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WEEKLY



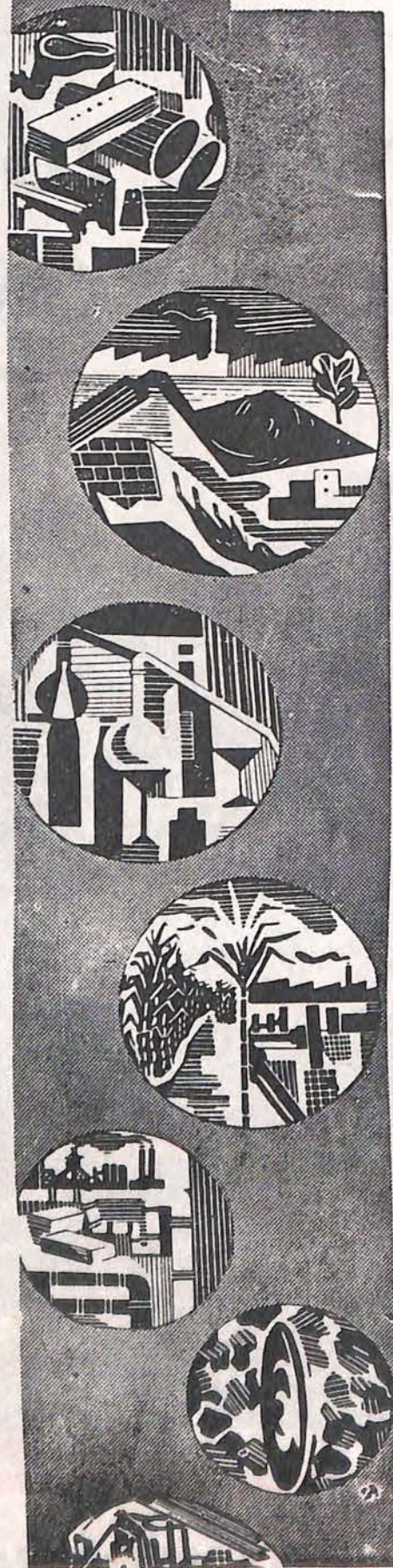
**WILL YOU,  
MR. JOHNSON?**

Page 8

Friday  
July 2  
1965

Rajmohan Gandhi on the  
**INDO-PAK QUESTION**

# New Horizons



In pre-Independence era, India had plans and programmes for social and economic betterment of the people. But there was a fundamental weakness—the weakness of their belonging more to the Government than to the people.

Independence came, and with it a new awakening, and people's plans, for the people, by the people. The results were tangible—more and more of better and cheaper things; a better way of life for more and yet more people of our land.

We of DALMIA ENTERPRISES have been constantly endeavouring to produce more and more of such goods that contribute towards improved living standards of our people. We are doing this not only since Independence but almost for a quarter of a century. The task is not so easy. Yet we are going ahead, undauntedly, in the hope of seeing a brighter tomorrow.... a new dawn.... along the new horizons.



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## DALMIA ENTERPRISES.

IN THE NATION'S SERVICE

H. O. : 4, SCINDIA HOUSE, NEW DELHI

# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, July 2, 1965

Vol. I No. 35

## 55 Years Later

FOR A MOMENT last week the slaughter in Vietnam and the turmoil in Algiers yielded the stage to a remarkable act of unity. After 55 years of hostility, Japan and Korea "normalized" their relations in a Treaty.

Successive Japanese and Korean Governments had plodded tediously and fitfully along this road for 14 years. In pushing the Treaty through, Mr. Sato's Government passed its first major test of sincerity for its policy of promoting new harmony in Asia.

Japan annexed Korea in August 1910. For 35 years she ruled her mainland colony harshly. Koreans were forbidden to speak their mother tongue. Their ancient culture was in danger of being erased. On the other hand, like most imperial powers, Japan felt she had done much for the colony's development.

The acid hate which divided the two nations did not end when Japan collapsed in 1945 and Korea was free. It balked every attempt towards unity.

Moscow and Peking, supported by local extreme Left-wing elements, have long opposed the reconciliation. Explicit in Korea's demands was the acceptance of the Seoul Government by Japan as the sole legal Government of Korea (North and South). Communist North Korea quickly declared the Treaty "null and void". In Moscow, *Izvestia* cocked a snook at what it called "a strange normalization".

The Koreans demanded stiff terms for coming to the table. They also realized that, however unhappy the past had been, it should not be allowed to black-mail their future. Their fierce suspicions were allayed somewhat by the Japanese Foreign Minister's expression of "deep regret" for the past.

Under the Treaty, Korea wins some \$800 million in grants and loans. Fishing rights, the status of the many Koreans living in Japan and the issue of "stolen" Korean art treasures have all been resolved.

The Treaty must be ratified by both Parliaments sometime in August and September. Storms over the Korea Straits have not, automatically, been ended for all time by the scratch of pens in Tokyo.

Few countries have done more than Japan to solve her domestic problems, build friendship with her neighbours and aid those who stand in need.

India and Pakistan could do much in this direction if they talked less and took a look at these new trends.

## Eye on Elections

It is obvious to any perceptive observer that when Chief Minister V. P. Naik attacks the Central Government, both his eyes are cocked on the next elections. He has attacked "a vicious circle in New Delhi which was either ignorant of basic matters with regard to food or was callous to the sufferings of the people".

As one who is a member of the Congress High Command (all Chief Ministers are) and one who participates regularly at the Chief Ministers' conferences, to the people of India Mr. Naik is a part of the

"circle" he refers to. Mr. Naik is virtually telling the Congress leaders in Delhi not to take for granted support of the Congress in Maharashtra State and if it wants continued support the High Command should settle, in favour of Maharashtra, the question of Goa's merger and the Mysore border dispute. He has shrewdly taken over the opposition's favourite issues.

Knowing that the people of the State are dissatisfied with the food policy, Mr. Naik, who last year accused the "hoarders and traders" for the food crisis, now says that he cannot keep quiet any longer and throws the blame on the Central Government.

With 80 per cent of the votes in the villages, he is obviously keen to win them. No one grudges the farmer a decent price. What Mr. Naik demands is a Government monopoly of procurement of crops. In his own State he is not eager to compete with traders, even with the Government guaranteeing a higher price. If the farmer finds that the sole purchaser of his crops is the Government (to him identical with the Congress Party), he feels obligated to support Congress.

The Central Government will be wise to weigh the legitimate grievances of the States. It is important, however, that the Centre does maintain, in such controversies, the interest of the whole nation and does not compromise with State politicians.

## Cart Before the Dog

*The dog that trots behind the cart often thinks the cart moves because of it.*

GUJARATI PROVERB

NON-ALIGNMENT has become firmly equated in New Delhi with taking no initiative which will not be fully supported by the majority. "Consensus" and "unanimous" have become words invested with some strange mystique. To achieve such a position is thought to be proof of uncanny political or diplomatic acumen. What rubbish!

We waffle about, recasting our policy on everything from language to Vietnam according to whom we are addressing. An India, firm and clear on issues, even when wrong, would win greater respect than this trotting behind the cart, wheeling to left and to right, thinking that the vehicle moves because of us.

A P.T.I. dispatch from Algiers reads: "India, which had earlier appeared to be reluctant to take the initiative in moving for postponement of the heads of State conference, threw her full weight today behind five other sister Asians in co-sponsoring a resolution seeking postponement of the summit."

Why could India not have taken firm initiative at the start? Why loiter in the wings and then pretend that supporting others' initiative shows shrewdness?

The nation wants leaders who are bold and state clearly where they stand. They may prove wrong but they will never prove wanting in support.

## Briefly Speaking ...

Government is a trust, and the officers of the government are trustees; and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people.

HENRY CLAY 1777-1852

### Shocking

THE PRESS has given publicity to the full page inserted in a Canadian paper at the time of Prime Minister Shastri's visit, which gave rise to protests and created embarrassment for the Indian Government. One correspondent covering the Prime Minister's tour said that no-one in the High Commission wanted to take responsibility and the blame was passed on from one person to the other.

A HIMMAT reader from Canada has sent us the advertisement. It is not one full page, as reported in most papers, it is an entire supplement of four pages in the *Ottawa Citizen* which must have cost us a substantial sum of foreign exchange.

The front-page carries a massive picture of the Prime Minister, a few

columns write-up and a major cross-head "I am not so weak".

Page 2 carries six large photographs, one of which is printed upside down.

On page 3 there are more photographs and a two-column feature on "The Economy" with a prominent sub-title: "No Room for Gloom".

After this piece of poetry we move to more serious business on the back page. The controversial article, "Pakistan's Aggression in the Rann of Kutch", attacks Pakistan and gravely embarrasses Mr. Shastri's hosts.

It needs genius—of a type—to get India's exchequer to spend foreign exchange in large amounts, portray the Prime Minister as a pitiable figure who keeps protesting he is not so weak, prints pictures upside down and embarrasses the Canadian Government and Mr. Shastri.

### Big Heads, Small Minds

OVER 3,000 ministerial employees of the Kerala State Electricity Board have decided to forego shaving. They will attend offices with their unshaven faces "to protest against the Board Chairman's discriminatory attitude towards their demands and also as a preparation for participating in the impending agitational programmes with firmness of mind".

If firmness of mind could come from growing beards, the man with the longest beard would have the firmest mind.

In the 19th century when Bismarck, who had a massive head, became known as the shrewdest man in Europe, the theory was circulated that the man with the largest skull was the cleverest.

A scientific-minded gentleman undertook to write a thesis on the subject and went round all over Europe measuring heads. Ultimately somewhere in Denmark he met a gardener with the largest head-size 11½ inches.

There was only one difficulty—the poor gardeners turned out to be a half-wit,

### Reading Habits

THE UNIVERSAL interests of the British reading public have always been a source of surprise to me. Listen to this item from Allen and Unwin: *Railway Carriages in the British Isles from 1830 to 1914*.

