

# HIMMAT

25P

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

## SOVIET POWER IN ASIA

Page 7



The Kremlin, Moscow



Prime Minister  
Kosygin



First Secretary  
Brezhnev

Friday  
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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, November 5, 1965

Vol. 2 No. 1

## Forward-Looking India

PRIME MINISTER SHASTRI's offer to submit the issue of Pakistani aggression to an impartial tribunal is in refreshing contrast to the irresponsible bravado of many, including Cabinet Ministers, who talk lightly of another war as if it were inevitable. He reveals a concern to carry world opinion with India and has apparently made a realistic assessment of the suffering that isolation can bring on this nation.

If one goes by the angry mood of even thoughtful people, further conflict is just around the corner. The *London Times* correspondent for the Indian sub-continent reports: "To go from India to Pakistan in the aftermath of the fighting is to see that, on the public level at least, this was the war that both sides won. In both countries there is a sense of triumph, of limited aims completely achieved and the same words are used by Indians as by Pakistanis: 'They thought they could frighten us but we have shown them at last—we have passed through an ordeal by fire, we are more a nation now than we have ever been'."

Fortunately, at the highest levels of leadership there is awareness of the dangers of a war policy alongside of the imperatives of public feeling which, sadly, has been whipped up to a hysteria.

The war has taught us many lessons: the need for self-reliance, but also the immeasurable sacrifice that the nation has to put up with even in a war of short duration. Our troubles, bad as they are, have just begun. Even without further conflict the present situation involves an indefinite postponement of our plans and our hopes to assure to all our people a minimum in terms of the essentials of life.

Besides, however hard we work, whatever be the degree of self-reliance the economy achieves, the weakness which economic isolation will expose us to will be a temptation to the forces inside and outside the country that want to subvert freedom.

The need for a forward-looking India, sober and more practical, taking responsibility for Asia and the world is as great as ever.

## 73 Countries

HIMMAT enters its second year today. When we launched it we said, "Truth will be its aim and fear and tyranny its foes. HIMMAT will not stop at explaining the world, it will try to change it... HIMMAT believes that there is a revolution which can bring about a new order for all men, races and nations everywhere... It believes that this new age will be carved out by courageous and humble men and women, who are honest about their natures, but are unconquerable because God is their master." Such an army of men and women has arisen all over India, and HIMMAT has provided a focus.

Within the span of twelve months, HIMMAT has become an oft-quoted international paper with a readership—according to a recent survey—of 72,000. It is sold and read in 73 countries from Iceland to New Zealand, from Nigeria to Japan.

HIMMAT's policy is clear. There is no ambivalence about it. It has kept certain world issues in mind and has spoken out. We have always maintained that the vital question in Asia is what idea will control it and how the nations of this continent can build together a new future.

From our early issues we have urged that India plans intelligently with Japan and Australia for a New Delhi-Tokyo-Canberra axis. Other voices are now urging such an alliance.

Though we have analysed events and motives of other nations, as well as India, and criticized certain policies, we have always maintained that in making the world every man and nation has a part.

In the pages of HIMMAT thousands find a vigorous expression of their own hopes and convictions. We invite our readers to build the future with us.

## On Again, Off Again

THOUGH 46 NATIONS had indicated that they wished the Afro-Asian Summit to take place on November 5 in Algiers as planned, for a third time hundreds of delegates flew thousands of miles only to be told the meeting was off.

Forced onto the defensive by the exposure of her subversive designs on Africa and smarting under the set back to her prestige in Indonesia and over her withdrawal from the Sikkim border, China had no appetite for risking her position further at Algiers. Nor did she want the Afro-Asian meeting to proceed without her. This was clear from her strongly-worded message to the Algerian Government over the weekend which threatened "dire consequences" if the host country went ahead with the meeting.

The Soviet is not unhappy to see China's aggressive postures brought into disrepute in the Afro-Asian world. The "revisionists" see their ideological policies vindicated in the reverses suffered by the "Maoists" in one contest after another. Moscow is pressing hard for membership in the club. Gradually, with the support of India and other nations, she is making headway. The Algerian news agency reports that the Prime Minister, Colonel Boumedienne, will likely visit the Soviet Union this month.

