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25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

REALITIES OF VIETNAM

by Rajmohan Gandhi



Friday
April 16
1965

GRAND DESIGN FOR INDIA
Prize Winning Entries

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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, April 16, 1965

Vol. 1 No. 24

Johnson's Packet

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S OFFER of unconditional talks on Vietnam and a \$1,000 million contribution towards economic development in South East Asia gained impact by surprise.

America's allies were jubilant. The neutrals were genuinely impressed. The Communist world struggled to extract itself from a diplomatic coup. Russia's U.N. representative, Mr. Morosov, claimed that America's "honest-sounding words" would not deceive world opinion. Peking's *People's Daily* called it "a swindle, pure and simple".

The effect was heightened because Johnson spoke from a position of strength and renewed determination.

Johnson's offer, coming before the air attacks on Hanoi's supply lines, would have disheartened gravely all those fighting aggression. But the recent offensive against the North had made it disturbingly clear to the Viet Cong and encouragingly certain for South Vietnam that America's presence is there to stay until that war-torn land is free to choose its own destiny.

"We will not be defeated," he told his Baltimore audience. "We will not grow tired. We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement."

Russia, with the offer of inclusion in the South East Asian development project, will be tempted by Johnson's plan. North Vietnam, reluctant to face an escalation of the air assaults on her territory, will also entertain its consideration. China, however, must of necessity reject this overture or relinquish her cherished dream of Asian conquest.

Far from negotiation, China would prefer more Vietnam-style wars all over the continent—in Malaya, Burma, Korea, the Philippines, Kashmir and across India's north east frontier. Such a ring of fire is China's best hope of final victory affording, as it would, advance for her ideology without a frontal military clash with superior forces.

President Johnson's bold and imaginative offer will test the sincerity of all those who say they really want the best for the people of Vietnam.

But one warning: Talks and dollars, backed by guns, are important. They are essential and are often the crucial tip-scale. But they are not and never have been a panacea for a chronic situation which is at root due to a clash of ideologies.

There were talks in 1954 in Geneva. The result? Jungle murder from the north of Laos to the southern tip of Vietnam. Billions of dollars have been poured into Asia, and all honour to America's generosity.

But the race against chaos and hatred, even against poverty, has not been won.

By all means let there be talks and dollars, but please, Mr. Johnson, consider urgently how to outpace Communism in its ideological appeal to the

millions of Asia and enlist Communists who are sincere in a resolute bid to liquidate the hatred and selfishness which hitherto have always thwarted every project for economic development and human advance.

Go It Together

MR. NANDA'S CALL for "increasing collaboration and goodwill between the business community and the Government, and for the ending of the sector strife", is an important step in the economic development of the country. He was speaking in Calcutta at a meeting presided over by Mr. G. D. Birla at the Indian Chamber of Commerce. That the chief speakers at the meeting underlined how "the one could not do without the other" lays the basis for a new level of operations in the future.

In a developing country both public sector and private sector economies are essential if the work and wealth of the country are to be fully utilized. Those who advocate an economy exclusively in the hands of the private sector without any government controls are not thinking for the needs of the country. Equally, those who are wedded to textbook dogmas which exclude the role of private initiative, finish up with an emphasis on the means rather than the end—which is the welfare of the people.

There are schemes requiring very large capital investment which are undoubtedly better in the hands of the Government. There is, however, a need for spirited competition to be encouraged in other sectors. Healthy competition is the citizen's guarantee of service. Many countries which had had government monopolies have now deliberately opened up the field to the private sector thus benefitting the public. In England, for instance, the airlines, previously a state monopoly, have now been opened to private carriers and both sectors are running profitably.

In India, for example, where demand is expanding so rapidly, some of the airline routes could be thrown open to private firms as well as the I.A.C. The standard of service to the public would be considerably increased.

That a Socialist economy is best suited to India is undoubtedly true, but let it have the flexibility to meet the demands and opportunities of the times. In many countries of Europe, whose Socialist ideas have shaped the pattern of their economies, these countries have been flexible to the advantages of encouraging economic initiative in the hands of the citizens. Even Russia has found it necessary to introduce some hitherto heretical conceptions into her economy.

Briefly Speaking...

The world could be transformed if men of God match the pace and persistence of men of anti-God.

PETER HOWARD 1908-1965

Changing Society

CAN CHANGE in society, change man's nature or can change in human nature, change society?

The Daily Telegraph, London, reports that Russian Courts have passed at least 4000 death sentences for economic offences since 1960. Of the 4000 sentenced only about 1% were executed. This information was conveyed by an official of Soviet news agency *Novosti* to playwright Arthur Miller.

Newcomer

THE RAT has suddenly emerged as the most important single factor in India's agricultural economy. It is estimated by Mr. T. A. Pai, Chairman of the Food Corporation of India, that rats consume 20-25 per cent of our food production.

He announced that India might have to seek external assistance for the eradication of rats. India imports food worth Rs. 1 crore a day. Some authorities estimate that if India could exterminate the rats, no further imports of food would be necessary, even with the present production of food grains.



The committee very much regrets that due to a shortage of funds a larger foundation stone was not possible.

The Other China

WHILE ONE HEARS SO much about the Chinese of the mainland, India is starved of any news about the Chinese of Taiwan who have tied up the largest single concentration of Communist Chinese troops (600,000) opposite their island.

Unobtrusively, Taiwan is playing a major role in the developing countries of Asia and Africa. Taiwan will give technical co-operation to Sierra Leone in the next five years. It has launched on an agricultural seminar for 17 African countries recently. It is reported that in South Vietnam a Taiwan agricultural mission has introduced 57 new varieties of grain seedlings that will help increase rice output by 60 per cent.

Taiwan has been condemned and blanked out many years ago from the Indian scene by the very people who once applauded Chou En-lai. India needs to take a fresh look at Taiwan and find how Taiwan could help India on specific technical and scientific projects like agriculture.

Ceylon Action

MR. DUDLEY SENANAYAKE, Prime Minister of Ceylon, has taken drastic action against representatives of North Korea, North Vietnam and East Germany and has reduced their diplomatic representation considerably. It is obvious that the countries against which Mr. Senanayake has taken action were indulging in activities not conducive to the interests of a free Ceylon.

It is important that the Government of India also takes note of the countries mentioned. In fact, no action has been taken against North Vietnam in spite of its name being raised as a party that has financed the activities of unpatriotic elements in India.

R.M.L.

The week in India

NEW DELHI—Strong voices were raised in the Lok Sabha for the purchase of powerful transmitters for All India Radio and for the liberalization of newsprint imports for the press. The Government cut the import of newsprint from 124,000 tons to 99,000 in 1963 and to 96,000 in 1964.

AHMEDABAD—The Communist-dominated Janata Parishad won an absolute majority in municipal elections virtually wiping out Congress party strength. Congress had controlled the Council for three decades.

NEW DELHI—It is estimated that the housing shortage in India is as high as 74,100,000 units. Allocation of Rs. 24,600,000,000 in the Fourth Plan has been made for the construction of 5,700,000 units.

NEW DELHI—Foreign Minister Swaran Singh announced that all endorsements of Sheikh Abdullah's passport will be cancelled save those necessary for his Haj pilgrimage. His passport expires on April 30.

NEW DELHI—Defence Minister Chavan announced that if negotiations with Britain for the purchase of a modern submarine failed, India would open talks with the U.S.S.R.

BOMBAY—Congestion in the port of Bombay had led to serious delays in the shipping of vital military equipment to the northern border. 24 heavy duty tractors needed for Himalayan road building have been held up for weeks.

NEW DELHI—The Asian regional organization of the ICFTU condemned China's and Indonesia's aggressive activities in South Vietnam and Malaysia.

AHMEDABAD—The Gujarat Government has decided to adopt Gujarati as the official language of state administration from May 1.

NEW DELHI—An Indian Muslim delegation has left for Mecca to counter any anti-Indian propaganda at a Pan-Islamic meeting held there. It is reported that both China and Indonesia are sending strong delegations to turn the conference into a political platform.

BHOPAL—The General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, Mr. T. Manean, warned that Congressmen who aired their differences with the ruling group in their states "on the streets, in hotels, newspapers or the floor of the House" would face serious disciplinary measures.

"Grand Design" Reveals

WHAT MODERN INDIA IS THINKING

by The Editor

THE "GRAND DESIGN FOR INDIA" competition sponsored by HIMMAT reveals a pattern of what intelligent India is thinking 17 years after Independence. Most of the entries are of a high order and indicate the intense restlessness and search among our people. Contributor Mrs. Sarla-bai B. Naik of Bombay says, "You don't require a great king or a great hero or a great politician to develop a nation. You require to bring out and harness the greatness that is inherent in every ordinary looking man or woman."

