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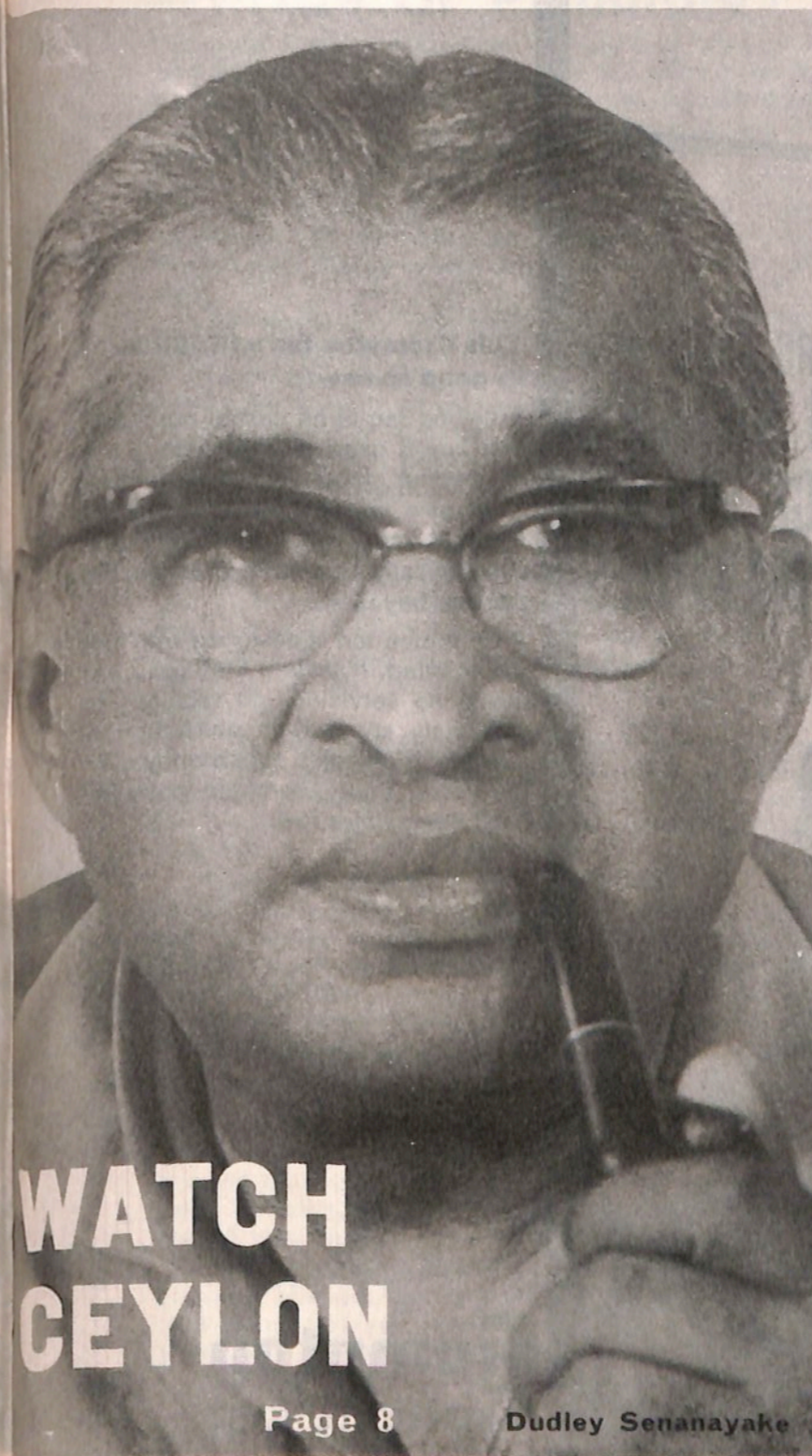
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WEEKLY



**WATCH
CEYLON**

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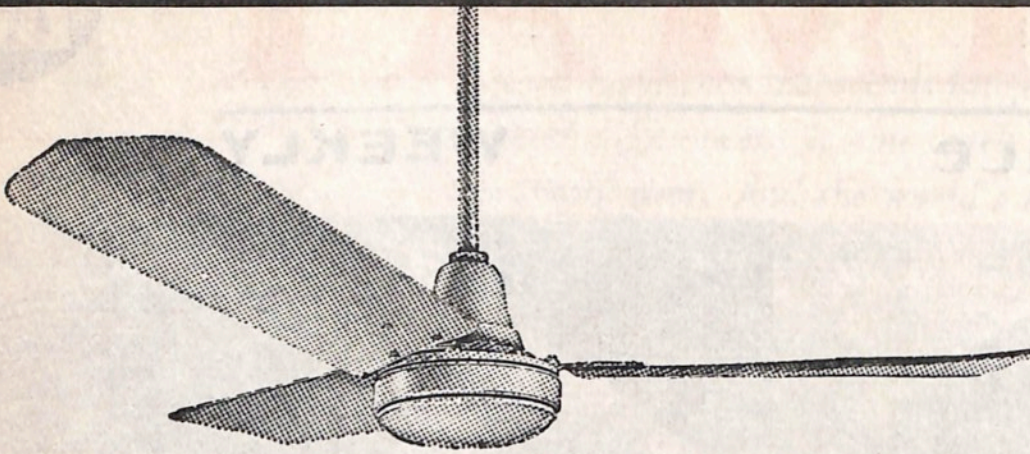
Dudley Senanayake



Sirimavo Bandaranaike

Friday
March 19
1965

NEW LOOK AT COLD WAR Page 7



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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, March 19, 1965

Vol. I No. 20

Pride Or Principle?

CONGRESS PRESIDENT Kamaraj has said that "on principle" his Party would not consider the offer made by the dissident Kerala Congress Party to support them in a coalition. He may have found it easier had he not made the indiscreet statement during the elections that he was even prepared to take back into the Congress fold the Left Communist leader, E.M.S. Namboodiripad (an erstwhile Congressman) but never the 15 Congress MLAs whose rebellion led to the recent crisis.

Mr. Kamaraj's "principle" is hard to discern apart from the rather obvious explanation of pride.

One man who did not stand on his pride and rub salt in the wounds of the routed Congress Party was the 87-year-old strong man of Kerala, Mannath Padmanabhan. It was largely his backing which swelled the dissident Congressmen's legislature representation from 15 to 24.

With his angry stand against "corrupt" and "arrogant" Congress rule vindicated by the electorate, Padmanabhan came forward with the statesman-like proposal that all democratic parties should, in the face of the common danger, (40 Left Communist MLAs elected), unite to give Kerala a popular Government.

The dissident Kerala Congress Party President, K. M. George, followed with his own offer of "selfless help and co-operation" in forming a coalition with the official Congress—subject to the alliance his Party had with the Muslim League.

Such an administration could count on at least 60 solid seats in the new Assembly. With 29 of the Left Communists still—and indefinitely—under detention, the coalition would have had a sure majority of 8 in the 133-seat House.

It could have been a workable arrangement, but it would have meant the swallowing of Congress pride.

Mr. Kamaraj, however, replied with his lofty statement that the Congress Parliamentary Board in New Delhi had "unanimously" rejected the offer. He stressed that this was yet another "unanimous" Congress decision, evidently to counter rumours that several were, in fact, sympathetic towards a coalition.

Mr. Kamaraj, so strong on the "principle" of not forgiving the rebels, has thereby apparently guaranteed President's rule until general elections in 1967. Was this, perhaps, his intention?

There is another solution.

For the sake of their state and their people why should not the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee reconsider the offer of their former colleagues? Without interference by the High Command in New Delhi, an interference which has not been marked by success in the past, both sides could architect a solid administration. The two parties could surprise the nation by leaving the past behind and, with a larger

view of what Kerala can show the world, getting on with building a clean, strong and united State.

The rebels have made the first move. Will the K.P.C.C. be big enough to respond?

Riding A Tiger

THE SINO-PAKISTAN border pact and the visit of President Ayub Khan to Peking are two more milestones along a perilous journey.

President Ayub appears to disregard the lesson so bitterly learned by India in dealing with Red China. Her protestations of friendship, her professions of belief in *Panch Sheela*, her statement that the Kashmir issue "should not be allowed to be made use of by external forces to create new tensions" all proved to be calculated counterfeits.

Does President Ayub know the forces he favours? Let him beware. It is a reckless game. The President may have heard that:

*There was a young lady of Riga,
Who went for a ride on a tiger,
They returned from the ride
With the lady inside,
And a smile on the face of the tiger.*

Civil Rights

WHAT COLOUR is God's skin?

No man—be he black, white, brown or yellow—can answer that question. No answer is needed. The question alone confronts one with the ultimate fact that what really counts is not colour. It is character.

Firmly, the late President Kennedy tackled the question of civil rights in the United States. President Johnson made the passage of the Civil Rights Bill through Congress one of his first concerns. Still, today's headlines make it clear that, in Mississippi at least, not all the rights enacted are yet enforced.

But who can point a finger? The same can be said of many rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution: enacted yet not enforced. The same can be said for many nations in Asia, Africa and Europe. Sometimes it is for his colour that a man's rights are withheld; sometimes it is class, creed or caste.

The world does not really doubt that in time the right of every American to vote, to work, to live, to eat, to journey, how and where he wishes, will be enforced. But America and the world must see that the real conflict is not between black and white. It is between right and wrong.

Negro and white need to look beyond the haze of their own involvement, beyond Montgomery and Selma, and consider the civil rights still wanting in every continent: the right of every mother's child to go to bed fed and warm, the right to work and learn, the right to speak freely, to worship and, even more important, to *obey* God.

Black, white, Johnson, King and Wallace, all are needed to liquidate the hate and hunger that enslave men all over the world.

Briefly Speaking...

The love of liberty is the love of others, the love of power is the love of ourselves.

WILLIAM HAZLITT 1778-1830

Loud and Clear

SENATOR RALPH W. YARBOROUGH who comes from Texas wrote of HIMMAT last week (see *Letters*), "It is a loud and clear voice of reason and justice."

Senator Yarborough's own "loud and clear voice of reason and justice" was heard last week on the Civil Rights issue. When Governor Wallace of Alabama had broken up one Civil Rights march and was threatening to break up another, the Senator thundered from Washington, "Shame on you, Governor Wallace. This is not the American way. This is not the Southern way of life."

