shut up in a psychiatric hospital because of his criticism of Soviet society.

His novel, "Ward Seven", is about an outspoken writer who is put away in an asylum by the police—it is Tarsis' own story.

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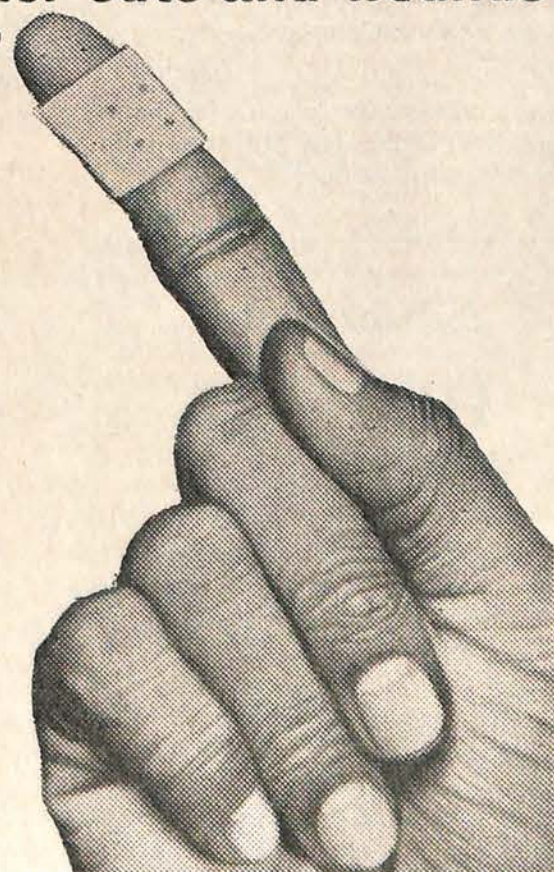


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The book, serialized here in a Sunday newspaper, contains savage criticism of 8 Russian leaders including Khrushchev.

There is only one real lunatic in Ward Seven, the asylum in which Almazov, the hero of the book, is confined. The rest are "political lunatics" incarcerated because of their disagreement with the authorities.

In one of his milder outbursts Almazov declares: "We are so used to the triumph of evil, of might over right, that the very consciousness of being right makes us feel doomed and we capitulate in advance. Clearly nihilism is gaining ground. But its victory is unthinkable. But it is equally clear to me that this is what will happen unless Sino-Soviet Fascism is destroyed first."

"We are thousands today, we'll be millions tomorrow," says another inmate. "We'll get together and we'll light such a blaze that no policeman on earth could put it out."

Since Dudintsev wrote "Not By Bread Alone" the hunger among Russian people for something more than a materialist philosophy has been known.

The fact that Tarsis has spoken out—and so far survived—may indicate the beginning of self-questioning among Russia's rulers.

### China Concerns NATO

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

CHINESE EXPANSION is a major issue before NATO Foreign Ministers who are meeting in London.

NATO's "contingency planners"—men who try to foresee world developments years ahead—agree on one thing, says an *Evening Standard* report: China, before the year 2000, will burst from her boundaries.

The question is which way will she go? Russia would resist expansion westwards. American warships bar the way east.

The planners' nightmare is a Chinese link-up with Japanese technology and Indonesian natural resources. They fear that if Vietnam

goes Communist all South East Asia, including Indonesia, will follow.

Britain and America would defend Australia. The Chinese may not try to occupy India because of her internal problems of food and population.

So China will move into Africa. By the year 2000, some planners think, there will be Chinese colonies on that continent.

Until the end of the century the planners foresee clash and bloodshed from South Africa to the South China Sea.

## Bourgiba's "Bomb" on Arab World

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA of Tunisia on April 21 suggested that the Arab States, in exchange for repatriation of the Arab refugees to the houses and lands they occupied prior to 1947, should recognize Israel's statehood. He proposed direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestine Arabs, provided Israel accepted existing U.N. resolutions.

This proposal exploded like a bomb over the Arab world. The fall-out has not yet settled.

The Cairo press described the suggestions as "a stab in the back", and the official daily, *al-Ahram*, said the U.A.R. would not take part in the Arab Summit Conference now scheduled to meet next September in Rabat, if President Bourguiba were to attend. The Tunisian leader was accused of complicity with Western imperialism—an accusation to which Washington's expressions of approval

seemed to lend credence. President Nasser said President Bourguiba was "moving in the interests of Israel".

In Tunis, the U.A.R., Iraqi and Syrian Embassies were attacked. In Cairo, the residence of Tunisian Ambassador Badra was burned by a crowd of 3,000 students.

Tunisia did not attend the Cairo meeting of representatives of Heads of Arab States. In her absence, the conference rejected Bourguiba's call for recognition of Israel and reaffirmed adherence to resolutions of previous Arab Summit Conferences. Mr. Ahmed Shuqairy, President of the

### FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS—contd.

Palestine Liberation Organization, having hoped for a stronger rejection of Bourguiba's proposal, walked out of the conference room.

While Israel welcomed steps made to recognize her statehood, Deputy Prime Minister Aba Eban said, "Israel can no more return to the borders laid down in the 1947 U.N. Resolution than an egg broken 18 years ago can be put together."