Contributors gave serious attention to the subject. One writer in a covering note states, "What seemed simple enough at first—and with hours of argument as background as to what is wrong with India and how the country should run—took me days and many hours of soul searching."

As one reads page after page of often passionate writing by several contributors, who range from bank executives and housewives to students, one realizes the tremendous desire among the Indian people for a national purpose. It appears as though patriotism has been dammed up.

Urge to Advance

This urge of the people is mentioned by one writer: "Together with acute poverty in which the majority pass their lives, is a rising expectation of something better than they have ever known. This urge to move forward is the biggest single agent towards advancement in modern India."

Of all the themes dealt with, corruption takes number one place. Most believe that not state machinery, but individual change, is the answer.

Contributors appear to have little faith in planning. That does not mean they want planning scrapped, but that priorities in planning be given to smaller undertakings that fetch quicker results than major projects. This is particularly true for

agricultural and irrigation projects.

Increase of food production is naturally much in the minds of people and connected to that is the problem of population. Mr. J. M. Manuel of Madras suggests that "in order to arrest the growth of population, postponement of matrimony should be encouraged through legislation. People should be persuaded to marry at 25 in the case of women and at 30 for men." He adds, "The unmarried should be given relief from taxation."

Though no concrete suggestions were given on wealth distribution, the need to overcome the present disparities in income is visible in most entries. At the same time, there is no frequent mention or inclination to doctrinaire Socialism. In fact, there is a protest against the doctrinaire application of Socialism, although there is no antagonism towards the principles of Socialism.

Our Defence

Defence is a major concern of many, and China is looked upon as the major enemy of India. There is comparatively little mention of either Pakistan or the Kashmir dispute.

Non-alignment as a policy was generally regarded as useful by the contributors in the early years, but many of them now advocate "assistance from any quarter provided there are no strings attached". The thinking of most, however, is restricted to India and only occasionally extends to India's immediate neighbours, Nepal, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan. There is hardly anyone who is concerned for South East Asia, the Far East or the Middle East, which shows how much we, as a nation, are centred around ourselves.

Mrs. J. M. Bose of Calcutta states that "by our ability to provide at home a successful working alternative to Communism and by our non-association with cold-war politics, we shall extend our influence and authority in the Afro-Asian world".

That no Grand Design for India can operate except within the context

of Asia as a whole, is a point which most contributors have missed.

A heartening feature of the competition has been the number of entries received from women readers of HIMMAT, and their general standard is high.

Intellectual Honesty

Some competitors take this occasion to make digs at our leadership. For example, Vincent G. Thomas objects to the Minister for Industries, Mr. Manubhai Shah, saying, "The less said about corruption, the better." Mr. Thomas protests: "Blandly Mr. Shah suggests the less we talk and do about the evils around us, the less important will they seem. 'Do not get involved,' we are admonished from one side of the mouth. While, from the other: 'Give more! Give Blood! Gold and Money'. In other words, 'Give, but do not ask questions.'"

A high degree of intellectual honesty is displayed. There is no false talk about "5,000 years of Indian culture". There is no justification for the present state we are in. There is little looking back to the past in a nostalgic way. There are no pseudo-religious platitudes.

At the same time, although there is considerable conviction in some of the articles, there is little spiritual content or depth in most. Perhaps

Continued next page

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the one who comes nearest to it is a lady who rather mystically says that she dreamt: "I found myself facing the high ranges of the Himalayas. I could not take my eyes off the snow-clad peaks. I bowed my head to the abode of Shiv-Parvati and asked the Gods why they had forsaken us. They smiled and said, 'We never forsake our children but we seem to do so because we believe in allowing them to take care of themselves, to stand on their own feet and to be independent. We give them guidance but we allow them to make mistakes and also suffer for those mistakes.'"

The prize winners are announced on pages 8 and 9. On first reading, contributions were tested on the basis of language and expression, content, original ideas, presentation and conviction.

The final prize winners were selected not so much on the basis of all the points that they may have adequately managed to cover, but on

the basis of originality, signs of initiative and passionate conviction.

Ten contributors were in the running for the first prize and have shown considerable talent, ability, power of expression and a deep concern for India. HIMMAT hopes at least to publish a couple more contributions in the forthcoming issues.

Creative Thinking Needed

Though many have ably pointed out what is wrong with India, there is scope for more creative thinking on national problems.

One of the prize-winning competitors, Mr. A. S. Ajjampur, states, "A nation's most important resource is its people. In a democracy it is the will of the people that ultimately can give shape to a national objective. The 'will of the people' is not just the Opposition Party, the elections, disputes, or the isolated national monuments built during the Five Year

Plans. It is a way of life; it is a vision that extends beyond five years, a vision that incorporates the richness of the people, heritage and history of the country; it is an attempt to look beyond—with a fourth dimension and a sixth sense; it is an acceptance of the discipline of absolute honesty and purity of life. Thus, the 'Grand Design' is a function of the individual's attitude towards himself, his fellowmen, his country, the world and God. It is the sum total of all individuals and all efforts."

The real test for those who have spoken with such feeling about India, and those in whom these words find an echo, is "What price are we willing to pay in our own lives to see the India of our dreams?" Can those who have contributed, back their sentiments with their daily action and plan for the greatness of our Motherland? For it is said, "As I am, so is my nation."

Outlook for the Opposition

INDIA IS FORTUNATE in the calibre and ability of many of her Opposition leaders. If brilliance of debate and frequency of exposure of Government misdeeds were an index of effectiveness, India's Parliamentary Opposition is indeed effective.

Despite the occasional lack of consistency in the policies that at one time supports the right of pro-China Communists to form a government in Kerala in the name of democracy and at another condemns the Government for being so democratic as to allow Sheikh Abdullah to go abroad, the best of India's parliamentarians are a match for any government in the world.

The courage of a free press that exposed the betrayal of a Profumo has its worthy counterpart in the persistence of an Opposition that pursues a corrupt Patnaik or Mitra to the very end.

But the function of an Opposition is not merely to oppose. A Parliamentary Opposition has significance only in terms of the validity of the alternative policies it proposes and the organizational strength that can put it into power.

Grass Roots Lacking

The tragedy of Indian political parties in the last fifteen years has been the failure to develop a truly nation-wide party of any significance in opposition to the Congress Party. In spite of the multiplicity of political parties that put up candidates during an election, only the Congress Party has the organization, the cadres, and the means to reach out into every part of the country.

Other parties failed to build a grass-roots organization that can effectively challenge the Congress monopoly of power. The main Opposition parties, the Swatantra Party, the Praja Socialist and the Socialist Parties, and the Jan Sangh are at present confined to certain regions of the country. Even the undivided Communist Party was limited in its organizational scope and had deteriorated over the years.

The voting strength of the parties in the last three general elections is a clear refutation of Opposition optimism about the Nemesis of Congress rule. While it is true that the Con-

gress Party share of the total vote polled fell from 47.8 per cent (1956) to 44.7 per cent (1962), a decrease of about 6 million votes throughout the country, the smallest vote of the Party was in Kerala (34.3 per cent).

On the other hand the Socialist Party which with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (with which it was merged to form the original Praja Socialist

or organization of any importance in Assam, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra (except Bombay City), Orissa and West Bengal. Though their success in some states like Gujarat, Bihar and Rajasthan was remarkable, they will face more difficult problems of organization and leadership in extending their strength.

The Communist Party which is the only opposition to have steadily increased its vote from 3.3 per cent in 1952, to 8.9 per cent in 1956, to nearly 10 per cent in 1961 is, for the time being, too preoccupied with internal controversies to make a deeper dent in national life. But even this comparative success is a result of concentrated effort in a few states like Andhra, Assam, Kerala and West Bengal.

Despite some spectacular bye-election successes, especially in the wake of Mr. Morarji Desai's gold control order, there has been no consistent trend in favour of the Opposition in any part of the country. On the other hand, strong groups of independents such as in Andhra, provincial parties like the Jharkhand in Bihar, have merged with the Congress. Though disaffection inside the Party, group rivalries and dissatisfaction over the selection of candidates for election is likely to lead to a fresh crop of independent contestants, the trend of declining importance of independents (15.8 per cent. of total votes polled in 1952 to 11 per cent in 1962) is likely to continue.


Voter's Inertia

It is true that the strength of the Congress is to a certain extent unpredictable without Pandit Nehru's immense prestige and in the face of increasing indecision, lack of authority and disunity of the Congress Party High Command. But the Opposition has to reckon with certain factors that weigh against them.