Words and Language

SPEAKING a few days before the language disturbances broke out in Madras, Mr. Kripalani did his level best to reassure South India. He said that "India's children of the upper classes learn English with their mother's milk. The very first words they learn to speak were 'mama' and 'daddy' and not 'amma' or 'baba' or their equivalents in other Indian languages. The educated addressed even their dogs in English, as if Indian dogs could understand no Indian language. In these circumstances, to expect that by a fiat of the Union

Government, or any State Government, Hindi would be used against the wishes of the mass of educated Indians would be absurd."

Asians on Vietnam

MISS MARGUERITE HIGGINS, one of America's foremost columnists, devotes more than half her syndicated feature last week to HIMMAT's article, "Dangerous Thinking in the West", which attacked Mr. Lippmann's proposal to sell out Asia. Miss Higgins' column appears in 75 news papers. Miss Higgins quotes HIMMAT to show that Asians do not subscribe universally to the theme of Secretary-General U Thant who has also advocated appeasement of the Communist offensive in Vietnam.

Miss Higgins also quotes a Malaysian official who says, "U Thant represents no Asian but himself. U Thant claims there was no trouble in South Vietnam until the Americans sent in advisers, but everyone who travels to Vietnam—as I have—and talks to Communist deserters and prisoners, knows that Ho started sending trained Viet Minh officials south in 1959 before the Americans were even thinking of intervening."

R.M.L.

The week in India

NEW DELHI—A second no-confidence motion referring to the Union Government's handling of the Mitra-Patnaik corruption case in Orissa charged it with bringing constitutional government into contempt by putting party above national interest and attempting to shield those guilty of abuse of power.

TRIVANDRUM—It is reported here that the Congress Party's Parliamentary Board meeting in Delhi unanimously decided that the Party should not form a ministry but function as the Opposition. Chances of any party forming a stable ministry are considered very thin and President's Rule will likely continue in Kerala until 1967.

NEW DELHI—Home Minister Nanda announced that the 29 Left Communist detenus who had been elected in the recent Kerala poll would not be released on grounds of national security. Speakers from many parties in a Lok Sabha debate demanded the Communist Party be banned.

BANGALORE—A move has been initiated by twelve Mysore Congressmen to call an all-India conference of dissident Congressmen before the end of this session of Parliament.

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Shastri announced that he will visit the Soviet Union on May 12 and the United States on June 2. He will also attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London beginning June 17. He may then proceed directly to the Algiers conference on June 29.

CHANDIGARH—The police are said to have solved the murder of Punjab Chief Minister P. S. Kairon. The "master-mind" of the well-organized conspiracy is believed to have crossed into Nepal after the crime. Over 7,000 people have been interrogated and the movements of 4,600 vehicles checked.

SRINAGAR—165 persons leading the Plebiscite Front in the Kashmir Valley were arrested under Defence of India Rules for instigating activities threatening public order. The Front is a party that wants Kashmir's status to be decided by popular plebiscite.

NEW DELHI—Finance Minister Krishnamachari announced that industrial concerns run by the public sector, excluding Hindustan Steel, had made a profit of Rs. 180 million in 1963-64 compared to Rs. 145 million the previous year.

Bank of China: Tell Us the Truth

by R. M. Lala

COMPROMISE, contradictions and now the no-confidence motion. These have been the steps that have marked the 9-month-old Government of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. It began with high hopes, but schizophrenia, defined as a disease marked by "disconnection between thought, feelings and actions", soon took it over.

We were told that the Government would launch a war against corruption. Yet the Union Government has seriously compromised on Orissa. The Congress Parliamentary Board had decided that the status of Goa would be undisturbed for ten years and a Cabinet Minister was authorized to make that statement. Yet local satraps are allowed to lay a claim on Goa's immediate merger. We gaoled the Left Communists at home but we play their game abroad by ignoring Communist aggression in South Vietnam.

This panorama of compromise and contradiction indicates that the Indian ship of state is sailing without a compass. It is a situation that should concern every true patriot.

Back-Pedalling on Orissa

Fear of local Congress bosses persuaded the Cabinet Sub-Committee to give an unduly favourable verdict on charges against two former Chief Ministers of Orissa. It is now known that a judicial inquiry into the charges was about to be held last November. The name of Supreme Court Judge Mr. N. Rajagopala Ayyangar (who is inquiring into ex-Chief Minister Bakshi's case) was even considered to conduct the judicial inquiry against Messrs. Patnaik and Mitra. Mr. Nanda is believed to have proposed it and Mr. Shastri at first, is said to have agreed.

Then came the pressure from within the Party—and the compromise.

They converted the judicial inquiry into a Cabinet inquiry. One compromise led to another. The tangled web was woven from that moment. Now that the Orissa report is out, the bill for their compromise is being presented.

The Orissa affair was and is a moral issue. No doubt, with its majority, the Government will be able to withstand the no-confidence motion in Parliament. But it is doubtful if it can withstand the no-confidence felt by the Indian people.

Tell the Truth

Mr. Nanda has imprisoned the leadership of the Left Communists and has kept his word not to release them, even in Kerala. Whilst in Parliament last week he tried to differentiate between the Right and the Left Communists—making out that the former were patriots and the latter were not—the Right Communists were defending their Leftist friends on the floor of the same House and demanding their release.

The true test of whether Mr. Nanda's differentiation is justified will be the release of the C.B.I. report on the Bank of China. That report is the litmus paper which will reveal whether the difference between Rightists and Leftists is as great as Mr. Nanda makes out. The report will show whether the Right Communists also drew "overdrafts" from Communist China. One newspaper editor who now champions the Rightists is widely believed to have been involved. An M.P. has alleged in the House that Right Communist Chairman S. A. Dange has himself received "overdrafts". If this is so, in the eyes of the Indian nation there should be no difference, and the Home Minister will be well advised to stop making out that there is.

The Bank of China report, if disclosed, is expected to embarrass the Congress Party too, for it is alleged in the House that one Congress M.P. from Bengal has been a recipient of "overdrafts" from China and there is likelihood of some others connected with the Congress Party also being beneficiaries.

Tell us the truth, Mr. Nanda, and the nation will be behind you in cleaning up this mess. The longer the lid is kept on, the greater will be the price to be paid. It is not inconceivable that the Bank of China report may also leak out and be tabled in Parliament.

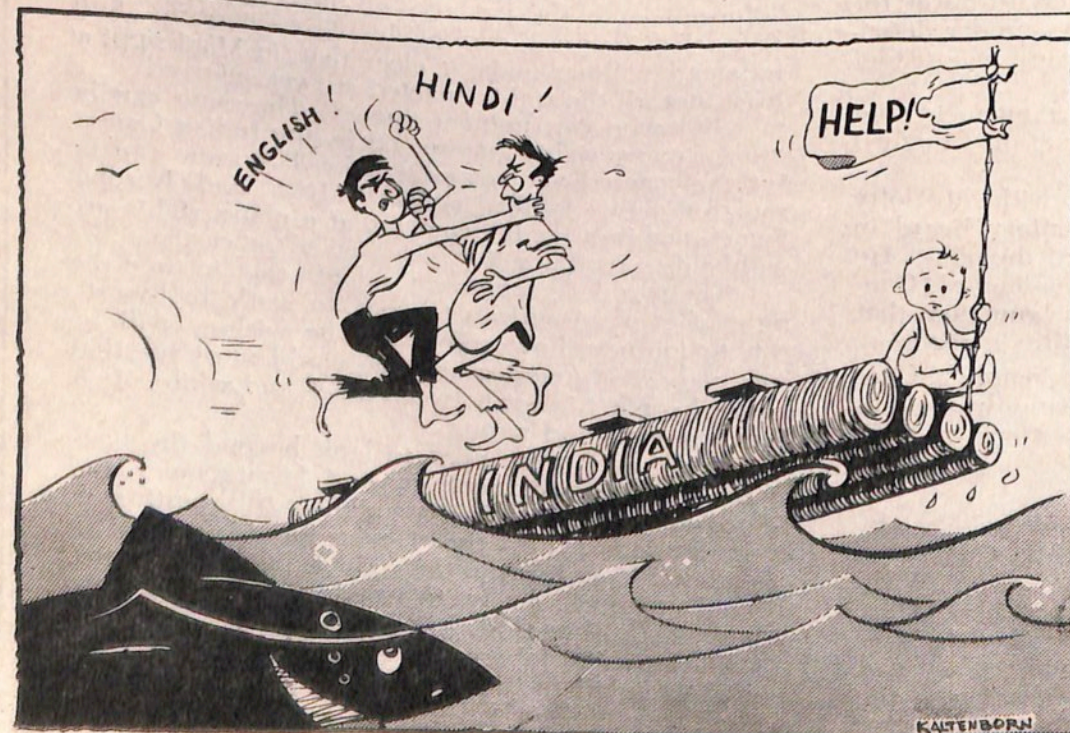
Whilst the Government was busy at home with these issues, India, one of the three members of the International Control Commission, joined with Poland to accuse the United States of breaking the 1954 Geneva agreement by bombing North Vietnam. India takes no cognizance of the fact—as Canada has in a dissenting note—that American raids are a direct result of Communist aggression. In fact the Government of North Vietnam announced a few days back its open determination "actively to support the struggle in the south to liberate South Vietnam". A sovereign state is being undermined by its neighbour.

How Blind Can Delhi Be?

And it is not the only government that North Vietnam may be undermining. A Member of Parliament has asked in the Lok Sabha whether two governments believed to have given funds through their consulates and embassies, to subvert the Indian nation, are North Vietnam and Indonesia. And yet our representative on the International Control Commission does not utter a word about the subversion and the aggression committed by North Vietnam in South Vietnam. How blind can Delhi be?

We have witnessed this month the spectacle of the State Assembly of Maharashtra passing a resolution that Goa should be merged with the State. Within a matter of days the Mysore Assembly followed with a resolution

Continued on page 8



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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New View on the Cold War

"COLD WAR" is an unpopular term in India. We feel we are above it. For a long time we considered ourselves the fortunate "uncommitted" who could tell the Big Powers, especially the Western nations, what to do and what not to do.

