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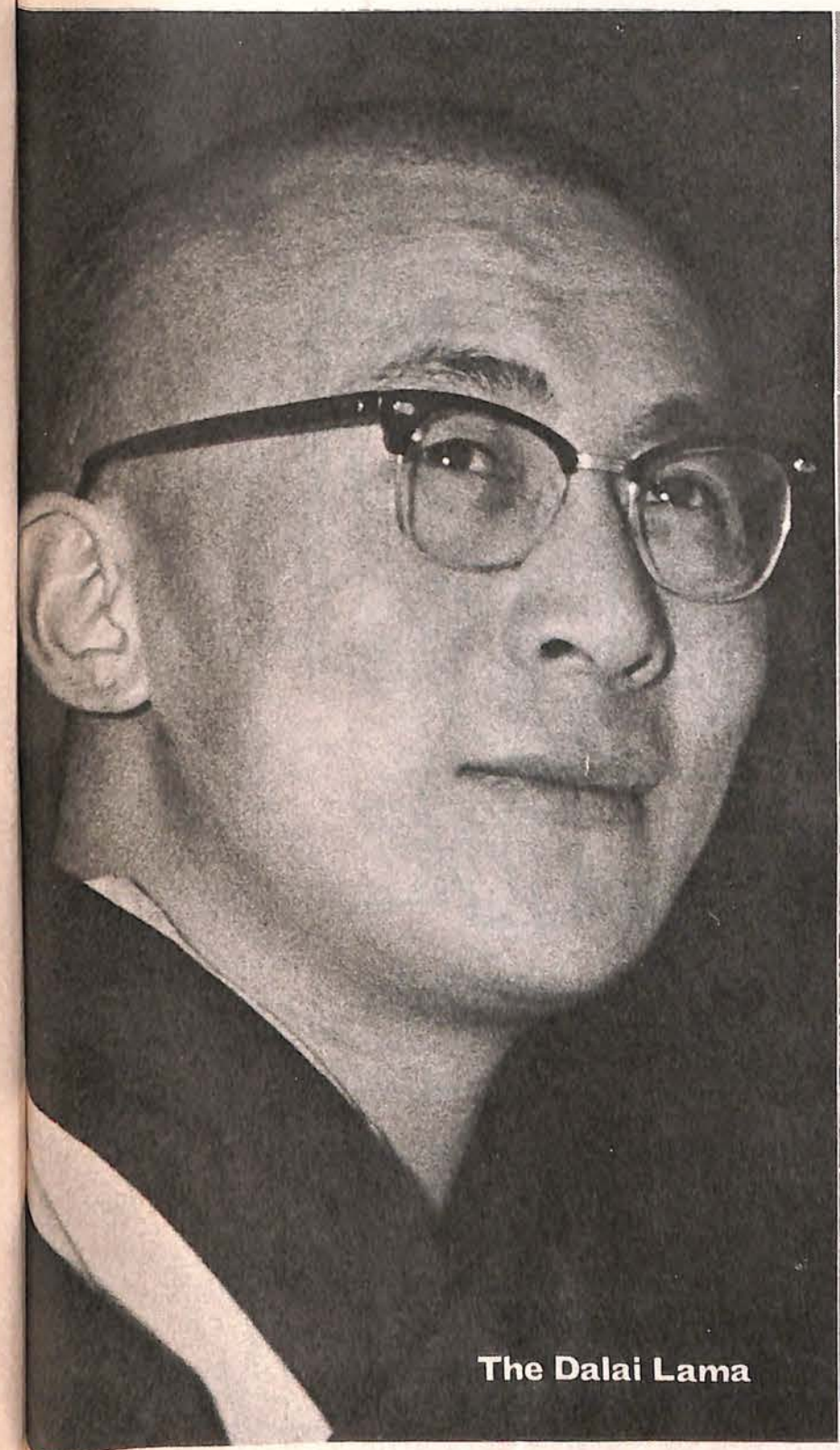
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Asia's new voice

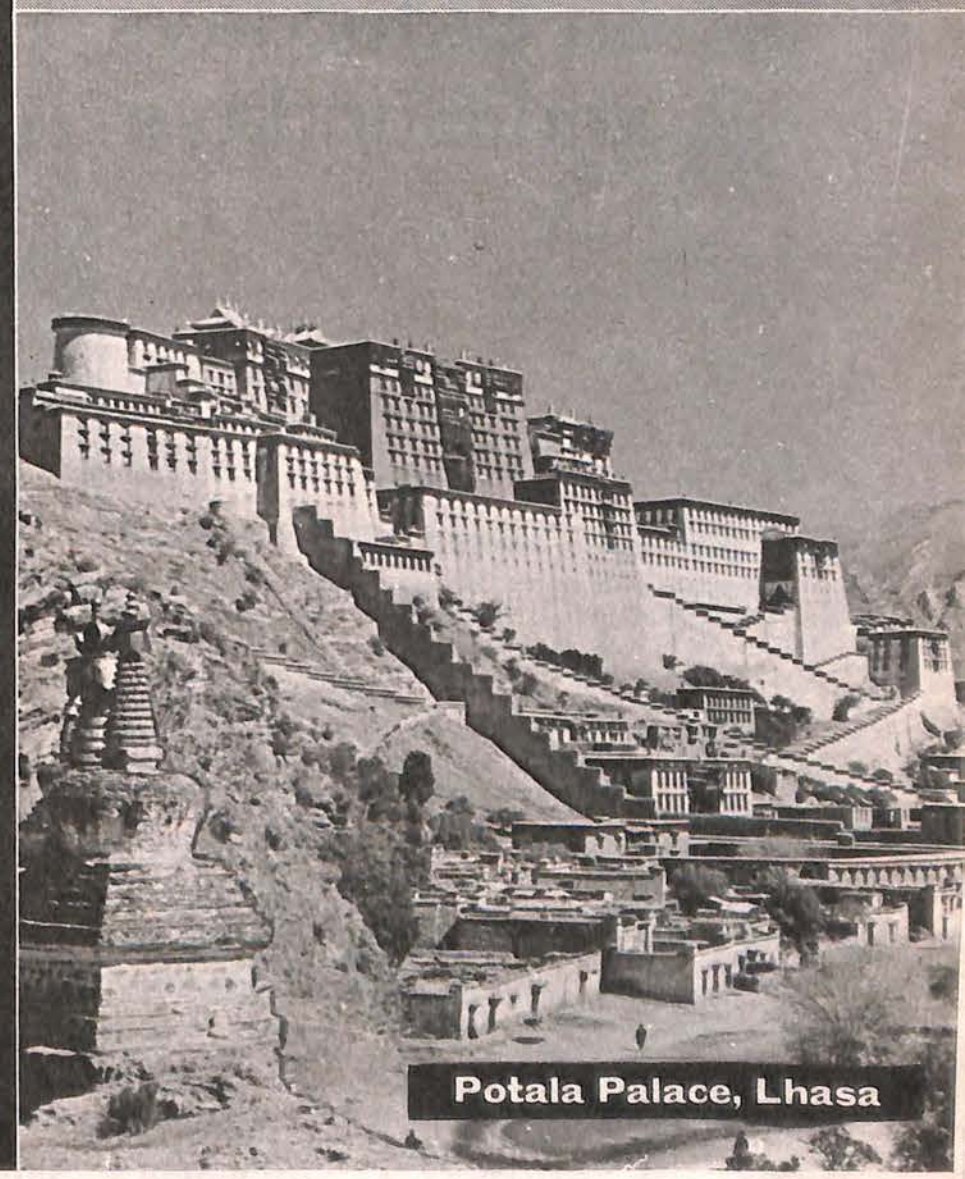
WEEKLY

TIBET UNCONQUERED

Page 5



The Dalai Lama



Potala Palace, Lhasa

Friday
October 15
1965

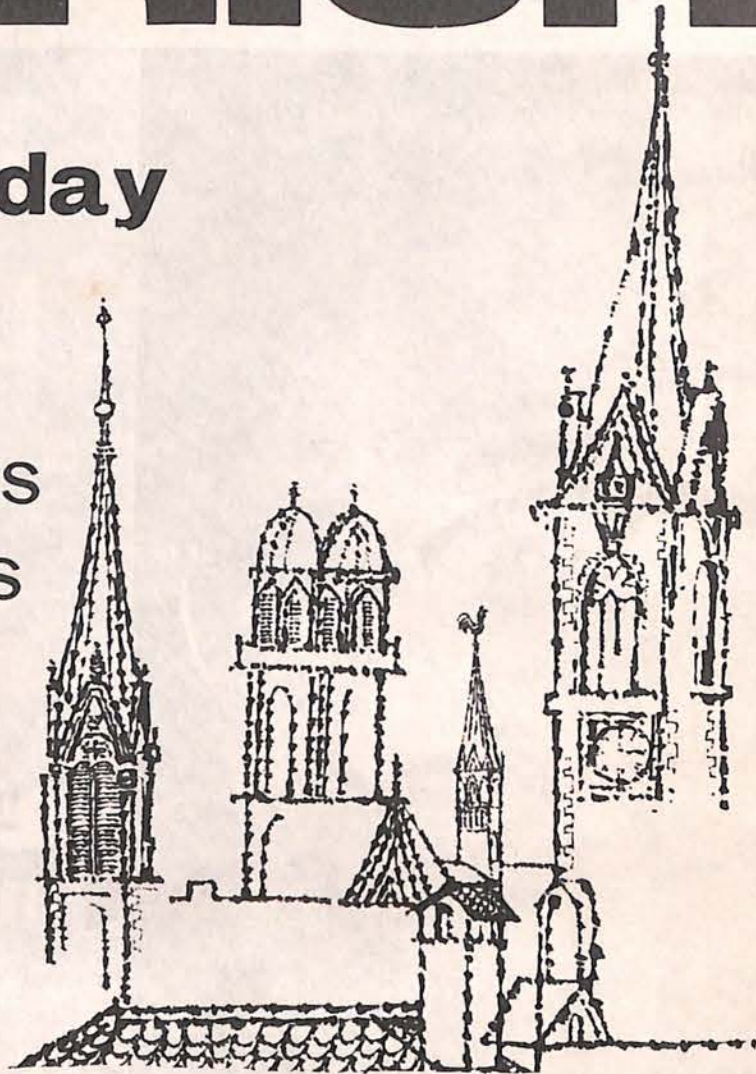
BIGGER JOB THAN MAO'S by Rajmohan Gandhi Page 22



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, October 15, 1965

Vol. 1 No. 50

Light Not Heat

OUR PRIME MINISTER has a good sense of timing. In his latest broadcast he has sought to harness the awakened national consciousness.

Food, he said, is as important as defence. We are grateful for the food we receive from abroad, but we cannot go on depending on it. In the last two weeks a staggering sum of Rs. 36 crores has been invested by the Planning Commission in a crash programme to grow more food. The target is a 10 per cent increase in the production of every village.

Mr. Shastri has included every section of the people in the programme to save India behind the front lines. He has asked traders not to hold back, housewives to plan non-cereal meals, consumers to buy only what they need. He is appealing to the patriotism of the peasant and has given him a national purpose to grow more—something much bigger than the bait of high prices. From every Indian he expects the highest. Shall we rise to it?

No doubt the Prime Minister has noted that after the cease-fire a great deal of the nation's energies and patriotism has slipped into fruitless channels. M.I.A.s and M.P.s have been haranguing vast audiences on the sure-fire subject of the present crisis. Their verbal missiles fly in all directions at enemies, real and imaginary.