Firstly, their own lack of the minimum organization in many parts of the country to catch the negative anti-Congress vote. Secondly, the inertia of the voter who prefers the certainties of known Congress rule and misrule to the uncertain confusion of half a dozen dissident groups who are

Continued on page 14

Under
the
Lens
by R. VAITHESWARAN

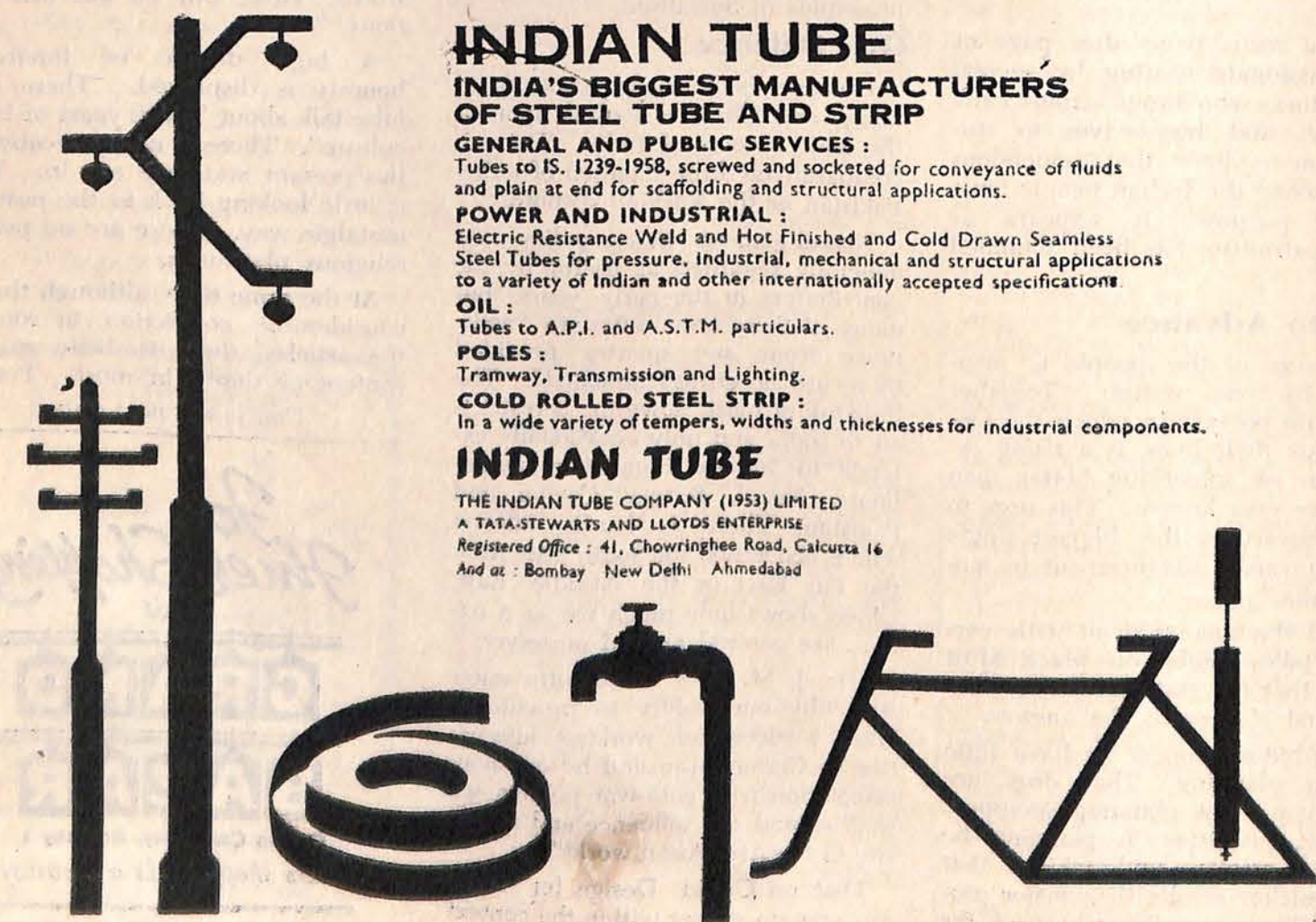


Party in 1952) polled 16.4 per cent of the total vote in 1952, succeeded in polling only 10.4 per cent of the vote in 1956. In the 1962 elections, it fell further to 6.8 per cent.

It has lost heavily in its former strongholds of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Mysore. It has no organization of any significance left in Andhra, Punjab, Rajasthan and West Bengal. The large scale defections of the followers of Ashok Mehta into the Congress, the merger of the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party, and the subsequent defection of the P.S.P. at Benares, have certainly not added to the ability of the Party to face the next general elections. It is a question mark whether the parliamentarians who walked out of the Benares convention of the S.S.P. have the mass following to enable them even to fight their way through into the next Parliament.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh is clearly a party confined to Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab and U.P. and, to a limited extent, Maharashtra. The negative vote against the Congress may lead to an increase in their vote in these states but it would be unrealistic to expect any change in their capacity as a national opposition.

The Swatantra Party which did better than the P.S.P. in the last general elections (7.9 per cent of the total vote—9 million votes) has no strength



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Grand Design for India Competition

HIMMAT has pleasure in publishing the two entries which share the first prize

A Vision Beyond Five Years

by A. S. Ajampur

IN A COUNTRY with 480 million people, 14 regional languages and many cultures; with a heritage of 5000 years, yet a parliamentary maturity of only 17 years; in a world of conflicting ideology and problems, any "Grand Design" for India, at the present stage may not bear fruits to be shared by the present generation. Yet, it is a dream which, when well executed, may be a reality under which our children and grandchildren can share the fruits of a better society.

A "Grand Design" is a way of life that incorporates a rational, yet bold, domestic and international policy reflecting a well defined national objective.

The national objective should be to create an environment in which every citizen has an equal opportunity and is recognized according to one's merit.

Food and Fibre

It is, therefore, essential that there is enough food and fibre for every individual; it is essential to drive away inertia and create a national awareness; it is essential to recognise the Centre's contribution to industry in the Public Sector, and yet have a deep understanding, and faith in private enterprise, which is an effort by the individual to contribute towards the national prosperity.

A policy is needed to strengthen an existing link language on a voluntary and realistic basis; the question of a "national" language should be analyzed on a pragmatic basis by the next generation, without the dogma of the present generation. A sense of priority is needed so that trivial matters may be set aside to make room for problems of food and fibre, national security, national integration, economic growth and most of all, a resurrection of national moral aptitude.

There is a need for our nation to recognize that within its cultural framework, it must find a solution to

develop, what may be described as, a "business agriculture". This means that more private Indian capital should be encouraged into the creation of a farming business. Economic incentives on food and fibre should be established to attract indigenous hidden capital. About 80 per cent of the farmers are "small scale" who need co-operatives of some kind. But the ultimate success of Indian agriculture will depend on the performance of the remaining 20 per cent.

Short Term Projects

The magnitude of the food problem is emphasized by the fact that more than 3500 million dollars worth of food grains have been imported from the U.S.A. alone. This points out the need for being more realistic and knowledgeable than in the past. And, although we require planning, the emphasis should be on short-term return projects rather than on mammoth, low-return, long-term projects. The tax structure should be re-evaluated to provide an effective incentive for productivity.

Recognizing the folly of the creation of linguistic states, it is now necessary to encourage such organizations and services which contribute towards national unity. An effective All India Agricultural and Educational Service should be evolved. It is necessary to form a uniform educational policy from primary to university level.

We require a national security policy that will create an awareness in the public toward the need for national defence and prestige. Above all, it is necessary to establish a condition so each individual can work with reasonable honesty, by giving full and unpolitical support to agencies established to root out corruption.

It is erroneous to assume that domestic and foreign policies are separate entities, and require different approaches. It is indeed only one

objective manifested in dualism—extending the domestic policy beyond the nation's borders. The foreign policy of India should be an outward expression of an inward principle. It is necessary to have a uniform approach backed by a moral conviction in dealing with other nations.

Boldness in the Past

Thus the "Grand Design" requires a bold new approach. The success of the tremendous job accomplished in India, has been because of the boldness of our past leaders.

A nation's most important resource is its people. In a democracy it is the will of the people that ultimately can give shape to a national objective. The "will of the people" is not just the Opposition Party, the elections, disputes, or the isolated national monuments built during the Five Year Plans. It is a way of life; it is a vision that extends beyond five years, a vision that incorporates the richness of the people, heritage and history of the country; it is an attempt to look beyond, with a fourth dimension and a sixth sense; it is an acceptance of the discipline of absolute honesty and purity of life.

Thus, the "Grand Design" is a function of the individual's attitude towards himself, his fellowmen, his country, the world and God. It is the sum total of all individuals and all efforts.

Hence the ultimate responsibility of making the "Grand Design" a reality falls on the shoulders of each citizen. There is no place for inertia, and mere spectatorhood.