We were shaken out of our "Olympian" superiority when Communist China battered our defences in the North East. The cold war was at our door—and it was hot.

The cold war continues as China carries on her ideological offensive against India. It is inside our country too where sections of the Communist Party put loyalty to revolutionary Communism above loyalty to nation.

"The cold war," says Mr. Evan Luard, editor of a new book* of the same title, "is a state of intensive competition, political, economic and ideological, which yet falls below the threshold of armed conflict between states.... Normal usage presupposes that the two parties consist of 'Western' powers and political parties on the one hand, and 'Communist' powers and parties on the other."

A re-appraisal of the cold war is essential because of the complicating factors of the past five years.

Hot Spots

In the initial stages after the Second World War it was clearly a struggle between the Anglo-American and Soviet Blocs. The Communist Bloc was a monolithic unity, and European powers acknowledged the leadership of the U.S.A. But "Polycentrism"—the tendency of members of each bloc to go their way according to their reading of their own national interests—is a phenomenon in both East and West. "The development of nuclear weapons and its consequences for basic strategy, and the unexpected recovery in the vitality of the European nation state," have led to a conflict of interest between European nations and the United States.

France, for example, would not like to leave the decision of peace and war in the hands of another country. She does not trust America to risk nuclear war for the sake of Europe

* **Cold War: A Re-appraisal.**
Edited by Evan Luard,
published by Thames and Hudson.

alone, especially if such involvement means her own physical obliteration.

The Communist Bloc has suffered a similar split. China would like to use the nuclear strength of the U.S.S.R. for advancing her own ideological and strategic designs in Asia. She must have been piqued and shocked when the Russians not only refused to play her game in crises such as in the Taiwan Straits, but actually withdrew all aid with a view to preventing her from becoming a nuclear power.

Russia wants to use her nuclear strength in order to arrive at some agreement with the U.S.A. It would

Under the Lens

give her time and resources to meet the insistent demand of her people for more consumer goods. She wants to freeze the cold war by accommodation with America, and pursue the objectives of the cold war by trade, economic competition and political and ideological penetration. In any case, she is not prepared to risk nuclear war.

The stalemate, however, even in the Russian view, does not extend to the nations of Asia and Africa. Speaking to the Third World Conference of Journalists, Khrushchev said, as reported in *Pravda* on October 27, 1963: "Peaceful co-existence between states with different social orders is necessary and possible. But this does not in any way mean that there should be peaceful co-existence between oppressed peoples and their foreign enslavers, or between the workers and their exploiters... We render support to the people who are fighting for their independence, for their liberation."

The hot spots of the cold war have shifted from Europe to Asia. This is the next decisive area of struggle for hegemony and control.

The Sino-Soviet dispute serves only to reinforce this transfer of arena. For China's immediate aims relate to South and South East Asia. It is true that Russia wishes to avoid the risk of escalation such as in Vietnam and Laos. But Chinese pressure is forcing Russia to adopt a more aggres-

sive cold war policy. The recent visit of Kosygin to North Vietnam confirms this.

The implications for India are obvious. Though Russia would not like to lose her influence over India, she will never again allow a situation where she has to choose to support India as against Communist China.

It is important for us also to realize the different significance that is attached by democratic states and Communist states to the phenomenon of cold war. As Sir William Hayter points out in his paper on "The Cold War and the Future",—"The Moscow declaration of 1960, still accepted as authoritative by both sides of the (Sino-Soviet) dispute, lays down that "peaceful co-existence of countries with differing social system does not mean reconciliation of Socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle."

Cold War Over India?

We are likely to witness two types of Communist attempts in Asia—one by the Chinese, who will attempt to use local Communist parties to promote confusion that will ultimately create the basis for an armed struggle, and the other by the Russians, who will eschew violence to start with but will help "in the gradual penetration of key organs of government, or the penetration of other parties, or the capture of the leadership of popular movements whose original or ostensible aims had nothing to do with Communism, or eventually, the support of guerrilla forces."

United States policy is not yet clear. Will she extend the area of accommodation with the U.S.S.R. to include Asia? Reverses in South Vietnam and pressure of Soviet aid to North Vietnam might force her into this position. If she does, India is in great danger.

This would alter the nature of the choice. From a contest between a democratic and a Communist way of life, it would become an uncontested struggle between Russia and China to capture India. The cold war between East and West would become a cold war between Russia and China over India.

R. VAITHESWARAN

WATCH CEYLON

Turbulent Island Goes to the Polls

by Our Special Correspondent

ON MARCH 22 Ceylon goes to the polls. Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party claims the issue is between "socialism and capitalism". Dudley Senanayake of the opposition United National Party warns that the choice is "totalitarianism or democracy". Where does the truth lie?

On December 3 last year Mr. C. P. de Silva, a senior member of Mrs. Bandaranaike's cabinet, and at one time Acting Prime Minister, crossed the floor of Parliament, taking 13 other members with him. The Government collapsed. He would not be party, he said, to her Press Bill, which aimed at nationalizing Ceylon's newspapers. He accused her of being a captive of "forces of totalitarian reaction".

Accusation

Soon after, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Hugh Fernandes, took the same path. Fernandes made the startling accusation that a Government Party Senator had offered him the post of Ambassador to Moscow at the time he was judging the legality of the Opposition bid to block the Press Bill. He joined Senanayake's U.N.P.

So concerned has Mrs. Bandaranaike now become about future defections that she has extracted a pledge from each of her Party's candidates that, should they in the future desert to the Opposition, they will resign their seat in Parliament before doing so.

Ceylon's sophisticated capital, Colombo, has long been a breeding ground of turbulent politics. None of the five Governments elected since Independence in 1947 has finished its term of office. It is doubtful that the sixth will be strong enough to pull this lush island out of its economic doldrums. Given a stable, vigorous government, Ceylon's abounding natural resources could provide amply for her 10.7 million people. She produces goods the world wants, and would benefit from a steady stream of foreign exchange.

But the stream has almost dried up. Unemployment is at an all-time high. So is the price index. Exports are falling and the trade gap is getting wider. Her biggest earner of foreign exchange, the rubber crop, is being bartered to China for rice in a deal which some consider to be more political than economic.

But discussion of these vital issues has faded into the background in this election campaign. Instead, the loud-speakers blare charges and counter-charges— "Marxist", "reactionary", "totalitarian", "capitalist". Slogans have replaced debate. Fear has the upper hand. "If the Marxists take over here," cries a monk from a platform, "Buddhism will face another Tibet." Another insists, "There is no conflict between Marxism and Buddhism. We must save Buddhism from the capitalists."

Differences

It is doubtful that Mrs. Bandaranaike foresaw this furore last June when she sought a coalition with the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samaj. Others in her party did, and tried to keep the L.S.S.P.'s leader, Dr. Martin Perera, in his place as a minor partner. Deaf to their protests, she made him Finance Minister.

When it came to allocating coalition candidates for the next election, many tried to hold the Trotskyites to the 12 seats they had won in 1960. The ensuing fight almost shattered the coalition. Finally Perera thoughtfully suggested that they "leave it to

the discretion of the Prime Minister". All agreed—reluctantly. When the lists were published Perera's men had captured 24 constituencies under the banner of their own Party, and in 71 of the remaining 100 constituencies his sympathisers stood under the banner of the S.L.F.P.

The many differences that existed between the Trotskyites and the S.L.F.P. in the days of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister's assassinated husband, have been allowed to fade. This may have been inevitable in order to achieve a coalition, but the Trotskyite image is the one that has emerged strongest out of the union.

Depends on Trotskyites

Before her husband's death, the Prime Minister was a housewife with no interest or connection with politics. She was not even a member of his Party. She avoided the political rough and tumble of the House of Representatives and chose instead to be nominated by the Governor-General to the Senate. Now she feels confident enough to contest a seat in the House.

Many of her husband's trained and trusted lieutenants, such as de Silva and Fernandes, have left her to join the Opposition. This has made her even more dependent on the ideas and energy of Dr. Perera's Trotskyites, and the shadowy Felix Bandaranaike, her deputy in Defence and External Affairs.

Facing her is the formidable force of Senanayake's United National Party who are running 116 candidates for the 151 seats up for election. He has an electoral no-contest agreement with the 32 candidates of C. P. de Silva's break-away party.

Senanayake is the son of Ceylon's first Prime Minister, and has three times held that office himself. He is pushing a clear-cut programme. He wants both public and private enterprise, full freedom of the press, and "the rightful place" for the Buddhists. His Party dominates the cities. In Colombo's last Municipal elections

the U.N.P. inundated Mrs. Bandaranaike's S.L.F.P., winning 40 seats to one. But now the vote will be decided in the rural areas where issues like the Press Bill mean little.

If Mrs. Bandaranaike does not succeed in maintaining the separate integrity of her Party and its principles, Senanayake's rallying cry of "Totalitarianism or democracy" may prove true. The pro-Peking wing of the Ceylon Communist Party was left numerically insignificant by the Peking-Moscow split. Since then China has given increasing attention to Dr. Perera and his colleagues.

The major English language dailies have come out editorially against the S.L.F.P.-L.S.S.P. coalition. Their allegations are likely to be true, thanks to a recent Government ordinance. This states that newspapermen must be able to substantiate all they publish, or face a one-year prison term.

Day after day the papers headline activities of Chinese diplomats which must make any Ceylonese patriot nervous be his politics of the left or the right. *The Times of Ceylon*, of March 9, quotes Customs sources as saying that Ceylon is the main dissemination centre for all Chinese propaganda literature pumped into India, and particularly Kerala, as well as other South East Asian countries. Ceylonese postmarks escape the scrutiny of Indian postal and security

authorities that Chinese stamps would draw.

Even "legitimate" diplomatic activity is being conducted by the Chinese with abnormal intensity. China's Deputy Foreign Minister was noticed arriving "incognito" at Colombo's airport. Enquiries produced the reply that he was on a routine tour of embassy inspection. A strange task for a Deputy Foreign Minister. Large numbers of Chinese merchant ships arrive at Colombo's harbour, and usually, well overstay the time it takes to transfer their cargo. Their crews leave on tours of the island.