It is no longer a question of whether the much postponed summit will be on again or off again but what the Afro-Asian nations—in conference or not—aim to do together to resolve the internecine conflicts which are depriving our continents of the peaceful economic progress both so desperately need.

Some African and Asian nations have got to decide to act on their own initiative and not on China's whim.



## Briefly Speaking ...

It is in spending oneself that one becomes rich.

SARAH BERNHARDT

### Wonder Paddy Seed

A NEW PADDY SEED being tried out in Madras may help remove India's chronic food shortage. It is much more productive than another improved variety which has already doubled the yield in some parts of the State. Against an average national output of 2000 lbs. per acre the new strain is yielding 7000 lbs. per acre. The seed was imported from the Philippines but derived from a Formosan variety. Its widescale use, however, is dependent on large quantities of fertilizer.

### Dwindling Deposits

PEOPLE are taking out of the earth much more than they used to. As a result even the richest known deposits will last only a few hundred years. Distinguished Russian mine-

ralogist, Dr. G. Pospelov, says that the oil resources of the world will not last another 100 years. Coal reserves will last for 500 years. Metals like copper, zinc and lead would not last for more than 40 to 60 years.

The Soviet scientist reassured, however, that not only is the ocean open for exploration, but many other potential resources, including rocks.

### Exercise in Statecraft

RECENTLY in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha there was a chain of walk-outs, each on a different theme. One Congress member got agitated and asked why sufficient Harijans were not admitted in reserved seats to medical colleges. The Minister's sensible reply offended the member who registered his protest by walking out.

Another Harijan member followed the Congress member on another plea. An Akali member and four of his colleagues felt Harijans had been victims of high-handedness and marched out. Then a number of Harijan members failing in their "points of order" also walked out. Not satisfied, the Communist group protested against poor medical arrangements in the rural areas and walked out.

One wonders why some people take all the time and trouble and spend the money to be elected only to walk out. Presumably they could occupy themselves in more worthwhile pursuits.

### Sturdy Pre-Fab

AUSTRALIA has invented a prefabricated house of aluminium with high resistance to heat, corrosion and fire. Immune to insect attacks, it has been tested to withstand tropical storms and even hurricanes with winds of more than 100 miles per hour. It is easily portable and five complete cottages can fit onto a five-ton truck.

### Antiquated

A RESEARCH INSTITUTE in Stuttgart in West Germany has calculated that an average housewife needs 20 minutes for preparing breakfast in an impractical kitchen, but saves one third of this time in a logically arranged outfit. With proper arrangements she walks 125 feet to prepare

a breakfast for six persons, but if it is a disorderly outfit, she walks twice that amount. If homes are re-organized it could mean a saving to each housewife of 22 working days and 40 miles in the course of a year.

These are statistics of a nation known for its efficiency. There is immense scope for saving needless time and energy in India. The Registrar of Newspapers might take note that when a newspaper merely changes its address, it is required to fill in the entire form required for starting a newspaper (2 foolscap pages), six copies. (When the editor changes only a brief declaration is required before the magistrate.) Could this laborious procedure not be streamlined? Self-reliance requires efficiency. Until people who experience these handicaps fight to get them changed, our self-reliance will be restricted to talks from public platforms.

### True

THE TIMES, London, reports that massive Chinese gold purchases in London in recent months have been followed by heavy buying of platinum.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON says American cars in road accidents killed 300 times as many Americans as the Viet Cong.

### Most Promising

IN A GARAGE in a suburb of Los Angeles stands one of the best satellite tracking stations in the U.S. Its owner and operator, Larry Dean Howard, who built the station himself partly from surplus equipment, has developed a new method of defining satellite orbits. He precisely calculated the orbit of a U.S. experimental satellite in 1962.

For these achievements he was awarded the honour of being named "the Most Promising Young Scientist of the Year" in the U.S.

Larry Dean Howard is 17 years old.

### Tailpiece

P.T.I. REPORTS a five-foot long panther was run over by a local train at Kamshet about 55 miles from Poona last week. The name of the driver was, appropriately, "Waghmare" (tiger-killer).

R.M.L.