In Delhi, Poona and Bombay, students and elders conducted solemn ceremonies burning "wicked" foreign magazines. Their bonfires may have generated some heat, but threw little light on what the nation should do.

Politicians were joined by some editors in even dusting off volumes of Gandhi's works to unearth quotations to justify violence in self-defence. Fifty of our Parliamentarians volunteered selflessly to leave behind their dear ones and constituents to undertake the rigours of foreign tours explaining India's policies.

The Prime Minister's appeal is practical and will give all these parties a more sensible programme to follow.

Yellow Belt

SHOULD MR. SMITH declare Rhodesia independent unilaterally following the breakdown of negotiations with the British Government, serious consequences would follow, not only for Rhodesia but for the African continent.

The 250,000 whites in Rhodesia might well for a time survive the consequences of U.D.I. With friendly territory on three sides (Portuguese and South African) and their small, but well-equipped army and air force, they can probably withstand any immediate economic and military pressure.

Zambia, the only African-controlled country bordering Rhodesia, is dependent on Rhodesia economically. Her copper, the backbone of her economy, is exported by railway through Rhodesia. Rhodesian

coal and electricity is her main source of power. Rhodesian nationals staff her mining industry and railways. In the event of an open clash with Rhodesia, these essential services will stop.

Understandably, President Kaunda of Zambia is seeking another route from his landlocked country to the sea. One possibility is the Benguela Railway via Katanga and Angola. But this would make him dependent on Congolese and Portuguese goodwill.

The alternative is to build a new railway through Tanzania to Dar es Salaam. Britain and Canada have offered to survey this route. Red China has offered to pay for its construction. Building the railway would extend Chinese influence into the heart of Africa. Linking up with their Brazzaville stronghold in former French Congo, the Chinese might then fasten a "yellow belt" across the continent.

This would bring within China's reach the mineral-rich Congo province of Katanga. To make her atom bomb China needs uranium, nickel and cobalt. Sinkiang provides uranium. Nickel comes from Cuba. Cobalt, China hopes to get from Katanga.

U.D.I. may create a situation where Zambia and Tanzania feel compelled to accept the Chinese offer. Rhodesia may preserve white supremacy for a time, at the price of bringing a new imperialism to Africa.

The gap between Mr. Smith and the British Government is not unbridgeable. Failure to guarantee African majority rule within a reasonable period will lead to a clash whose victor may be neither white nor black.

Take Another Look

THE WISH of the Government to tighten up on certain tax-free allowances to business is understandable. Measures are to be welcomed where they result in a fairer and more efficient tax collection from those who are exploiting allowances. But the Income Tax (Seventh Amendment) Rules, restricting tax-free expenditure on advertising to only four per cent of turnover, is not one of them.

The Government frequently professes support for the smaller industries, the smaller enterprises. In this new regulation, however, the Government is clearly favouring the larger, well-established entrepreneur, for whom even four per cent of turnover is a substantial amount.

The effect of this arbitrary ruling can be seen in the fact that one of the country's largest manufacturers is at present spending only 3 per cent of turnover on advertising whereas another well-known, but much smaller, concern spends 14 per cent to compete.

Surely the new Rules, as conceived by the Ministry of Finance, are meant to end abuses and prevent escape from tax liability by the use of wasteful and even spurious advertising to drain off profits. This they do not achieve and HIMMAT joins the growing ranks of those who urge the Government to take another look at the matter.

Briefly Speaking ...

I can pardon everybody's mistakes except my own.

CATO 90-46 B.C.

Quiz

FRANCE has no Vice President. In the event of President de Gaulle's death, who will replace him under the French Constitution?

1. The President of the Senate.
2. The Speaker of the National Assembly.
3. The Chief Justice.
4. The Prime Minister.

The first answer is correct. And the holder of this office is a Guiana-born Negro, M. Gaston Monnerville, who has just been re-elected.

Old Habit

WE MIGHT now reasonably expect the Soviet Union to claim that even the cut-throat razor was invented by them.

Soviet archaeologists digging in the Northern Caucasus say they have established that men have been shaving

their chins for nearly 3,000 years.

One of the things they unearthed was a bronze cut-throat razor dating back to the tenth century B.C. The date was fixed by measuring the radioactivity of charcoal found in the same spot.

Come Sharp

AT LAST the game is up. No longer can telegrams from home on the eve of public holidays convince Government officials to grant leave to their staff. On the eve of Puja holidays, or any long holidays, stereotyped texts of telegrams were submitted by police constables, peons and orderlies of Calcutta, with their application.

The administrative officer of a Calcutta Directorate analysed the texts and found a similarity in telegrams originating from various states. His findings are as follows:

From Bihar—"Wife hopeless come sharp."

From Orissa—"House burnt come immediately."

From West Bengal—"Mother (or father) seriously ill."

In my own recent experience a typical tear-jerker from the south was, "Wife dangerous start at once."

Man Without Country

A MAN without identity or nationality was confined aboard a ship in the London docks last week—unable to land anywhere in the world, reports Reuter. Immigration officials who went aboard the British cargo ship Oakbank refused him permission to land in Britain. He was found stowed away after the vessel left an Argentine port in May.

For five months, the modern Flying Dutchman has been aboard the ship while it has sailed between Formosa, Australia, Italy and Britain.

A shipping company official said that when the vessel was at sea the man was free to roam the ship and he was "leading a contented and good life". The ship is now on its way to the U.S.A.

Go West, Go East

PRESIDENT RADHAKRISHNAN said in Czechoslovakia, "Lack of communications brings about mistrust and gives us the madhouse of today."

The President is correct. If he can inject this spirit into our administration, India will be grateful to him.

No other country puts so much restriction on travel abroad (with the possible exception of China and some other Communist countries) as India—even where foreign exchange is not asked for.

When Ernest Bevin became Foreign Secretary of Britain, he said, "I have only one policy—to go to Victoria Station and take a ticket wherever I like without anybody pulling me up for a passport." What a refreshing contrast to the thinking of our Finance Ministry.

Worth Living For

FOURTEEN-YEAR-OLD Leena Rege, a student of St. Mary's High School, Poona, representing students from 10 schools of her city, has sent a letter to the jawans through the Defence Minister. This is typical of the thousands across the country who have felt responsible for the nation.

This young lady, with her friends, says, "Though we cannot reach the heights of what you are doing, we have decided to work with clean hands and make others work the same way. This will end corruption and selfishness in our country and then we will be able to face bravely any threat however big it may be from the outside world. When you on the borders are making such great sacrifices, we from here will make this land worth them."

Armed Postmen

Docs bite 7,000 American postmen a year and cost the U.S. taxpayer \$1,000,000. Now American postmen have been armed with a spray-gun containing a chemical capable of repelling a dog at 12 paces.

The repellent, containing mineral oil and pepper extract, is claimed to cause temporary blindness to the canine. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals is keeping a watch on the interests of the dogs.

It is strange that earlier nobody started a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Postmen.

Tailpiece

A CANADIAN PAPER writes:—"Good driving is co-operative, not competitive. It is better to be out-distanced than out-lived."

R.M.L.

TIBET — UNCONQUERED

By Gordon S. Wise

travel at incredible speeds over vast distances on foot or on horse-back. The terrain favours the native-born.

Greater Tibet includes an area of 750,000 square miles, three-quarters of which is at an altitude of 15,000 feet. In these conditions, the 300,000 Chinese military in Tibet must remain in close-knit groups for reasons of supply, administration and security. Their whole occupational commit-

ment, says Patterson, depends on two long, exposed main roads, one running east and west, the other north and south. These life-lines snake across precipitous slopes and sheer mountain faces and are extremely vulnerable to native guerrillas.

The Khambas' intelligence grapevine is very effective. Hardly a Chinese soldier moves without some nomad, trader or villager getting word to the resistance fighters through the civilian People's Party apparatus. The Khambas ambush convoys to a precise time schedule and cut off food supplies to Chinese garrisons. It is a grim parallel of the war in Vietnam—except that the Americans are where they are by invitation of the South Vietnamese.

A while back the Khambas ran short of ammunition for their ancient arms and were resorting more to their razor-edged swords. Now, refugees report mysterious airdrops in the mountains, presumably by Chinese Nationalist planes operating from Taiwan.

On this evidence, the Chinese can expect a long, perhaps never-ending struggle.

Politically they are not faring any better. When the Dalai Lama gave up trying to accommodate Chinese demands and reluctantly fled to neutral soil, the remaining Panchen Lama, number two spiritual guide, was regarded as a Tibetan Quisling.

But earlier this year the Panchen Lama refused to denounce the Dalai Lama and was clapped under house arrest. A subservient Tibetan named Ngabo Ngawang Jigme was then set

up as puppet ruler. He has little support from the Tibetan people and close friends of his told Patterson that even he may not approve of present developments. Initially he had favoured changing the traditional way of life in the country.

Even the Tibetan youth who were removed to China for ideological indoctrination have joined the resistance movement on their return home.

Speaking in Kerala this week the Dalai Lama said he believed many nations, including India, would support Tibet's case when it comes up before the United Nations. China has found the spirit of the Tibetan people difficult to rule and impossible to conquer.—Ed.

As a long-term policy to destroy and replace everything Tibetan, the Chinese plan to settle a million people of Han origin in Tibet over a ten-year period. Before the Chinese took over Tibet, a million was roughly the native population of the country.

I have met the Dalai Lama in his present headquarters at Dharmasala in the Himalayas. He yearns and prays for his people to be free, but he does not preach hatred of the Chinese. His own story, "My Land and My People", is most moving in its restraint.

Continued on page 8

CHALTA HAI...



"Quick! Tell me again! which country are we visiting this time?"