Bizarre Activity

Some Chinese activity is bizarre in the extreme. *The Ceylon Daily News* on February 10 reported the arrival of huge crates bound for the Chinese embassy which were found to contain 5,000 "atapurikara", the equipment Buddhist devotees give to monks—saffron robes, begging bowls, cotton reels and even razor blades. Rumours have it that fearing the mounting opposition of Buddhist monks and laymen to their role in the Coalition, the Trotskyites are not above donning the "bhikkhu's" costume and urging the rural masses that Marxism complements Buddhism—the one taking care of man's immediate needs and the other his after life.

Mrs. Bandaranaike claims the

whole thing is just a "yellow scare" fabricated by the U.N.P. and cites it as one more example to show that the press is a captive of the capitalists. Perera's Trotskyites assert again that their first measure on taking office will be to push through the Press Bill to end the "monopoly of the press and place ownership on a broader basis" or in one word—nationalize. But why wait, one might ask, until the election is over? The Government has already created legislation to silence the press in a court of law if its charges are untrue. No action has been taken.

The tragedy of this election scene is that a minor party such as Dr. Perera's Lanka Sama Samaj has been able to take over the political legacy of the late Mr. Bandaranaike. If it holds on to its grip, Ceylon may discover that, in the words of Mr. Bandaranaike, "the democratic machinery itself may be utilized... to destroy democracy and enthrone in its place totalitarianism with all its horrors".

If Mrs. Bandaranaike wins, and succeeds in freeing her Party from the Trotskyite grip, she may yet be able to provide the stable and vigorous government her country must have. If the people vote the United National Party into power, Mr. Senanayake will have a chance to make good his promises to safeguard their rights and deal firmly with the Chinese.

Bank of China — From page 5

that either Goa takes ten years to decide its future or that it be merged with Mysore right away. It is meaningless for Assemblies to pass such resolutions. Merger is the issue for Goa and not for Maharashtra or Mysore, welcome as Goa may be to join with either.

Whilst Mr. Shastri is at pains to affirm that Delhi's writ runs far and wide, the truth is that whenever Delhi fears its writ may not be accepted it has compromised. The local satraps know it and play their cards accordingly.

Last Saturday the Prime Minister, speaking in the U.P., decried those Ministers who deviated from the Cabinet's collective decision and did not speak "with one voice". Such persons, he said, should quit the Government like honourable men. Mr. Shastri can set an example of the

Centre speaking with one voice. It will help the States to accept his lead. If the Prime Minister does not assert himself now when he can, he will be compelled to assert himself later with his colleagues and the local bosses of the Congress Party when his chance of success may be much less.

Our great nation is in danger of being run by men who involve us in petty issues. The real issue is not whether one is pro-merger or anti-merger on Goa, pro-Hindi or anti-Hindi, pro-capitalist or anti-capitalist, pro-Communist or anti-Communist. The real conflict is between those who want a clean, united, efficient government and nation—and are willing to pay the price for it in the way they live—and those who don't.

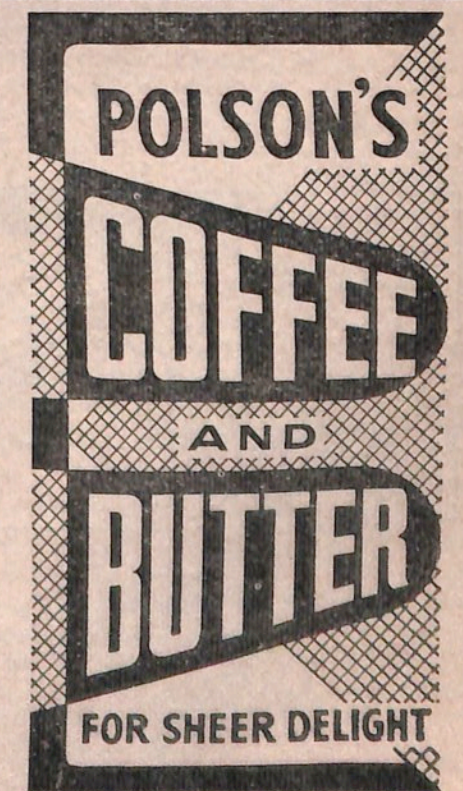
Some who want the best of both worlds may have to risk their careers and their reputations if they are determined to save this nation.

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Nigeria's Lead at OAU

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

AN ATTEMPT to secure the admission of representatives of the Congo rebel leaders to the OAU Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in Nairobi was successfully opposed by the vigorous intervention of the Prime Minister of the Congo, Mr. Moise Tshombe.

The proposal, made by the Sudan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub, was defeated by 13 votes to 7. There were 14 abstentions. In addition to the Sudan it is understood that the U.A.R., Algeria, Guinea and Ghana were among the countries supporting the suggestion.

Mr. Tshombe's arrival, with a party of 50 in a special plane, gave fresh impetus to the meetings of the Council which were believed to have bogged down in division and deadlock.

One conference report mentions 13 "moderate" African states in favour of assistance to Tshombe with 10 "radical" states violently opposed. The final outcome of the conference may depend on the 11 "uncommitted"

countries, some of whom were rallying to the leadership of Nigeria in the council sessions.

In a half hour speech at a special plenary session Mr. Tshombe paid tribute to President Jomo Kenyatta, Chairman of the OAU *ad hoc* Commission on the Congo, which has been meeting in Nairobi at the same time as the Foreign Ministers' conference.

Mr. Tshombe, who is also the country's Foreign Minister, warned that the OAU would not survive long if member states continued to ignore the principles laid down at its formation. He recalled that his Government had asked for assistance from the OAU and some African Governments to maintain peace and order

in the Congo, but they had been refused.

He regretted that certain member states of the organization were openly aiding the insurgents. He assured the Foreign Ministers that his Government was a "government of reconciliation".

Three factors stand out as the conference draws to a close. New alignments are emerging in Africa. Those states who arrived in Nairobi determined to push their own pre-determined plan have not been able to do so. Nigeria's stand on matters of principle in the conference has met with an unexpected response.

Bourguiba Urges Realism

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Beirut

WHILE THE Arab League talks of an extraordinary meeting of the Arab Summit to deal with Bonn's proposed recognition of Tel Aviv, the President of Tunisia, now in Beirut on his State visit to Arab lands, has sounded a more moderate note to which many will respond.

President Habib Bourguiba, speaking in an Arab refugee camp in Jeri-

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS—cont'd.

cho, Jordan, declared: "The Palestine problem must be viewed with realism and without passion so that we avoid repeating the mistakes of 1948." (When Palestine was partitioned and the Arabs, caught unprepared, were defeated by the newly recognized State of Israel.) He said that the followers of the three great religions cradled in that area must live in peace and brotherhood and that unless a peaceful solution were found there would be no victor or vanquished. President Bourguiba, after citing Tunisia's peaceful achievement of independence, went on to say, "For twenty-five years now we have tried unsuccessfully to answer the Palestine problem by force. It is unthinkable to imagine that world opinion could ever accept our throwing Israel into the sea." The Tunisian leader then enlarged on the common bonds between Islam, Christianity and Judaism.

Informed sources feel that the Tunisian President is bending every effort effectively to mobilize the Arab leaders who agree with his realistic appraisal and who echo his desire for a peaceful solution. He is likely to find strong support from oil-producing Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Kuwait, as well as traditionally neutral and moderate Lebanon.

Motion Against BBC

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE is now shaken in the British Broadcasting Corporation and rightly so.

Two Tory Members of Parliament, Mr. James Dance and Sir Leslie Thomas, have tabled a "Greene Must Go" motion in the Commons, in an effort to oust the BBC's Director-General, Sir Hugh Greene.

The Times in an editorial on Greene's policies, said, "There seems to be a panic flight from decent values and a surrender to all pressures in favour of so called satire and a sick, sniggering attitude to life." Such an editorial expresses the opinion of hundreds of thousands of television viewers across the nation.

Sir Hugh Greene in defence of "sick" satire revealed his determination to push his views on the nation. "I would always be in favour of doing something that's enjoyed by 1,000 no matter if it were disapproved of by 10,000," he said. Those who disagreed were not given similar opportunities—he labelled them "a busybody minority".

The British people may yet reject the tyranny of the BBC in attempting to force perverted humour and filth down the national craw.

The week in Asia

PEKING—Prime Minister Chou En-lai will visit Karachi en route to the Algiers conference in June. In May he will again go to several Asian and African countries on his second tour of these areas within the last year.

TOKYO—It is now believed that China has developed nuclear techniques Western scientists had previously thought beyond her capacity. They now estimate she could produce the hydrogen bomb by 1970 and deliver it by rocket by 1975.

BANGKOK—Radio Thailand has charged China with systematically attempting to "drug the free world". It reports the setting up of a national narcotics research institute, extensive cultivation schemes and a department to export and distribute the drugs.

PEKING—China has demanded the Soviet Government "acknowledge its error and apologize" to the Chinese students who took part in demonstrations before the U.S. embassy in Moscow against American raids on North Vietnam. The students were forcibly restrained from assaulting the embassy by Russian police and troops. Chinese demonstrated against this "ruthless suppression" outside the Soviet embassy in Peking in what was described as the first anti-Soviet demonstration to be held in Peking.

KARACHI—Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Z. A. Bhutto, declared that his country would make or buy nuclear weapons "should India go nuclear".

PEKING—President Liu Shao-chi has accepted General Ayub's invitation to pay a State visit to Pakistan. A joint communique at the end of talks between President Ayub and the Chinese called for a reorganization of the U.N. "to better reflect the balance of forces in the world", opposed the creation of "two Chinas", and demanded that Peking be recognized as the rightful voice of China.

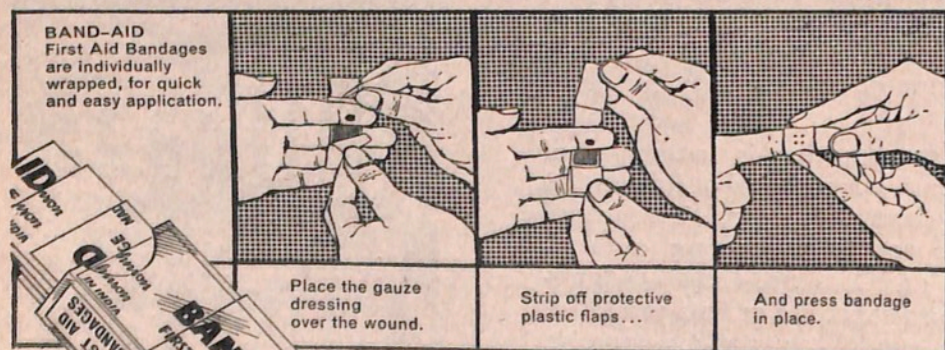
SAIGON—America landed 3,500 Marines at Danang, key base for air strikes against the North and site of her newly installed Hawk missiles. Washington has declared that these troops were sent only to guard American installations. It is reported that 10,000 marines are en route for similar duty around Vietnam.