# New Leaders Rise in New Guinea

From Our Special Correspondent in Port Moresby

Since World War II the island of New Guinea has virtually been thrust from the Stone Age into the 20th century in the wake of the ferment of the independence struggles of so many once colonially administered lands.

With the claiming by Indonesia of the western half of the island as their sovereign territory (West Irian), the future of Papua New Guinea and its two million inhabitants is today of world-wide interest.

The Territory, which lies just north of Australia, is divided into two parts by the natural boundary of a huge mountain chain. To the north is the Trust Territory of New Guinea—taken from Germany and given to Australia to administer by the League of Nations at the end of World

up to this year patrols are still discovering previously unknown tribes.

In recent years the pressure on Australia, particularly through the United Nations, to grant independence has been mounting. In spite of a certain resentment of the paternalistic attitude Australia has adopted and criticism of its slowness and hesitancy, many of the indigenous leaders have voiced their desire not to have independence thrust upon them, but to be able to claim it when they felt ready for it. Recent events in West Irian—refugees from there seeking asylum in Papua New Guinea and hints of Indonesian subversion—have heightened the fear in many of what may happen once Australia's protection is removed.

Giant strides have been made in

is becoming increasingly evident that it is unlikely to be able to do what is needed without it.

One urgent problem is that with full employment in Australia, it is very difficult to attract the necessary qualified personnel for the Government Service. The deputy director of UNESCO, Dr. Adeshiah of India, on a recent visit here suggested that Australia should ask for help from his organization. Another solution could be that Commonwealth countries like India could provide man-power.

Finance for developmental schemes is another great need. This year's Territory Budget proposes the establishment of a Development Bank to be supported by the Government. There have also been proposals that Japan undertake joint developmental ventures with Australia.

At present only 40 per cent of children are able to receive even a primary education. Australia is planning to adopt the recommendations of the World Bank Report—a recent survey into the country's development needs—to put the emphasis on secondary education and the formation of an elite who could run the country when independence comes. A university is to be established in Port Moresby next year, but so far only one Papuan has graduated from an Australian university.

Continued on next page



Mr. Oala-Rarua



Students at the first Teacher Training School for girls at Popondetta centre.

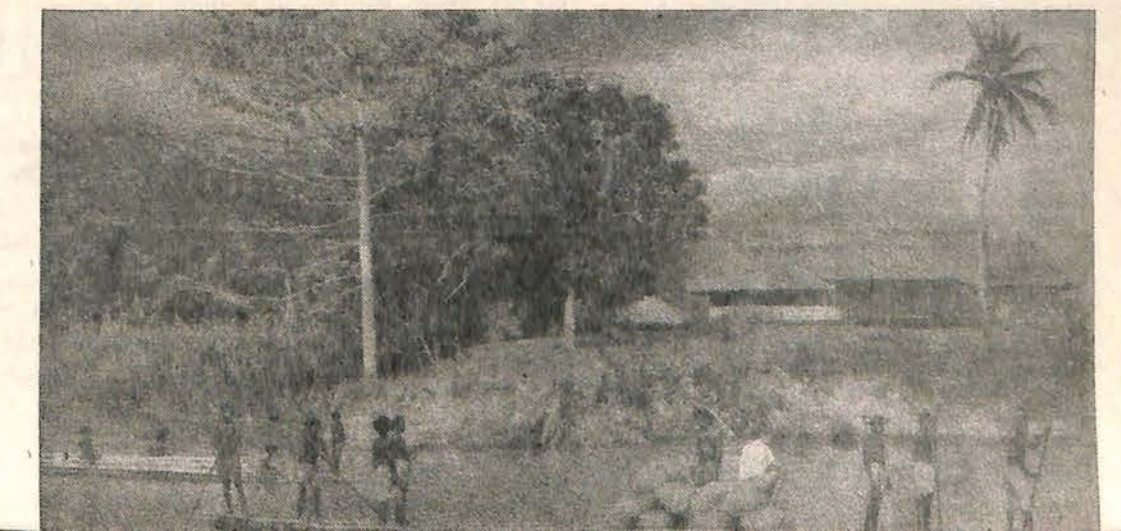
War I. To the south is Papua, an Australian colony. The two areas are governed as one, the centre of administration being Port Moresby.