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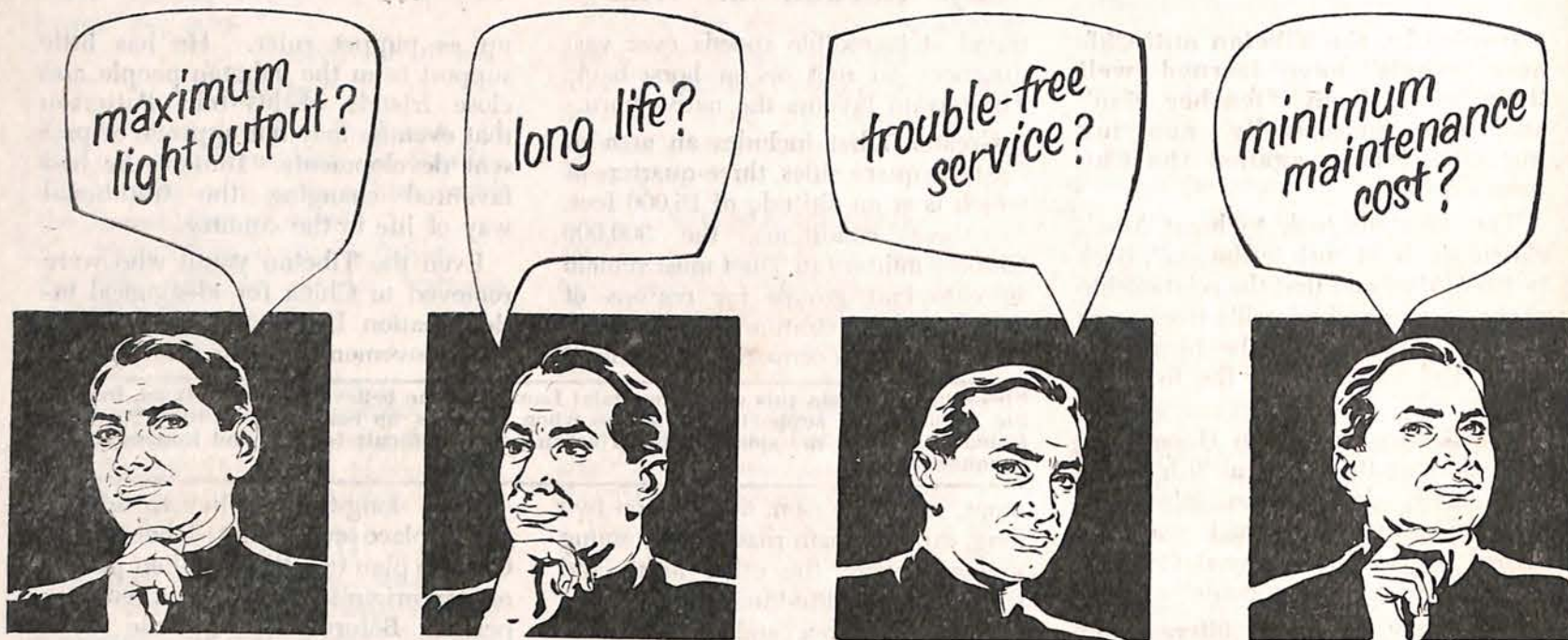
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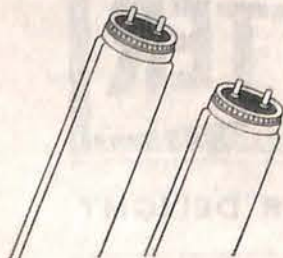
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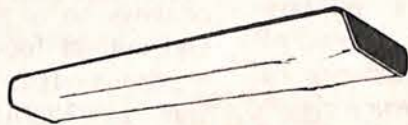
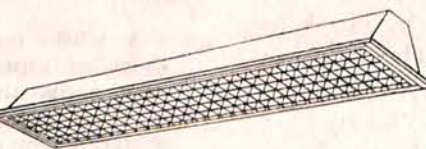
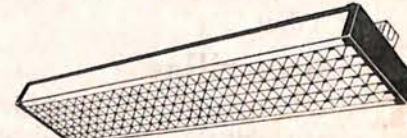

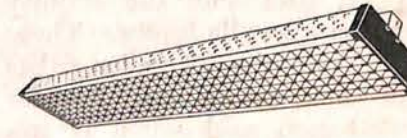
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How many policy-makers does India have?

The war with Pakistan is fortunately over. With an ever larger number of U.N. observers to inspect and maintain the cease-fire, we may not expect trouble of a serious nature for a while. But India and Pakistan have taken such irreconcilable positions even on the matter of the cease-fire, that it is hard to see how another war, with the same dangers of extension and escalation and further intervention by Communist China, can be prevented.

An unfortunate trend in the wake of the cease-fire has been the tendency on the part of many of our leaders to make pronouncements on foreign policy which should be the exclusive prerogative of the Foreign Minister, the Prime Minister and the President of India. These disparate, discordant outbursts of responsible men at public gatherings have the effect of formulating a fresh, perhaps unintended foreign policy.

What, for example, is the world to think of Mr. Chagla's declaration that the cease-fire line which existed before the Pakistani infiltrations into Kashmir had ceased to exist and there is need for drawing a realistic cease-fire line? Is his demand that "we want to create a situation which would make it impossible for the Pakistanis to repeat their infiltration and aggression" to be construed as an expression of official policy? If so, it tears to pieces India's acceptance of the cease-fire and her obligation to withdraw to positions held prior to August 5.

There have been many demands in recent weeks that India should manufacture the atom bomb. But

surely, parliamentary propriety demands that as long as the Government has not announced any change in policy on the matter, a long-standing member of the Government like Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna does not give public expression to his view that India should now proceed with making the bomb.

Similarly, statements such as that made in Bombay by a responsible Cabinet Minister that India will one day avenge the death of the late Gujarat Chief Minister (whose plane was shot down by Pakistani fighters) are hardly conducive to building up the image of a peace-loving nation.

Soap Box Policies

In no country in the world is the foreign policy made on public platforms by a numerous group of individuals, who all claim to speak for the Government. Wisdom consists in leaving unexpressed areas in policy and undefined attitudes of some aspects of an issue under discussion.

Another fashionable proposition in recent weeks has been our present resolve to go it alone in the world if necessary, and the need to do without foreign aid, so as to be free from all pressures on Kashmir.

This is a welcome change from the posture of some months ago that it was the right of India to receive aid in as large quantities as possible and it was the duty and obligation of wealthier powers to help us. The present attitude is a far more realistic one, worthy of a nation aspiring to become a modern power. But it is essential that we understand its assumptions and implications.

Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

First, speeches do not create food and bravado is no substitute for efficiency, shared sacrifices and hard work. Self-sufficiency in food has been a steadily pursued aim for the last 15 years and has so far eluded us. Even as our leaders are making speeches on self-sufficiency, we have to make shift with monthly agreements with the U.S. to import food under PL 480 at the rate of half a million tons per month.

As things are, this quantity represents the margin of difference between scarcities and long food queues and a minimum supply of grain to urban centres. It is essential to achieve a measure of self-sufficiency before we can afford to build a policy that throws us on our own.

Second, the Indian economy cannot overnight be transformed from one dependent on imports of raw material, essential components and machinery into a self-sufficient one. This, in fact, may never happen, though over a period of years it is possible to reduce our excessive dependence on imports. Any reduction of foreign aid at this time will only postpone this day. Add to this the fact of minimal foreign exchange reserves with no immediate possibility of increase of our export capacity, we do not face a welcoming prospect. Besides, the promotion of foreign trade is in no small measure dependent on...

Continued on next page

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dent on a foreign policy that wins friends and does not alienate allies.

Third, while it is just that legitimate burdens are borne by the nation for military preparedness, it is neither wise nor practical to demand excessive sacrifice from the nation for a long period. It is questionable whether the leadership can evoke such continued sacrifice, or that the

masses will accept it in exchange for a nebulous national identity.

Fourth, an unspoken assumption of our present posture is the so-called dependability and reliability of the Soviet Union as against the West. But obviously, Soviet aid, such as is forthcoming, will also have its price, and we must be on guard against the danger of the pursuit of "true

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independence" leading us into inadvertent satellite-dom.

The safeguarding of India's interests in Kashmir has therefore to be balanced against these considerations—the long-term capacity of the nation to develop unaided and to stick together in peace as in war, the cost in discontent and bitterness of a suffering population asked to sacrifice more, the ability of a democratic government to survive under the pressures of international isolation, privation at home and continued threat of war on the borders.

The stability and security of the whole has to be kept in view as much as the present threat to the part.

TIBET—from page 5

Recently when Radio Lhasa shrilly proclaimed news items about Tibetan "armed bandits" being captured, the Council of Religious Affairs of the Dalai Lama issued an appeal to "all freedom-loving people". The appeal asked for prayers for "our unfortunate fellow beings in Tibet, so that they can stand hardship and torture with greater courage".

The appeal continued, "In spite of savage suppression, our people in Tibet have not lost faith in the teaching of the Lord Buddha."

From among the 80,000 Tibetans who have sought refuge in India, His Holiness the Dalai Lama sent selected young men to one of the training camps organized by Moral Re-Armament in the Simla Hills last year. These youth are the hope and treasure of their elders as they may be the only surviving Tibetans in the coming years. I talked with them and went to one of their schools. They were bright of eye, alert of bearing, nimble at sports and cheerful at tasks. All had lost members of their families when they fled.

At the end of one week at the camp, their leader said, "I used to think only of Tibet and of how we could return. I wanted other countries to help us. Now I understand that we may never see the flag of Free Tibet flying over Lhasa until we can raise the flag of MRA, a reborn civilization, over New Delhi, Washington, Moscow—and ultimately over Peking." They said they wanted to make this their life's task.

As the Dalai Lama's Council said, "There is still hope the tide will turn."

CYPRUS — a Most Dangerous Impasse

By Dr. Ahmed Yalman

Both Turks and Greeks are fully aware that they have common treasures of habits, folklore, pleasure, that they are doomed by geography and history to share a common destiny and to live or die together. In their everyday life they delight to eat the same dishes, carrying names of common origin (either Turkish or Greek).

They repeat with the same understanding the endless stories of Nasreddin Hodja (the Turkish village humorist and philosopher) portraying every possible situation in life. The shadow play of old Turkish origin with conversations between the sophisticated Hadjivad, the impulsive Karagoz and all sorts of figures of timely interest (cut preferably from camel skin) is still as popular in Greece, as in Turkey.

Greeks and Turks find pleasure in each other's company, feel themselves at home in each other's country. In the history of their political relations, periods of catastrophic hatred alternate with phases of warm and affectionate friendship and co-operation.

Ataturk and Metaxas

After the merciless war of 1919-22 ending with an exchange of population as a radical solution, Ataturk and Venizelos had no difficulty to initiate an era of affectionate friendship culminating in the Balkan League. Even the exchange of population proved to be a new link, instead of a factor of separation. The Greeks expelled from Anatolia to Greece knew hardly any Greek and spoke Turkish at their homes and even in their churches, while the Turks from Epirus and Macedonia who had to migrate to Turkey, had mostly Greek as their mother-language.

In 1937 and 1938 Ataturk and General Metaxas, the Leader of Greece at that time, started to carry out a project of confederation which included a common federal frontier, a co-ordinated economic system, and a gradual common diplomatic representation. This radical move was accepted cheerfully by both nations

as a natural and happy turn in their relations.

The co-operation in this sense continued after the death of Ataturk in 1938 and was only interrupted by the invasion of Greece in 1940 by the Italians and by the death of General Metaxas. During the period of distress of Greece, the Turkish armies guarded faithfully and loyally the frontiers of Greece against a possible Bulgarian aggression.

As the secretary general of the Inter-Balkan Press League, which was in reality a Turkish-Greek scheme

Ahmed Emir Yalman is an outstanding editor and journalist, a prominent figure in the International Press Institute. For more than 50 years Dr. Yalman has been fighting for press freedom in Turkey, suffering terms of imprisonment, attempted assassination and exile. Dr. Yalman played an important role in creating the public opinion in Greece, Turkey and Cyprus that made possible the Zurich and London Agreements leading to the freedom of Cyprus in 1960. Now, when peace in Cyprus is again disturbed and a U.N. force is present, HIMMAT invited him to contribute.—Ed.

of journalistic co-operation, I had occasions between 1937 and 1940 to observe closely the possibilities of amalgamating Turkey and Greece into a happy and lasting partnership.

This trend was interrupted by World War II and the internal troubles in Greece, but I personally never lost my hope of repairing the damages, particularly after Turkey and Greece benefited jointly from the Truman doctrine and after their being incorporated as the south-eastern flank of NATO.

I decided that the best way of reviving the joint dream of Ataturk and General Metaxas would be a link to be established between the press of the two countries in accordance with the pattern of the so effective press conferences initiated by the International Press Institute between France and Germany. To the Assembly of I.P.I. in London in 1953 I submitted a resolution for starting press conferences between Turkey and Greece. This was readily accepted.