SAIGON—The U.S. Government has warned China that she will enjoy no "privileged sanctuary" as she did behind the Yalu River in the Korean conflict if she enters the Vietnam theatre.

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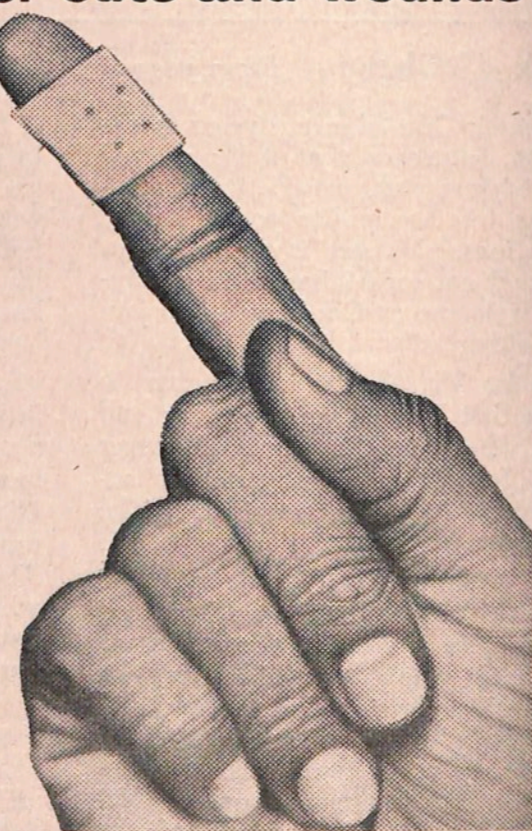
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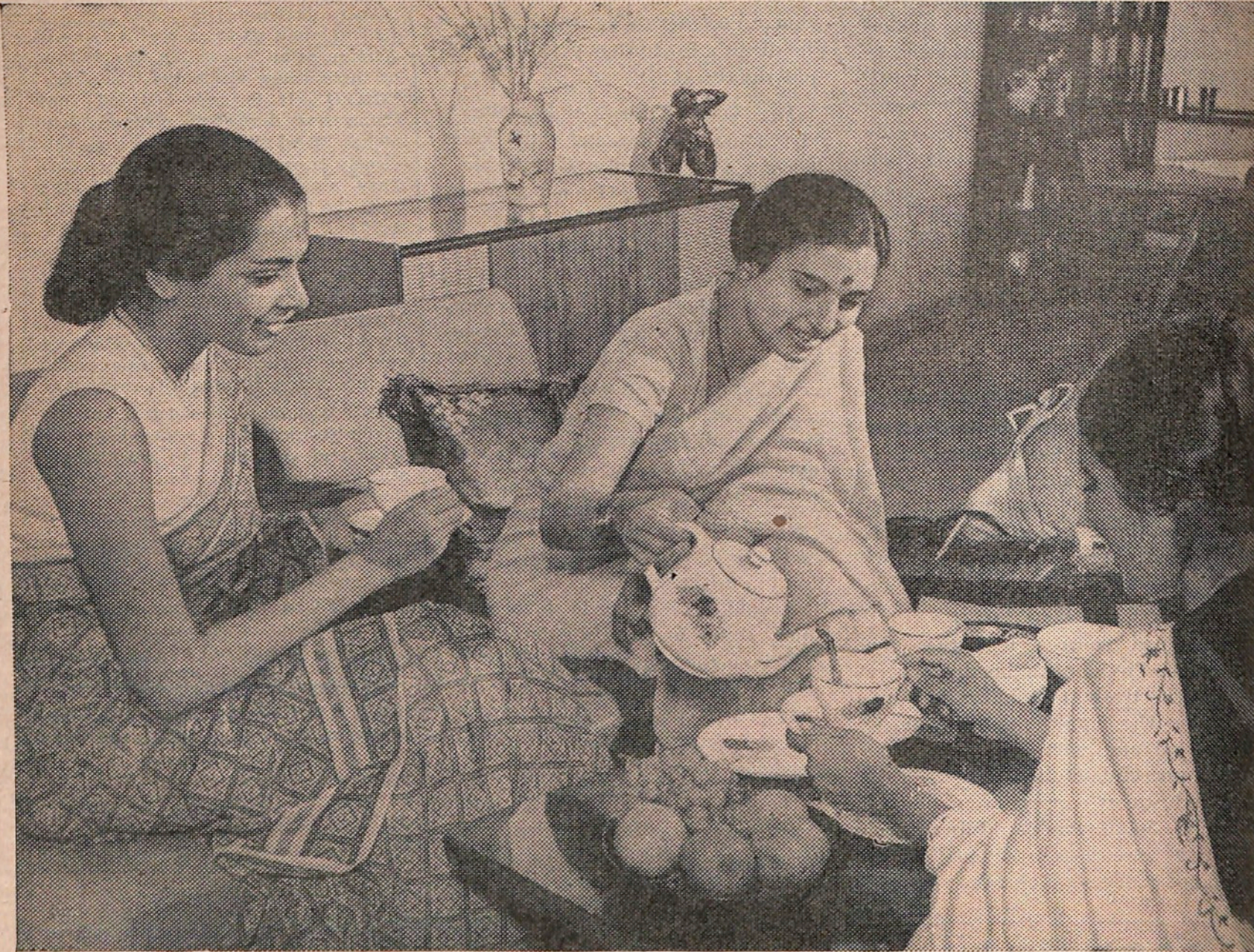
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LETTERS

PETER HOWARD

Sir,

In the death of Peter Howard, every human being in the world has lost a true brother, one who bent every nerve and sinew towards helping others. A very talented writer, he was greater as a human being. He loved God and his fellowmen as did other ones of the earth like Gandhiji and Abraham Lincoln. The pictures of Peter Howard published in your issue dated March 5 show how he journeyed to the four corners of the earth, carrying his message advocating moral rectitude, understanding and forgiveness, goodwill to all men irrespective of nationality and colour, and peace on earth.

He was a true revolutionary, because he revolted from all that was evil. Like Tennyson's Sir Galahad, his "strength was as the strength of ten because his heart was pure".

He was a good man and the world will revere his memory, because of his noble words and actions.

B. G. R. KRISHNA

Secunderabad

Sir,

On Saturday I was rushing towards my home-sweet-home after a tiring day at my office. It was about 4.45 in the evening. As I was about to enter the Churchgate subway on my way to Flora Fountain, your newsboy slipped a copy of HIMMAT into my hands, saying, "Read the amazing story of Peter Howard."

Well, I read that amazing story in the 4-Ltd. bus in a relaxed mood and was

very much impressed, specially by the noble thought of that finest revolutionary of our time—Peter Howard—"to love every child in the world as his own and every country as his own." If we propagate this wherever we go, I think we can change our troubled world into a paradise. Whosoever comes our way—black or white, rich or poor, Easterner or Westerner, is one of our own. Once we achieve this, our daily press will carry reports about people living happily with each other instead of present day gruesome headlines.

If our Indian leaders search their hearts to find a way (instead of political conflicts) by which we Indians will love every child as our own and every town as our own, we can build ourselves into a mighty nation. And, once we do this, we will be able to change the hearts of our so-called neighbouring enemies into our bosom friends.

R. D. R. WADIA

Bombay-1

Sir,

Thank you for your last issue of HIMMAT and the tribute you paid to Mr. Peter Howard. I think he was one of the greatest men of this century. Though I never got the chance to meet him I feel tremendously grateful to a man like him who poured out his whole life to build a better world.

I have decided to give my life, my career and everything I have to fight the battle he fought and I will be as responsible, as passionate and as committed as he was to the Moral Re-Armament of the world. I believe the world now needs thousands of men and women like Peter Howard and I have decided to be one of them.

(Miss) **KALPANA S. SHARMA**

Mysore

ON "HIMMAT"

Sir,

I want you to know how very much I enjoy receiving this excellent weekly publication.

In calling for a peaceful settlement of problems which beset our world today, HIMMAT is not only a new voice, it is a loud and clear voice of reason and justice. Congratulations on the fine job you are doing with HIMMAT in the quest for internal peace and harmony in your great country.

RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
U.S. Senator.

Washington, D.C.

Sir,

May I convey my appreciation of the outlook of HIMMAT. As a life-long student of journalism it has been my pleasure to watch the influx of new journals and their growth, though generally I have been distressed by the growth of sensation-mongering and deliberate efforts to misguide certain sections of the public.

It was refreshing to note that you have invested the contents of your journal with a distinctive approach to problems and their discussion and eschewed the current craze for cliches and catch-words.

R. N. SIVASAMBU

Madras 14

HINDI—ENGLISH

Sir,

It is obvious that the English spoken by a very small minority of the nation cannot be the national language of the future, but at the same time we cannot forget that in an international world we cannot cut out English completely and still maintain our status in the international forum.

It may be possible to utilize the Devanagiri script for the various languages of the south, like Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, etc., and also for Bengali. In addition to the Devanagiri script, we should simultaneously adopt an expanded Roman script which could be made phonetically suitable for the various Indian languages.

The problem of India's integration could be solved more easily over the years if a move is made today to start teaching a child both the scripts, the Devanagiri and Roman, at the primary school level.

Then a North Indian residing in the South could very easily learn to speak Tamil or Telugu if the script is Devanagiri and Roman, and similarly the South Indian, when he goes to the north.