The whole island is bigger than any other non-continental island in the world except Greenland, but is only sparsely populated. It is a land of great contrasts—ranging from steamy jungle and swamps to the highlands where there are great snow-capped mountains and valleys now being developed for coffee, cattle and tea.

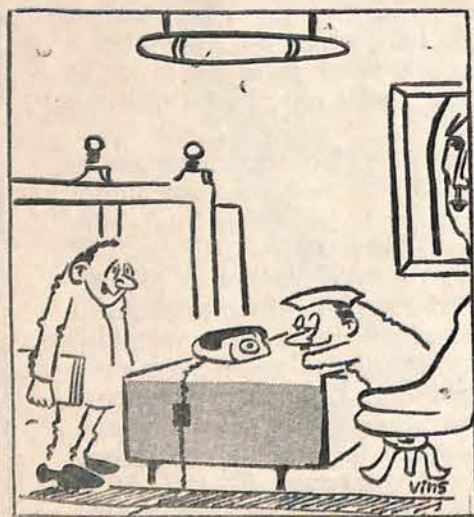
The ruggedness of the terrain so isolated tribes that over 700 different languages have been recorded. The people of the coastal areas have had 70 years' contact with Europeans, but it has only been in the last 30 years that the people of the interior have been reached. Even

development, but the country is still far from being able to stand on its own feet. Australia is at present giving £31 million of its Budget towards the development of the Territory and many Australians have given outstanding service here. The Australian Government, however, has been wary of asking for outside help in its developmental task, though it

A groundnut, corn and cocoa plantation at Poligolo in the coastal region 30 miles east of Port Moresby.



### CHALTA HAI ...



"I know, Sir, how anxious you are to receive your next invitation to go abroad."

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TINY-PAL



The political development of the country has been retarded by the lack of the necessity to fight for independence which created the parties and leaders of so many former colonies. However, last year elections were held for the first Parliament truly representative of the people, although there are some special electorates reserved for Europeans.

Representatives of the Administration are also members and act as a Cabinet. The Parliament, or House of Assembly as it is known, can pass Bills but they must still be approved by the Australian Government, so the Assembly's power is limited. It is here, though, that the vital issue of national unity will most probably have to be hammered out. With the pattern of splintering of so many emerging nations on tribal or racial grounds and the tradition of inter-tribal warfare in the Territory itself this will be one of the biggest tasks facing its leaders.

A third attempt is just being made to form a political party; but it has got off to a shaky start and it is hard

to judge at this stage what are its chances of success. The party known as the New Guinea United National Party, has been launched largely as a result of the efforts of one of the country's younger leaders, Mr. Oala-Rarua. He has played a prominent part in the development of the Workers' Associations—similar to trade unions—and has just resigned his job as an Administrative Assistant in the Territory's Civil Service to become the first full-time secretary of the Federation of Workers' Associations.

### Second Thoughts

Mr. Oala-Rarua's party was launched with the support of about 12 members of the House of Assembly, including the leader of the elected members, Mr. John Guise. But many of these budding politicians, including Mr. Guise, have now had second thoughts about the party, possibly in some cases because of fear of failure. However, Mr. Oala-Rarua is pressing on to broaden the base of his party and to try and win popular support throughout the country.

The Australian Government, by virtually handing everything to the people on a platter with the advice "this is good for you", has created an apathy towards the work and responsibility needed to be taken by the people themselves if they are to run the nation.

"Cargo" cults have also developed where people are led to believe that cargoes of the material possessions of the white man will literally come to them from the skies. With the breakdown of the tribal system of morality and tradition a real void has developed. The nation will have to find a new sense of purpose if it is to be able to function as a democracy. These next years will be crucial. Much will depend on the determination of the Australian Government to fulfil its obligations and responsibilities while refusing to push the Territory into independence simply to rid herself of a thorn likely to bring world criticism. It is also true of this country that the best plans can be made, but their success or failure will depend on the people who implement them.

## Extension of Soviet power in Asia—growing influence in India

**In the year since Khrushchev's dramatic dethronement, his successors have emerged stronger, more confident, perhaps more united.**

They have quietly corrected many mistakes in the organization of industry and agriculture which led to the downfall of their predecessor. Without sacrificing any basic interest of the Soviet Union, they have prevented a total break with China. With none of the exuberant exhibitionism of Khrushchev, they have set about improving relations with as many nations as possible. They have succeeded greatly in their relations with Gaullist France and their traditionally suspicious and hostile neighbour, Turkey.