The Israeli Prime Minister, Levi Eshkol, rejected the substance of the Tunisian proposals but welcomed the move as a first sign of a new attitude "breaching the wall of hatred surrounding Israel". He continued his address to a May Day rally in stressing that the main solution to Israel's problems lay in "doubling the population and reviving the Galilean wastes with scores of new settlements". Such statements do not allay Arab fears of Zionist expansion.

### Jerusalem Partitioned

Some points need clarification. 1947 is the year when, on November 29, the U.N. General Assembly passed a Resolution about Palestine entitled "A Plan of Partition with Economic Union" setting up independent Jewish and Arab States and making Jerusalem an international city. On May 14, 1948, when Israel announced its independence, the new nation was within the boundaries delineated by this Resolution—an area of 5,670 square miles, much of which was Arab land. Arabs began to flee across the partition line. On May 15 the armies

of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon invaded Israel.

After eight months of fighting Egypt and Israel signed an Armistice Agreement on February 24, 1949, which established the present Armistice boundaries patrolled by the U.N. Force. Under this agreement Israel now occupies 8,048 square miles. Egypt assumed control over the 135 square miles of the Gaza Strip. This area with an original Arab population of 90,000 has had 200,000 refugees camped there since 1948. Jerusalem, which the U.N. intended to be an international city, is tragically divided by the no-man's land and barbed wire of the truce line.

### Nothing Has Been Done

In the course of the 1948 fighting some 900,000 Arabs were forced by the hazards of war to leave their homes. They have been unable to return. Their homes are now occupied and their lands tilled by Israeli immigrants.

In spite of repeated U.N. Resolutions that they must be offered a choice between compensation for their lost property and the chance to return to their homes, feelings and mistrust remain so strong that nothing has been done so far.

Arab demands for the implementation of this U.N. Resolution are fair enough. Equally understandable is the Israeli fear of the consequences of opening the door to the possible return of 900,000 hostile and resentful Arab repatriates. Nothing short of a mighty change of human nature can break this whole deadlock.

## The week in Asia

**PEKING**—China has successfully carried out its second nuclear test over Western areas on May 14.

**TOKYO** — Mass-circulation paper *Asahi* in a dispatch from Peking, states that the second Chinese atomic bomb was carried by a missile from a launching site in Western China.

**SEOUL**—Ashes originating from the second Chinese nuclear blast are hovering over Korea, carried over by a jet-stream. The Government has announced precautions on food and water due to danger of fallout.

**COLOMBO** — The *Times of Ceylon* noted that China (with its Buddhist background) had chosen the day of the birth and enlightenment of the Lord Buddha to explode its bomb.

**DJAKARTA** — The three million-strong Indonesian Communist Party has asked for general elections. The last general elections in Indonesia were held 10 years ago.

**SINGAPORE**—The Malaysian Government has taken restrictive measures against Filipinos visiting the country as a retaliation for discriminatory treatment to Malaysians visiting the Philippines.

**SAIGON**—Explosions rocked the U.S. air base at Bien Hoa smashing 40 planes and leaving 33 dead. The cause is believed to be a defective fuse of a 500 lb. bomb.

**DACCA**—The cyclone that struck East Pakistan earlier this month is estimated to have taken a toll of 5,000 lives.

**TOKYO**—The Japanese Government has decided to send out a high-ranking diplomat to six or more Asian and African countries, including India, to exchange views on the Afro-Asian Conference at Algiers. Tipped to lead the Japanese delegation to Algiers is ruling Party Vice-President Kawashima.

**COLOMBO**—The Shell, Caltex and Esso oil companies have agreed to accept Rs. 55 crores compensation for their assets taken over by the Government. Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government had estimated the assets at Rs. 30 crores, and the oil companies had estimated them at Rs. 100 crores. With the new Government in office, the oil companies expressed willingness to take Rs. 60 crores and it was ultimately settled at Rs. 55 crores.

**SAIGON**—North Vietnam is evacuating some of its Government offices from Hanoi for fear of U.S. bombing attacks, accordingly to Saigon sources.

**TOKYO** — Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysian Prime Minister told pressmen here the Soviet Union was not an Asian nation and as such should not be invited to Algiers.

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JWT-CC 243

## FOR WOMEN

# She Revived Our Handloom Industry

by Jini Taleyarkhan

INDIA THROUGH THE centuries has had the art of weaving the most exquisite fabrics—but due to extreme economic conditions this art was slowly on the wane and in 1942 it looked as if the handloom industry was on the way out.

But today the Indian handloom fabric is of world renown and the industry is thriving. The credit for this goes to one woman—Mrs. Pupul Jayakar.

To Mrs. Jayakar handloom weaving means people—she calls it the “one hut, one loom industry”. It employs seven million people, the second only to agriculture. Two million yards of cloth are woven yearly and fifteen crores of rupees are earned through trade with foreign countries.

With untiring zeal Mrs. Jayakar has gone from hut to hut. She has put the weaver in touch with the designer,

she has developed the technical side and mingled the old with the new. The weaver who has no access to raw material and has no facilities to sell his product has been put in touch with market agents. Design centres have been set up all over the country and the finest of contemporary art has been made available.