The catalogue says: "For this new and greatly expanded edition of his earlier book *Hamilton Ellis has... gone for his subject with love and human understanding...*"

I am moved!

### We Are Tomorrow

FROM THE passionate pen of Peter Howard flowed 16 plays. One of the most widely staged is *WE ARE TOMORROW*. Set in a university, not unlike Howard's own, Oxford, Act One portrays a group of students in a university as we know it today. There is Tremble the scholar; Muscle the athlete; Soul the poet; and two lady characters, one beautiful, the other brilliant. There is the agnostic Dean and two valets, one called Hope and the other Memory.

Above all there is one student called Warrior. What will happen if his plans do not succeed?

The next scene is projected 25 years hence showing what the world will be if his plans do not succeed and a dictatorship takes over.

The final scene shows the world as it will be if Warrior *does* succeed.

Howard used to say, "My plays are propaganda plays. I write to give people a purpose. The purpose is clear. The aim is simple. It is to encourage men to accept the growth in character that is essential if civilization is to survive."

Enlivened with brilliant dialogue, some uproarious scenes and intelligent solutions, it is no surprise that Howard's plays have been termed "the Theatre of Tomorrow".

*WE ARE TOMORROW* will be staged at the Tejpal Auditorium, Bombay on Sunday, July 4, at 10.30 a.m. and July 5, 6 and 7 at 6.30 p.m. Advance booking is available at Akbarallys from 10 a.m.—6.30 p.m. Produced by Moral Re-Armament, Howard's play is directed by Christine Channer who created the exciting choreography in Peter Howard's last play to be staged here, "Space Is So Startling".

R. M. L.

## RHODESIA—Another Congo?

By R. M. Lala

Though Vietnam came first in the agenda of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, it was Southern Rhodesia that generated the greatest heat. Nine out of the 21 Commonwealth Prime Ministers came from Africa. Naturally, they felt keenly about a minority settler Government of 221,000 whites ruling over four million Africans (and 20,000 Asian and coloured).

Southern Rhodesia was colonized in 1889 and administered by the British South African Company. In 1922 a referendum was held on whether it wanted self-government or entry as the fifth province of the Union of South Africa. The majority voted for self-government. Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing colony as early as 1923, and ranks among the first British colonies to achieve that status.

In September 1953, the neighbouring state of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi) were joined to Southern Rhodesia in the Central African Federation. The Federation was dissolved ten years later.

### White Electorate

Since then the forces seeking a white minority rule have gathered greater strength within Southern Rhodesia. In the May 7 elections this year Prime Minister Smith won a thumping majority from a predominantly white electorate.

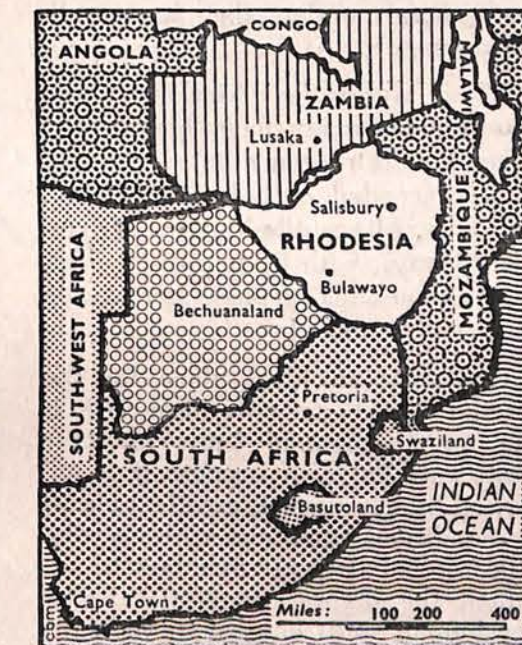
Soon after he assumed office last October, Prime Minister Harold Wilson threatened Southern Rhodesia with dire economic consequences in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence. The Institute of Directors of Southern Rhodesia similarly warned the South Rhodesian Government of "disastrous consequences". A third of the total export earnings of Southern Rhodesia comes from tobacco, of which Britain consumes about 50 per cent.

Eighty-six per cent of its second major export of sugar goes to either the Commonwealth, the United States

or African states, all or most of whom would readily put an economic blockade on Rhodesia. A large majority of the white population is settled in industry (85,000) and business plus services (48,000). Only 4,000 whites are connected with agriculture.

The dialogue between the British Government and the Rhodesian Government continues. Mr. Wilson, speaking in April, was confident that Southern Rhodesia "cannot hope to defy Britain, the whole of the Commonwealth, nearly the whole of Africa and the United Nations."

The other rulers of Africa are not as confident, because Southern Rhodesia's neighbour, South Africa, has defied them all and still survived. The



greatest fear of some of the African heads of government, is the possibility of what they call an "unholy alliance" of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

Strategically, Southern Rhodesia is in a strong position with South Africa on its southern border, Portuguese Angola to the north-west and Portuguese Mozambique to the east.

African leaders feel that each week's delay consolidates the minority Government.

That is why the African heads of government put immense pressure on Britain to fix a date by which a constitutional conference could be held,

political prisoners freed and a majority government installed.

In the final communique of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, Britain has not committed itself to the timetable set by the African leaders and also avoided a firm pledge that such a conference would be called. It has agreed to consider calling a constitutional conference and to aim at majority rule in a "reasonably speedy time".

Whilst all African Prime Ministers accepted the communique, Mr. Nyerere issued a dissenting note.

Britain has already given a constitution to Southern Rhodesia. The British Parliament could abrogate the constitution, which is against all convention. In that event, Rhodesia would rebel, declare independence unilaterally and Britain would have to move in troops. It is most unlikely therefore that Britain would take this extreme step.

Zambia, Tanzania and Kenya have offered Britain bases for military action on Rhodesia.

### Kenya's Lesson

African leaders need to consider maturely that in the event of such a conflict, the biggest casualty would be the four million black people within Southern Rhodesia. Even talk of violence could bring about alliance between South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia and could culminate in a bloody war in the southern part of the African continent. It would lay Central Africa open to arms and volunteers from China or elsewhere. Another Congo would be in the making.

The one African leader who has shown some statesmanship on the Rhodesian issue is Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria. He has urged that the final outcome must enable both the white and the African peoples of Rhodesia to learn to live together and that the only answer was a healthy multiracial society. He also advocated that sufficient time be given for the African majority to train itself in government and administration.

Continued on page 16

### EAGLE PRESENTS

This weekly feature comes to you through the courtesy of the Eagle Vacuum Bottle Mfg. Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., manufacturers of the Eagle range of vacuum flasks, jugs and insulated ware.



LADY HAMILTON

### CHALTA HAI....



"It wasn't the food but the menu. We only have it in English."

# Standards Rise in Modern Greece

By Spyros P. Sellinas

Former Director-General, Athens News Agency

SINCE TIME IMMEMORIAL Greece and India have developed two of the greatest civilizations ever bequeathed to humanity. Their relationship started with Alexander the Great, who came to India in the 4th century, B.C. These relations have been further strengthened at a slow but steady pace through the centuries, although our countries were living under foreign rule until Greece was liberated from the Ottoman Empire by its War of Independence in 1821 and India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was finally led to its independence in 1947.

Greece and India continued to promote cultural and commercial bonds which were climaxed by the State visit of the late King Paul and Queen Frederica of the Hellenes to India some two years ago. In my capacity as Director-General of the Athens News Agency at that time I had the happy opportunity to appreciate the enthusiastic welcome the Indian people reserved for the Hellenic Royal Couple.

## Currency Strong

Greece and India, faithfully inspired by the dream of an undisturbed peace in the world, which will help them to increase the living standard of their peoples, are committed to a mutual collaboration because both of them are facing on their northern borders the danger of invasion on the part of two Communist countries—the first owing to the unsatisfied appetites of Soviet Slavism and the latter as a consequence of the expansionistic aims of Red China.

An underdeveloped country until 1952, Greece has succeeded through its two successive national Governments—that of the late Field-Marshal Alexander Papagos and especially that of its prominent political leader, Mr. Constantine Karamanlis—in consolidating its political stability, developing its national economy and making the Greek drachma one of the strongest and healthiest national currencies in Western Europe.

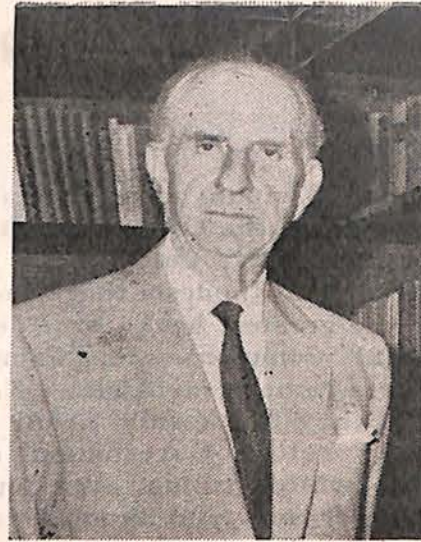
During the eight years' administration of Greece by the Karamanlis Government (1955-63), new industries have been established throughout the country, wide roads constructed of many hundreds of miles, a modern telecommunications system introduced, extensive irrigation and land reclamation works completed and hundreds of modern hotels and motels built for every category of traveller to compete in amenities and other comforts with the best installations in Western Europe. A whole series of tourist facilities at famous archaeological sites have been established. All these measures have greatly increased the living standard of our people and the national income in general under the Karamanlis Governments.

The Mercantile Marine—under Greek and foreign flags—has already taken the third place in world tonnage, exceeded only by the British and U.S. Mercantile Marines. Olympic Airways, with its big air-jet fleet, serves thousands of passengers inside the country and abroad.