But their most remarkable achievement in the field of foreign policy is the confident assertion of their status as an Asian power. "As a European and at the same time an Asian power, the U.S.S.R. is fully aware of its role and responsibility in matters affecting the security of Europe and Asia," declared Gromyko at the U.N. General Assembly Session of September 24, 1965.

One of the most important events, from the point of view of the Soviet Union, was the visit of a high-level delegation to North Vietnam led by Prime Minister Kosygin in February this year. It led to important military and economic aid agreements and demonstrated, in the teeth of Chinese opposition, a Russian determination to maintain their stake in South-East Asia.

### Fresh Inroads

Kosygin's visit to North Korea, which until recently was a rubber-stamping supporter of Communist China, was a fresh inroad by the Soviet Union into an exclusive preserve of Chinese influence. The return visit of a North Korean military delegation to Moscow in May and the subsequent conclusion of a defence aid agreement between the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic was not to the liking of Communist China.

Another marked shift from Khrushchevian policy has been the recent

Soviet emphasis on cultivation of friendly relations with Pakistan as much as in the extension of influence in India. "As before, we will continue the policy of developing and strengthening friendly relations with India. Last summer the visit of India's Prime Minister Shastri to the Soviet Union and the talks which we had with him marked a new step on this road," said Brezhnev in his report to the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on September 29, 1965.

But he took care to add, "Since the visit of President Ayub Khan of Pakistan to the Soviet Union and the talks held with him in Moscow, certain prerequisites have arisen for improving relations with Pakistan as well."

### Indo-Pak Conflict

The Soviet position on the Indo-Pak conflict was clearly expressed by Gromyko in the U.N. "Neither side," he said, "needs this conflict. Regardless of the way the fortune of war swings at one or another moment, neither India nor Pakistan will be winners . . . . the position of the Soviet Union dictated by sincere goodwill for India and Pakistan is well-known . . . . The Soviet Government has called upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to stop fighting and explore a reasonable solution of the issues between them at the negotiating table."

The Soviet Union's invitation at the height of the Indo-Pak conflict to Prime Minister Shastri and President Ayub to meet in Tashkent has permanently altered the Soviet relationship with South Asia. Not only has it established beyond doubt the Soviet interest in the region; her warning to China not to exacerbate the conflict ("No Government has any right to add fuel to the flames") was a challenge to any third party against attempting to utilize the conflict to shift the balance of influence and power in their favour.

It is an amazing tribute to the shrewdness of present-day leaders of the U.S.S.R. that despite an involvement with India she has emerged more popular in Pakistan and in spite

Under  
the  
Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

of her neutrality on the Indo-Pakistan dispute she has won greater influence and prestige in India.

As a matter of fact, Soviet commitment to India was growing even as the policy of *detente* with Pakistan was beginning to show results.

Dev Murarka writes in his report from Moscow, "Even as the crisis in Indo-Pak relations was nearing a climax, Indian defence and trade delegations were here to make arrangements for supplies. Indo-Soviet trade is to be doubled over the next five years. India is also to receive submarine and other defence equipment. Besides the supply of armaments to India has not stopped." (*Spectator*, September 24, 1965).

The foreign exchange crisis, the almost certain stoppage of military aid from Western powers and doubts about the quantum of economic aid forthcoming from the Aid to India Club have brought about a stronger shift towards the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The self-reliance we seek to achieve is in danger of turning into a high degree of dependence on Moscow.

The aim of the Soviet Union is twofold. Brezhnev and company want to ensure the deepening of the links between Delhi and Moscow at

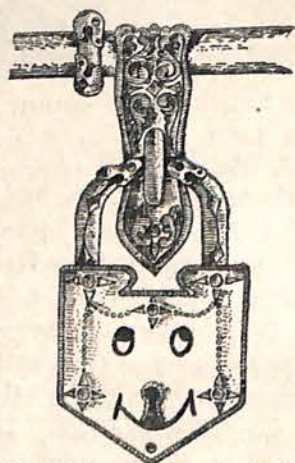
Continued on page 10

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HIMMAT, November 5, 1965

## Self-Sufficiency in Food Grains

By M. D. Vijayaraghavan

Today it is well known that the most serious crisis facing the country is the growing shortage of food for our teeming millions. The gap between the food needs of our increasing population and the production of food grains is becoming alarmingly divergent.