The most striking thing about Pupul Jayakar is her true devotion and admiration for the weaver. “He is a humble and poor man,” she said. “To him his loom is his life.” With great feeling she went on, “The poverty of the handloom weaver is great—his environment is unimaginative and his life monotonous.”

Mrs. Jayakar's home is in New Delhi, where she lives with her husband Manmohan Jayakar. They have a daughter who is married and lives in America. “My home is in New

Delhi, but I'm never in one place for more than ten days, my work takes me to every part of our land,” she told me.

The Indian Handloom Industry is spread over the whole subcontinent and no place is too far and out of the way or inconvenient for Pupul Jayakar to visit—she is everywhere. Rajasthan is the home of the famous Bhandhanis. From Banaras come the beautiful cottons and silks woven with gold and silver thread. The Pattola of Patan (Gujarat) is the last word in craftsmanship and colour and beauty. From the U.P. we have the Jamdanis and the Tuser of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa are amongst some of the best known.

A very interesting thing about the Indian Handloom Industry is the fact that only men weave, and the art is handed down from father to son. The only two places where women also know the art of weaving are Assam and Manipur.

### Unique in Asia

Mrs. Jayakar sees a great future for the handloom industry. In Ahmedabad (Gujarat) with the assistance of the Ford Foundation the Government is constructing a National Design Institute. “When it starts functioning it will be unique in Asia,” Mrs. Jayakar told me. She is Honorary Adviser to the Government of India in connection with the Handloom Industry and is Executive Director of the Export Promotion Council. For all this work she receives the honorarium of one rupee per year.

To the question, “Do you have personal contact with a large number of weavers?” she answered in a most matter-of-fact way, “Oh, yes, three million.”

Mrs. Jayakar told me that it was an urge from within that made her take up the task of reviving this age-old industry, which to her meant giving back life to the people engaged in it. At the start the problem was so enormous that there seemed no point in dwelling on it—she just went along one step at a time observing and meeting the needs of the hour. Very quietly and humbly she said, “I have given my utmost and done my utmost and I do not think of or look for results. That was the only way I felt I could operate. The answer lies in the human heart—we need to search within.”

### HUBERT



“Four years ago he stopped smoking through hypnosis, and he hasn't touched a cigarette since.”

## VIEWPOINT

### Give Us Good Films, Please!

by V. Ramshesh

TODAY, THE FILM INDUSTRY is paralysed. Ridden with a desperate sickness it is showing signs of decay. It continues to give a rapid output of stereotyped pictures, monotonous in content, dull in execution and poor in appeal. Most often they start with a conventional theme, and giving it a few melodramatic twitches arrive at total confusion. Why is there this muddle and chaos?

A film has a two fold purpose. Primarily it is a means of entertainment offering escapist fare to the tired man on the street who after a hard day's work wants a few hours' solid entertainment. More than this, however, a film is an art that can convey immense meaning and aesthetic pleasure. As is a brush to a painter, a chisel to a sculptor, so is a camera to the film maker. The camera can capture life in various moods, explore different expressions, create symbols and show unforgettable images.

Why do our film makers then offer us such pictures, which perhaps they, themselves, would not like to see? When you ask them this, they advance fantastic arguments to justify their claims. Let us take up these.

#### \* FINANCIAL

No financier finances a picture unless it conforms to the routine pattern. Thus it is he who calls the tune while the conscious film maker is content to play second fiddle.

Obviously this should not trouble established veterans like S. Mukerjee, Raj Kapoor, and J. Om Prakash, though for newcomers it is a serious challenge.

#### \* DISTRIBUTOR'S OPPOSITION

The distributor will not buy the picture unless it can be successful. Several pictures therefore lie in the cans. This problem can be solved if a few top producers unite and set up their own distribution network, and help release unconventional films.

#### \* AUDIENCE REACTION

Indian audiences, it is claimed, are unintelligent and mediocre and will not welcome any deviation. That it is ill-founded can be seen from the tremendous success of films like "Door Gagan Ki Chaoon

Men" and "Bandini". If you have treated the audience continuously to rotten stuff, you cannot expect dividends overnight.

#### \* BOX-OFFICE RETURNS

This is a nightmare that confounds the producer. Quite often he starts with good intentions, but getting afraid abandons it, producing a bad dish. The phenomenal success of low budget films like "Dosti", "Shehar Aur Sapna" should dispel these fears.

#### \* GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE

The Government is to be blamed. They should encourage healthy films by financing them and exempting them from taxes. They can also export them. Politics should not be allowed to enter in.