Greece is an ideal place for the foreign tourist—not only because it is the main crossroad between three continents but also because it is endowed by nature with excellent climatic conditions combined with its valuable archaeological monuments, in which the highest manifestations of the human spirit emerge through the centuries. Its picturesque islands in the Aegean and the Ionian Seas offer ideal places for foreign vacationers. Most important of all, however, for all those who wish to visit Greece, is the fact that this ancient land offers the cheapest cost of living in Western countries for the foreign tourist.

## Coalition Government

Since November 3, 1963, Greece has been administered by a combination of minor democratic parties under Mr. George Papandreou, the leader of the Centre Union, which on various domestic problems is supported in the Chamber by the Extreme Left disguised under the



Prime Minister Papandreou

name of E.D.A. (Democratic Left Union).

The National Radical Union, the fervently pro-Western party of the former Prime Minister, Mr. Constantine Karamanlis, who lives now temporarily in Paris, is led by his successor, Mr. Panayiotis Kanellopoulos, a former Deputy Premier, Professor of Sociology in Athens University and a member of the Athens Academy. It represents in the Chamber the major Opposition party.

## Cyprus Question

Faithfully attached to democratic principles, Greece faces today the difficult problem of Cyprus—a purely Greek island since mythological times—which, despite being subjected to various foreign rules for many centuries, has not lost its ethnological character, its Greek traditions, language, religion and habits. The population of this island, which lies in the Eastern Mediterranean *vis-a-vis* the Turkish coast in Asia Minor, comprises, according to the latest official census of 1960, 558,000 inhabitants (448,000 Greek-Cypriots, 100,000 Turkish-Cypriots and 10,000 Armenians and Maronites, the two latter nationalities supporting the Greek majority's demand for self-determination). Turkey, however, insists on the island's partition, completely ignoring the principle of self-determination as provided for by the Charter of the United Nations.

That is why this problem has already taken the dimensions of an international issue and why it should be solved according to the U.N. Charter if democracy and peace are to prevail.

# Irritants and International Pressures in Foreign Policy

"The Americans are anti-Communist. They always have been. President Kennedy seemed to have changed it but Johnson has brought back the old trend," remarked an important policy-making official of the Indian Government. Whether true or not, this is the kind of outlook that colours Indo-American relations.

"President Johnson doesn't make it easy for us to be friends with him," said an influential member of Government when asked about the deterioration of relations with the U.S.A. in the last months. A representative of the U.S. Government would probably have said in reply, "Indians don't make it easy for us to be friends with them either." But stated or unstated, the comment is a mild expression of the growing reaction in both countries against mutual "pressures" and "prejudices".

## Blowing Hot and Cold

From newspaper editors, political men and civil servants, I have heard strong and bitter criticism in the past weeks against the United States. They accuse her of lack of experience and sensitivity in dealing with people. On the Indian side there is the ever present irritant of American support of Pakistan and what the Indians consider a tendency to equate India and Pakistan. It is argued that it is in the interest of Pakistan and India as well as the U.S.A. for all outstanding problems between the two countries to be resolved.

This has been the Indian view as well, but the political leadership finds it necessary to overlook this primary aim in order to play up to the gallery in the interests of their own survival. Thus there is a curious combination of blowing hot and cold, making bombastic and even war-like utterances to impress and arranging private initiatives to make sure that the situation does not get to the point of no return.

The crux of the problem is Kashmir. Many of the Western powers, as well as a large number of Afro-Asian nations, do not see the Indian case for Kashmir as we do. It is felt that Pakistan has a strong case because of the consistent stand of India and Nehru over many years that acces-

sion of Kashmir was subject to a plebiscite. Many responsible Indians and even national leaders admit this privately.

If Indo-Pakistan relations is an area of foreign policy where India is subject to a certain amount of international pressure to keep the peace, Vietnam is an area where India has persistently sought to reinforce the "liberal" political forces of the United States who seek withdrawal of American commitment from that country.

The present U.S. Administration is mystified that India, which claims that China is her principal enemy, cannot see that "the United States must somehow manage to hold firm in Vietnam. A collapse there would endanger not only South East and South Asia but also those other regions on which China has its eye, Africa and Latin America." (C.L. Sulzberger, *New York Times*, June 11.)

Indian policy makers seem to be unaware at this point that what is at stake in Vietnam is also the whole strategy of the international Communist movement. If the Chinese "hard liners", who advocate fomenting civil war and violent take-over, are victorious in Vietnam, the Russians will almost certainly re-think their present policy of peaceful co-existence.

The Indian Government has intimate knowledge of the conditions in Vietnam through its chairmanship of the International Control Commission. In their report of June 2, 1962, Indian and Canadian members of the I.C.C. declared North Vietnam guilty of subversion and covert aggression.

## An Asian Tito?

In advocating cessation of American action and favouring U.S. withdrawal, India is aware that the South Vietnamese will be handed over to the Communist North. But they seem to think that President Ho Chi Minh will be an Asian Tito in relation to Communist China and that this is a desirable solution.

The assumption that Ho shares the historic hatred of his people against the Chinese may be true, but to build our policy on the ability of his small nation to stand against China is suicidal. Ho Chi Minh has always kept the Chinese on the right side and

# Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

cloaked his commitment to Communism in nationalist slogans. The weakness of Indian policy arises from a lack of understanding of Communist ideology and the fear of facing up to the measures that are needed.

American policy, on the other hand, is strong militarily but weak politically and ideologically. This weakness is a consequence of the belief that an ideological challenge can be met by the counterforce of economic and military strength alone.

Strange as it would seem, the Communists, who are dedicated materialists, seem to attach growing importance to the spiritual mainsprings of human action. Their faith in the power of the idea transcends by far any appeal to materialist incentives.

## Power Interests

Democracy, on the other hand, despite its moral and idealist roots, has come to rely almost exclusively on factors like nuclear power and military strength, economic growth and aid to under-developed countries, etc. Pressures of power interests take precedence over the sensibilities of individuals and the pride of nations in their newly-acquired stature.

The Communists still find slogans which can arouse emotions such as against race and class. Their vision of a new order, though sullied by the actual picture of Russia and China, continues to attract vast numbers of people. It is no use, as an answer to this ideological challenge, to expect an automatic understanding of the virtues of freedom and affluence.

Foreign policy is as much a matter of winning men as of balancing interests. Its immediate strength should be in the common loyalty to shared ideals as well as in the pursuit of international influence and national identity. Neither India nor the U.S. have spent enough time and trouble in working out and articulating a world view that can match that of Peking and Moscow.

# Will You, Mr. Johnson?

From David Carey in New York

A newspaper editor recently returned from a four-hour visit with President Johnson summed up the reactions of a growing number of citizens in this country.

He said, "The President impressed me greatly. I got the sense of a sincere man who knows where he is going."

This newsman who a year ago might have classed himself in the "dove" category as far as foreign policy was concerned, had obviously got the impression that the issue in Johnson's mind no longer revolved around hard or soft—"hawk" or "dove" policies—but rather was beginning to crystallize into the long-term strategem and statesmanship that are needed if the basic issues are to be resolved.

The President's Baltimore speech, when he threw out the offer of unconditional negotiations and a common aid and development programme for North and South Vietnam, impressed even the most "dovelike" with the sincerity of his motives.

## Menacing Mushroom

Johnson has since repeatedly stressed, as he did with the editors, the achievements of U.S. policy as regards the betterment of the peoples' conditions in a place like South Vietnam.

He points out that in recent years the rice production has been quadrupled, 20 times more children are going to school than two years ago, greater medical facilities are available, and a host of other practical improvements have been originated.

However, another issue, once merely a hand on the horizon, is now a menacing cloud which cannot be shrugged off any longer.

This cloud may develop into mushroom proportions if the United States does not watch out now that China has exploded her second nuclear bomb.

The experts believe that certainly within ten years and maybe earlier China will have a fully operational delivery system. As they point out, the country that invented the rocket a thousand years ago should be able

to do it now. This poses the question of, what next?

a) Some say, isn't this the time to make concessions to China before their nuclear power is further developed.

b) Others would like the U.S. to provoke China into a war, say over Vietnam, and use this as an excuse to destroy all her nuclear potential.

c) A third group hope that Russia and China can escalate their argument into war and destroy each other. The Russians are no doubt hoping that the U.S. and China will get involved with similar results.

## Committing Troops

In the meantime the President is faced with the day-to-day realities of the situation. His announcement of committing U.S. troops in direct combat, if necessary, confirms that he is determined to stand firm in South Vietnam.

Johnson appears to be sincerely offering negotiations on the one hand, but making it crystal clear with the other that he means to increase the pressure militarily and otherwise on North Vietnam if this offer is not accepted.

Many feel that behind the President's hold-the-line action is the determination to show the Communists, and especially the Chinese, that the U.S. will not accept guerrilla or ideological subversion of other countries in South East Asia, the Caribbean, or even possibly in the future from the island of Zanzibar onto the African continent.

## After Bombing, What?

The long-term and much more basic issues of: After holding the line, what? After bombing, what? After negotiations, what? have still not been spelled out by the President or his advisers.

This very real dilemma was summed up recently in a *Foreign Affairs* Quarterly article by Major General Edward Lansdale. Referring to the current policy alternative in Vietnam as escalation, appeasement or a continuation of our present course, the General writes: "The anomaly in these reactions is that each falls short of the understanding that the Com-

munists have let loose a revolutionary idea that will not die by being ignored, bound, or smothered by us. A fourth belief is to oppose the Communist ideas with a better idea."

This is true today not only with regard to Vietnam but towards China and even in America's dealing with her allies.

Peter Howard, the late leader of Moral Re-Armament, made this very clear in a number of addresses in this country last year.