F. A. FAZALBHOY

Bombay 1

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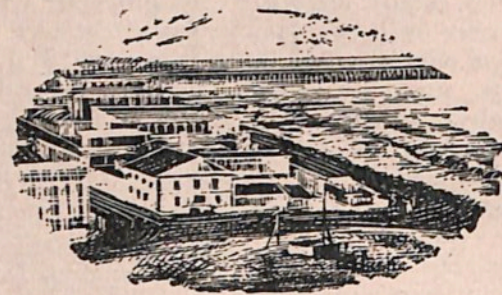


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HIMMAT, March 19, 1965



1788
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1964

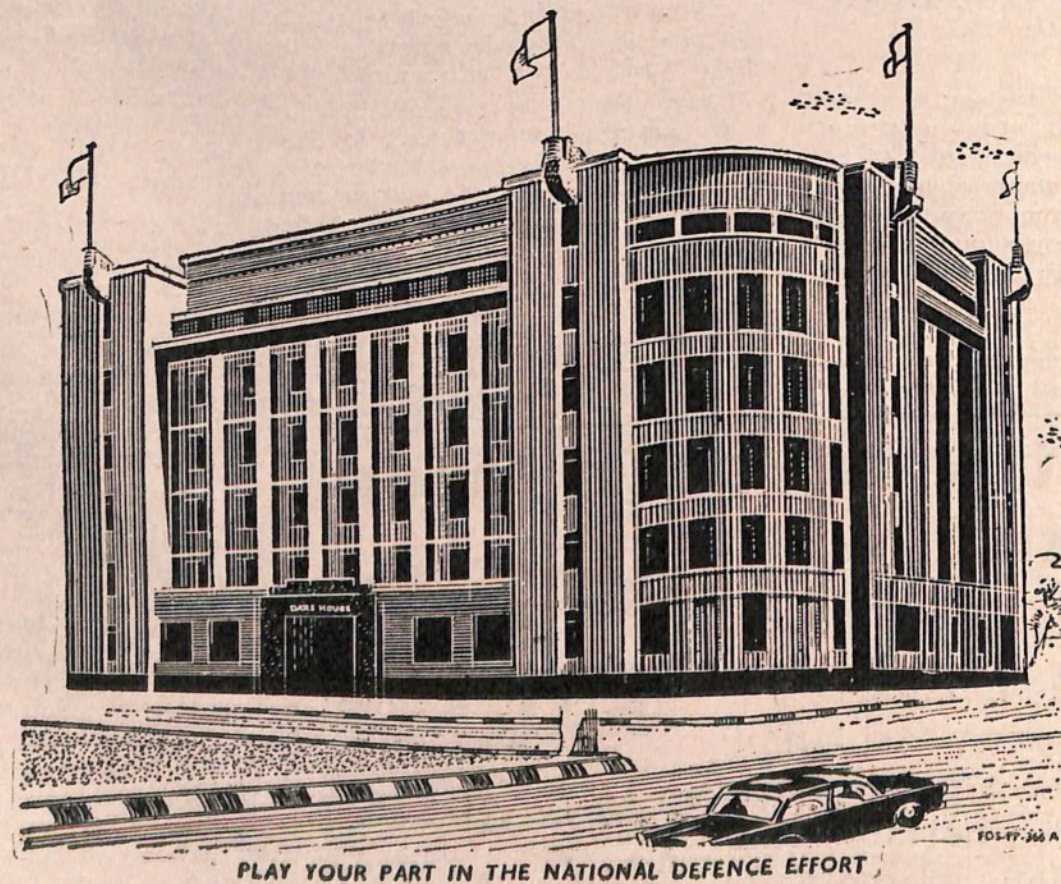
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THE E.I.D.-PARRY GROUP, MADRAS



FOR WOMEN

129,000 Women Hit Norway

by Guri Ulfstad

Mrs. Ulfstad is the mother of three children. Her husband is a violinist in the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra.—Ed.

I TURNED OFF the wireless and thought for a moment about what I had heard: Corruption in high offices, murder, cars stolen and wrecked, radio-programmes encouraging promiscuity.

I suppose every woman and mother knows the hopelessness that fills her when she hears this kind of news. We know it is a threat to the future of our children. Yet so often we merely think: "You can't do anything about it."

That night I decided to do something about it. I prayed to see what I—an ordinary housewife and mother of three small children—could do. The thought came to write a declaration to the Parliament which could be signed by the women of Norway. With the help of some friends I wrote

the declaration which included the following:

"We are experiencing an assault on the moral standards and ethical values which are the foundation on which our society is built. Emphasizing that human character—not political points of view—is the decisive factor in the battle for the nation's future, we declare to the Norwegian Parliament:

1. We are convinced that there exists a clear and unchangeable law for what is right and what is wrong.
2. We call on each man and woman courageously to defend our basic moral values.
3. We believe in the sanctity of marriage and that sexual relations belong exclusively to marriage.
4. We will—with the schools—take responsibility that our children get the necessary knowledge of procreation, but we will not allow the schools to give instruction in the use of contraceptives.
5. We are against any guidance given on family and health questions which encourages promiscuity.



Mrs. Ulfstad

Our forefathers created a constitution to secure justice and freedom in the country. Our future demands that the people and their leaders choose what is right, whatever the cost."

In the middle of October we started to distribute copies for signatures. The declaration was passed from hand to hand all over Norway. Soon my mailbox started to spill over. We had to improvise an office, and some friends were busy all day counting signatures. Letters were streaming in by the hundreds from north to south of our far-stretched land. Everyone wrote how they had been waiting for something like this to happen.

Through the Snow

They wrote of their efforts to get the signatures. A woman on the far northern coast of Norway wrote: "Sorry to send only seven signatures. There are no roads here and I had to row in a boat for each woman I went to see." November climate in Northern Norway is snowy, stormy, cold and dark. Another letter stated simply: "These are all the women on our island." There were six signatures.

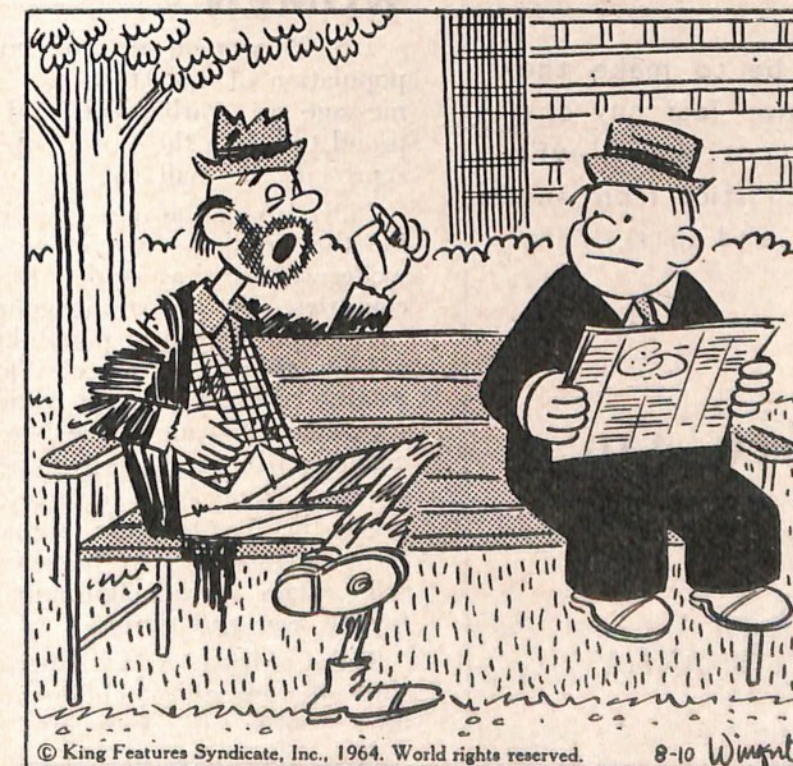
By the end of January 1964 we had 129,000 signatures, and a date was made with the President of Parliament, to hand over the papers officially.

On February 5, a delegation of women, including the President of the Farmers Wives' Union and myself, went to see the President. We were accompanied by two men carrying the enormous boxes with all the signed declarations.

The President's office was jammed with journalists and TV reporters. I could hardly see the President for all the TV spotlights, and a great many cameras were spinning and clicking as we opened the boxes.

Continued on next page

HUBERT



"What's the latest on the President's war on poverty?"

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8-10 Wimp

Why Not Model Farms?

by Suresh R. Aranaka, Satara

THE ESTABLISHMENT of model farms all over the country would go a long way to improving our decadent agriculture. The Government alone can take the initiative. They should be equipped with the latest agricultural implements and technical know-how. In short, they would be the equivalent of the most intensively and scientifically cultivated, efficient units in agriculturally developed countries like Japan or the United States.

We may examine here demonstration farms which the Government is launching in collaboration with countries like Japan. The purpose of these farms is primarily to induce the scientific outlook in our agriculturists. The process, though slow, would definitely change the present outlook of our conservative agriculturists and the Government by all means deserves to be felicitated on its magnificent undertaking. The

demonstration of scientific agriculture is made at uneconomic and even prohibitive costs. But once the scientific outlook is inculcated in the agriculturists, the significance of demonstration farms ceases, leading to their inevitable liquidation. The scope of demonstration farms is, therefore, a limited one.

The establishment of model farms at a *village* level would answer most of the pressing needs of our backward agriculture. As the model farms would be run on commercial lines, they would be cultivated most scientifically, efficiently and intensively. They would yield maximum production and provide clear-cut data for fixing prices of food-stuffs, arrived at with the help of costing that is now-a-days used only in industrial and commercial concerns. The demonstration function would lead to increase in agricultural produce and its price would be reason-

able enough to provide incentive to the cultivator who is at present at the mercy of market forces which are invariably against him. Further, the model farms would absorb the jobless who are best fitted for agriculture but do not enter it for want of security and fixed incomes.

Since the financial outlay of model farms is huge the Government alone should undertake their establishment. This would ensure stability and continuance of the model farms, besides providing security of jobs to those employed on them. Moreover, the Government would come to know the commercial value of a particular crop for the fixing of its market price. The Government must boldly undertake it, if it is genuinely interested in reforming our unfortunate agriculture which is like a neglected child, resourceful but misguided. Let model farms become a bye-word for progressive agriculture and an uphill march from dearth and scarcity to plenty and prosperity.

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

WOMEN from previous page

129,000 women—out of our total population of 3,500,000—had sent a message to Parliament, and I was proud to say to the President: "This represents a will of the people."