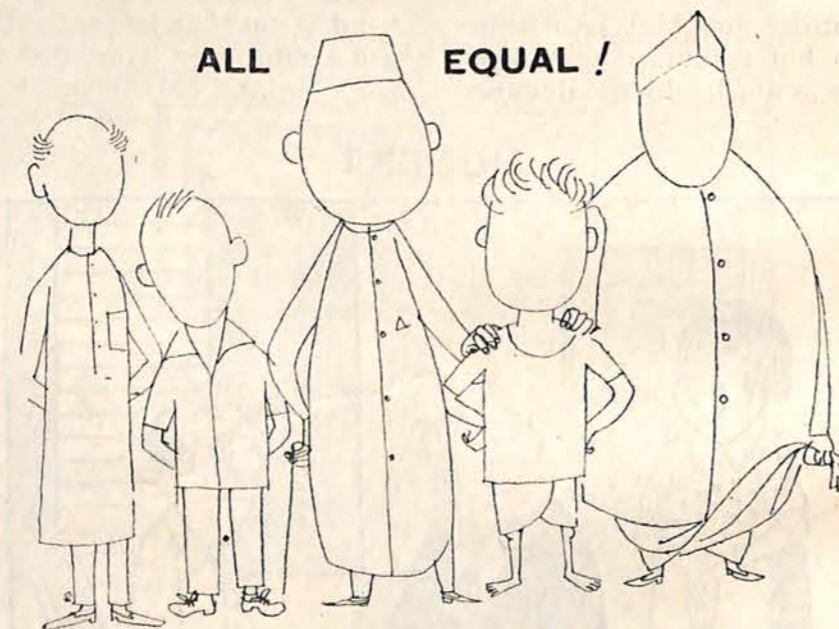
All these difficulties can be solved. Successful producers like Subodh Mukerjee, H. S. Rawail, Dev Anand, Raj Kapoor and others should give

unconventional films. Dev Anand has given "Hum Dono", Raj Kapoor has given "Jagte Raho", and now Sunil Dutta has given "Yaadein". They should repeat their efforts. B. R. Chopra and Bimal Roy are successful in spite of new experiments they try.

The change can be brought about gradually. Will veterans of the film industry redeem their promises? Will big producers like Subodh Mukerjee, Dev Anand, Raj Kapoor, Dileep Kumar and others think afresh? Will unconventional films like "Soorat Aur Seerat" be made more often? Will true artists like Chetan Anand, Rajnish Behal and such others be offered encouragement? Will Bombay produce at least one Satyajit Ray?

These are the questions we would like to ask. It is up to filmmakers to answer them. One thing we, the public, promise. Give us good films and we will never see bad films at all.

Contributions to Viewpoint, representing the views of readers on important topics, should not exceed 500 words. A fee will be paid for those accepted.—Ed.



### INDUSTRY BRINGS PROSPERITY

Rapid and comprehensive industrialisation alone pave the way to national prosperity. Each industry brings economic growth, employment scope and self-sufficiency. Since its inception J. K. Organisation has borne this in mind and today there exists a countrywide network of varied industries and trades all aimed to increase the standard of living and bring self-sufficiency to the Nation.



150 YEARS IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATION

## AFRICAN SOCIALISM—From page 5

ment is wise. "Kenya does not now have a foreign exchange problem, but great care must be exercised to ensure that the steps we take to promote development, including our foreign policy do not create that problem."

One of the great concerns of Kenya's agricultural economy is the maximum utilization of its land. The blueprint is not satisfied merely with the transfer of land from the white man to the black, but is more intensely concerned with its development. There is no greater economic crime in the book than land unused or neglected.

Naturally the flight of foreign capital is a considerable threat to the economy of Kenya. But the "Government would prefer to limit capital flight by building confidence and stimulating co-operation rather than using quantitative controls."

If exceptional circumstances require, the latter will be used.

"The tax structure will not be made prohibitive or confiscatory. Reasonable levels of profit, property accumulation and standards of living are necessary and desirable if a high rate of growth is to be achieved and enjoyed."

#### Asian Investment

"Businessmen in Kenya, many of whom are Asian, who have sizeable amounts of liquid assets, will be encouraged to invest their savings either in their own enterprises or by making loans to development agencies such as the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation and the Kenya Tourist Development Corporation or to the Government itself."

Nationalization is seen as a means rather than an end.

Critical shortages in Kenya at present are:

- (i) Domestic capital;
- (ii) Trained, educated and experienced manpower; and

## CRISIS IN CARIBBEAN—From page 7

ments that capitalize on the failures of existing governments and direct the discontent into the Telangana-type of "armed liberation".

It would, of course, be presumptuous for any nation to think that she can supply good governments as well as economic and military aid. But surely it should not be the prerogative of Castro and Chou En-lai to train

(iii) Foreign exchange.

The immense problem of trained manpower facing Kenya can be recognized by the published figures: of the 22 highly trained surveyors employed by the Government, only two are African and there are 11 vacancies; the Government has 22 hydraulic engineers of whom only one is African, and there are seven vacancies; of the 811 doctors in Kenya, approximately 50 are African; and of the 1569 secondary school teachers, only 364 African.

"The full significance of these figures cannot be realized unless it is appreciated that many more than are now employed will be needed if desired rates of growth are to be achieved."

#### Foreign Aid

In all seriousness the blueprint states that not only are farm managers, forestry officers and others required, but staff is also required "to administer the affairs of Government and even to prepare applications for foreign aid". In this latter field, of course, India has more experts than any other nation!

India herself is short of engineers, doctors and teachers, but if India is to take growing responsibility for the world, it will need to consider the requirements of other nations. If India can export the new type of Indian who goes to serve and help these nations, he will project a completely new image of India in Africa.

Ultimately the success of Kenya's plans will depend on the calibre of her men, their integrity and the motives which stir and move them. With the right type of planners and a healthy political climate, there is no reason why Kenya, with her present policy, should not become the guiding star of the African continent. India and the world will watch Kenya's experiment eagerly, hopefully and, we trust, helpfully.