Every citizen should assist the Government to uphold the national heritage and objective; it is the duty of every citizen to differ, effectively and gracefully, if there is a cause for difference. What is needed is a total participation by awareness of all citizens in the Government on a day to day basis—to sow the seed of national awareness and make the land grow plenty, so that our children and grandchildren may harvest the crop.

The Next 17 Years

by Ramakanth Venson

INDIA TODAY is like a ship of old, in a stormy sea without the guidance of the North star and the compass. The captain does not know how and which way to steer the ship. Apart from the captain himself being unsteady, the members of his crew are irresponsible and uncooperative and they do not seem to realise that if they do not save the ship, they too will go down with it.

We can go on and on cynically criticizing for the next 17 years. But that does not help matters change. Things have to improve and change. What is the solution?

Work Produces Wealth

Most people blame over-population as the main cause for all the problems. They don't seem to blame laziness and the inability to work harder. They forget the fact that each mouth has two hands which can work and produce more.

Abortion, contraceptives and sterilization are not only wrong methods of controlling the population, they are harmful and immoral too. Proper education, self-restraint and a sense of responsibility can solve the question of over-population.

People want more, but they work less and produce less. Economic development and progress can be achieved only by a sense of responsibility, hardwork and patriotism. Our agricultural methods should be mechanized. We should inspire and educate the farmers to grow more food not only for their own needs but also for the needs of the hungry millions of India. There should be free movement of food grains from surplus states to deficit states.

Our education system is basically wrong. Each state has its own system of education and a radical change has to be effected with uniformity all over India. Every man, woman and child should be given the opportunity to get a sound education.

There should be a national language and due consideration and respect should be given to all the re-

gional languages. They should also have the status of the national language. For official purposes both Hindi and English should be used. Let the non-Hindi speaking people take their own time to learn Hindi. What is the hurry? By haste and hurry, there will be rioting and chaos as witnessed in the past months. But more than that, there is bound to be national disunity and disintegration, which will help the enemies within and outside the country.

A great deal could be said about our Central and State Ministries. But a firm, bold and inspired leader is needed at the Centre. Some of the central ministers want everything for the state they represent. This is one of the stepping stones to hatred, disunity and disintegration.

Reconsider Policies

A great deal of good can be done by reducing the strength of the cabinets and those in office should lead a life of simplicity and need, instead of luxury and greed. India should follow the austerity measures taken by the new Ceylon government. It is no good professing the ideals of morality, simplicity and patriotism, if we ourselves do not follow and live it, for the good of society and the country.

The policy of non-alignment was alright when there was no threat of war or aggression. But now, after the Chinese attack on our northern

borders, and the explosion of the nuclear bomb, we should now reconsider our foreign policy before it is too late. India should cultivate firm reciprocal goodwill and friendship with western countries like the USA and UK. Until there is the threat of invasion, India should abandon her non-alignment policy and do some re-thinking. Before America changes her mind, India should accept the offer for nuclear protection. India should also care more for her neighbours like Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Ceylon.

End This Smallness

India today is a sickly nation. Corruption, jealousy, hatred and division are highly prevalent. Any number of Vigilance Commissions, Anti-corruption departments or Sadachar Samitis cannot do any good, until and unless there is a moral awareness and a revolution. In the name of language, boundary, river waters and re-naming a state, unending debates, discussions and demonstrations are held. All these amount to small and selfish aims, without a national and patriotic purpose.

There are hundreds of patriots in our country now, top leaders in the government, who had sacrificed their homes, comfort, and luxury for the freedom of our country. A great many even sacrificed their lives. Why should not these living patriots do something far bigger and greater than that?

Some top cabinet ministers resigned for party work. Many more could resign to work for a moral revolution and for the nation's greatness.

PRIZE WINNERS 'Grand Design for India' Competition

The prize of Rs. 100 has been awarded jointly to

Mr. A. S. Ajampur
287, "Jyoti"
Sion Road, East
Bombay 22.

Mr. Ramakanth Venson
Scindia House
599 SS Temple Road,
Visveswarapuram
Bangalore 4.

Selections from other entries will be published next week in the "Viewpoint" column and awarded contributors fees.

—EDITOR

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Common Market Strain and Stress

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Berne

SOME NEW STEPS to consolidate the unity of Europe are being planned for these coming weeks. The danger of the two big economic groups—the EFTA led by Britain and including Sweden, Switzerland and Austria, and the Common Market—is that they will move further in opposite directions.

The economic development inside the two blocs shows that an all-European unity including the nations of both blocs will get more and more difficult as years go by. Last year for instance, trade inside the EFTA countries increased by 17 per cent, while trade between the EFTA and the Common Market countries increased only by 6.4 per cent. This might not look too alarming, but in fact it means that many of the traditional bonds of trade are being broken up while new ones have to be established.

Inside the two economic blocs there are strains and stresses too.

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Since the coming to power of Mr. Harold Wilson and the Labour Party in Britain and their abrupt decision to raise tariff barriers by 15 per cent, the other members of EFTA have lost some of their enthusiasm for their association with Britain. They were very upset that Britain did not even consider it necessary to consult their EFTA partners before raising their tariffs.

The firm stand of all the small nations inside EFTA forced Britain to revise its position and to make concessions. Some of the EFTA nations have now restored their relations with Britain and are still convinced that their economic bloc is meant to grow and develop in the coming years.

Linked With Both

Other EFTA nations, however, have started to look for other possibilities of association. Austria has started negotiations with the Common Market and hopes to be the first country to be linked with both trade groups. While it is not impossible that the negotiations to establish associations with both organizations will succeed, the request of Austria could well be used by the Common Market leaders to try and break up EFTA in the process. This is not in Austria's mind, but the question is how much the Austrian Government is ready to sacrifice in order to get advantage of association with the Common Market.

The negotiations of Austria with Brussels are being watched carefully also by Eastern Europe. Austria has always had very close relations with the different Eastern European nations. Recently, some of the Eastern European Governments have even sent observers to Brussels, because they, too, would like to establish closer links with the Common Market.

Inside the Common Market there are also new developments. Signor Fanfani, the man who has often disappeared from the Italian political scene to re-appear again in a different position, has made his latest appearance as Foreign Minister. While some of the Right-wing men on the Italian political scene were very much afraid that Fanfani might move the foreign policy of Italy towards the Left, the new Foreign Minister has rather done the opposite. He has immediately launched an initiative trying to consolidate the political unity movement inside the Common Market.

De Gaulle Says 'No'

Signor Fanfani suggested that the Foreign Ministers of the Common Market nations meet on May 10 in Venice to discuss practical and realistic steps towards political unity. This move has been blocked by President de Gaulle. But it seems clear that before the German elections in September nothing further will be done to establish political unity.

Another factor inside the Common Market is the attitude of Holland which is in a serious political crisis. It seems that the Dutch, especially the outgoing Foreign Minister, Mr. Luns, who has held this position for the last few years, wants to block any further move towards political unity inside the Common Market before another attempt is made to include Britain. Some reliable sources say that President de Gaulle would not be too unhappy if the present Government crisis in Holland would mean the elimination of Mr. Luns from the European political scene. Whether that will happen or not, the next weeks will show.

Crisis Ahead

It seems also that de Gaulle himself might want to try another approach to Britain and that he, too, would like to see a new relationship built up between the Common Market and the United Kingdom.

Sounding the European capitals, one gets the feeling that all the Governments are conscious that the next months will bring about fundamental changes in the world political scene. They realize it is important that no country, or no group of countries stands isolated when the crisis comes.

HIMMAT, April 16, 1965

Edinburgh Festival Cleaned Up?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Edinburgh

EDINBURGH'S annual International Festival of Music and Drama is developing into a battlefield. Lord Harewood, the Artistic Director, has resigned and two of the top organizers on the drama side have now followed him. The *Observer* this week interprets what is going on as a feud between "the local *avant-garde* and some city councillors".

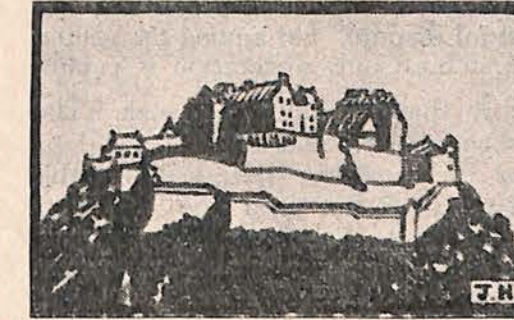
It is more than this. The so-called *avant-garde* is more than "local". Lord Harewood's ideas have brought to the city international exponents of "the theatre of cruelty" and "the theatre of the absurd". Mr. John Calder, a London publisher, organized two Festival Conferences where a cosmopolitan group of writers spoke indignantly of their battle with the censors and proclaimed their interest in sexual perversions and drug addiction. The better quality writers lashed out against this trend within the conference.