Until 1961, when a most successful press conference of top level journalists took place in Rhodes, there was no positive action, but my frequent visits to Athens rendered it possible for me to make many close friends among the Greek journalists and to prepare the ground

for the sort of harmonious understanding and co-operation I was dreaming of. This allowed me to prepare for the Turkish daily *To Vima* an appeal in 1957 about the necessity and mutual advantages of a Turkish-Greek co-operation. The results were amazing: The *Kathimerini*, Athens, offered me a chance to publish a similar appeal in this distinguished paper. The atmosphere, troubled as a result of the Cyprus conflict, became so changed overnight that the boycott carried out by the entire Greek press against the

Turkish press attache was terminated and all the Greek journalists accepted an invitation arranged by the attache to meet me.

Then I proceeded to Cyprus, published similar appeals in the *Cyprus Times* and in the *Cyprus Mail* for settling all the conflicts amicably. Archbishop Makarios and all the Cyprus papers in the Greek language received me as a champion of a good cause. I can pretend that my personal efforts have resulted in preparing the ground for the Zurich and London agreements. The funny part is that I was not a persona grata of the Menderes Government at that time, being in conflict with it as an independent, freedom-loving journalist and as the chairman of the Turkish National Committee of I.P.I.

I am happy to add that in my efforts for reconciliation I was deeply inspired by the principles of Moral Re-Armament.

During my visits to Greece in 1961, 1962 and 1963 I was agreeably surprised to observe that the idea of Turkish-Greek friendship was dear to the average Greek and that as an indefatigable exponent of it "Kiriyos Yalman" was known all over Greece as a trusted friend.

Continued on next page

After the change of government in Greece, Papandreu attacked severely the Karamanlis Government for signing the Zurich Agreements. This started to create an impasse in the Cyprus conflict and in the Turkish-Greek relations. Archbishop Makarios followed with a violent policy, annulling the basis of the previous agreements. Moscow used the trump card skilfully to stretch its paws to a possible base in the Mediterranean. Actions followed actions on both sides. The impasse has become a hopeless one, all ways of negotiation and compromise were closed. Turkey and Greece, active members of the military security system of the free world—who badly need this security for their survival.— are in such a desperate state of conflict that any small incident may provoke a state of war with incalculable risks for the destiny of both countries and the world.

Victory for Moscow

The apprehension of such a fatality is shared by the sensible people in Turkey and Greece. During the thirteenth Assembly of I.P.I. in Istanbul in June 1964 and the post-Assembly tour in Izmir, four leading Greek journalists and their Turkish colleagues had occasions to discuss the problem and to agree on the absolute necessity of getting out of the dangerous impasse.

Recently a group of sixteen Greek journalists came to Istanbul as tourists on board a Greek ship. A group of Turkish journalists were invited to a cocktail party on board, followed by an improvised dinner party offered by the Turkish Press Institute (the Turkish National Committee of I.P.I.). On both occasions several speeches were made on both sides, denoting an eager longing for reaching a compromise, but admitting their helplessness to take an initiative.

In such a situation the passive attitude and on-sidedness of the free world is most deplorable. The Cyprus issue represents the most decisive victory of Moscow in the cold war. I deplore this passiveness myself very deeply, because in the face of my past experiences, I feel sure that with a little goodwill put to action, the bitterness between Turkey and Greece may change once more and overnight into a warm and most desirable friendship.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Rhodesia on Collision Course

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

One man one vote is here to stay. Twenty years ago the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights set that tide in motion for everybody. Ex-RAF pilot Smith's "never" to this proposition is flying, or rather crashing, in the face of the inevitable.

The Rhodesian Premier won power on the basis of "independence without strings". But the British Government could only grant independence if there were guaranteed progress towards African majority rule.

During constitutional talks in London last week Smith ran into as solid a diplomatic front as ever faced a Rhodesian leader. The Opposition is publicly and fully identified with the British Government. Black and white nations of the Commonwealth were united against U.D.I. (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) and the U.S. and NATO countries were applying pressure. Only the timing, not the principle, was negotiable. Independence on Smith's terms would have meant the immediate exodus from the Commonwealth of at least Zambia, Tanzania and Kenya.

The next move is Smith's. He will not heed the voices he heard in London. Will he listen to the voice from the south? *Die Burger*, leading Afrikaner paper in South Africa, cautions, "Rhodesia should give time and patience another opportunity, no matter what painful self-control this might demand."

After Civil Rights—a New Crisis

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Los Angeles

The United States is faced with a racial crisis perhaps more costly and more lengthy to solve than the civil rights struggle which is now nearing fulfilment.

The new crisis will not be cured by federal legislation and monetary appropriations for it reaches into the structure of Negro family life.

"The Negro Family: Case for Negro Action", a survey done by the U.S. Department of Labour, reveals that one-quarter of all Negro marriages dissolve, nearly one-quarter of all Negro births are illegitimate,

The English language *Cape Times* writes, "Is it worth the risk of putting the whole sub-continent into a turmoil just to keep up with the constitutional Jones?"

On the day Smith arrived, a senior white South African said here of South Africa, "We will have a black government within 15 years." Some would argue it is not soon enough. Others snort it will never happen. But it might be statesmanship to prepare for it.

Whatever the outcome of the next weeks, two realities remain. One—like Kenya, to prove that Europeans have a part to play in states governed by Africans. It is interesting to note that only 357 Europeans left Kenya in the first six months of this year, compared to 2326 in the corresponding period last year. There is also the recent example in Tanzania of European and Asian Cabinet Ministers re-elected to Parliament, even standing against Africans.

Two—potential leaders need to be trained in the mechanism of sound government and principles of national integrity and personal reliability. Europeans would do well to eradicate their own out-moded attitudes of prejudice.

nearly one-quarter of all Negro families are headed by a woman, there is 90 per cent higher Negro infant mortality rate than among whites, twice as much unemployment, heavy narcotic addiction, delinquency and extensive poverty.

The report attributes the cause for the race riots in New York, Chicago

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

and Los Angeles in large part to the abdication of moral authority in the homes, churches and schools. The urgent need is for a more "stable family structure," concludes the Report.

This would be a new field of endeavour for civil rights leaders and a new departure for government policy.

The President has called for a White House conference to meet in November to see how Negroes can best answer this crisis and best fulfil the rights granted to them in the last years.

Some who have marched at the head of civil rights demonstrations and blamed Negro trouble on police brutality have shown a reluctance to take on this difficult and undramatic problem but a growing number of unheralded Negro citizens are attempting to grapple with it.

Citizens' committees have been set up to improve their homes and neighbourhoods. Collective efforts are being made to rehabilitate the delinquent elements and urge higher standards of discipline in home and school.

Mr. Dickson, a Negro pullman train porter living in Los Angeles, puts it this way:

"A lot of our instability as a people is a throw-back to the days of slavery when marriage was not sanctioned and to the lack of Negro opportunities in jobs and education.

Australian P.M. Rejects Hot Report

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS

Melbourne

The Australian Government received the most massive report it has ever called for on the nation's economy—and immediately rejected its main findings. Called the Vernon Report after its chairman, Sir James Vernon, it is becoming a national topic of controversy as fast as people can digest it.

The committee, consisting of three leading businessmen, a professor of economics at the Australian National University and the principal of a new university, started work two and a half years ago and presented its findings in an 1,800-page, one million-word document.

The result is likely to be an embarrassment to the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, who set it up

to fulfil an election promise. He clearly wanted the committee merely to survey the economy but not to make any major recommendations for improving it. "No government," he told Parliament, "can abdicate its own authority and responsibility for national policy. In such a case democracy would have ceased and a technocracy would have begun."

It killed something in our soul. You don't feel a man at all and easily give up without trying. A man needs to be given respect and a sense of worth. Now much of this has been corrected. But I want to say, just putting a man on relief and government assistance is not the answer to the breakdown of our family life."

A young Negro boy studying in a New York college claims that "violence breeds in broken homes". He says that when "parents separate streets become the home instead of the house".

"Aimlessness is another reason for our dilemma," he says. "A man needs something to live for. He wants to have a part in society. We want to have a better life but don't know how and we become dissatisfied no matter how much we get materially from the welfare agency."

"We need to take responsibility for our own moral state," says Mr. Dickson. "You don't need a college degree or a nice house to have morals. We need pride. We need discipline and we need to know right from wrong. If our leaders won't start, then we, the ordinary people, must bring sound family life back to America."

Only we can do it.

Continued on page 14

The week in Asia

RAWALPINDI—Foreign Minister Bhutto announced that Pakistan had broken off diplomatic relations with Malaysia because it had "failed to make a distinction between the aggressor and the aggressed" and "violated the solidarity of the Afro-Asian world".

KARACHI—President Ayub Khan postponed a State visit to Britain arranged for this month, due to "pre-occupations" in Pakistan.

KATHMANDU—Nepal's third Five Year Plan gives priority to agriculture, communications and power, stated the Ministry of Economic Planning. The aim is to raise per capita income 9 per cent by 1970.

TOKYO—Tension mounted as the Diet began to debate the treaty normalizing relations with Korea. Opponents to the treaty said it would involve Japan in anti-Communist commitments sponsored by the U.S.

PEKING—President Liu Shao-chi and Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi were said by diplomatic sources to be struggling for the succession to Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung, who was reported to be ailing. Prime Minister Chou En-lai was said not to be a contestant in the struggle.

SAIGON—U.S. forces in South Vietnam reached 150,000 with the arrival of a further 18,000 men. By the end of the year 200,000 U.S. troops are expected to be in the country.

COLOMBO—West Germany signed an agreement to give Ceylon Rs. 65 million economic aid.

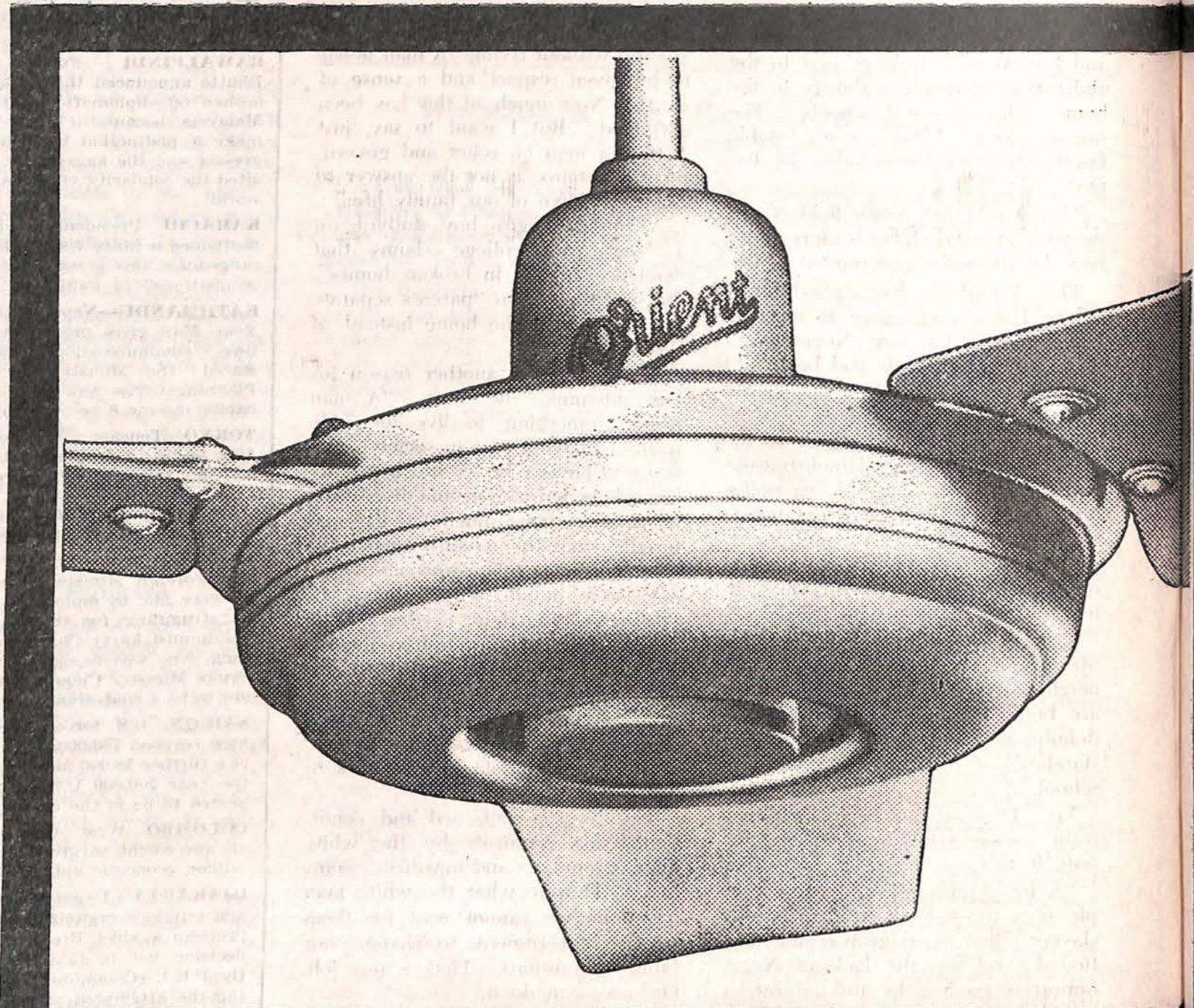
DJAKARTA—Twenty labour, youth and religious organizations broadcast protests against President Sukarno's decision not to take action against the P.K.I. (Communist Party) following the attempted coup in which six generals were killed. Rioters burnt the P.K.I. headquarters.