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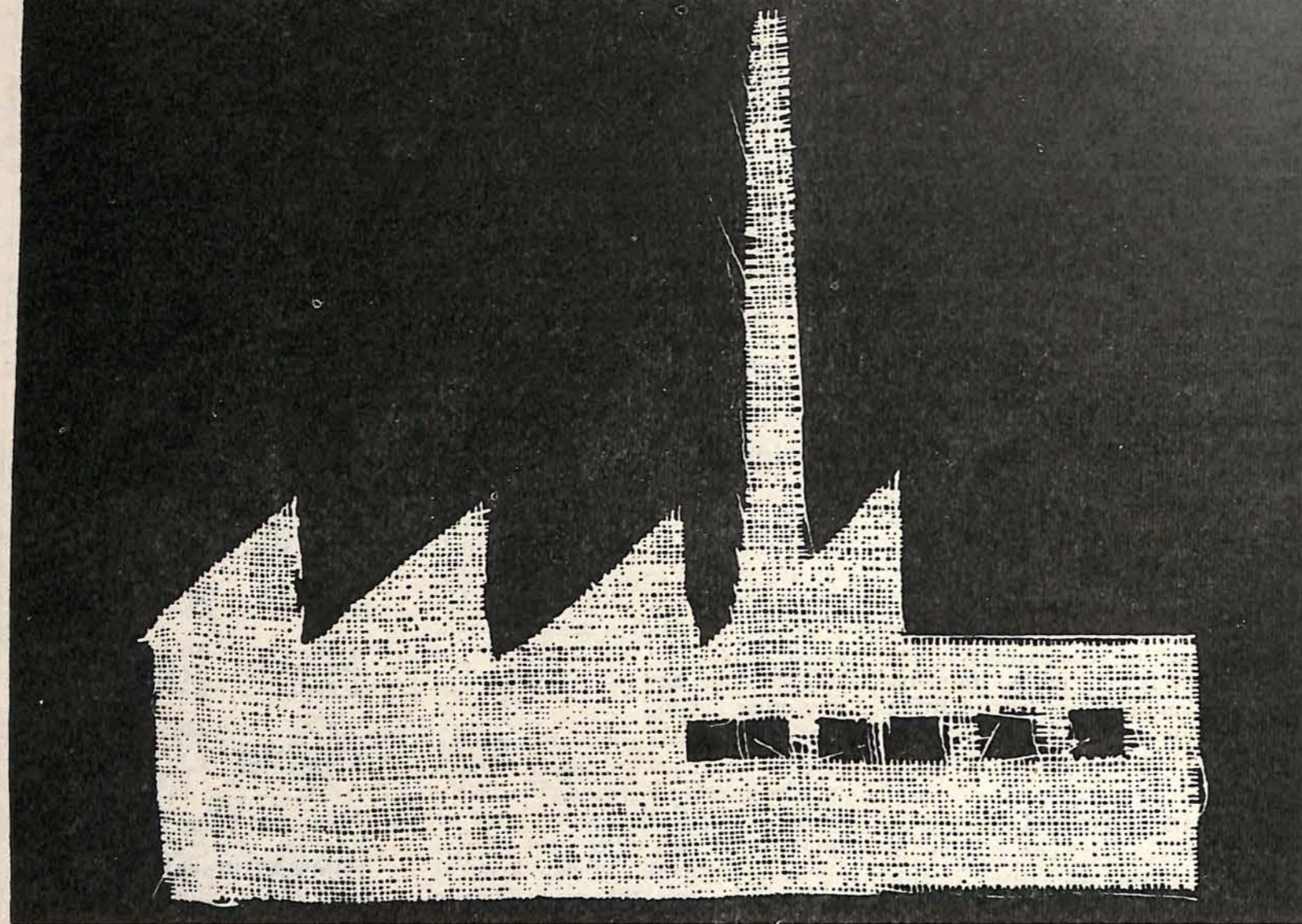
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## This was a life SANT KABIR 1440—1518

NO ONE knows who his parents were nor his exact date of birth.

Legend is that some centuries ago, Niru, a childless Muslim weaver found an abandoned baby on a lotus leaf in a neglected tank at Banaras. As Niru approached, the child greeted him with the words "Ba, Ba". Niru clasped the child to his bosom and rushed to his wife. She was overjoyed and quickly sent for a Maulvi (Muslim Priest), who named the child Kabir ("The Great"), after necessary ceremonies.

The child was to prove worthy of his name. Brought up in a Muslim weaver's home, many took him to be a Muslim and being a disciple of Guru Ramananda, many took him to be a Hindu. Kabir called himself a servant of God and with courage preached the gospel of social equality between communities, classes and castes. He proclaimed: "The Lord dwells in one's heart. Anyone who pines and weeps for him shall realize him."

He refused to accept that Truth and God could ever be the monopoly of a certain creed, class, or caste. He strove for Hindu-Muslim unity through his teachings and poems:

"Jati Pati Puchai Na Koi  
Hari ko Bhaje so Hari ka Hoi"  
"None shall ask your caste.  
He who shall recite the name  
of the Lord,  
Will be claimed by Him."