The men responsible for the BBC's two discredited "satire" programmes—"That Was The Week That Was" and "Not So Much a Programme..."—also played a prominent part in these Edinburgh Conferences.

Public Protest

It was at one of them that a naked woman was suddenly wheeled across the stage. (An Indian delegate, Mr. Habib Tanvir, was one of those who publicly protested, calling the whole thing "infantile".) At last year's Festival the "Ballets Africains" displayed semi-naked African women in a way that would be permitted in few African cities.

Such incidents in themselves could be dismissed as unimportant. But public statements by Lord Harewood and some of his associates have made it plain that they represent a deliberate outlook on life and art. "My greatest enemy is that old Presbyterian, John Knox," said Harewood, attacking one of the Christian founders of modern Scotland. "I am out to break through the backward puritanical attitude to sex of the British public," said Mr. Calder. Since the Profumo scandal, some observers have suggested that the British public needs more, not less, of its old puritanical standards. And Miss Joan Littlewood, whose production of "Henry IV" at last year's Festival was



Edinburgh Castle, backdrop to the famous international festival of drama and art.

unanimously slashed by the critics, expressed her philosophy at a press conference. "The theatre," she said, "can be a marvellous place now God is dead and religion is dead."

Strong voices have now begun to be heard calling for a change in the direction of the Festival, to bring it back to its original purpose as an inspirer of harmony between nations.

The late Mr. Peter Howard, in one of his last speeches in Britain, spoke with characteristic bluntness, warning against "trends in Edinburgh that may destroy the tradition and liberty which millions died in war to preserve".

Four hundred Scots from all parts of the country sent a petition to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh calling for one of Howard's plays at the Festival and demanding a policy that "stands four-square against the godless philosophy which a few powerful voices seek to advertise in the name of art."

Citizens Took Action

Things came to a head this year when the "drama panel" of the Festival selected as "centre-piece of the drama programme" a play called "The Assembly". This play *The Scotsman* describes as "long, often extremely boring and confusing, and bawdy or blasphemous in fair measure". It was to be put on the stage

of the Church of Scotland Assembly Hall, apparently selected as suitable because it is a satire on the Church.

Alert Edinburgh citizens took action. The Rev. J. B. Longmuir, Principal Clerk to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, denied the use of the Hall, commenting that "anything produced in the Assembly Hall should be worthy of the Hall". The Festival Committee has had to accept this decision. "Macbeth" and not "The Assembly" will be the central play this year.

With a new Director, will the Edinburgh Festival get a new direction? At least the civic pride and conscience of a city, which once was proud to be called "the Athens of the North", seem to be waking up.

Fashioning a Free Africa

FROM VERE JAMES

Kampala

"We do not wish to be influenced and will not be driven by the ideologies of foreign powers. We are seeking to fashion an African image to bring about a rapid improvement in the living standards of our people," said President Jomo Kenyatta on being awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at the University of East Africa by the Chancellor of the University, Dr. Julius Nyerere.

Pawn or Target?

President Kenyatta continued: "It has been proved tragically true that as each nation is born in Africa, it becomes a pawn or target in the cold war. And in these nations that are unresponsive, experience has been that certain elements will go to any length of subversion in order to bring a government and people into their ideological orbit or under their strategic command."

Also present in Kampala for the occasion were Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, and Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda. The meeting of the four African leaders provided the opportunity for talks which may lead to closer ties with Zambia and its inclusion in the East African Common Market.

HIMMAT, April 16, 1965

Cactus, Copper and Conflict

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS

Mount Isa, Queensland

SEVENTY PER CENT of Australia's copper and a large proportion of its lead, zinc and silver come from Mount Isa, yet this key area in the nation's economy has been crippled by an eight-month-long industrial dispute. Set among the rolling red and brown hills of Northern Australia, whose only vegetation is cactus, spinifex and stunted bushes, this mountain of copper ore is but one of the recent finds of vast mineral wealth in Australia's North.

Two hundred miles from here at Wiepa there is enough bauxite lying on the surface to supply the entire world with aluminium for the next 50 years. What may be under the ground has not yet been explored.

In the North-west there are mountain ranges of iron ore of the highest grade possible. Japan has already signed a contract recently for \$850 million worth of iron ore over the next 20 years. Oil exploration showed vast reserves available. One of the world's largest uranium fields is found 500 miles away at the desert area known locally as Rum Jungle.

Get Rich Quick

What will this wealth be used for and by whom? On that question depends the whole future development of South-East Asia.

It is in this setting that the current strike in Mount Isa must be seen. The mine has produced no copper for eight months, and though the men are slowly drifting back to work, there has been such bitterness aroused in the town that conditions of work may not be stable for many years to come.

The company has been losing

more than \$2 million a week. The management points to all it has done for the workers' welfare. But this alone does not heal the bitterness of the workers. The company in fact has come into Mount Isa to get rich quickly. The workers feel it is their right to try and get rich quickly too.

Money No Proof

The strike revolves around the magnetic personality of a New Zealand-born Canadian citizen called Pat Mackie who gave the labour force the leadership which the official union failed to provide. Now the townspeople are beginning to wake up to the fact that Mackie clearly has Communists alongside him. But it is a valid question why no alternative leadership has been thrown up from the ordinary Australians who believe in liberty. Just offering miners more money has not made them proof against Mackie's personality.

Into this situation a Moral Re-Armament task force was invited last week by the Mount Isa Shire Council, the only body elected by all sectors of the town's life. They brought with them Peter Howard's play "We Are Tomorrow" produced and acted by youth from all over Australia and New Zealand. Nine of the cast have suspended their studies in order to take the play all around Australia.

With them to Mount Isa came men of management and trade union leaders, professional men and retired airforce officers.

Their reception here has been electric. The local newspaper editor told me, "Everyone here was at the end of their tether. They are all looking for someone to give them an answer."

The President of one of the local service clubs said after the play's first packed, enthusiastically received performance, "You have come to the right place at the right time with the right ideas." Members of the MRA force have met the mine management and militant left-wingers.

In the audience for the play's two performances were people of every faction — management, businessmen, and the different warring labour groups. One veteran of the town surveyed the audience and said, "There are people here tonight whom I never thought I would see together again because of this dispute."

Mistakes On All Sides

The audience stayed long after the play. All asked, "How can we build unity again with life-long friends who now won't speak to us?" The last to leave the theatre on the first night was the District Secretary of Australia's largest trade union who, because of the strike, had split with the official Labour Party. He said, "All sides have made mistakes. We need to begin to put right where we have been wrong."

In the same audience was the General Manager of the mine with his family. It was the most representative gathering seen in the town since the ugly dispute began. The mine has just resumed full-scale production.

Alleged Plot to Overthrow Kenya Government

FROM YEZDI H. MUNSHI

Nairobi

EAST AFRICA has the largest concentration of diplomatic activity on the African continent. It came as a shock to the Kenya nation when a Member of the House of Representatives, Mr. Malinda, tabled a motion calling on the Government to investigate an alleged plot to overthrow the Kenya Government.

The Honourable Member's motion read:

"In view of the evidence that arms and ammunition are continuously being smuggled from Communist and other foreign countries into or through Kenya for the purpose of staging an armed revolution to overthrow our beloved Government, or involving us in external conflict, this House urges the Government to use all means at its disposal to ensure that this secret plan is revealed and made public, and thereafter completely stop the smuggling of arms to ensure the stability of our Government is maintained."

"Throw Them Out"

As Mr. Malinda finished speaking there was complete chaos as M.P.s cheered, roared and shouted their approval of the motion. The full debate on the motion will be resumed after the Easter recess on April 20. However, M.P.s discussed the allegations for 90 solid minutes and it was prominently displayed in the local press.

The leader of the former Opposition, Mr. Ronald Ngala, disclosed that the majority of members were aware of the matter. He alleged foreign embassies were smuggling arms into Kenya and that those guilty should be "thrown out". Mr. Ngala felt strongly that after fighting imperialism certain people now wanted another form of imperialism in the form of Communism to come to the country. A delicate diplomatic situation is likely to develop but there is every indication that Kenya will not pay a high price for the friendship of some Communist countries who are planning the alleged revolution.

Mr. Ngala then quoted from a document "written by someone from the East" called *Revolution in Africa*:

"The revolution will spread to Kenya

and Uganda and nationalists and reactionaries such as Nyerere and Kenyatta and Obote, who try to talk with both sides of their mouths at the same time, will suffer the same fate as the former Sultan of Zanzibar did. The time has arrived to condemn African Socialism and to expose its false dogma."

Marked Conflict

Dr. Mungai, Minister for Internal Security and Defence, assured the House that there had been nothing to show big arms smuggling operations in the Republic. However, the Minister said he would have liked to have the matter debated in full. "There may be evidence that this is happening and I want to answer this," he declared.