I love my nation and I am grateful for the privileges we enjoy. Our welfare state is a model for other countries. Yet the young generation, with the world's best possibilities for a high education, a good job and enough of everything, is restless and rebellious. I want to see Norway as a nation who knows what she is living for. The need in the world is too great, the disasters too threatening, for any nation to keep herself to herself, while her neighbours suffer famine, war and terror.

Today Africa, Asia, America and Australia are all neighbours. Thus the trouble in Vietnam is our trouble, the threat to India our problem and the road Africa chooses our concern.

This was a life

AKBAR
1542-1605

AKBAR, the Great Mogul who could neither read nor write, yet who boasted of "knowledge of the faiths of the world", looms from the past a unique and gigantic figure.

He was great in sheer physical prowess, whether riding his ferocious fighting elephants or moving untiringly, regardless of heat or rain, on his ceaseless military campaigns.

He was great in his grasp of administrative detail, full of inventive ideas and reforms. He once remarked to his chronicler, Abul Fazl, that "it was by the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered that my measures had been devised by him".

He was great in the restless searching of his mind, groping through discussion, debate and argument after religious truths. The deserted Fatehpur-Sikri the City of Palaces, which he built for his court and capital and later completely abandoned, is a testament in stone to the scale of his projects.

UNIFIER

When, at the age of 13, he succeeded his father Humayun as Emperor, the Mogul Empire was at its lowest ebb. Even Agra and Delhi were in the hands of the rival Afghans. He left an empire stretching from modern Afghanistan to Burma, from Kashmir and the Himalayas to the Deccan Plateau.

It was no piecemeal collection of conquests held together by the armed strength of one man. Akbar's ideas of religious toleration, his removal of the economic barriers between Hindu and Muslim, his free appointment of Hindus to high offices of state and his imposition of a universal, if rough and ready, system of tax assessment and collection, gave a lasting framework to the Mogul Empire.

Culture flourished. His court became, in the words of Abul Fazl, "the home of the inquirers of the 'seven climes' and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect".

In an age of sharp religious conflict he stands out for his toleration. Untutored, he possessed the rare qualities of a statesman and a unifier. He made the different communities of India learn how to live together.

Q and A

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

Q — Please comment on the theory of one nation, one flag and one language.

GNANESHWAR DAS, Barnal.

A — Used as a convenient formula for the post-1918 dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the above principle has been unnecessarily sanctified in the theory of national self-determination.

It is a nineteenth century truth that fitted the pattern of the historical development of Europe. Countries like the United Kingdom, France and Germany became nation-states under one flag with a common language (if you conveniently ignore the claims of language like that of the Welsh) not because there was any recognition of merit in such a principle but because history had already made into reality the substance of the political demand.

The nation-states of Africa and Asia, as well as of Latin America, are largely a result of the accident of Western aggrandisement and division of territory. The most important common bond they have is a sense of long obedience to the same master and the consequent hatred of imperialism. It has yet to be established whether common experience in the immediate past will conquer the more ancient loyalties to tribe, community or linguistic group.

History will judge imperialism less harshly in future because it brought together diverse tribes, groups and peoples. It is a worthwhile heritage. If the newly independent nations retain this tradition and extend the area of unity, they will play a much needed part in the necessary unification of the world.

The truth is that oneness of language is insufficient to assure nationhood. Multiplicity of languages, though often a source of conflict in this divisive age,

can be, as Switzerland shows, the main-spring of a richer nationhood. But even nations have to grow in their aims and perspectives and plan for a better future for the world.

Q — Suppose I want to join MRA, what do I have to do? What can I do for my country?

HARINAKSHI, Hyderabad.

A — MRA is really a contract with one's own conscience and God. It is a pledge to God that we shall do what is right as best as He shows it to us. The moment you make such a compact, you are in MRA. It means four things:

1) A decision that our lives from now will be given to change our country and every country in the world, in which economic well-being and social justice are based on the firm foundations of a disciplined, moral, God-controlled society.

2) Face our life as measured against absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love.

3) There are many things that are bound to be wrong as none of us is perfect. We need to put right the things we can. We ask God's and man's forgiveness for the rest. (If there is a friend whom we can trust and who will help to hold us to our decisions, it is a help to be honest with him about everything.)

4) Lead, along with like-minded people who have taken similar action, a revolutionary movement to enlist the ordinary man and leaders in building such a world society. Every man who loves his family and country has something of MRA in him. All of us need to heighten and multiply it in ourselves and other people.

A force of clear-thinking, straight-living, purposeful, dedicated people will answer the crisis of character and pettiness in the nation. They can outpace the Communist world in economic progress and outmatch the materialism and aimlessness in the non-Communist world. We can help to create an India we can be proud of and others will want to learn from.

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Work and Wealth for All

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Santiago, CHILE

A JAPANESE FRIEND and I arrived at a trade union hall to speak to an assembly of workers. Surprised that we came on time, the man who had invited us apologized for the small audience, said the hall would be filled presently and almost accused us of unfairness for arriving at what he called the *hora Inglesa*, English time.

Remarkable tribute to the British, I said to my Japanese colleague, that all over Latin America if you mean 10 a.m. when you say 10 a.m., you have to add, *hora Inglesa*. "That's nothing," said he, "Japanese time means ten minutes before time."

Well, what does Indian time mean?

This Latin American continent is flooded with Japanese goods. "Made in Japan" is now a guarantee of quality as well as of efficiency and a good, competitive price. "Made in India"? Very few products bearing that label are seen in these parts. This is tragic and something that can be speedily corrected, because there is considerable goodwill here for India.

"Made as in India"

I look forward to the day when other nations will stamp on their products the words, "Made as in India." It is possible, if we set our hearts, minds and wills to it.

The newspapers here speak of the grave state of the Indian economy.

Our reserves have almost disappeared. We are finding it impossible to pay back loans. The *London Times* says India faces her most serious economic crisis since freedom. It urges Britain, America, Canada, West Europe and Japan to come to our aid.

These nations will. But their aid will be temporary, and more restricted than we think. They are rich nations but their capacity to give is less than the capacity to spend of countries like ours.

This flow of foreign aid that we have banked on and used up will soon become a trickle and may stop altogether before long.

Our Government is fully entitled to ask all our own people to share the load of bringing a swift cure. The people are equally entitled to ask the Government to

tell them in simple and precise terms what this cure is.

Our leaders seem to have the stubborn habit of denying the existence of a crisis until it explodes and almost until it becomes impossible to do anything about it.

Tell the people the truth, Mr. Shastri and Mr. Nanda. We won't hold it against you if we hear from you that the situation is far more serious than you had realized, that in fact you do not always know what should be done, that you need the help of the entire nation.

Don't Insult Public

And be assured, Mr. Shastri and Mr. Nanda, that if other parties try to make selfish political capital out of your honest admissions of failure, responsible members of the public will come to your aid.

But please don't insult the public's intelligence or rule out their ability to share the load with you by concealing unpleasant facts

We seem to have turned a reasonably healthy economy into a chaotic one by demanding that the other section or class pay more, work more, or sacrifice more.

The magic words that could bring our economy back to life are, "I too have been wrong", "I will sacrifice first", "The trouble is national not sectional and all of us have to pay the price of change and growth."

And, above all, that "only work produces wealth". We have acted for too long as if we believed that slogans, resolutions, laws, licences and controls could produce wealth. They may be necessary, but they don't produce more food or clothes or houses or roads.

Liberty is a tree watered by the blood of patriots, said the Italian hero Mazzini. Also, it should be added, by the sweat of ordinary men and women.

Poverty will stay with us if all of us don't learn to sweat more. And if it stays much longer totalitarianism will be certain.

The central economic question before our land is, how can we use our millions productively?

It could doubtless have been easier to feed and house and clothe a smaller population, but that's a dream we need not preoccupy ourselves with. It is a dream. The reality is our 470 million peo-

ple. They have stomachs that have to be fed.

But they also have hands, feet and brains that can work, create and produce and hearts that can care and dare. These millions of unused hands, of unused brains represent a fabulous treasure.

"You must be one of the world's richest countries," a German once told me in Bombay. When I asked him to explain, he pointed to a number of people standing listlessly, and walking aimlessly, doing practically nothing.

These men—and millions of women who have plenty of spare time at home—need work. They need a place to work, tools and raw materials to work with and training in how to work.

It is not beyond the capacity of our country to provide these. A hundred thousand dedicated men can take on this task.

Where will these hundred thousand men come from? Do they exist?