Kabir followed the weaver's profession and though poor was generous. One day he went to market with the cloth but when he saw some men shivering in the cold he gave it away.

Many a trick was played to test him. Once a beautiful courtesan was sent to tempt him. The sight of Kabir converted her.

Kabir was an excellent poet and a wonderful singer. The poems are well known for their simplicity though rich in meaning and unique in composition. His Songs are full of mysticism of the highest order.

He went far and wide to preach the gospel of love for the Creator and for fellowmen.

Kabir firmly believed that rituals and outward show of holiness never made anyone pure. "In whose heart dwelleth the Lord performeth the best worship," he said.

It is said that when Kabir died, his followers, both Hindus and Muslims, fought amongst themselves, as to whether he should be cremated by Hindu custom or buried as is the Muslim custom. To their amazement when they went to take the body, they found only flowers instead. The dispute was settled by dividing the flowers between them equally.

## Vietnam and the Role of Japan by Masahide Shibusawa

Mr. Shibusawa is one of Japan's outstanding young leaders. His great grandfather, Viscount Shibusawa, is known as the founder of modern industrial Japan. His father was post-war Finance Minister. Mr. Shibusawa left for Tokyo this week after a visit to India.—Ed.

ONE OF THE gravest problems in the world today, and especially for Asia, is the war in Vietnam. The majority of intellectuals believe that the United States should pull her forces out to begin with, and then determine things in the conference room instead of on the battlefield. I am extremely doubtful that this kind of thinking will really solve the Vietnamese problem. Of course I can understand the fear of war and desire for peace. But this attitude is liable to draw us into the defeatist's assumption that any solution is acceptable as long as the danger of bloodshed is avoided, because war as a phenomenon itself is so horrible.

There can be a more miserable ending to a man's life than death. There can be the wrong kind of peace in place of war. I do not want the war to expand in Vietnam. I am gambling my whole life in the fight for peace. My life is not my own. I have given my body, my time, my abilities, my money, my house, everything for this battle. But the mere termination of military action is not the solution. An escapist solution, wrought out of horror upon seeing the flames of war, will only lead to a more tragic ending on a larger scale.

### The Basic Disease

American and British newspapers and magazines often carry the idea that Vietnam ought to be abandoned in order to put up a defence in Thailand. I was in Thailand last summer. Next to Japan and Malaysia, it is one of the most prosperous countries in Asia. The nation as a whole is opposed to Communism. But most of the Thais say that they would be forced to surrender to Communist China, rather than go through a tragic civil war like that of Vietnam.

The Vietnamese problem is a symptom of the basic disease in mankind today. The very seriousness of the Vietnamese war presents a historic opportunity to get at the basic disease and cure it. Unless this is done, neither advance nor retreat on the battlefield will solve the problem.

If Japan is going to go as far as to mediate, she should go beyond that to the more basic, global solution and strive to present this wider foundation, if she expects to be effective.

Some nation must keynote the thinking that includes every class and every race and which will lead all of mankind, Left and Right, East and West, into the next stage of history. Unless this is done, mankind is faced with only two other alternatives, that of obliteration or dictatorship. It is this theme that Moral Re-Armament presents, in an attempt to pioneer a new era in world history.

### Without Appeasement

The world is looking for the secret of constructive unity without appeasement. Japan is in a unique position to give this. She has in her history the experience of creating a new unity: Before the Meiji Restoration, Japan was a deeply divided nation. Socially, there were distinct class lines, dividing the warriors, farmers, artisans, and tradesmen from each other. Ideologically, there were factions loyal to the Shogunate, those loyal to the Emperor, those wanting to open Japan to the world, and those opposed to any foreign contact.

But with the Meiji Restoration, a clear goal of modernizing Japan was given to the nation, and the entire population of about thirty million at that time stopped their conflict and started moving together in this direction. It did not mean that all thirty million became saintly, but they all started moving in the same direction. As a result, Japan modernized in a miraculous way. She changed fundamentally the flow of world history, which had been based on the superior position of the white man.

Japan and the entire world is at the stage where it needs to experience something like the Meiji Restoration. If this is realized, then science and the various sources of energy can all be mobilized by the entire world to develop the surplus, untapped resources of Latin America, Australia, and all continents.

# Australia and New Zealand

by Rajmohan Gandhi

AUSTRALASIA describes Australia and New Zealand. The Indian Ocean washes Australia's western coast. Canberra and Wellington are regional members of ECAFE, the UN's Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

And the time may soon come when Australia and New Zealand become members of the Afro-Asian family. It is not likely that they will attend the forthcoming Algiers meet, but there are good reasons for Afro-Asian countries to invite them to future gatherings.

The first reason is geographic. Looked at from London the two countries may be "down under". But from Djakarta and Manila they are next shore, if not next door. Geologists say they once formed part of the sprawling Asian land mass.

## Trading Pattern

Australia is much closer to Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia than Japan and Korea are, not to speak of Morocco and Algeria. From Djakarta it takes 200 jet minutes to Australia's northern coast.