KALIMPONG—Five thousand Kham-pa tribesmen are reported to be harassing the main Chinese supply line from Szechuan to Tibet, and hampering the Chinese military build-up on the Tibet-Sikkim border.

ADEN—Three thousand oil company workers went on strike to demand the release of the General Secretary of the Petroleum Workers' Union detained following riots against British rule.

DAMASCUS—Syrian oil workers stopped work in protest against British policy in Aden. It was the first stoppage in the oil flow through the Syrian pipelines since the 1956 Suez crisis.

SINGAPORE—It was announced that Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew had accepted an invitation to visit India.



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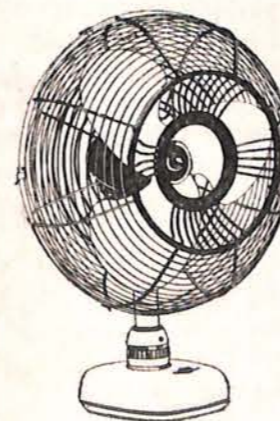
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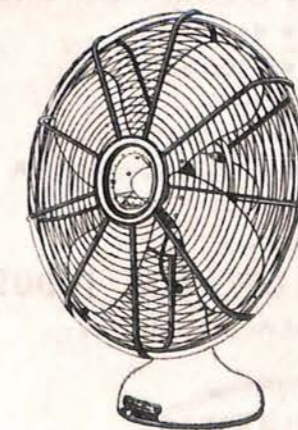
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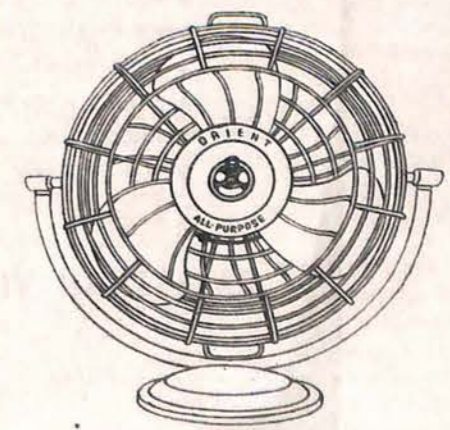
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

What really seems lacking is enough democratic discussion on what should be the aim behind developing Australia. Such surprising division between the Government and leaders of the business and industrial interests which support it indicates that neither propose a big enough national objective.

Both the Vernon committee and Sir Robert seem to look on Australia too much as an entity in itself and too little in relation to other nations, particularly her near neighbours in Asia. Sir Robert has only been once to South-East Asia during his 16 years in power.

The Vernon Report does say that "as the Asian countries are among Australia's logical trading partners, it is necessary to examine their trading needs as well as the opportunities they may be expected increasingly to provide for Australian exports". But it pays scant attention to what Australia might do rapidly to develop Asian economies which would bring immediate and mutual benefit.

The Report wants an independent advisory council on economic questions. It sets as a national goal a growth rate in the economy of 5 per cent a year over a 10-year period. It wants investment by foreign capital to be restricted and carefully supervised and exports to be expanded. It says that "skilled labour is likely to be Australia's scarcest resource" but calls for migration to be kept at 100,000 a year (as against 130,000 in the last 12 months).

The week elsewhere

BIGGEST SHIP EVER

YOKOHAMA—The world's biggest ship, the 150,000-ton tanker "Tokyo Maru", was launched in Yokohama recently. Nearly one-quarter of a mile long, she will be ready for service in December, carrying crude oil from the Persian Gulf to Japan. "Tokyo Maru" was launched 144 days after the keel was laid (by comparison with Britain's 106,000-ton "British Admiral"—launched 834 days after

The Vernon committee do not try to make their recommendations popular. They say that taxation will have to be increased to encourage people to save more and thus provide more capital from within the country. One paper comments that few would be likely to accept this. Clearly if Australians are to be asked to sacrifice they need to know what they are sacrificing for and that the sacrifice will be worthwhile.

the keel was laid). The next biggest ship is the 132,334-ton "Nissho Maru". "Tokyo Maru's" builders say they are now planning a tanker of 191,000 tons.

20,000 CHEER MRA

JAIPUR—Her Highness Gayatri Devi, M.P., Maharani of Jaipur, presided at a rally of 20,000 addressed by students trained in Moral Re-Armament. "I am glad the future of In-

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

dia is in the hands of these youth," said the Maharani who won a landslide victory in the last Parliamentary election. "They are out to remove the corruption that abounds and causes all to suffer," she said. "We must give our wholehearted support to the aims of MRA. If these students stick to a straight path they will ensure the future of India."



Maharani of Jaipur

Peasants, shopkeepers and workers in the crowd cheered the speakers who were taking part in an MRA training camp in Jaipur. The camp's aim was to create dynamic leaders who would conquer lethargy and enable India to unite a conflict-torn Asia.

LAOS REDS QUARREL

VIENTIANE—Fighting has been reported in Laos between Pathet Lao Communist forces and the Viet Minh—the forces sent to Laos from North Vietnam to help the local Communists. According to reports reaching Vientiane, it is over food supplies. Till recently the Viet Minh were well supplied by air and road from North Vietnam. They even helped out the Pathet Lao. Now food supplies are short. North Vietnam is having difficulty in supplying the Communists in South Vietnam, who get a higher priority than those in Laos. The Pathet Lao are finding it difficult to live off the land and the Viet Minh keep their supplies to themselves. Observers in Vientiane accept as true reports that the Pathet Lao in desperation attacked the Viet Minh.

MACAPAGAL MAY WIN

MANILA—President Macapagal is thought to have a good chance of being elected for another four-year term when Filipinos vote on November 9. Recent measures have increased his popularity as Liberal Party leader: distribution of public land in small lots among the landless poor; a reduction of 30 per cent in prices of primary commodities dis-

tributed by the Government; a 50 per cent increase in the minimum wage, and a presidential veto on Congressional allowances. Even Opposition leaders have praised the President's action in cutting the allowances. But though no Congressman openly defended them, neither did any Opposition leader effectively attack them.

Macapagal fears rising prices as the issue that most threatens his election chances. Despite food subsidies prices have gone up.

In general, the rural population is likely to continue to support Macapagal while towns may swing to his principal opponent for the Presidency, Senate President Ferdinand Marcos. The rural population is over two-thirds of the electorate.

NEW THEORY

CAMBRIDGE—A young Indian scientist, Dr. J. V. Narlikar, in collaboration with Professor Fred Hoyle of Cambridge University, has challenged a current view of the origin of the universe. Their theory, published in *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, concludes that the universe is growing bigger like a bubble. Eventually this "bubble" containing planets, stars and galaxies will reach its limit of expansion and contract again. Their argument supports cosmologists who believe the universe began with a "big bang"—a cosmic explosion which is still going on—and opposes those who believe it began and continues in the same "steady state".

WATER FROM DESERT

TEMPLE, Arizona—A simple way of producing water from desert has been found by U.S. scientists. It may save the lives of people stranded far from any water supply. A sheet of clear plastic is stretched over an 18-inch-deep hole dug in the ground, one yard in diameter. A stone is placed in the centre of the plastic to form a downward-pointing cone, and a container placed under it. The sun heats the soil in the hole. Vapour is produced which collects on the underside of the plastic and drips into the container. By this means, the scientists collected one pint of water from desert sand on some days. If vegetable matter, like cactus, was placed in the hole, the amount was greater.

The week in India

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Shastri told Dasseria crowds that India would not work revengefully against countries that had sided with Pakistan. "How can we live in this world by antagonizing all?" he said.

NEW DELHI—The Planning Commission began revising the Fourth Five Year Plan to give priority to defence. In state sectors only agriculture, irrigation and power were not likely to be cut. States were told they must either raise more revenue or make cuts in their social services.

BANGALORE—The Central Food Technological Research Institute has discovered a means of producing proteins cheaply from common Indian plants. Scientists believe this would help solve India's food problem.

COIMBATORE—The Southern India Millowners' Association said the textile industry was experiencing a "serious crisis" due to accumulation of stocks. Reducing production was the only solution, said the Association's Committee.

NEW DELHI—Commerce Minister Shah left for Belgrade. He will discuss plans to set up a factory in Yugoslavia to assemble railway wagons for European buyers.

HUNTERGANJ—Acharya Vinoba Bhave suggested that if two educated people in each village devoted one hour a day to teaching, illiteracy could be wiped out in ten years.

NEW DELHI—Over one-third of children in villages do not go to school and most villages under 500 population have no school, according to a Planning Commission survey.

AMRITSAR—War damage in the Punjab would "far exceed" Rs. 126 million said a report in *The Economic Times*.

CUTTACK—Near famine conditions are reported in some parts of Orissa, normally a surplus state. Drought has reduced production by 30 per cent in the state.

HYDERABAD—Food Minister Subramanian said eight kilos of foodgrains would be supplied per head per month throughout the country. This was 9.8 ounces a day; children would receive half.

AHMEDABAD—Gujarat State Government decided to restrict cultivation of cash crops and increase food production. The state faces a 13 lakh tons deficit in food supplies.

NEW DELHI—The Union Government is bidding to buy rice abroad to avoid a breakdown in supplies owing to surplus states failing to deliver agreed quotas of grains for distribution in deficit states.

BOMBAY—Twelve hundred men of the Punjab Regiment left for the Gaza strip to relieve Indian troops with the U.N. Emergency Force there.