The Minister for Health and Housing, Mr. Joseph Otiende, referred to the "yellow fellow" taking over the country. If the Chinese supplied arms to overthrow the Government there was very real danger. The Chinese had a subtle way of moving into a country through people's minds.

The intense, down-the-middle split within the Communist camp is likely to have an impact on the course of events in Africa. Nowhere is the conflict so marked, as both try to outdo the other in offering student scholarships, inviting trade delegations and African leaders to Peking or Moscow. Practically week in and week out there is a delegation from some country in Africa welcomed in Peking.

The Chinese Premier summed up his African tour last December by saying, "Revolutionary prospects are excellent throughout the African continent." Africa, he remarked, was ripe for revolution. Peking is on the lookout for revolutionary opportunities requiring direct action. The Chinese have about 16 diplomatic missions in Africa compared to only twice that number in the rest of the world.

* The Tanzanian daily *The Standard* claims the book is published in Albania but is an instance of Peking's subversive activities in Africa.

The week in Asia

COLOMBO—The Ministry of External Affairs has told the Consuls General of North Vietnam, North Korea and East Germany to reduce immediately the number of their nationals accredited to the Consulates.

HANOI—A split is reported in the ranks of North Vietnam's leadership as to how to deal with massive American air attacks. The split between the Peking and Moscow factions has made efforts to get military aid from these capitals ineffective.

COLOMBO — Government sources here state that India is prepared to repatriate 300,000 persons of Indian origin in the next two years as a gesture of good-will to the new Government. The original agreement was for the repatriation of 525,000 "stateless" people over the next 15 years. Some 125,000 are prepared to leave immediately.

TOKYO—Japan will send former Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira to Kuala Lumpur to pursue mediation attempts in the Malaysian-Indonesian dispute.

PEKING—Chou En-lai has informed UN Secretary General U Thant that any negotiations for peace in Vietnam must take place between the U.S. and the Viet Cong.

SAIGON—Recent victories of South Vietnamese and American troops have strengthened the hand of Premier Phan Huy Quat who has not had to face any attempted coups or civil disturbances since taking over on February 17. He has lifted martial law and relaxed internal censorship.

COLOMBO — The rank and file in Mrs. Bandaranaike's defeated Freedom Party are agitating against continued coalition with the Trotskyites and Communists. Their defeat in the election is blamed on this coalition. Felix Bandaranaike, nephew of the former Prime Minister, leads this move.

PEKING—The *People's Daily*, official organ of the Chinese Communist Party, bitterly attacked the "dirty and obsequious" role played by the U.K. in backing America's Vietnam policies. The article will make difficult the visit to Peking of former British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Gordon-Walker who is on a fact-finding mission for Prime Minister Wilson.

RAWALPINDI — The U.S.S.R. has agreed to give Pakistan credit for Rs. 150,000,000 as a result of talks between President Ayub and Soviet leaders.

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OPPOSITION —From page 7

united in opposition to Congress but not much else. Thirdly, changes in the nature of support to the Congress.

The Congress Party does not rely any more on the loyalty of the masses who genuinely support its record. Over the years, the Party has come to rely on influential bosses and Party men who support the Party for the status, influence and perquisites they obtain and can distribute among their supporters. The votes they control are available, though at an increasing price, and are uninfluenced by factors such as the exit of Nehru, the division at the top, the dwindling prestige of India abroad.

The Opposition parties must build a loyalty that over-rides these considerations. They have succeeded

where they appealed to narrower loyalties such as the Swatantra to caste resentments of certain middle peasant elements in Andhra; the D.M.K. exploitation of Tamil chauvinism in Madras; the Peasants and Workers Party Crusade against Brahmans in Maharashtra; the Hindu chauvinistic appeal of the Jan Sangh in the north.

As yet none of the Opposition parties have found a broader national objective which can appeal to the masses, in the manner in which Mahatma Gandhi drew the millions in the struggle for independence.

Poorly Paid Functionaries

Political parties in India in general have a lackadaisical approach to organization. They rely on voluntary work which is necessarily haphazard. Their failure to overcome the casual approach to money of most Indians (who will not pay party subscriptions) implies heavy reliance on non-regular sources of finance, such as business or other unnamed sources of funds. Party functionaries are therefore poorly and irregularly paid or not at all. This is a big handicap with Opposition parties whose members do not have the advantages of Congressmen to make money.

But the greatest weakness of the non-Congress parties is the individualism and self-importance of leaders who all insist on getting their due recognition. Many of them, used to prominence, assumed a mass base they did not have when they defected from the Congress.

Unlike the Communists who usually

capture the organization, Congressmen who left the party did not carry the organizational machinery of the Congress with them and thus overnight found themselves isolated. Even after discovering this, they have not tried to organize the grass roots party machinery which can gain support from local populations

There is no alternative to hard work and intelligent organization. Without sweat there can be no reward—especially for the Opposition.

The fondness of Indians for doctrinaire controversy has prevented them from being practical. If there was more emphasis on realistic action and less on theoretical antagonisms, the chances of growing unity of the Opposition would have been greater. As it is, the personal incompatibility of leaders, as well as their ideological differences has prevented any lasting alliance of opposition parties.

Invitation to Anarchy

The ambitions of hopeful aspirants and their claims to candidature in the elections will of course remain an eternal source of conflict. The possibilities of any long term electoral arrangement between any of the leading Opposition parties are therefore few. Temporary adjustments to mutual advantage are of course certain. But even the challenge of the overwhelming superiority of the Congress and the growing bitterness against the ruling Party is likely to result in no more than a temporary union of the Opposition parties.

This will have its potential for weakening the Congress, even preventing it from getting a majority in a few State Legislatures, as has already happened in Kerala. People as opposed to one another as Rajaji, Rammanohar Lohia and E.M.S. Namboodiripad are united in their conviction that Congress defeat is a desirable aim in itself. But in the absence of a minimum understanding that will enable the parties to work together in a government, it invites anarchy or Presidential rule.

So far none of the Opposition parties has been ready to face this alternative. But if they are realistic about winning, they will have to plan to extend the areas of agreement and co-operative action among themselves as vigorously as they expose the failings of Congress rule.

FOR WOMEN

She Created India's Blood Banks

by Jini Taleyarkhan

HER SON HAD had a nasty accident. "Within twenty minutes your son must have blood." This was told to Mrs. Leela Moolgaoker, wife of Mr. Sumant Moolgaoker, who is a Director of Tatas. And there was no blood to be had in those days—ten years ago. There was no Blood Bank and the doctors at the hospital could not find a donor. Can you imagine the anguish in a mother's heart at such a time? But as if by a miracle, a worker of the hospital turned up who had the same blood grouping—and her son's life was saved.

It is the gratitude of this mother which is responsible for the network of Blood Banks that we have throughout India today.

In 1939 Mrs. Moolgaoker started work at the St. George's Hospital in Bombay, first as a nurse's aide, then throughout the war years as an ambulance driver. Later she took up work in the X-ray department where she worked for five years.

Working closely in a hospital, she

got to know quite a bit about what was going on. Often operations had to be postponed because blood was not available. "And so we decided to start," said Mrs. Moolgaoker. "We had the valuable help, co-operation and encouragement of the late Dr. Anand Pardhy, who was the Superintendent of St. George's Hospital in those days. I worked with my friend,



Mrs. Leela Moolgaoker

Mrs. Sinclair, the wife of the then head of Burmah Shell. She wrote to England and found out how Blood Banks were run in that country. I decided that if the British could do it, so could we. We went to offices, showed films, gave talks with facts and figures, and asked men and women to become voluntary blood donors. We would either take the

Blood Bank to their work or arrange for them to come to hospitals."

And since the first start was made, up to this day, Mrs. Moolgaoker has earnestly devoted herself to working with the Blood Bank. Now she is attached to the Health Ministry and is in charge of Blood Banks throughout the country.

When asked how much of her time she devoted to this work, she replied, "Full time, overtime." She gives credit to her husband and children whose unselfishness and lack of demand leaves her free to give herself whole-heartedly to what she believes is an "essential service".

Only Half an Hour

In 1962, during the Chinese invasion, the Blood Banks played a very great part. There was a shortage of plasma, which gives jawans a 50/50 chance of being taken alive from the field hospital at the front to base hospital some miles away. While whole blood, even under ideal conditions, can only be preserved for 20 days, plasma can be stored for ten years.

In their patriotic fervour, people gave blood very freely. But with conditions returning to what one might call normal, the public do not have the same enthusiasm and urgency to donate blood. There is not an awareness amongst our people that blood is something urgently needed by many. It takes only half an hour and no effort on the part of the individual to give a pint of blood, which the body is able to replace easily within 3 or 4 days.