Answering General Lansdale's question, Howard not only articulated the basis of this "new idea," but gave concrete evidence of the effective action of this idea—Moral Re-Armament—on every continent of the world. He challenged America to make it her national policy and give it to the world as the only intelligent strategy in a nuclear age. Hopefully, America, facing starker issues today than when Howard was speaking a year ago, may heed his words.

## Out of Date

He said, "Communism is a fact. The question is how to answer it. You can answer it by submission. You can make war on it.

"The third way is to out-revolutionize it. You fight the Communists economically. You fight them politically. You fight them militarily if you must. But where is the ideology shared by all free men which says to the Communist world, 'You are out of date. You are outmoded. We are going to put this world right far quicker than you can do it. Come and help us do it in the right way. But you must change if you do. We are not going to take you on your present terms.'

"Our lack as a free society is an ideology—a world goal far bigger than anything conceived by Communism and the discipline to pursue it of our own free will. Surely, free men under God can create a revolutionary pattern of society that all men will recognize and join. If we did that we would alter the history of the planet."

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Will Algiers Regime Provoke Border Troubles?

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Paris

In North Africa things are not always what they seem to be. The man who seemed surest in his saddle was overthrown in a bloodless coup in Algiers by his own personal friends and comrades. It happened a week before an agreement was to be signed with France on profits-distribution of the petroleum industry of the Sahara.

It also happened just ten days before the opening of the Afro-Asian conference where Ben Bella was to play a prominent part. These facts prompted the plotters to act quickly. As it looks now, they have solidly entrenched themselves even if many governments have not recognized them yet as the legitimate Government of Algeria.

This *coup d'etat* in Algiers provoked mixed feelings in the neighbouring capitals of Tunis and Rabat. Ben Bella has never hidden his conviction that both President Bourguiba of Tunisia and King Hassan of Morocco would have to make way, sooner or later, for Arab Socialist Republican governments. During the last months there has been an uneasy peace between the three nations, but the underlying hostility is unmistakable.

The question is, of course, what attitude is the new Algerian Government going to take towards its neighbouring nations? It is known that Colonel Boumedienne took a much more aggressive stand than Ben Bella during the military fighting between Moroccan and Algerian troops in the Sahara desert last year. Will he use his assumption of power to provoke again some border troubles?

### Morocco Unrest

King Hassan, himself, has enough troubles at home in Morocco. He has shown remarkable courage and a good mixture of political sagacity and majestic stubbornness.

Two months ago, while Parliament was getting more and more involved in fruitless debates, the mobs in Casablanca burst out of their slums and took over Morocco's biggest city. The Army had to intervene. More than 400 people were killed. For twenty-four hours the Monarchy itself seemed in danger.

Parliament still debated and dis-

cussed, but the King immediately asked for the help of all parties, including the Opposition, to create a government of national union. It seemed that for the first time since independence the King and all political groups would work together to solve the grave political and economic crisis.

But again things worked out differently. The Left-wing Union of Popular Forces (UNFP) withdrew its promise to co-operate. The traditional nationalistic Party of the Istiqlal headed by its octogenarian chief, Allal El Fassi, demanded new elections. Finally, Hassan decided that he had to act himself. He withdrew for some days into the mountains and returned with a clear plan.

### Parliament Dissolved

When on June 8 the Moroccan deputies arrived at the Parliament, they found the doors closed. The King had declared a state of emergency and had dissolved Parliament. He appointed himself head of the Government and declared that he would rule until a new majority could be found.

In an interview with the French weekly *Le Figaro*, King Hassan said: "The disappointment of the Moroccan people regarding the functioning of the parliamentary institutions became a true danger for democracy. If under these conditions I had just formed another government, it could not have done more than the last one. I don't want my people to start on an evolution which led other nations to their downfall."

The aim of the King is to take the Government administration out of party politics and to establish it on solid foundations. He also wants to push through an austerity programme and solve the problems existing between France and Morocco which have threatened the Moroccan economy.

### Loyal to King Hassan

As a great majority of the people of Morocco is still living in the mountains and in the villages and is fanatically loyal to its ruler and king, Hassan II has an even chance that his new experiment will succeed.

The danger is that the gap between the conservative elements supporting him and the Left-wing intellectuals and proletariat of the few industrial cities will become wider and deeper leading to an explosion. But the King is conscious of this problem and is determined to preserve the unity of his country, at the same time keeping a wary eye on his neighbour Algeria.

Continued on page 12

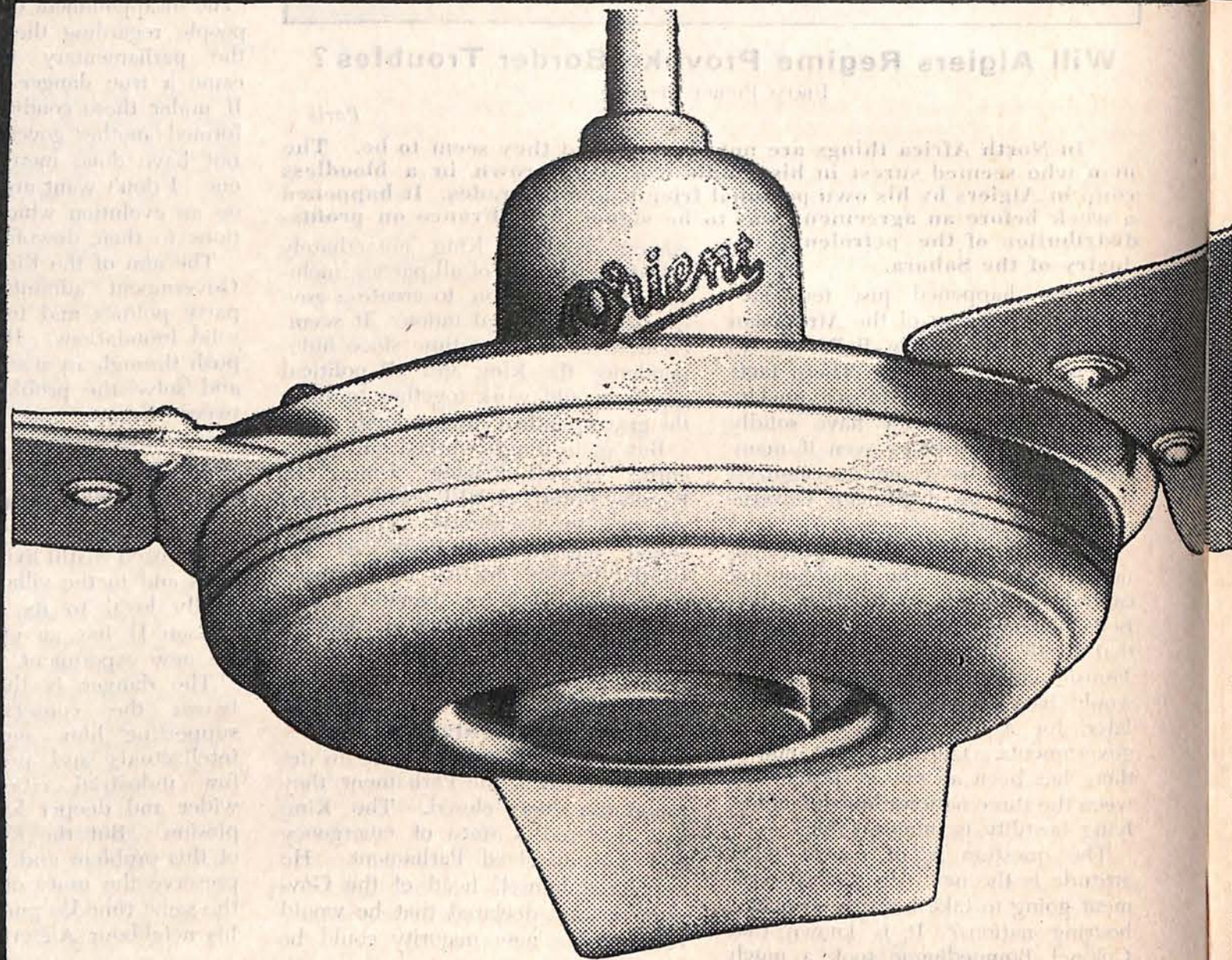


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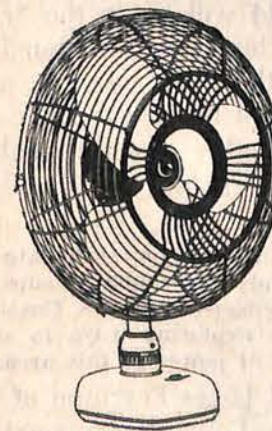
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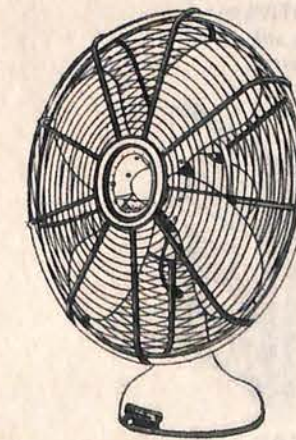


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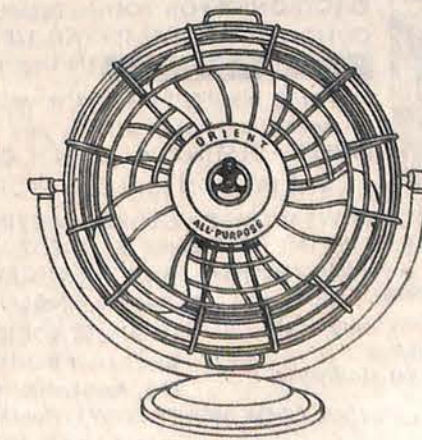
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## Europe-Iran Rail Link

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

A railway linking Turkey and Iran is due to be completed by 1967. Work has begun on a line to connect Iran's and Pakistan's railway systems. When both these lines are built rail travel from Europe to the Indian sub-continent will be possible.