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LETTERS

NATION OF LAZYBONES

SIR: Your comments in "Cooling" made interesting reading. In fact this is not the first time that a foreigner has expressed surprise at the easy-going way of Indians. A Japanese youth leader who visited Bangalore made the same remarks and said that she could not understand how the Indian youth could afford to be so easy-going when there was so much to be done for the national reconstruction.

The simplest and most straightforward answer to your query would be that we Indians as a nation are lazy-bones. We shirk work of any kind, physical or intellectual, and what is more important we hesitate to take responsibility of any kind. We always try to find somebody else to solve our problems and difficulties. We certainly like to reap the fruit but are too lazy to sow the seed for the same. A good example for this is our over-dependence on other nations for our national reconstruction programmes. We seem to have forgotten that unless we harness our internal resources to the maximum extent, no amount of foreign aid or technical know-how would help us in the long run.

In addition to being lazy, we are brilliant arm-chair critics! We spare no pains to find fault with the administrators for the state of affairs. Instead of analysing the reasons for failures and trying to co-operate with the Government for setting them right, we go all the way to criticize them without an idea of constructive suggestions in our criticisms. We expect our Prime Minister and his colleagues to be Super Magicians and work wonders for the country.

A post independence development is that we pin the blame for everything

on the British regime in India. We say that two centuries of foreign domination has sapped up all our energy. Well, after all, this political domination was nothing to compare with the havoc caused by the two world wars in Germany or the two atom blasts in Japan! Yet, those two nations, in a short span of twelve to fifteen years, have reconstructed their economies and have come to the forefront in the industrial and commercial fields. They started from scratch and were able to achieve their present-day prosperity through sheer hard work. And we? We have not yet recovered from the havoc of foreign rule.

Last but not least, we harp too much on the past. Instead of trying to leave our own footprints in the sands of time, we take pride in basking in the glories of our ancestors. We have made India's cultural heritage a sofa for us to recline on and doze off instead of making it a diving board to plunge into a better future.

(MRS.) M. K. SWAMI
Bangalore 19
* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

WEAKNESS OF GENIUS

SIR: Almost 23 centuries ago the ancient philosopher Aristotle dreamed of a magic world in which "shuttles would do their own weaving" and "the master would need no apprentice and the lord no slaves". For centuries, human genius has diligently pushed back the boundaries of man's knowledge and, constantly at grips with nature, become master of his fate and of the destiny of the planet on which he lives and builds his world.

If it once took centuries to travel the road from stagecoach to steam engine and the atomic icebreaker, the power of the new scientific and technical knowledge has reduced the distance between feats of the human mind from decades, years, months to days. And it will not be long before trips to the Moon and Mars become an everyday affair.

HIMMAT awards a prize of Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be brief and exclusive to HIMMAT.—Ed.

Returning from our trip to the stars, we should look around and realize the tragic contrast between human genius, human courage, human missions, and the benches in Johannesburg reserved for "whites only", the dungeons of the Angola where the opponents of Salazar lie mouldering, the medieval brutalities of the Ku Klux Klan, the napalm and gas bombs dropped on civilian population and the two-thirds of humanity where famine reigns supreme.

Man, who carries in himself the knowledge and courage to conquer the stars, must find the strength to make the earth worthy of his feats.

G. C. S. MARAR
Hyderabad 4

OPPORTUNITY TO ACT

SIR: These days too many people talk too much on corruption. In fact, it is our established national pastime, both for the governed as well as the Government.

Sadachar Samitis, vigilance commissions, committees, investigations, anti-corruption drives, law courts and, above all, solemn appeals are employed to erase the evil from the fabric of our society. But these and similar efforts cannot succeed unless the origins of corruption are understood and acted upon.

Under the "emergency" our Government has a golden opportunity to act in this matter. It will have spontaneous support in all its measures to "cleanse" our country.

G. SELVARANGA RAJU
Vidyalaya, Dt. Coimbatore

WHOSE BOOB?

SIR: Referring to your statement in "Briefly Speaking" under the heading "Facts and Fiction", I think you have either tried to fabricate the fact or you do not know enough of geography.

When Dr. R. A. Zakaria speaking at a symposium last week said that Jordan was "a tiny little state not bigger than Santa Cruz" he could have meant any of the Santa Cruzes referred to below, besides the Santa Cruz which is situated in Bombay.

Santa Cruz, Patagonia, Argentina.
Santa Cruz, South Argentina.
Santa Cruz, Bolivia.
Santa Cruz, California, U.S.A.
Santa Cruz Island, British Solomon Islands.
Santa Cruz, Canary Islands.
Admit that you have committed a boob.

S. P. SHUKLA
Bombay 56

Surely reader Shukla has overlooked:
Santa Cruz, Chile.
Santa Cruz, Mexico.
Santa Cruz, Philippines.
Santa Cruz de la Zarza, Spain and
Santa Cruz del Sur, Cuba.—Ed.

VIEWPOINT

First Prize: Rs. 35

HAS THE AFRO-ASIAN CONCEPT STILL ANY MEANING?

By S. Krishna Kumar, Bangalore

IN MY OPINION the Afro-Asian concept has no relevance today since we find that many of the Afro-Asian countries are working at cross-purposes and not objectively for any common good.

The primary purpose behind the concept is that the Afro-Asian nations can, through their co-operative effort, pave the way for a better understanding between the great powers, chiefly Russia and the U.S.A. This is necessary for two reasons. Firstly, the nations of Asia and Africa, most of which are under-developed, would then be able to seek equal economic co-operation from both the blocs and thus get the best of both worlds.

Secondly, such a mutual understanding would provide the basis for a lasting peace in the world. Further, the countries could co-operate among themselves, economically and otherwise, to their own advantage. With these ideals in view, the Afro-Asian nations set about and, with able leaders like Nehru to guide them, they did indeed succeed in bringing about an accord on many an issue.

Today, however, the Afro-Asian world is in disarray. It has deteriorated from a strong and united body to a loosely-bound group of nations which are unable to resolve their own differences, leave alone coming together to try and solve other problems. The sense of unity and understanding which prevailed as recently as 1955 at the Bandung conference—the Bandung spirit, as it was called—seems to have disappeared. At one end of the socio-political spectrum are countries like India, Malaysia and Nigeria, while right at the other extreme are China, Indonesia and Ghana, with a host of other countries of all shades lying in the anonymous intermediate region. It is this diversity that has mainly prevented effective co-operation. There

could indeed be no common agreement between such nations among whom there is so much basic variance.

This apart, there are other causes also for the disintegration of the Afro-Asian community. The openly hostile attitude of China and its puppets has been a continuous threat to the unity of the Afro-Asian world and to peace in the world at large. This attitude has invoked certain precautionary measures from the Western powers and Russia has been compelled to be a weary watcher. Secondly, most of the African nations are of recent origin and as such are preoccupied with their own problems. It may take several years before they put their own houses in order and then join their Asian counterparts to discuss problems of common interest.

These considerations make one feel that the Afro-Asian concept has lost its significance today. The United Nations or the world concept becomes meaningful here. Such a body when it truly comes to be, would take into account among other things China's growing intransigence and would consequently be more successful. At any rate it seems to be a more hopeful and worthwhile objective to pursue.

Second Prize: Rs. 10
BEST FORGOTTEN

By S. R. SRINIVASAN, Bombay 77
THE AFRO-ASIAN concept, I surmise, was initiated to give protection to the Afro-Asian countries from the domination of the big powers.

Apparently Afro-Asian solidarity was not very solid. There were more cracks in this Afro-Asian concept than anywhere else in the world. Even the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. found more views in agreement than the Afro-Asian nations. At the height of contradiction Asian and

COMPETITION

* Prohibition has proved to be a farce. Yes or No.

Closing date: October 22

** The U.N. should re-instate the Dalai Lama in Tibet.

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African nations undermined the concept by asking for arms from the big powers to be used against one another and used them for that purpose.

The failure of the Algiers conference to materialize further intensified the differences.

The recent upheaval in Indonesia further proves the hollowness of the concept. After all, it was instigated by the pro-Peking Communists with the full consent of Peking, so famous for propagating the Afro-Asian myth. The absence of any prompt reaction from Peking, normally vociferous on all international matters, shows that it expected something and was re-orienting itself.

In the context of all these there is little reason to think that there is any meaning to the Afro-Asian concept. When Afro-Asia is the stage of violent political and military clashes, when politicians of all hues and colours have jibes at one another, when the purposes are narrow, mere statement of a geographical boundary does not automatically produce an international concept.

In the context of international peace groupism of any sort is a hindrance; it only produces more violent conflicts. A broad internationalism is the only way to peace, if the Afro-Asian nations really want peace.

As a cover for other selfish designs the Afro-Asian concept has served its purpose. It was a bad dream, best forgotten. Let all the Afro-Asian nations forget their petty squabbles and turn a new leaf towards internationalism.

AN
IDEAL
COOKING
MEDIUM



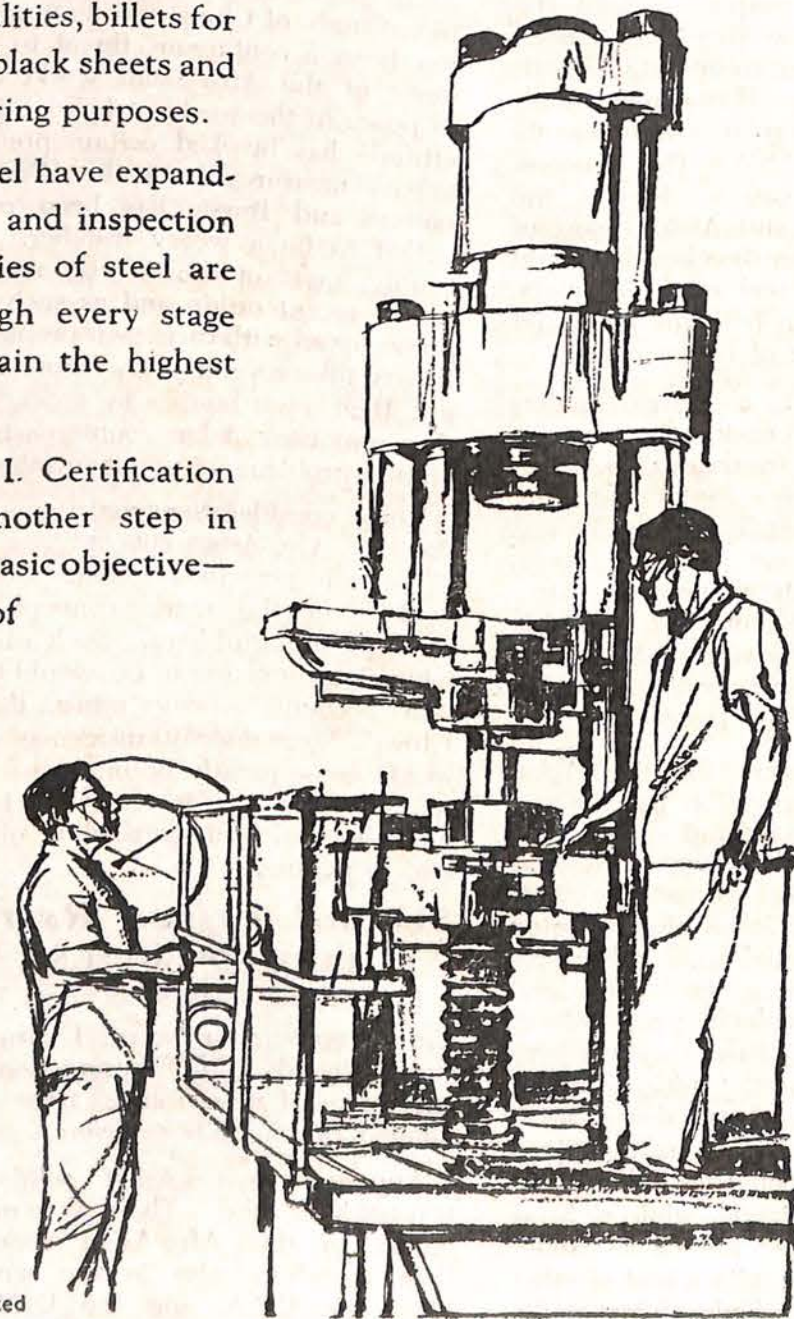
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ON THE Spot HIMMAT meets the people

A Former Prime Minister of Iraq Looks Back—and Forward

TWICE PRIME MINISTER of Iraq and eight times her Foreign Minister, Dr. Fadhil Jamali was sentenced to death after the coup by General Kassem in 1958. At the end of three years he was released. Today Dr. Jamali is Professor of Philosophy of Education at Tunis University.