Here is a most heart-warming story of a 14-year-old girl. She was an invalid from birth (a "blue" baby). When she reached the age of 14, doctors said she could only be saved by a major operation. Her blood grouping was Rh negative—a very rare group. The blood was needed urgently and there was no way of finding donors with this rare group. So for the first time the need was announced over the radio. The response was spontaneous and immediate. Many came to give their blood, including the blind. The girl's life was saved and, what is more, today she is normal and healthy.

The task of finding voluntary donors is an uphill one, but Mrs. Moolgaoker goes at it with determination, constantly discovering new ways.

Continued next page



From India's Leather

Made in New Zealand

by Z.K. Fias

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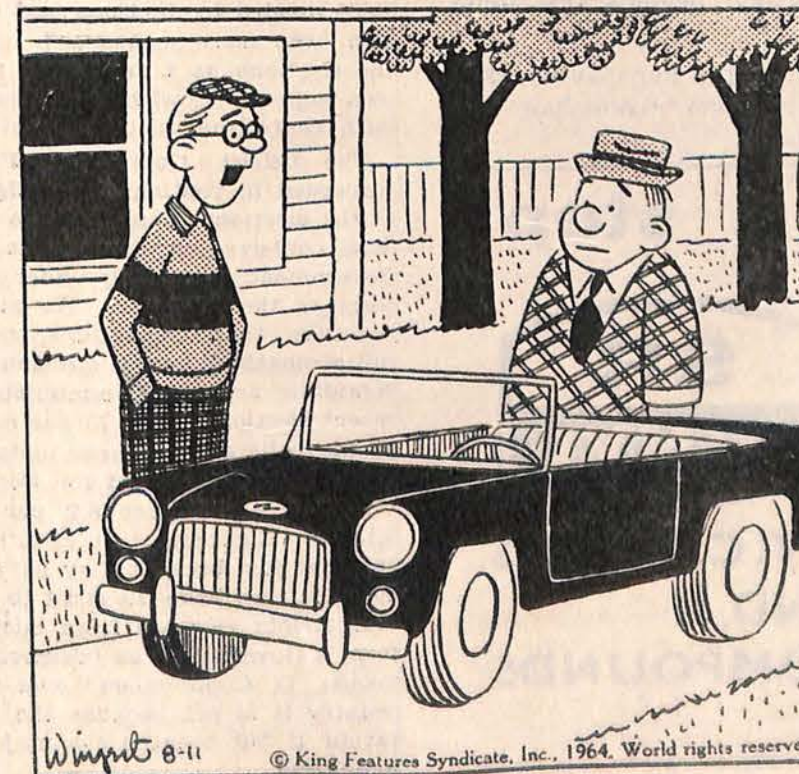
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"Except for the wife's traffic tickets, it's very economical to run."

Blood Banks—Contd.

Her work is of national value. She has been awarded the Padmashree.

She says, "I do not see why we should sell and make money out of blood which is produced so freely in each one of us. We seem to be behind in many things in this country—weaponry, scientific research and so on. We do not have to be behind in this. We have the equipment, the trained personnel, all the facilities. All we need is donors. It is everyone's responsibility to see that blood is available."

Bottle Gardens

A GARDEN in a bottle is charming and fascinating—and requires quite a measure of dexterity and ingenuity to construct and cultivate.

A London physician named Nathaniel Ward more than a hundred years ago discovered that ferns and mosses which could not grow satisfactorily in the industrial fumes of a city could flourish and thrive if grown in the protection of glass-sided cases.

Wash and dry a large bottle (a carboy if possible). With the help of a paper funnel introduce dry soil mixed with charcoal. This should be several inches deep. Be sure the soil is dry. Damp soil will not go down easily.

It is the planting that needs dexterity. Only small plants should be introduced. A dessert spoon and fork attached to suitable sticks with string or tape is most handy. Care-

fully manipulate these through the neck of the bottle to do the planting and then cover the roots with the soil. After planting, water is introduced with the help of a tube attached to a small can.

Cork the bottle tightly after the planting is done. This will help retain the humidity within the bottle which is so essential for the healthy growth of the plants. The closed atmosphere creates a system of self-watering. A bottle garden needs watering very rarely—once in ten months or even a year.



Strong sunlight is not advisable—but it is important to stand the bottle in good light.

When a cork is fitted with a lamp-holder, the bottle garden lends subtle charm to a verandah or shaded balcony.

All varieties of plants, that like moisture can be selected for a bottle garden — e. g. begonia foliosa (or other types of begonia that don't grow tall).

Leaves and ferns, too, may be selected. The common maidenhair fern is most suitable.

LETTERS

FRESH VIEWPOINT

Sir,

I want to commend the fresh viewpoint on Asian and World Affairs presented by HIMMAT. We use it each week in my 12th grade course in Asian History. I have several articles read aloud in class before placing it with the other Library periodicals. We find Mr. Vaitheswaran's penetrating articles especially valuable in helping us see the internal issues facing India. Mr. Gandhi's world vision for both Communists and non-Communists is certainly a heartening challenge.

May I lastly commend "This Was A Life". You bring historic personalities into focus for present day students.

CHARLES D. BRODHEAD
Assistant Headmaster and Teacher
of Asian History, Darrow School.

New Lebanon, N.Y., U.S.A.

KERALA ELECTIONS

Sir,

Very few people expected the 1965 Kerala Assembly elections to be decisive and those expectations have been sadly fulfilled. All attempts to fight the elections on ideological grounds failed and it turned out to be an emotional rally. The rational outlook would have been to discuss socio-economic problems but these were relegated to the background. All the major political parties were divided by factions and each faction was more concerned with using the elections as a means to assert its own supremacy within the party than with contesting opposing parties.

The Leftist Communist Party has succeeded in routing their Right Wing at the elections thanks to the "martyrdom" conferred on them by the Congress Government in placing under detention some of their leaders. We may safely conclude that Communist poll their full strength at every election and the defaulters are anti-Communists. In the recent elections about 73 per cent voted at the polls and of these under 20 per cent or 12,57,878 voted for Communists (Leftists) and under 8.2 per cent or 5,13,284 (Rightists). It is improper to say that just because they have secured 40 seats, they have the right to get their compatriots released from custody and form a Government as "democracy" demands. If Communism over-runs the country it is not because the majority favour it but because the majority are indifferent.

A. MADHAVA WARIAR
Kottayam

This was a life

K'UNG FU-TZU

550-479 B.C.

CONFUCIUS, as the wise and wily sage became known, was born into "the age of confusion". In 1125 B.C. the Shang dynasty of priest-emperors had come to an end. China had slowly disintegrated until by the 6th century B.C. there were anything from 5,000 to 6,000 petty states.

Before Confucius was three years old his father, Commandant of the district of Tsow, died, leaving the family poor. The lad was forced to earn his living.

At 22, with a wife and three children, Confucius founded his first school for teaching "right conduct and government", for he always perceived the link between personal behaviour and national affairs.

His reputation grew rapidly and in 517 B.C. he visited the capital of the empire to continue his researches.

Well on his way to a prosperous career, Confucius was forced to flee when a sudden revolution overtook his native state a few months later. For many years he remained abroad, travelling, studying and instructing his growing band of disciples. Nearly 20 years later, at the age of 52, Confucius was recalled and made Governor of Chung-tu. He rapidly rose to the highest offices of the state.

The results of his philosophy in practice caused all to marvel. One historian wrote, "Dishonesty and dissoluteness hid their heads. Loyalty and good faith became the characteristics of the men and chastity and docility those of the women." He fixed the prices of goods, improved communications, put down gangs of brigands, curbed the nobles and made all men equal before the law.

However his readiness to oppose vested interests aroused opposition. Reluctantly, Confucius resigned and once more journeyed forth into exile.

At last his long-awaited recall to Lu came, but it was too late. Nearly 70 years old and frail, Confucius returned not to political office but to a quiet retreat to spend his remaining five years writing and teaching his disciples. He died disappointed.

But Confucius was not to know that for the next 2,500 years his wisdom, his golden rule: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not to others", his veneration of courtesy and chastity held a powerful sway over the soul of China.

Q and A

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

Q — "To put all the Left wing Communists in jail, keeping E. M. S. Namboodiripad and Jyoti Basu outside is like putting the tail of the tiger in the cage and leaving the body and head outside." Comment.

A — E.M.S. and Jyoti Basu are considered to be "centrists", anti-Dange but not pro-China. Mr. Nanda has obviously taken into consideration the niceties of Communist controversy in not putting them in jail.

As long as they act as the leaders of the Left and are accepted as such by those in jail, Government's attitude is suicidal. It is responsible for the dilemma that has led to the present Kerala crisis where Left and Right are united in agitating against Government's action.