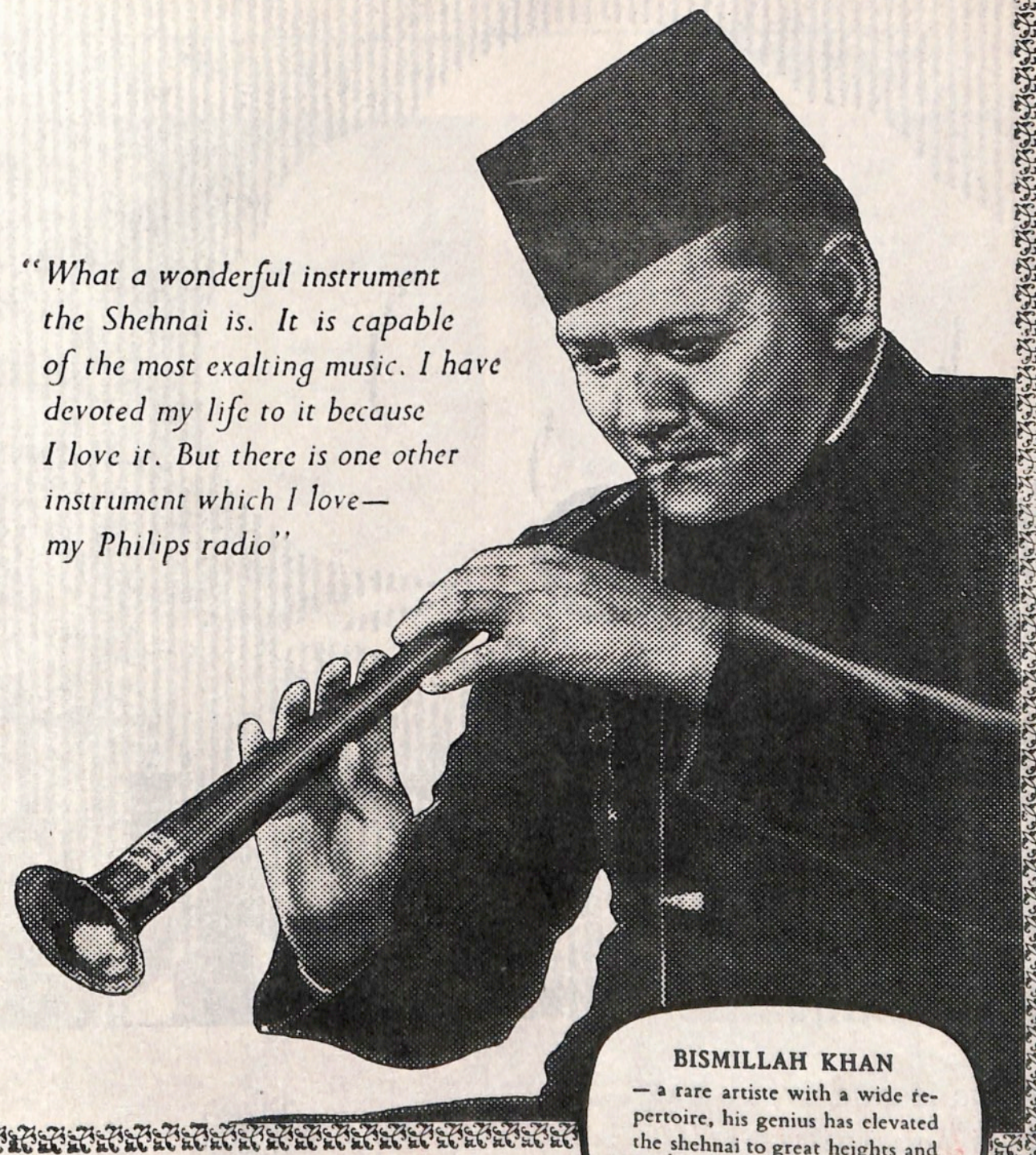
Break This Bottleneck

Yes, they do. You will find them in our schools and colleges, factories and offices. They will not be finished and perfect examples of dedication to start with. Yet they have large reserves of courage and patriotism.

What will bring them out? First, a great aim for the Indian nation. Our leaders will be surprised at the flood-tide of response if they admit honestly the divisions and corruptions of our land and proclaim at the same time their resolve to make India Asia's most dynamic nation.

Second, sacrifice by the prominent and the rich. It is plain that all will have to toil if India is to be enriched, yet a start must be made by the socially influential and the economically strong. And by sacrifice I don't merely mean a willingness to part with cash—which is important—but a readiness to do away with comfort, selfish pleasure and private plans.

There is a shortage of food, of cement, of electricity, of water, of raw materials, of spare parts, of ready cash. But above all of ready, united revolutionaries. Break this bottleneck, and there will be a mighty outpouring of work and wealth for all.



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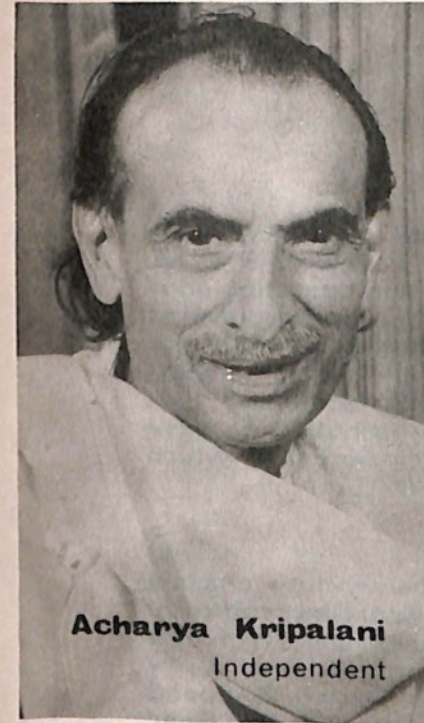
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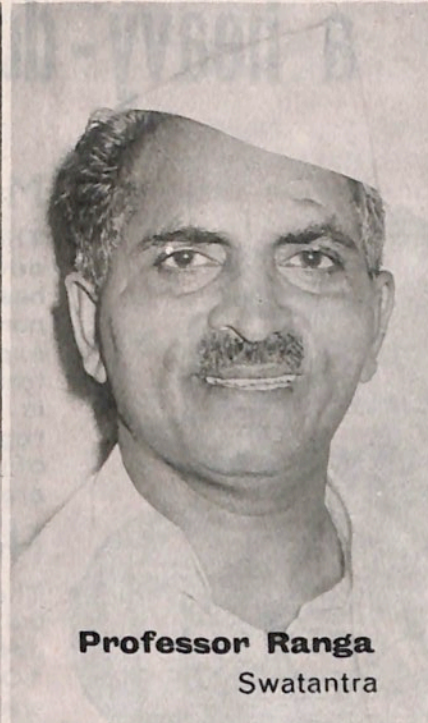
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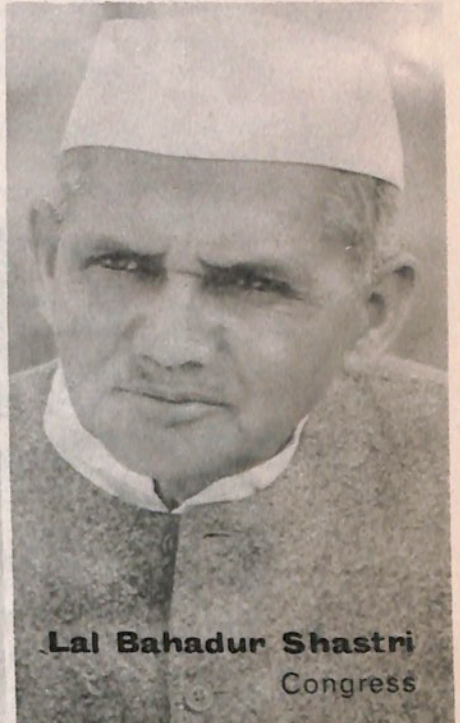
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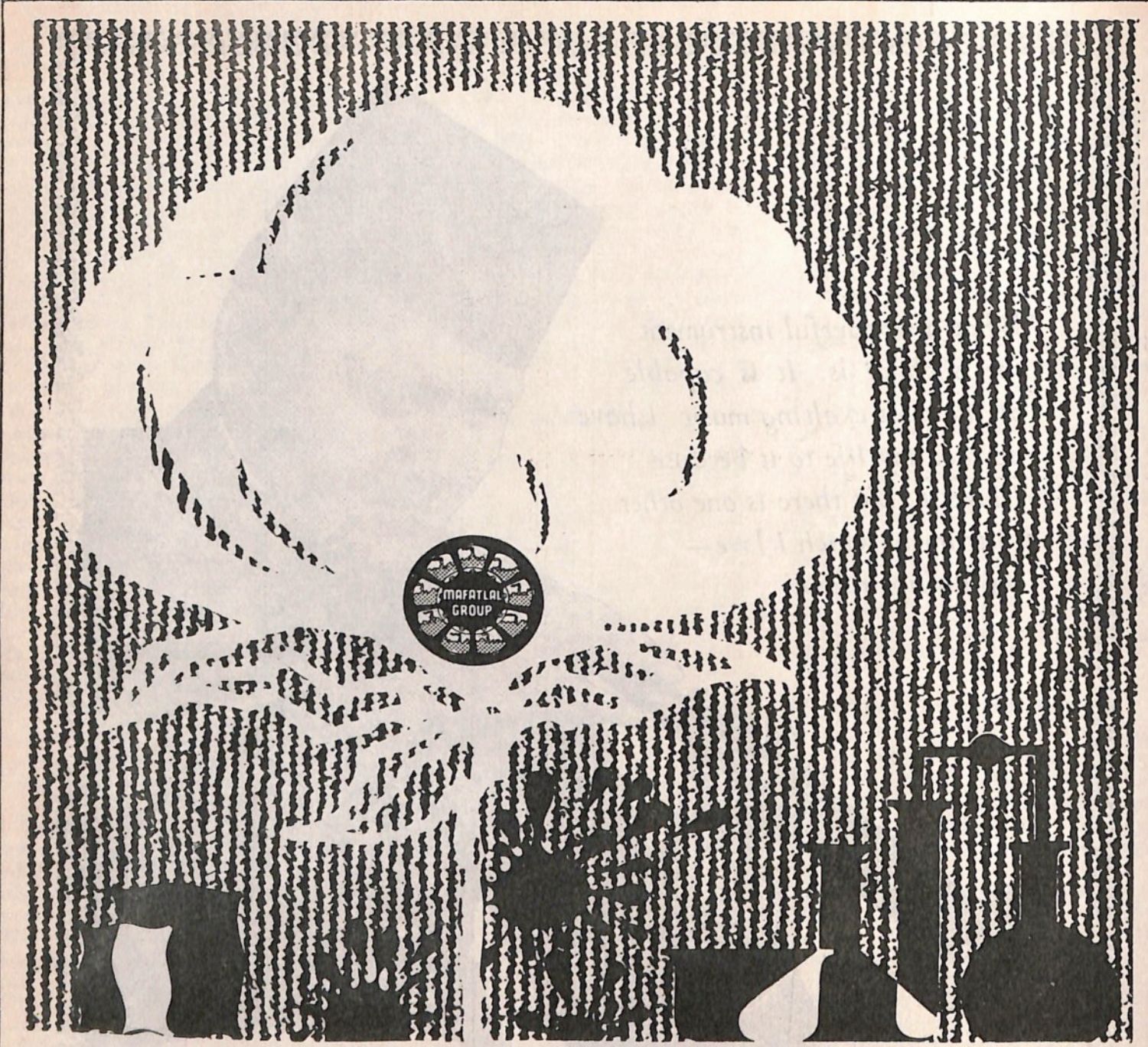


Lal Bahadur Shastri
Congress



BEYOND NO-CONFIDENCE

Page 5



GROWING BIGGER EVERY DAY

That's us. Always trying to do a little better than yesterday. Always doing it. Textiles, jute, dyes and chemicals. These are the interests we have today. Tomorrow? The possibilities are endless. The future is wide open.



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March 26
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