The Iran-Turkey link will cut from six weeks to one the time taken to transport goods from Europe to Iran, and open up unused land and mineral resources.

The 230 miles separating Iran's and Turkey's existing railways contain some of the hardest engineering problems in the world—high mountains and deep ravines. Special ferries are being built to carry the trains across Lake Van, Turkey's largest lake.

The new railways are part of the increasingly important economic side of CENTO's work. As an offshoot of CENTO, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan have formed the RCD (Regional Co-operation for Development). In the last year their main effort has been to create a rail, road and radio communications network linking their countries whose combined population is 150 millions.

## Biological Time-Bombs

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

Thirty years ago Aldous Huxley wrote in his "Brave New World" about "state hatcheries" where babies were born to order under artificial conditions. It seemed incredible.

But today biologists are on the eve of discoveries which could make Huxley's fantasy come true.

Choice of sex, storage of human seed and artificial ino-vulation (the female equivalent of artificial insemination) are close to being achieved, writes Gordon Rattray Taylor, author of scientific books, in *The Observer*.

Such discoveries, he says, may prove "biological time-bombs" which could affect mankind more radically than the hydrogen bomb itself.

### Space Midgets

Through eugenic control, says Taylor, governments could alter the sex-ratio and thus produce more workers and soldiers and fewer women, thereby halting the growth of population. Eventually it might be possible to produce children to any desired specification, for instance, midgets for space travel.

Other discoveries would soon enable surgeons to transplant limbs or organs

from one person to another. "Spares" could be kept in refrigerated banks,

"The fact is," Taylor concludes, "all discoveries can be used by mankind for good or ill, according to choice, just as an aircraft can be used for travel or to drop death. . . . It is no good shutting our minds to the kind of developments I have outlined. Better to look squarely at them now, so that we can evolve rational policies, based upon an informed public opinion, for coping with them."

### Loans To Commonwealth

The announcement that Britain will give interest-free loans in some cases to developing countries has been made in London.

Over 80% of Britain's economic aid goes to the Commonwealth. Since 1945 she has given independent Commonwealth nations £792 millions in grants and loans. India received £148.8 millions; Kenya, the next highest, £107.1 millions; Pakistan £39.1 millions. The present Government has established a Ministry of Overseas Development.

## Will the Next War Be in Space?

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

New York

The race for space is fast turning into a military stampede for satellite fortresses. The colonization of outer space is already being discussed. McDivitt, the American astronaut, and Gagarin, the Russian cosmonaut, are the modern equivalents of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama. Russians and Americans are in a headlong race to win the military control of space.

American military chiefs claim the next battlefield will be in the "near space" belt, a hundred to five hundred miles above the earth. In this area rocket ships will be able to stalk and destroy each other much as fighter planes do now below the hundred mile ceiling.

The missile weapon stalemate on earth can only be broken by superiority in space-based weapons. Russians are already exploring ways to shift the balance of power in this area.

Lt. General James Ferguson of the American Air Force was quoted as saying before a Congressional hearing on June 7 that the Russians are attempting to gain a major military advantage in the space war. "If they

are ahead of us in exploration they may uncover some operational activity that is advantageous to them in the near earth orbit. If so, we are in a difficult position," he said.

In Washington it is argued that the Russian space programme is run entirely by military men with military goals, while the U.S. space programme is run largely by civilians. Pressure is being put on Congress to put the space programme fully in the hands of the U.S. military. The civilian space chiefs have their eyes on the moon and Mars, while the military are more concerned with the "near-space" belt. The civilians feel that the military are too provincial in their outlook.

President Johnson, whether he wishes to or not, must now make perhaps the most important decision of any President since World War II, the decision to bend every effort to capture and control outer space before the Russians do. "We have reached a moment in history," said Congressman Wydler from New York, "when a decision must be made between science and security."

### 10,000 Demonstrate

The Vietnam ground war will shift into space any time unless some colossal change in human aims and motivations is brought about. A conference with this intent was launched this month on an island in the Great Lakes of America. It is called a "Demonstration for the Modernization of Man". Its target is nothing less than the winning of the Russians, Chinese and Americans to a common pursuit of housing, feeding, clothing, educating the people of this earth.

One thousand determined young men and women, who started this three-months' Demonstration sponsor-

### FLYING TANK

Britain is to build a "flying tank." The vehicle, known as the P35, would have wheels and be capable of fast road travel; it would be able to manoeuvre over rough ground like a tank; and it could fly for short periods.

The machine may use the hovercraft principle. This would enable it to skim on a cushion of compressed air over earth, water or swamp.

The P35 will be built by men who worked on the cancelled TSR2 bomber. It is mainly intended for reconnaissance.

ed by Moral Re-Armament, expect their numbers to swell to 10,000 during the next weeks. They are planning to carry their demonstration not only across America but into Europe, Russia, China, Africa, and Latin America.

An American Olympic gold medal winner, John Sayre, said, "We live in an era of violence and revolution, but we can answer this revolutionary age with a revolution in our own aims and motives, a revolution of mind, heart, muscle and will, whose purpose is to produce a new breed of men equipped not only with the technological know-how of an atomic age, but also with the character-toughening, problem-solving, nation-saving skills the age demands."

## Sato, Holyoake to Meet

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS

Wellington

The New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr. Keith Holyoake, is paying a good-will visit to Japan this week as the guest of Prime Minister Sato. The growing relationship between New Zealand and Asian nations is of great significance for the future.

HIMMAT has suggested that India, Japan, Australia and New Zealand could together speed stability and development in all of Asia. There are many indications that this is beginning to happen.

Six leading Japanese businessmen visited New Zealand and Australia this month. In Canberra they announced that they were seeking to buy some of Australia's vast resources of iron ore, bauxite and copper. Representing the five major Japanese steel companies, they aim to operate a special fleet of ships to carry the ore from Australia for the use of Japanese industry which is uniquely fitted to make immediate use of Australia's mineral wealth.

That such a contract is possible is greatly due to the new relationship built between Japan and Australia by former Prime Minister Kishi and his successors. The two countries were bitterly divided a few years ago; Japan is now Australia's biggest customer.

The head of the group that has been touring Australia and New Zealand, Mr. Soji Fujii, told the national press that a percentage of the profits of the

## The week in Asia

**SAIGON**—South Vietnam's military junta broke diplomatic ties with France because, in the words of Foreign Minister Tran Van Do, General de Gaulle was "always directly or indirectly aiding our enemies."

**PEKING**—Chou En-lai who gave "unconditional" support to the regime of Colonel Boumediene is reported reconsidering this stand in the light of attacks on the new Government by Fidel Castro and certain African heads of state, primarily Presidents Nkrumah and Nyerere.

**DJAKARTA**—A 2,500-strong mob attacked the Indian embassy here protesting India's efforts to seat Malaysia at the Afro-Asian conference and accusing India of being a "servant of the imperialists".

**SEOUL**—Japan and Korea signed a treaty normalizing their relationship for the first time since the collapse of the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1945. Most schools and colleges remained closed in Seoul as students continued to clash with police in riots against the treaty (see page 3).

**COLOMBO**—Prime Minister Senanayake stated that units of the Ceylonese Army are increasing their anti-illicit immigration action on the island's north coast.

**PEKING**—China turned down the Commonwealth mission on Vietnam and accused Britain of launching a "new peace talks plot". The mission may visit those capitals which will receive it in the hope that subsequent action may make Peking and Hanoi change their minds.

**SAIGON**—The Military Government proclaimed a "state of war" and imposed a 10 p.m. to 2 a.m. curfew on the capital. All newspapers, 36 in number, have been closed down for one month. Measures to check inflation and bring down prices have been enforced by the generals.

**HANOI**—It is reported that 500,000 Chinese troops are massing on the borders of North Vietnam. Women and children are being cleared from Hanoi in anticipation of air raids.

**SAIGON**—Two plastic bombs killed upwards of 50 people outside one of Saigon's foremost restaurants in a terrorist raid. Many Vietnamese women and children were among the dead and maimed.

**SAIGON**—America is throwing one of the fastest planes in the world, the F-104 Starfighter, into the battle against the Viet Cong due to increased intervention by MiGs.

**BANGKOK**—Four Cambodians were killed by Thai border guards when a party of the former crossed the border between the two countries. Both sides continue to face each other across a tense border.

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new venture would go to finance Moral Re-Armament in Japan—a significant indication of the new motives behind these economic links.

New Zealand's part in this development is not difficult to see. She produces more food per head of population more cheaply than any other country in the world. Many here are beginning to think that it is New Zealand's responsibility to produce food and assist the development of Asian agriculture so that every man in the Asian continent should have enough to eat. Such a theme may well be on Mr. Holyoake's agenda for his talks with Mr. Sato.

Like many of the prominent politicians in his party, Mr. Holyoake is a farmer who raises sheep and cattle on his property some 90 miles north-east of Wellington. Before becoming Prime Minister, he was for many years Minister for Agriculture.

### Oil Leads to Friction

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

Sudden affluence does strange things to an Arab pearling and fishing village. Along the coast from Qatar to Oman are seven Trucial States. Dubai is the largest with 55,000 people. Abu Dhabi, which according to some estimates may soon have the highest per capita wealth in the world, is a village of about 18,000.

Kuwait, largest of the oil states, numbers barely 250,000 people. The population has been mostly illiterate

fishermen and Bedouin, ruled by a Sheikh who arbitrated quarrels and led them on raids. Piracy and slavery were practised until well into this century.

Then oil was sought and found. Concessions were signed for companies by the Sheikhs and agreements reached. Revenues mounted and the often well-advised rulers built schools and hospitals. For teachers, doctors and nurses they drew on the available personnel, chiefly from the U.A.R. and Palestine Arabs. New ideas came in. Now a generation is growing up more and more impatient for a voice in government, for a larger slice of the pie.