Dr. Jamali led his country's delegation to Bandung in 1955. "The Bandung Conference," he told HIMMAT, "was originally initiated to discuss the problem of North Africa. I had communications with the Indian Government and made personal approaches to Mr. Nehru to hold such a conference to look into the independence and freedom of North Africa. Tunisia and Morocco were the main countries involved then. Even today Tunisia has not forgotten what friendly countries like India did for her in those days."

Though one of the initiators of Bandung, Dr. Jamali saw the danger facing the Conference and told the delegates: "We must work on the basis of moral re-armament. The world would then turn into an integral camp with no Eastern and no Western camps."

How did you begin your career?
"As an elementary school teacher at the age of 15. After that I studied at the American University at Beirut and returned to Baghdad as Instructor in Education at a Training College. Then I went to the States, obtained my Master's degree from Chicago and Doctorate in Education from Columbia. On my return to Iraq I worked in the Ministry of Education, becoming later Director-General of Education."

How did you come into political life?

"In the '40s I was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As Under-Secretary I was fortunate to sign the U.N. Charter for Iraq. In the Iraqi upheaval of 1958 I was arrested and tried by a more or less Communist court and condemned to death. When I came out of jail after three years, I went to Switzerland. It was from Switzerland that I was invited by the Tunisian Government to teach the Philosophy of Education at Tunis University."

Bourguiba of Tunisia

Dr. Jamali, you know President Bourguiba well. What do you think of his leadership?

"I think he is one of the great thinkers of the Arab world. He stands not only for Tunisia, but he thinks for the world at large. He studies world forces and is a shrewd judge of the international situation. I have known him since 1946, and I know his mind and heart are in the right place. I wish him well."

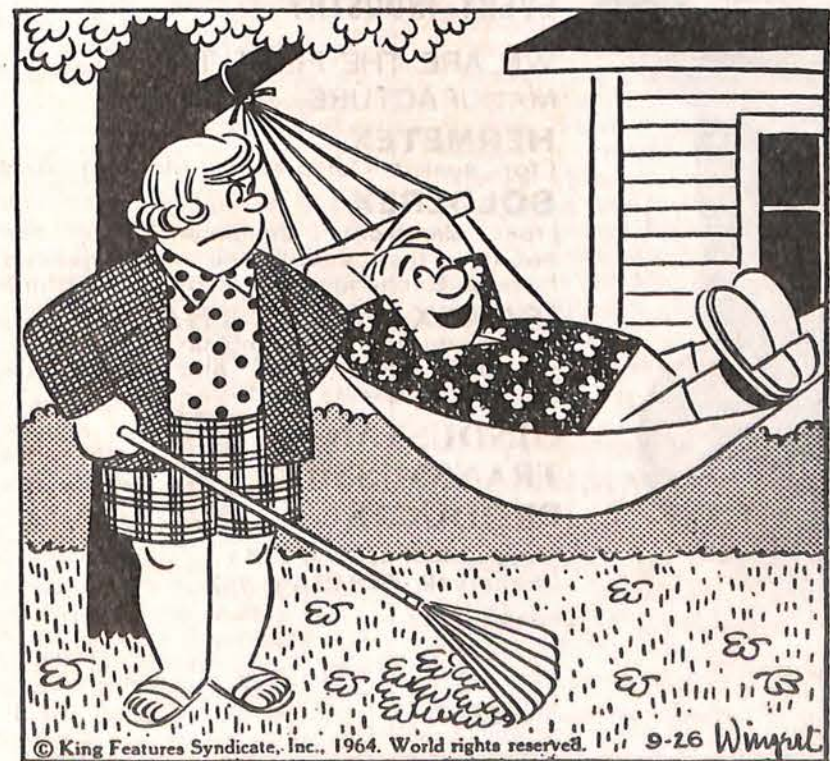
How about higher education in Tunisia? Do Tunisian families finance it, or does the State provide scholarships?

"Most study on scholarships. The State attaches great importance to education and chooses young men to go abroad for specialization in technical and scientific fields. They become well-qualified. Those who return from abroad are well received and well treated by the Tunisians."

Tunisia had a long association with France. What are her relations with France and Europe now?

"Tunisians are internationally minded. They appreciate French culture and the benefits France has given. France and other European countries such as Switzerland, Germany and Britain, as well as the U.S.A., are welcome to help Tunisia. I know that Eastern European coun-

HUBERT



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"Well, frankly, no, I HAVE nothing better to do."

tries and the Soviet Union are also interested in doing so."

Are Tunisians interested in India and Indian affairs?

"Very much indeed. Tunisia sent a delegation to India before independence to seek India's help in their struggle for freedom."

You have led your country's delegation to the United Nations several times. What have you to say about the U.N.?

"I stand by the principles of its Charter. I believe the U.N. has defended freedom of the dependent peoples, but the tragedy of Palestine remains as a black spot in Arab relations with the U.N. When I attended the General Assembly from 1955 to 1957, I had two specific proposals to place before world leaders. First, to have an International University to prepare leaders for the world from all nations and to base

Second Thoughts

by VINS



education on firm moral foundations. The world has to choose either to live in peace with Moral Re-armament or fall into chaos and war with no moral values.

"I also suggested that the U.N. should have a 'brains trust' consisting

of eminent world leaders who could come when needed and express their opinions on international relations and world problems—distinguished men who would act as guides and torchlights for humanity."

P.S.

This was a life CAPTAIN COOK 1728—1779

JAMES COOK, the man who put Australia and New Zealand firmly "on the map", was the first really scientific navigator. He achieved results through thorough methods, care for his men, and determination to see each job through.

Cook was the son of a Yorkshire farm worker. He had little formal education. At 18 he decided to go to sea. At 27 he was offered the command of a merchant ship.

Turning down this chance of a safe career Cook joined the Royal Navy with its discipline and danger. He took a leading part in charting the treacherous waters of the St. Lawrence River in Canada, enabling the British to sail up and capture the French stronghold of Quebec.

In 1768 Cook was appointed to command an expedition to solve a problem which perplexed geographers and interested statesmen. Was there a rich, undiscovered continent in the South Pacific?

He sailed in the Endeavour, a sturdy converted coalboat. On October 6, 1769, he reached New Zealand and sailed a figure-of-eight round the two islands. He continued west to the south-east corner of Australia, landing at Botany Bay the following year.

Sailing north up the coast the Endeavour struck the Great Barrier Reef. After 23 hours of struggle on the treacherous coral, Cook and his crew freed the ship. Rounding Cape York, the northern tip of Australia, they returned to England.

On his second voyage (1772-1775) Cook sailed three times across the South Pacific, penetrating beyond the Antarctic Circle and definitely disproving the existence of any large unknown continent.

In the whole voyage of 60,000 miles, Cook lost only one man through disease. On long voyages one-third of a ship's crew often died through scurvy, caused by lack of fresh food. Cook proved that scurvy could be prevented by providing oranges, lemons, raisins and fresh meat when possible. He inspected the ship regularly to ensure that everything was kept scrupulously clean and provided special clothes for cold weather. He maintained a strict discipline, but not harsh, and took a personal interest in all the men under him.

Cook's last voyage (1776-1779) was to search for a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He sailed through the Bering Straits between Alaska and Siberia, but had to turn back on being confronted with a 12-foot wall of ice. He was killed in a clash with the islanders of Hawaii.

Q and A

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

Q—Is it a fact that Indian scientists are able to prepare the atom bomb, and if prepared, they are able to build the equipment to transport it?

A—The chairman of our Atomic Energy Commission says we can. India is the fifth nation in the world to possess a plutonium plant.

India has an army of well-trained nuclear scientists and the raw material for atomic plant.

What India needs are (a) the finances (b) the decision and (c) the equipment to deliver the weapon. It is estimated that if India goes in for the atomic bomb, it will cost Rs. 200 crores per year additional expenditure, that is an increase of 25 per cent in our present defence budget. Others estimate that the defence budget would have to rise by 40 per cent because once you launch on a nuclear programme you cannot stop and have to multiply expenses in order to remain an effective power.

If the present strong feelings in our nation about our neighbours continue, it is only a matter of time before India will make the fateful decision to arm with nuclear weapons. The point you have raised about a delivery system will prove the most difficult hurdle both in technical skill and resources, hence the importance of modern rocket science.

Q—What are the factors responsible for the deterioration of educational standards in India. What would you suggest for a thorough and drastic change for the better?

A—One answer is politics and politicians. In many states of India, for political reasons, a quick switch in the medium of instruction has been made. In some cities where English was taught from the 4th standard onwards, it was declared that English should not be taught till the 7th or 8th standard.



"When you have finished with quitting the Commonwealth they want you to quit their shoe boxes."

The products of such a system of education were so shocking that in at least one state the Government has reversed its own decision.

First year college professors complain that their students cannot understand lectures in English.

There are many other causes like low salaries of teachers, unrealistic syllabus requirements, a system of examinations that encourages students to "mug" rather than think.

I would suggest that we shelve the language controversy for the next ten years. Appoint a Commission that will report on the activities of politicians in Indian universities and educational institutions, the student movement, etc.

Give the teachers a living wage. Cut down the syllabus to minimum requirements of a civilized education.

Arrange for a system of weekly tests and judge students on the basis of their round-the-year record.

Encourage greater liaison between the teacher and the taught.

Change India's outlook on education which is looked upon as a finance-security for a man and as part of a dowry in the case of many women.