The second reason is trade. There has been a remarkable shift in Australia's trading pattern in recent years. In 1939 half of Australia's exports went to the U.K., and 11 per cent to Asia. In 1962 19 per cent went to the U.K. and 33 per cent to Asia. Today Japan alone buys as much from Australia as Britain. The next biggest Asian customer is China, which in the last three years bought 300 million bushels of Australian wheat, paying £A200 million (Rs. 200 crores) in hard currency.

After Japan and China, Australia's main Asian buyers are Malaysia, Hong Kong and India. By any standard of trade emphasis, Australia is an Asian country. In contrast, there are quite a few Asian lands which by trade are linked more with Europe and America.

The third reason is Australian partnership in Asia's development. Up to June 1964, Asian nations sharing in the Colombo Plan received £A55.5 million in Australian gifts. Australia also sent at her expense over 700 Australian technicians and experts to modernize agriculture and industry in Asian countries.

India has been helped in war and famine by New Zealand and Australia. Blankets, woollen socks, rifles and milk products were rushed by Australians when the Chinese attacked us in 1962. More impressive even than what was given was the speed and spontaneity with which it was given.

During our recent food shortage Australia gave us 150,000 tons of wheat. In a heart-warming gesture, the Australian public persuaded their Government to make the gift.

Three times the size of India and possessing vast mineral resources, Australia has a monumental potential for industrial expansion. This expansion could be geared to Asia's needs. Heavy machinery for industry, tractors, fertilizers, pesticides and new methods for agriculture and medical equipment could be manufactured for Asian countries.

The fourth reason is that Australia and New Zealand are good social democracies. Each has a healthy and competitive two-party system, a tradition of responsible citizenship on the part of the individual and of responsibility for the welfare of the common man on the part of government.

## Welcome to Afro-Asia

There are deficiencies, of course, in these two lands, but I do not intend to discuss them here. What I do feel like stating here is my belief that Afro-Asian lands may gain considerably by welcoming to their fold these democracies. With closer contact their example might prove infectious, and who can deny that some of our Afro-Asian nations could do with a bit of honest-to-goodness democracy and straightforward social welfare?

Equally, Asians and Africans might find opportunities of helping Australians and New Zealanders resolve some of their difficulties.

To strike a note more directly nationalist, Australasian participation in Afro-Asian affairs will be a major step towards correcting the India-China balance in the Afro-Asian world. Today this balance is tilted in China's favour.

The fifth, and perhaps most important, reason is the chance it would give Afro-Asian nations to create a sane and satisfactory multi-racial society.

The Afro-Asian concept derived

most of its passion from a desire to end the world's injustice and inequalities. Asians and Africans were men, too, we felt, and as able as Europeans and Americans to look after themselves and to defeat man's enemies. "We will be free," we said. "Leave us alone, and we will play our part to take humanity forward."

Here is our chance. To demonstrate an association of nations where people of all races—black, brown, yellow and white — live in unity and friendship could be the task of the Afro-Asian world. It has not been done anywhere else in the world. Yet this challenging undertaking would be the perfect next step after the struggle for freedom and recognition.

## Common Aims

Not all will hail the inclusion of New Zealand and Australia in the Afro-Asian family. It is doubtful if every Australasian will be in favour. Some will certainly want to hang a "No Whites" sign outside the Afro-Asian club. But I believe many in Asia and Africa will want to create an atmosphere where an Australian, Indonesian, Indian, Thai and African feel they share common needs and aims.