### Another Yemen?

The companies and their governments naturally support the Sheikhs with whom they had made their agreements as the agents of law and order. The gap widens. Cairo and Baghdad support the younger generation. The leaders are accused of being stooges of imperialism. In Bahrain this spring, rioting and bloodshed went on for weeks on just this issue.

Neither police measures nor a greater percentage of oil revenue devoted to welfare programmes can cure the discontent in the hearts of increasingly politically conscious youth. The Sheikhs could pioneer a new way by renouncing corruption and callous indifference to the legitimate aspirations of their people. The alternative is fratricidal strife as in the Yemen.

## The week in India

**NEW DELHI**—Pakistani Air Force planes forced an Indian Toofani jet to land 60 miles from Karachi. A breakdown of navigational instruments and bad weather is reported to have caused the jet to stray into Pakistani territory.

**ERNAKULUM** — Right-wing Communists plan a state-wide hunger march from July 9 to August 9 in Kerala. 3,000 Left-wing Communists staged a token hunger-strike to demand better treatment for the 138 Left-wing detenus in Kerala prisons.

**BOMBAY**—Shipping companies complained to the Union Ministry of Transport at delays of 15 to 18 days before ships can berth in Bombay harbour.

**COIMBATORE** — Congress President Kamaraj said that only an Indian language could be the "link" language of the country and that Congress was ready to fight the Opposition in the next elections on this issue. Only those who wanted to overthrow Congress and cause India to disintegrate pleaded for English to be retained, he charged.

**TRIVANDRUM**—Delhi may be prepared to hold fresh elections for the State Assembly of Kerala next year as efforts are being made to bring non-Communist forces together under the leadership of the present Governor of Andhra, Pattom Thanu Pillai, a former Chief Minister of Kerala.

**NEW DELHI**—A request for an additional \$200 million from the International Monetary Fund is being considered, as foreign exchange reserves are at a critically low ebb. As India has honoured all repayment obligations to date, it is thought that the IMF would be willing to release the loan.

**CALCUTTA** — The Left-wing Communists of West Bengal are split over whether to condemn Pakistan's action in the Rann of Kutch.

**BANGALORE**—The Indian Medical Council called for a halt to the mushroom growth of new medical colleges most of which fail to meet medium requirements.

**NEW DELHI**—Union Education Minister Chagla left for talks with the Education Ministers of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and visits to their educational institutions.

**SRINAGAR**—Indian troops began withdrawing from two Pakistani posts occupied five weeks ago near the Srinagar-Leh road on the receipt of assurances that U.N. observers would be posted to prevent Pakistani threats to the road.

**CHANDIGARH**—The General Secretary of the Punjab Congress challenged Chief Minister Ram Kishan to seek a fresh mandate from the Legislature Party for his leadership of the Party.

## FOR WOMEN

### In the Villages of Africa

From a Correspondent

The women of Africa are the mainsprings of action. They give meaning to the struggles of their menfolk. From kraal to kraal, village to village and tribe to tribe, they seem to be bound by an invisible cord. Almost invariably in every tribe decisive action starts with the women.

In this vast land, habits, customs and superstitions vary considerably, but the future of the tribe and the safety of the family come first with every woman.

It would be impossible to describe the African woman as one type. There are several streams of pure blood from which the tribes spring. Just to mention a few, there are the tall, slender, lovely Tutsi women with their almost Abyssinian hairstyle, who wrap themselves in brilliantly-patterned cloth; the Bambuti pygmy women who live on the slopes of the Mountains of the Moon; the Magbetus with elongated heads producing an egg-like effect; and the famous Ubangi women of the Congo, who

wear those huge wooden discs on their lips. (It is said this custom was introduced deliberately to make the women so hideous that they would not be carried away as slaves.)

A striking feature about the African women is her natural grace of movement. Her hand movements are fascinating to watch, and as she tells a story her hands, face and words all seem to go in rhythm.

In some tribes it is considered rude to speak quietly. This could very likely be the hangover of the old days when two people talking quietly might be plotting. So the women shout when they talk, and an ordinary conversation between a group of women could easily be mistaken for a quarrel of no mean magnitude.

Often it is possible to tell a woman's rank and position by her dress and hairstyle. The ladies of the Bantu Royal house are always in sombre clothes. A red feather can be worn only by a princess of the blood royal in Swaziland. The Masai woman always has her head shaven. When she is seen with a mop of thick black



A Nandi girl plucking tea in Western Kenya

hair it indicates that she is going to have a child.

A Zulu wife dressed for a wedding is a dazzling sight. Her hair will be dressed high, her arms and legs will be decorated with colourful ornaments, round her waist she will wear a skirt of shining black cowhide (this traditional skirt has been made by her husband—with his own hands—polished and cured to perfection). Around her neck she will wear a profusion of beads which to her Zulu friends will have a special meaning. Over her shoulders she wears a cloak—bright crimson or purple. To finish off she holds an umbrella in her hand.

### Strict Morals

Then there are the Masai and the Kikuyu women, the slender Rudilla and their neighbours, the Turkhana, the women of the El Molo tribe who have Masai blood, and many others.

The African woman as mother is greatly respected. The more children she has, the more respect she earns. A grandmother with many grandchildren is revered. From the day an African baby girl is born she goes through various stages of importance. The morals in tribal society, by tribal standards, are very high. Punishment for adultery, for instance, can be death, often accompanied by torture.

The African women, when determined and organized, are a formidable force. They have women's secret societies which wield great power.

Continued on next page

## COOK WITH RATH RATH IS BEST

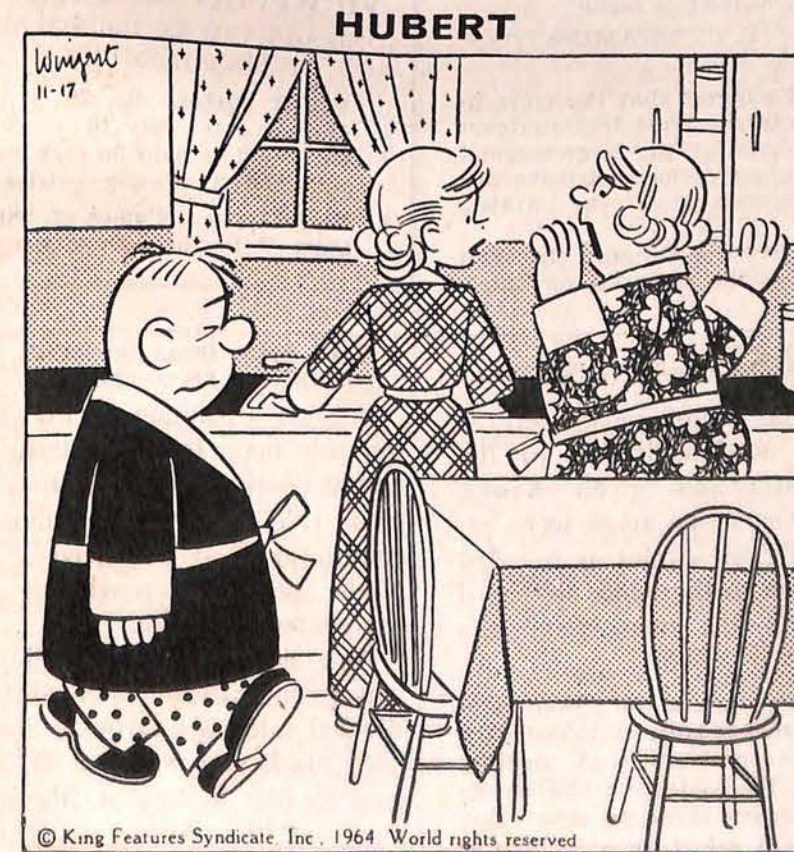
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# LETTERS

\* This week's prize-winning letter.

## ANGRY ARTICLES

SIR: Angry articles on "Shastri's First Year" published in HIMMAT recently, I am afraid, are mainly full of accumulated Opposition frustration. They are neither very helpful nor very hopeful. While all of them bring into the open and voice the concern and the fear of millions of troubled Indians, none of them suggests a clear and definite road India should take.

The average modern Indian is bewildered. He has no faith in the programme and ideology of any political party, because he knows that all of them merely aim for public acceptance of their programme and candidates and not for a real and radical change which he craves for.

He helplessly and instinctively clings to Congress because he cannot escape an aching doubt that the Opposition parties will also use and exploit him, perhaps more ruthlessly, once they come in power. After filling his animal needs, he sometimes bumps up hard against the larger need for a meaningful role among his fellow men, but does simply nothing—absolutely nothing.

## WOMEN—From page 15

The members are called "sisters" and they are pledged to help one another. There are records that show that long before the white man with his different systems came to Africa, there were organized demonstrations by the women.

A striking example of how the women can be mobilized is the famous Aba affair of 1929, when the Ibo women of Nigeria rose suddenly against the government. News of a certain tax leaked out and they were not going to stand for it. They were very angry. Word went around as if by magic—from market place to market place. They were mobilized and there were demonstrations.

Africa has produced women who have led tribes into battle. The greatest of these was Mantatisi. She was chief of the Batlokwa. Mantatisi lived around 1850 and learnt the art of war from Chaka's Zulus.

To write about the African woman would fill a volume. There is, however, one common factor—the passion and determination of the African woman when she feels she is doing the right thing.

The root cause of his aimless life is the creeping feeling of personal insignificance, which is becoming deeper day by day. MRA, a positive and practical ideology, can resolve this dilemma because it reaches the core of his life. It already has made a dent by harnessing thousands of Indian young men and women into selfless and rewarding service.