Q — "We urgently need a strong non-Communist Opposition Party before the General Election of 1967." Comment.

A — We have many able, brilliant parliamentarians in the Opposition but as yet no political party which is nationally significant and organizationally rooted in every part of the country.

The P.S.P., which in the early fifties showed signs of developing into such an opposition, has disintegrated. Able men like Acharya Kripalani, Jayaprakash, Ashok Mehta were unable to stop it. The Swatantra Party has yet to develop a base in many parts of India.

Whatever the prospect for a strong non-Communist opposition, the patriotic and intelligent people should develop active, fearless forums of public opinion.

These can provide a moral as well as political alternative to the country. We must continue to strengthen forces inside the Congress which want a clean, dynamic country. At the same time, we must help to create the selfless patriotism which will be the basis for an alternative to the Congress, if it fails in its duty.

Q — What is true patriotism?
A. NANAVATI, Bombay

A — A patriot is one who loves Family, Fatherland and Freedom. He should be ready to do three things:

1. Make honesty and purity the basis of home life. A dishonest father who justifies corruption or impure parents who live selfishly help to raise delinquent children and immoral cynics who will do no good for their country.
2. Set a new standard of hard work, integrity and purposeful living for the nation.
3. Create a new fashion in international relations whereby peroccupation with national interests is tempered with a concern for justice and morality, and nationalism is enriched by care for the future of all humanity.

Q — Why is the Indian Government not permitting Sheikh Abdullah to visit Peking?

A. T. P. SATHYANARAYANA, Hyderabad

A — China has invaded Indian territory and is in illegal occupation of many thousands of square miles of Indian territory. Her declared intention is to encourage India's enemies, increase disaffection in the country and destroy India's freedom. The Indian Government would be stupid to allow Sheikh Abdullah to plot with Chou En-lai to destroy this country. If he chooses to go to Peking, nevertheless, he will make himself a Chinese puppet who serves the interests of aggressive Maoist tyranny.

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Realities of Vietnam

by Rajmohan Gandhi

AMERICANS SAY the Vietnamese crisis is the result of direct aggression as well as subversion by Communists trained in North Vietnam, under Chinese supervision.

The Communists say the crisis is created by the American determination to stay in Vietnam against the will of the people.

Vietnam is complex, but certain realities are clear. If they are faced squarely, a solution can yet be found. Furthermore, they offer important lessons for other countries, including our own.

The first reality is that the Hanoi and Peking regimes want Communism to rule South Vietnam. Short of inviting serious damage upon themselves, they will adopt every means to achieve this aim.

Lengthens Freedom

The second reality is that by fighting to prevent the Communization of South Vietnam, America is stemming Communism in Asia as a whole. Should the Americans decide to pull out of Vietnam, a pro-Communist or fully Communist government will soon be installed in Saigon. Laos will then speedily succumb, and Thailand will be in a precarious state. If Thailand goes Communist, what remains of Burma's freedom will disappear and Rangoon's status will quite likely be reduced to that of a provincial capital of China. Malaysia will be unable then to stay outside Peking's control.

China's grip on India will become tighter and stronger and will not fail, in fact, to crush us.

Whether or not, therefore, we like the American manner of fighting in Vietnam, and whether or not we believe that the Vietnamese people want the American military presence, this presence lengthens freedom's duration in India. We need to be grateful, therefore, for the American soldier who leaves family and comfort and roughs it out in Vietnam at considerable risk.

The third reality is that Communism is strong inside South Vietnam and will not vanish if military and financial aid from Peking and Hanoi were to end.

What has happened is that many soldiers, students, businessmen, farmers and Buddhist monks in South Vietnam have been captured by the Communist idea. A combi-

nation of fears and hates, promises and threats, have won them over. Much of the military equipment used against the American and South Vietnamese forces has come neither from Communist China nor North Vietnam, but from the U.S. It is either captured by the Viet Cong or turned over by South Vietnamese who are supposedly loyal but in fact are committed Communists.

This means that the bombing of North Vietnam will not finish off Viet Cong actions in the South.

The basic truth has got to be faced—*You cannot kill an idea with a bullet or a bomb. You can only defeat it with a better idea.* Ultimately, Communism in South Vietnam will only be answered if those who have been seized by it can be won over to a superior idea. *Dollars and bombs are necessary, but mountains of them cannot hide this truth.*

Moral Re-Armament is this superior idea. It has the power to change Communists, says Moscow radio. It has changed Communists in India, Japan, Ceylon, Australia, Malaysia, England, France, Germany, Italy, Africa and Latin America. Sincere Communists say that Moral Re-Armament is more effective than Communism in creating a classless society.

Saturate Vietnam

Diem, the murdered President of South Vietnam, knew this truth. He had his weaknesses. He had his difficult relatives. He did not practise fully, in his own life, the standards of Moral Re-Armament. Yet he knew what his country needed and urged that it be saturated with Moral Re-Armament.

Instead of supporting Diem in his desire to give Moral Re-Armament to his nation, certain elements the world over and in the U.S. united to destroy him.

Unless the U.S. accepts that its first need is to live and give an ideology to Vietnam, and unless it accepts the unpleasant truth about the folly of Diem's murder, there is no chance of a solution in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people desire passionately to change the society they live in. They want a cure for the hates among the different Vietnamese racial and language groups. They want corruption to

end. They want a set of incorruptible and united leaders.

If Americans cannot show them an ideology that can achieve these ends, Communism will keep on marching, and will frustrate the most massive financial and military effort that Uncle Sam can produce.

Some in the U.S. are probing for these realities. Norman Cousins writes in his Saturday Review: "The U.S. will have to recognize that a military policy without a full ideological and social programme will not only fall short of its goal, but may actually boomerang."

More Than Aid

Then he states a half-truth which, I believe, misses the core of the matter. "It is the old story of ready dollars for bombs but reluctant dollars for a better world."

What Mr. Cousins needs to see is that dollars, or even roads, schools, and dams, will not change a Vietnamese who is sympathetic to Communism any more than bullets will destroy Communism. A true ideological programme is much more than multiplication of economic aid. It is, above all, a programme of moral revolution whereby the citizens and officials of a country like the United States show in their lives the discipline and dedication that would give hope for tomorrow's world.

Moral Re-Armament is the missing factor that Mr. Cousins should strive to bring to Washington and Saigon.

Not only America but India must learn from Vietnam. Defending the Himalayas alone will have not the slightest effect on Communist influence inside India.

Look at the Kerala elections. The theme of every speech by non-Communist politicians was the treachery of the left Communist Party. Yet this had no effect on the electorate which supported those it believed would fight to change society and rejected those it believed were interested in their own comfort, position and power.

India's choice is clear. Either we show our masses the right revolution of Moral Re-Armament or they will support the revolution of Communism. Violence, sabotage and subversion will erupt all over India one day, just as they have in Vietnam, unless we shift gear.

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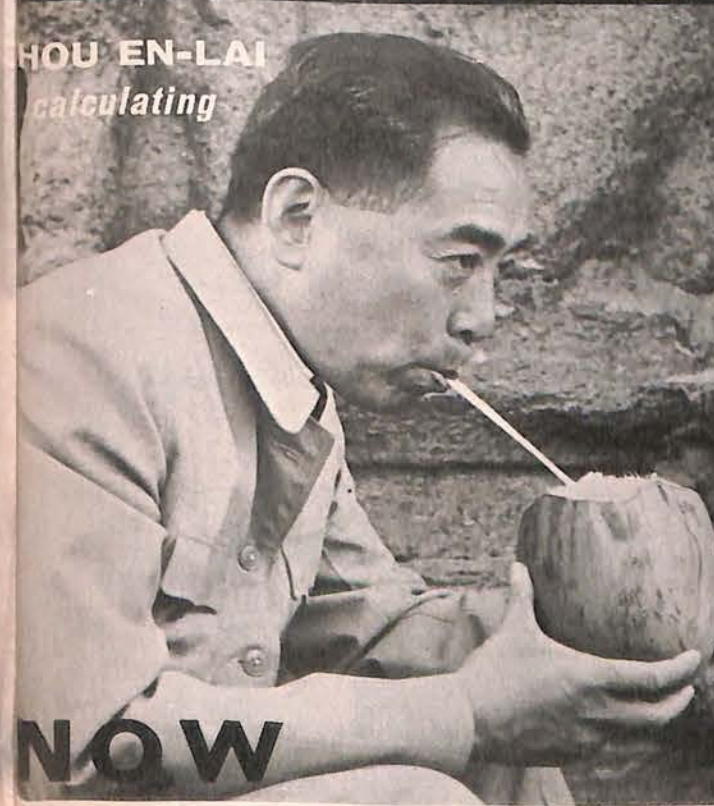
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