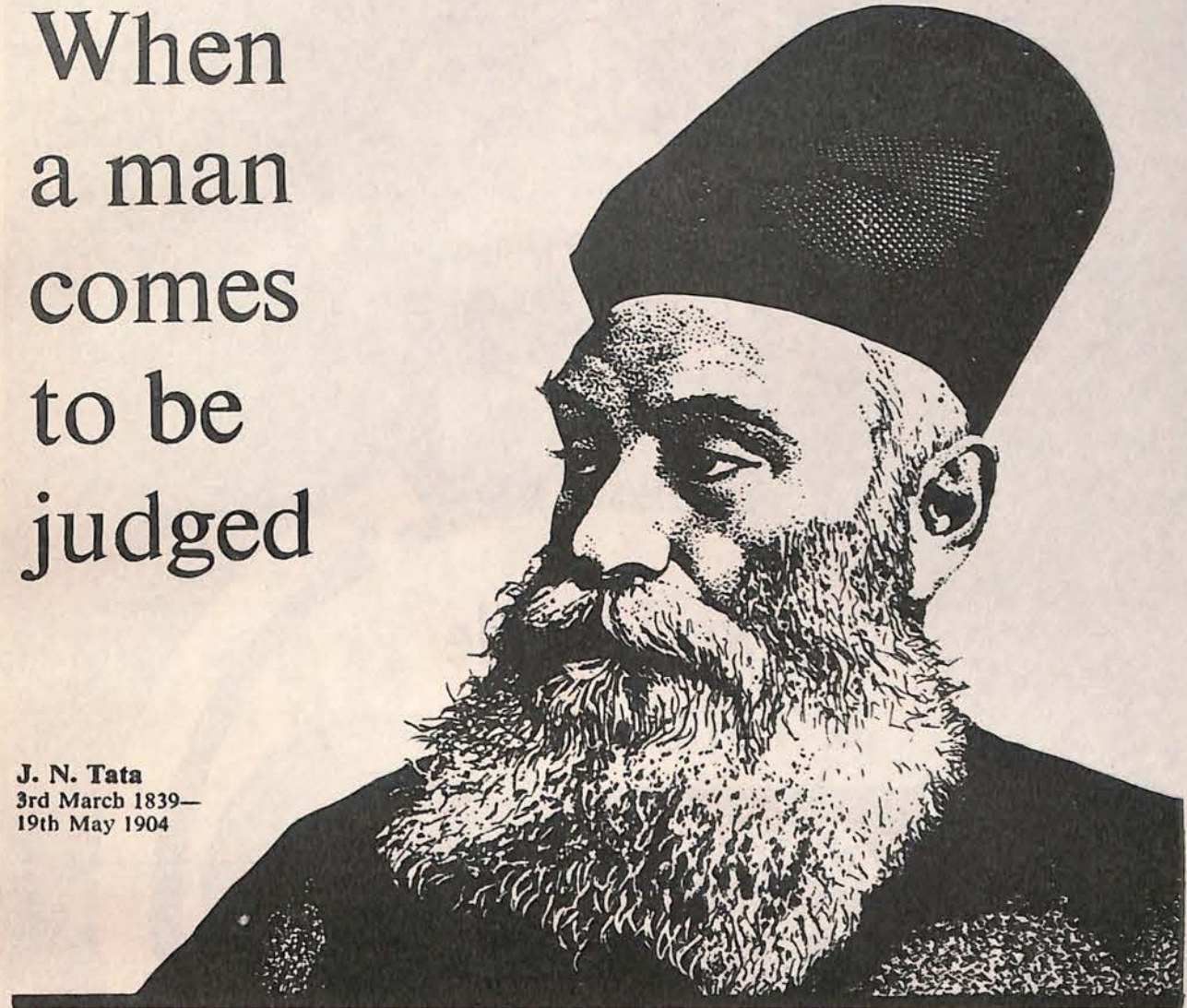
To exclude nations from Asia merely because they are white would be not only unwise from the angles of politics, economics and defence. It would be wrong.

"Your sweat, yes, but not your face or company. Get out!" It was this attitude of high-caste toward the untouchable and white toward black against which man's conscience rebelled. It is no different when we say to the white man, "Your cash, yes. Your skills, yes. Your sweat, too, if you want to give it. And, please, your guns and bombs. But your friendship and company, never! Get out, white man!"

Those who preach hate and division and say that black, brown and yellow can live in peace but not when white joins them are plain evil, and the last thing they want is the greatness of black, brown or yellow. What they really want is for man to lose faith in fellow man and in his own conscience and surrender himself and his fate and the future of his country to their designs.

# When a man comes to be judged

J. N. Tata  
3rd March 1839—  
19th May 1904



When a man comes to be judged by the public opinion of his own country or by the public opinion of the world, he is judged not by the wealth he possesses, nor by the power he has obtained and wields; he is judged by the services he has rendered to humanity. Jamsetji Tata's services were not merely the physical installations which he built or founded or envisaged, but the proof he gave that all things were possible in India, and the example he furnished that the human mind, at its best, recognises no limits and that the frontiers of knowledge and of experience are never final but exist only to be challenged and crossed.

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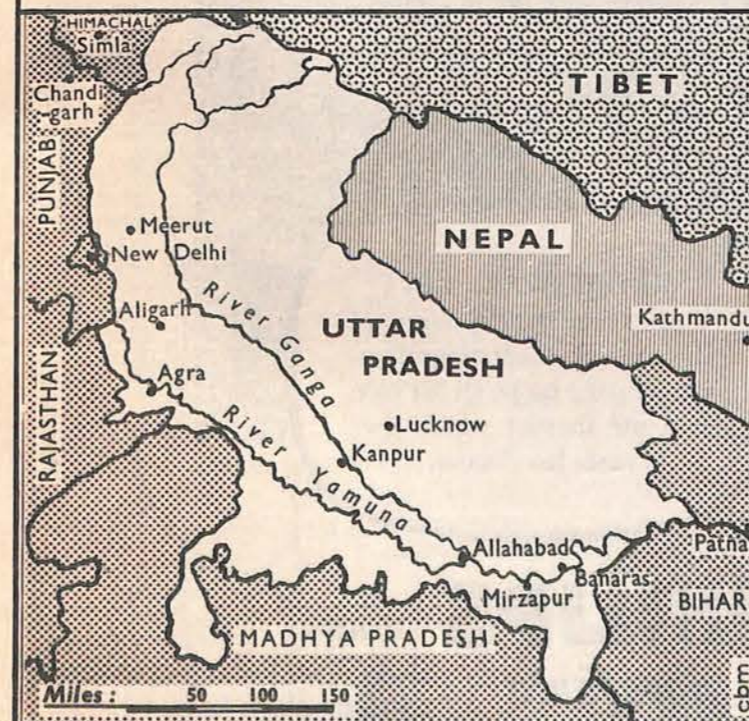
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## WILL INDIA'S STRATEGIC GIANT AWAKE?

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## UTTAR PRADESH



Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani  
Chief Minister of U. P.

Friday  
May 28  
1965

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