HARI MOHAN SHARMA  
Bombay 50

## NEED: A GENIUS

SIR: The article "Not Much Time to Wait" by J. B. Kripalani, M.P. gives a very critical appreciation of the Shastri Government's doings and undoings. Though a year is not much to make any spectacular achievement, it is more than sufficient to initiate original and corrective policies. But no such steps have yet been taken. The fundamentals of a good administration are the confidence and enthusiasm which the administration should inspire. But this is a distant cry. I feel only a genius can save our nation.

P. K. PATRA  
Banpur, Orissa

## LBW BY T.T.K.

SIR: Your editorial on "lbw by T.T.K." was rather unfair on the Finance Minister. Everyone knows that Mr. Krishnamachari is having a difficult job finding enough foreign exchange to save India going bankrupt.

Surely this is no time to spend our precious pounds or dollars on cricket.

I only wish Mr. Krishnamachari was as careful about granting foreign exchange when it comes to some of the trips abroad which his colleagues make so often with such little result.

S. T. SWAMINATHAN  
Madras

SIR: Might I suggest that the Government allocate to the West Indies cricket tour of India part of the large amount of foreign exchange they will save due to the postponement of the Algiers Conference?

Pound for pound I am sure the West Indies team would do more for inter-

## RHODESIA—From page 5

For such a multiracial society to work it will need leadership of the type Kenyatta has given Kenya. Until four years ago fears were expressed in British circles as to what would happen to the white settlers if Kenyatta and his men came into power.

Soon after coming to power Kenyatta appealed to both white and black to forget the past and work together for Kenya. He told the white people that he forgave them for what they had done and asked them to forgive his people for their part in the con-

HIMMAT announces a prize of Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be received by Friday. They should be brief and exclusive to HIMMAT. Carbon copies will not be considered.

—EDITOR

national unity than the Algiers Conference would have.

K. R. HUKUMCHAND  
Bombay 26

## I.A.C. AND V.I.P.s

SIR: Last Friday at Santa Cruz airport I was amazed to see a certain Congress M.P., until recently a member of the Union Cabinet, given priority over other passengers who were wait-listed for the noon flight to Madras.

An Indian Airlines Corporation official said that this gentleman had been No. 11 on the waiting list but had been given precedence over the other waiting passengers. These included two young children whose elderly relative did not know what to do with them as they could not join the plane.

Angry scenes developed in front of the IAC counter. It would be interesting to know what pressure this ex-Minister brought to bear on the IAC official who made the decision to put him on the plane. It is unlikely that this gentleman was going about the urgent business of serving the country.

IAC certainly deserves public censure for this sort of thing and I hope you will bring it to the notice of your readers.

K. B. NAIR  
Bombay 14

## VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

"Should Goa be merged with Maharashtra?"

- \* FIRST PRIZE: Rs. 20
- \* Closing date: July 16
- \* Rs. 5 will be paid for each excerpt published from other entries.
- \* Next Week: Winner of "Should India Make the Atomic Bomb?"

flict. Since then, Kenyatta's policies have backed his words.

In such a solution as Kenya's lies the only hope for an orderly transition of Southern Rhodesia to a democratic rule. It will need more than constitutions. It will need a change in the spirit of men who sit around the conference table.

An even greater responsibility devolves on African nationalists now divided into two parties. Above all, both black and white need a joint goal for the destiny of Rhodesia today and the African continent of tomorrow.

## This was a life MARY McLEOD BETHUNE 1875—1955

BORN OF SLAVE parents in South Carolina, Mary McLeod Bethune was fifteenth in a Negro family of seventeen children. From a humble cabin she rose to become a prominent educator and adviser to two Presidents.

As soon as she could walk, she took her place alongside her brothers and sisters in the cotton fields. By the age of nine she could pick 250 pounds of cotton in one day. But she could neither read nor write.

She longed to be educated. When a mission school opened five miles away she walked each day to classes, and taught her elder brothers and sisters at home in the evenings.

When she finished school she began teaching slum children in Southern America. From this grew her desire to have her own school where Negro children could be taught not only education but a faith in God and how to improve their own surroundings by cleanliness and hard work.

She opened her first school with capital of \$1.50 (Rs. 7). Within ten years she had created a college with over 600 students. She believed that "without faith, nothing is possible, with it nothing is impossible".

"I cannot rest while there is a single boy or girl of whatever colour without a chance," she once said.

Mrs. Bethune raised the money for her school by simple means. In the school garden they grew vegetables and sugar cane. One old lady used to buy 10 cents worth of carrots from the school garden each week. Mrs. Bethune always entered it in her book. In her will, the old lady left \$80,000 to the school.

Later she took part in the fight for civil rights for her people. In 1935 she founded the National Council of Negro Women. She received many honours, and became a special adviser to President Roosevelt.

At the age of eighty, distressed by the dissension in the world around her, and conscious that she had not been able to give her students the answer to hate, Mrs. Bethune attended a Moral Re-Armament Assembly in Caux, Switzerland. "My eyes were opened," she said. "I have seen the nations standing together regardless of race, class or colour. To be a part of this great, uniting force is the crowning experience of my life."

When she died, Bethune Cookman College, from its first small plot of ground 50 x 150 feet, had expanded to a 36-acre campus, a college with 19 buildings and 1,300 students.

# Q and A

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

Q — Education is not a place where politicians should poke their noses. What do you say?

HARINAKSHI, Hyderabad.

A — The future depends on our students and their education ought to be everybody's concern. Let the politicians bring useful ideas on education. They are needed.

The criminal thing about our educational system is that it is not for education. Its main aim seems to be to hand rectangular pieces of paper called degrees and certificates to students after two, three or four years.

Soon there is going to be a massive disillusionment with degrees, I am certain.

Politicians have played a supreme part in today's educational mess—so have others. If each student and professor becomes more responsible for what goes on in his college and in the education all over the country, there will be less room for unwelcome long noses of all shapes.

Q — China tries to lead Asia and seems often to succeed. Why don't the others?

J. G. KULKARNI, Poona.

A — Japan is Asia's industrial leader. China is Asia's leader in ideology and in military influence.

India, let us be frank, is not Asia's towering figure.

Leadership is not something others give you on a platter. It has to be assumed. Others accept your leadership if you have something they feel they need. Or they accept it—for a short while and against their wish—if your military power is overwhelming.

China's military might is a major factor in her Asian influence. Equally im-

portant is her revolutionary goal. Her goal is utterly inadequate, and her means dangerously wrong, but for millions of people hungering for a new society it is tempting.

What are we creating in India that Japan, Thailand, Ceylon, Afghanistan and Iran want? What is it we have that nations like these feel is an answer for their problems? We must show in India a revolution swifter, deeper, broader than Communism, capable of changing Asian society and the greed and hate and indolence that keep it stagnant and make it explosive.

Q — What will the Algiers Conference achieve?

P. SRINIVASAN, Cochin.

A — It has proved to be a mirage in the vast desert sands of North Africa. Newspapers and radio have been screaming and blaring for twelve months about this mighty gathering of the titans of Asia and Africa. The trumpets and heralds have led millions to a vanishing trick.

Let's have the courage to accept the bitter truth that Afro-Asian unity is, thus far, a myth. Slogans for solidarity or against imperialism or Communism will not convert fiction into fact. Only the modern revolution of Moral Re-Armament can produce Afro-Asian unity.

— R. G.



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# The Indo-Pakistan Question

by Rajmohan Gandhi

RECENT MONTHS have witnessed an irrational attitude towards Pakistan which has not added to our capacity to defend ourselves or retaliate.

A lot of steam has been loosed, but it has not moved engines. It has befogged the atmosphere.

The feelings of some have somersaulted. Their dominant theme now is not anti-Peking but anti-Rawalpindi. And since Washington and London have not aligned themselves, militarily or in speeches and statements, with us against Pakistan, the theme is also strongly anti-Washington and anti-London.

Those who were cheerfully assuring themselves until the other day that Uncle Sam would think of us as nephews and rescue us from Dragon Mao's fangs are today damning him and imputing to him different kinds of villainy and vice for what they think is his dotting, indulgent and blind fondness for his nephews in Rawalpindi.

This abrupt and quick fluctuation in assessing who our friends are and who our enemies divulges instability.

## Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai?

Some of us have the unreasoned notion that the American and the British will always support the Muslim over the Hindu, the Pakistani over the Indian. If the Americans today are unwilling to condemn Pakistan, it is not because they have an emotional attachment to Rawalpindi but because of certain hard, political conclusions they have drawn. One of them is that while Pakistan has recently grown closer to China, the marriage has not yet taken place and that she can still be wooed away. Therefore they want to avoid steps they think will push Pakistan further into Peking's arms.

It ought to be remembered that this was the exact line used by India's friends in America and many within India to get American diplomatic support and economic aid during the complacent days of Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai. When Pakistanis complained to Washington against American friendship and aid to India they were told, "We don't want to push India closer to Peking."

Another American assumption is that in spite of Pakistan's increasing

political and economic ties with Peking and Moscow, Rawalpindi is still opposed to Communism, and that in the event of a clash between Communist powers and America in Asia, Pakistan would grant military facilities and bases to the U.S.

All this doesn't wipe away the fact that the feelings between Indians and Pakistanis and between Hindus and Muslims are real and deep. For millions they spring from experiences in their own lives. It was quite recently that they were uprooted and hurled from their homes, landing in new and strange parts, stripped of their property, belongings and means of livelihood. Many of them watched the humiliation and murder of their loved ones and heard their screams and could do nothing.

Is it surprising that there should be stored up feelings, waiting for chances of escape and expression?

The knowledge that there are similarly afflicted human beings on the other side does not and cannot eject the blow from your heart.

This is one reason why I cannot agree with those who easily condemn the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh or the R.S.S.

The emphasis on discipline, character and patriotism displayed by many of those who are labelled "communal" is our nation's great want. And what is remarkable is that some of these leaders seem to achieve in many of their followers the discipline they seek and preach. An ardent love for our own land may not be enough in the atom and space age, but is to be preferred to a vague goodwill for all humanity.