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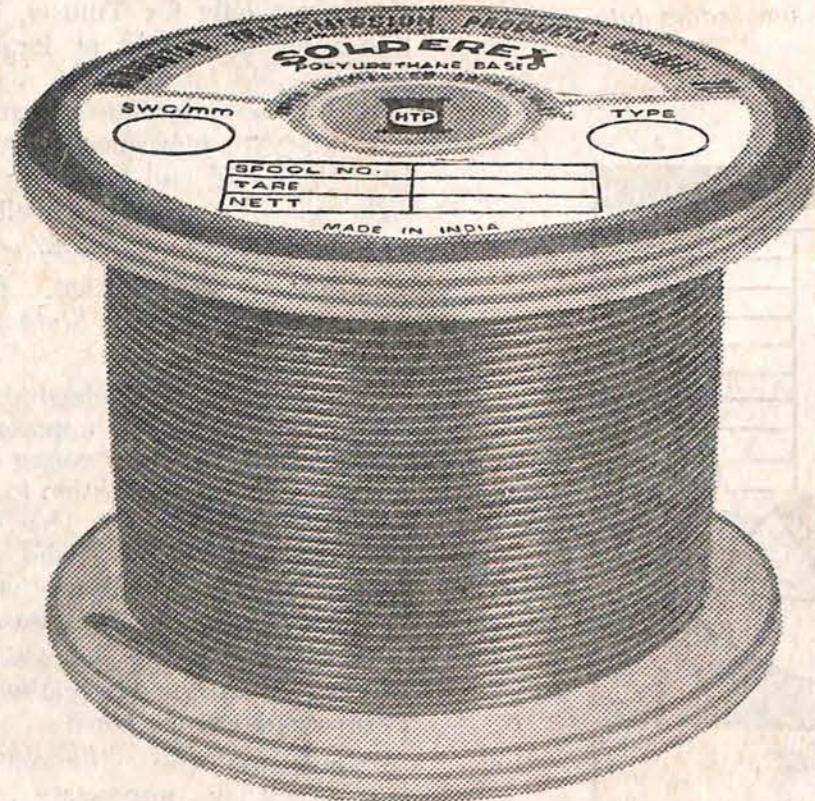
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Bigger Job Than Mao's

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Tokyo

TWO STORIES about the recent interview between Mao Tse-tung and Andre Malraux are making the rounds in Tokyo.

According to one, de Gaulle's emissary started by extolling the Peking regime's achievements in economics and technology and its success with the atom bomb and went on to praise Mao's personal helmsmanship. Apparently Mao looked at his watch, cut his visitor short and said, sharply, "Give up your small talk. Don't waste my time with flattery. I have got a big job to do."

According to the second story the Red ruler confessed to the Frenchman that China's youth today were not as fervent about Communism as their fathers were.

Both stories may be apocryphal. Yet they reveal the reality.

Mao has definitely taken on a big job. His purpose is plain—to bring the world under China's Communism. Compared to his big game, Asia's other nations are playing marbles or cards. They raise a lot of dust. They shout and claw at each other and seem indeed to succeed in killing and ruining each other, yet the deafening sounds of their quarrels cannot hide the pettiness of their purposes.

What is India's Purpose?

What is India's purpose in the world, for the world? What is Pakistan's? Or Thailand's, Ceylon's, Malaysia's, the Philippines? All these nations are thoroughly divided within and from one another. Peking does not manufacture these divisions. It intensifies them, hardens and sharpens them. Nothing suits Mao and his comrades more than non-Communist Asia destroying itself by hate.

The Japanese columnist, Chu Saito, writes in *Japan Times*. "After weeks of uneasy developments on the Indian-Pakistani border one thing now seems obvious—the fighting was initiated by the Chinese Communists on a carefully preconceived plan. Peking's intention was to open a second front apart from Vietnam. As long as the war goes on in the sub-continent of India the outcome will be to Peking's advantage."

I suppose one will never know for certain whether Peking initiated

the Indo-Pak conflict. However, Saito is right in saying that the war's sole beneficiary is Red China.

Two-thirds of the 20th Century are over. This incredible age has seen scientific progress that can revolutionize the life of every Asian man, woman and child. When freedom came to many Asian nations after World War II millions of Indians, Pakistanis and others looked forward to a better, richer life. Now, in the space of a few weeks, we have undone the work of years. No one has won.

How fiercely passionate we have been—for small aims. We need to keep, in fact to multiply, the passion. But we need bigger aims.

Phoney Prestige

There is the story of the Irishman who used to say, "I am not sure what I am fighting for, but I am prepared to die for it." Pride, fear and hate can create phoney concepts of "national prestige" and "national honour" that are murderously costly to the common people and bring ridicule and dishonour to the country.

And they are quite capable of precipitating an atomic war or a Red dictatorship that will make mincemeat of all elaborate, expensive projects for development.

We complain that the world does not understand us, love us, or support us. But why should it, if we do not love, care for and rebuild the world? The world is not interested in India for the single reason that we Indians are not interested in the world. We stubbornly refuse to understand that our self-absorption has a strong repelling power. A self-centred nation is as much admired as a man complaining of bellyaches.

We Indians—and Pakistanis, Ceylonese, Burmese, Thais and all Asians—have got to offer an adequate revolution to a long-suffering humanity. If we do, we can compete with Mao, Chou and Liu. If we don't, we shall be finished.

We must find BIG men all over Asia. Prime Minister Sato of Japan said to me today: "Every Asian nation needs a Mahatma Gandhi." He is right. Selflessness and a fighting spirit may not come naturally to most of us but the hour surely calls for thousands of Gandhis in each country.

I yield to no one in admiring and honouring my extraordinary grandfather. Yet I am convinced that in one major respect we need to go beyond him; we must think, work and plan on a world scale.

An editor from Ahmedabad, stopping in Tokyo on his hurried return to India from the United States, also told me that India needed another Mahatma Gandhi. He might decide to become one.

People are ready and hungry to use their lives for a satisfying revolution. Last week a young man from Hyderabad wrote me saying, "I want to be one of the army of ten thousand who will live and fight to remake India." An Indian studying in Edinburgh, Scotland, writes, "I am totally convinced of what you are fighting for, and will help the cause from here."

Two members of the Lok Sabha, one a Congressman and the other in Opposition, write saying they want to play their fullest part in uniting and revolutionizing India.

The common, decent folk of India, of Asia and all other nations want Moral Re-Armament. They stand on tiptoe—hopeful yet anxious and trembling—waiting for an idea that can unite them.

Looking for Big Men

They are looking for BIG men who will lead them. BIG men who know their geography and look at the whole of Asia and world, and not merely at their province or country; who understand Peking's strategy and plan to answer it.

BIG men who will be able to say to Mao, "Give up your small revolution. Don't waste your energies on an inferior, out-of-date idea. Your dedication is great, but your ideology is divisive. The combination can produce atomic war. We need your passion, you need our idea. The combination can fulfil the age-old dreams of the whole world."

India, Pakistan and the rest of Asia have got to choose. They can quarrel ferociously over small issues. Or they can cease their hates and divisions and march shoulder to shoulder towards the age where men live as brothers.

Our job is bigger than Mao's. We have got to launch a revolution so powerful and fascinating that Mao will want to join it.



Below—The devastated Negro district of Watts in Los Angeles, where 37 died and hundreds were injured in race riots recently, turned a deaf ear to race experts but cheered "Sing-Out '65".



Above—On the first school day after the riots, 4000 students in Watts District jam the football stadium for "Sing-Out '65". Exclaimed a Negro teacher: "Man, I've never seen anything like it. That's what the country needs."



Above—In Santa Fe, New Mexico, Indian leaders welcome Moral Re-Armament director J. Blanton Belk and the cast en route to Los Angeles.



Left—Supervisor Warren Dorn, representing the Board of Supervisors and 76 Mayors of Los Angeles County, welcomes the Colwell Brothers and cast to Los Angeles city.

Sing-Out '65

The explosive, "dare" generation speaks out, sings out and steps out in this new musical extravaganza which they are presenting across the United States and in Japan and Korea this month.

Produced at the Moral Re-Armament Conference at Mackinac Island, Michigan, with a multi-racial cast of 100 from 52 colleges and 17 countries, "Sing-out '65", in song, dance and skit asks "Is freedom really free?", "What colour is God's skin?", "Which way, America?"

The Colwell Brothers, stars of the show, say, "We are not interested in orchestrating the moans and groans of a sick society but in sparking enthusiasm for something new—a whole generation on the move to build a world that works."



Below—15,000 crowd the famous outdoor Hollywood Bowl for a performance before the cast left by special plane for Japan and Korea at the invitation of their leaders.





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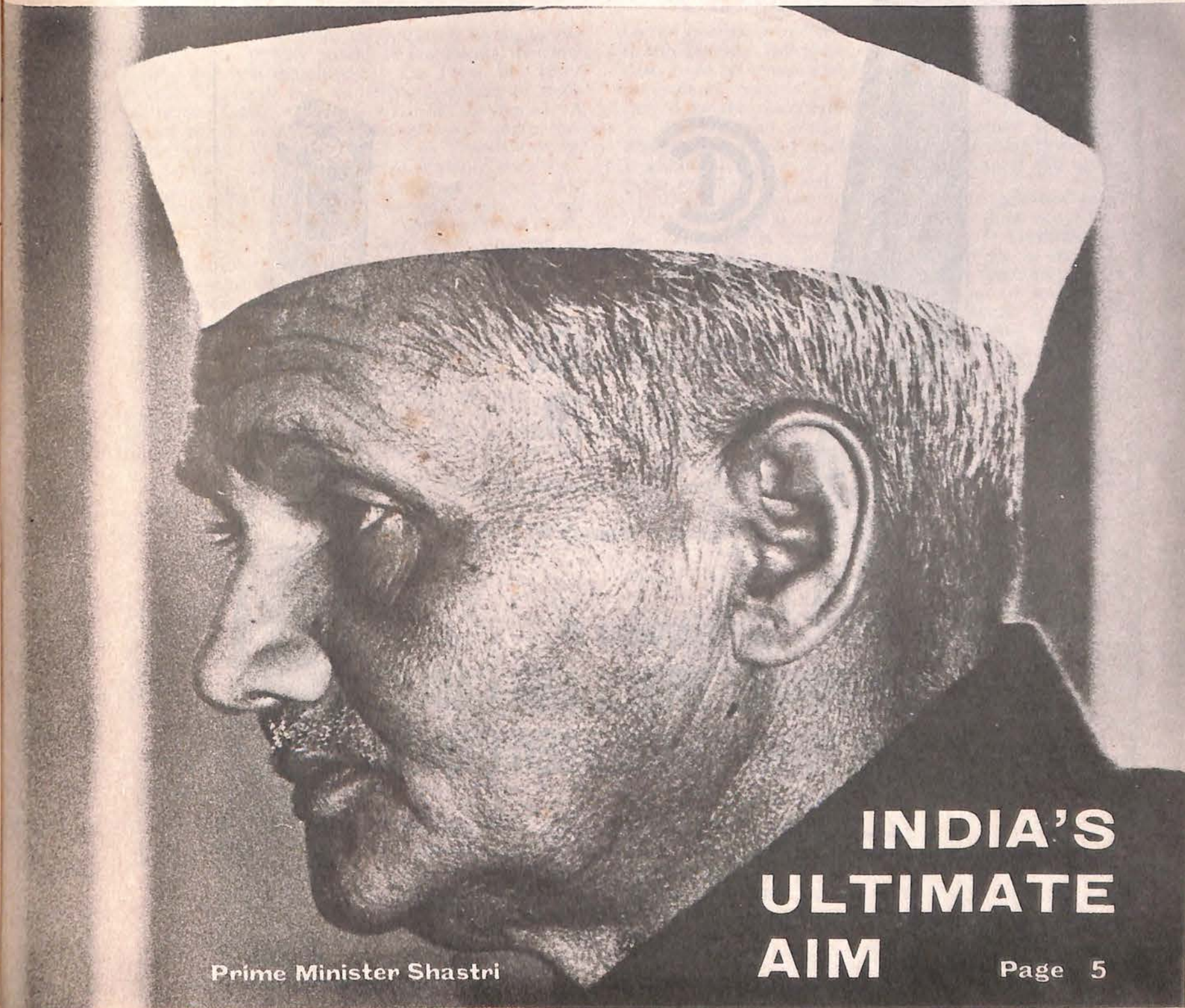
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