## Sober Thinking

Yet, difficult though it may be, all of us require some sober, un-sentimental thinking. It is insane for India to fight China, Pakistan and America together. Without America's economic and military backing, we cannot defend ourselves against China. Without such a backing it will be more than impossible to take on both China and Pakistan.

On the other hand, if we built and maintained a decent relationship with America, China and Pakistan would not take the risk, separately or together, of committing serious aggression on India.

A worsening of our relationship with Pakistan and America is bound, sooner or later, to invite Chinese ideas, influence and soldiers inside India. In such an event we shall again have to seek Washington's aid. And we may reach a situation not much different from the current misery in the once-happy land of Vietnam, with Chinese, American and Indian soldiers fighting on Indian soil and with Indian guerrillas aiding the Chinese.

A friendly, dependable Pakistan is of incalculable worth to us.

It will be an aberration to pretend that Indo-Pak friendship can be established without efforts that are massive, persistent and shrewd.

## Crazy? Perhaps

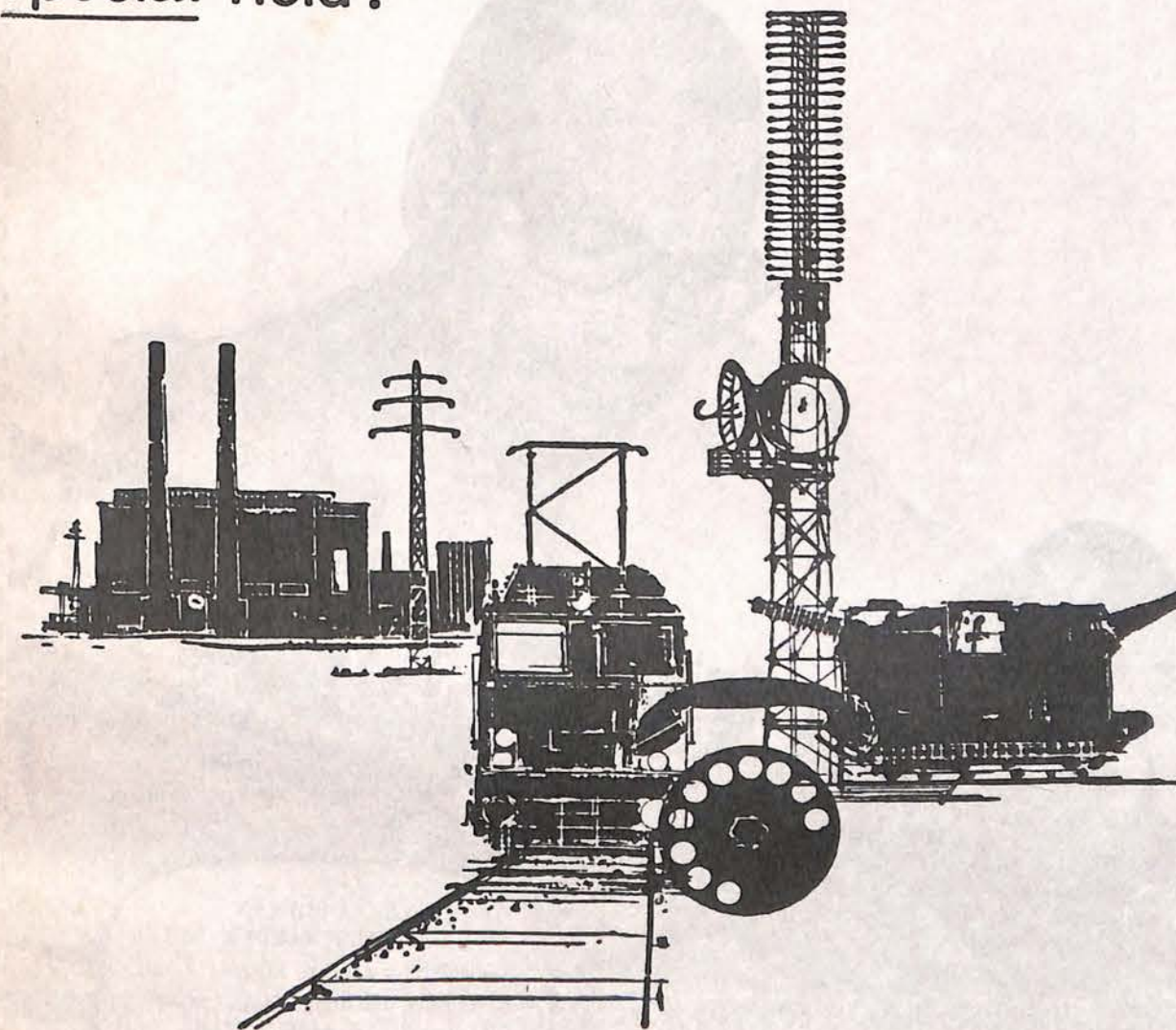
Yet I know there is in both nations a passionate desire for a new society in which the common man, with his wife and children, can live a life where his needs of bread, raiment and a roof are met and also where his heart is filled and satisfied with a great purpose. Intelligent and practical people in Pakistan and India know that a revolution that modernizes man and his environment is a common need of the two nations as well as the strong will of their masses.

When the dust of hate, fear and prejudice makes the atmosphere murky and invades our minds, it becomes difficult to see how the future could be different. Yet I believe that with God's help it can not only be different but full of glory. India and Pakistan, their hates healed and their millions united in mutual honour and sharing the revolutionary goal of Moral Re-Armament, could make the world rub its eyes in surprise and wonder.

Crazy? Perhaps. But to think that without such an objective, and without pursuing such an objective with all the grit and guts we can command, we can save India from disintegration, slavery and the death of true tradition is crazier still. And I have every faith that in the lead of this new struggle are going to be those men and women of our land who are not ashamed of honouring and loving the best of our past, of honouring God, of stressing the virtues of discipline, character and a united home life.

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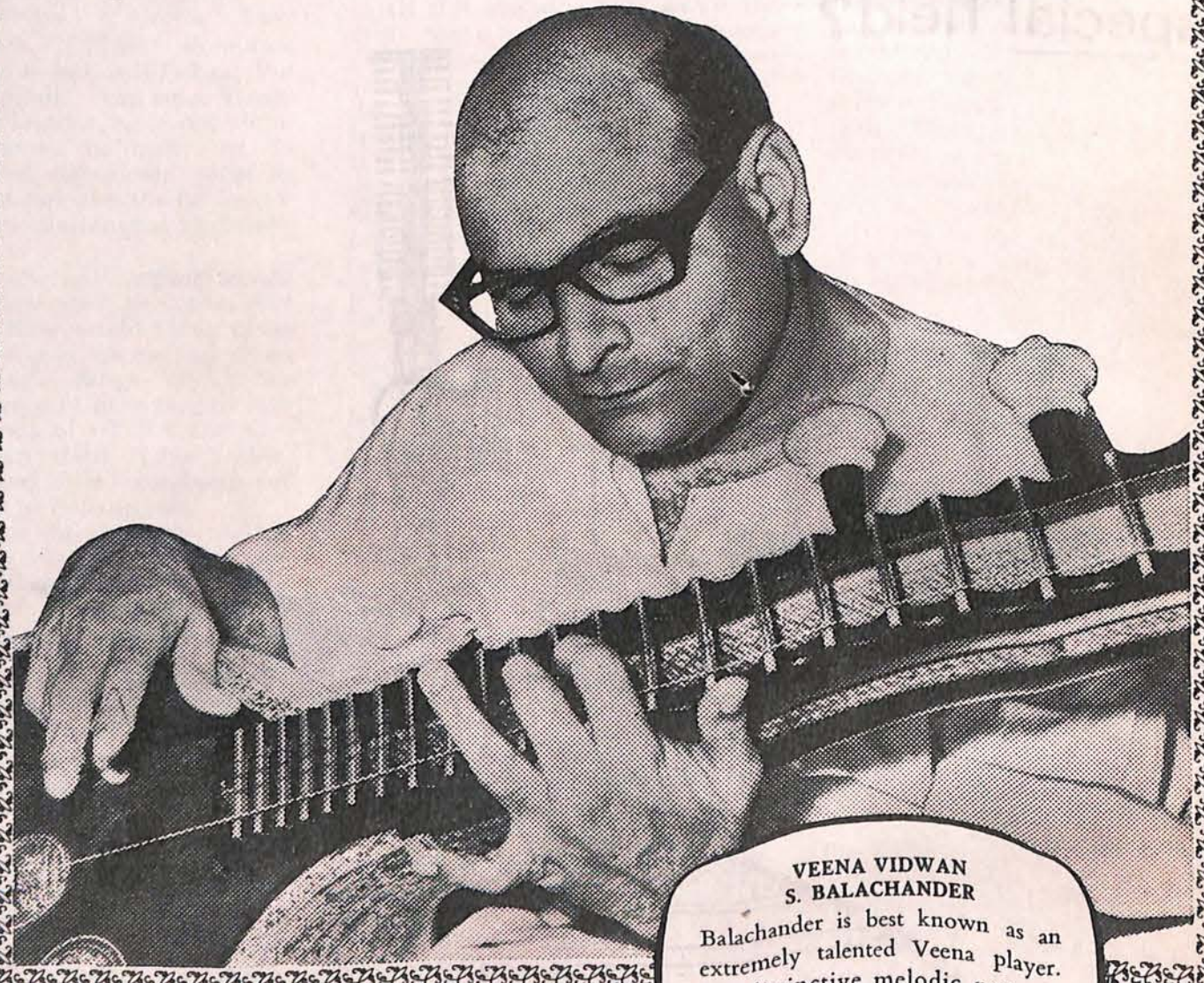
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