Even our foreign exchange crisis derives to a large extent from this problem of recurring food shortage. Although considerable food grains are till now being imported from the U.S.A., for which payments are made to the PL480 funds, which the American Government holds in India, in future considerable foreign exchange may have to be spent for hard currency purchasing of food grains from the U.S.A. and other countries. At the present rate of imports this works out to about Rs. 400 crores per year (£320 million).

The highest priority in our development plans, particularly in the light of our defence needs, is therefore now being given to food production to enable this country to achieve self sufficiency in food.

In India, out of about 800 million acres of available land, only about 324 million acres are stated to be cultivated areas and irrigated, the rest being fallow land, forest area, and non-agricultural lands (that is, about 45 per cent).

The production of some major food grains in 1961-62 is shown below:

Crop	Area under cultivation Million acres	Production Million tons	Average yield lbs. per acre
Rice	84	34	900
Wheat	33	12	780
Jowar	43	8	400

As compared with the figures given above, the average yield in lbs. per acre for rice and wheat in other advanced countries in 1961-62, was as follows:

Country	Rice lbs./acre	Wheat lbs./acre
U.K.	—	3,150
France	—	2,200
Canada	—	670
U.S.A.	3,300	1,550
Italy	4,900	1,700
Japan	4,230	2,430
India	900	780

The above figures show (except in the case of Canada where large areas and low population pressure permit low productivity) that, in all advanced countries, especially those where population is high relative to the land under cultivation, the yield of food grains per acre is 4 to 5 times higher than in India.

Where land is scarce, relative to the population, the quickest way to increase food production is to increase productivity per acre. Poor irrigation facilities, small land holdings which do not permit mechanized or modern methods of farming, poor quality and inefficient use of seeds, inadequate credit facilities and incentives to farmers, and above all, inadequate use of fertilizers, are some of the major shortcomings in India's agriculture. Of all these factors, pro-

per and intensive use of fertilizers will yield the quickest result.

It is estimated that one unit of plant nutrients as fertilizers gives an additional yield of ten units of food grains; one ton more of fertilizer plant nutrients, if properly used, will yield ten tons more of food grains. The following comparative figures will illustrate the very poor fertilizer consumption in India.

Consumption of fertilizer per acre in 1957-1959

Netherlands	180 lbs
U.K.	48 lbs
Japan	190 lbs
India	1.17 lbs

Per capita consumption of fertilizer in 1961-62

Netherlands	88 lbs
U.K.	56 lbs
Japan	38 lbs
India	2 lbs

Therefore, there is a great and urgent need for raising rapidly the fertilizer consumption. The farmer is becoming increasingly aware of the need of fertilizers, but much needs to be done in educating the farmer in their proper use. This also means that the production of fertilizers has to increase considerably.

The major plant nutrients are nitrogen, phosphates and potash. Unless there is a balanced addition of all these three nutrients in a fertilizer mixture, proper growth of plants and high yield of food grains cannot be achieved. Usually, in Europe and U.S.A., equal amounts of nitrogen, phosphates and potash are used. In India, nitrogenous fertilizers have been predominantly used, the phosphates being about 20 per cent of the nitrogen and potash about 10 per cent of nitrogen. Therefore, not only

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the fertilizer production and consumption have to increase but the pattern of consumption and production has to change.

As of 1964, the production of fertilizer was about 320,000 tons of nitrogen and 140,000 tons of phosphates. The estimated demand of fertilizer by 1965-66 is about 750,000 tons of nitrogen and 350,000 tons of phosphates. The gap between the production and demand is bridged by import of fertilizers from abroad costing considerable foreign exchange.

In 1964-65 about Rs. 42 crores worth of fertilizers were imported. The estimated demand by 1970-71 is expected to be two million tons of nitrogen and one million tons of phosphates, and it is the aim of the Government that these production targets should be achieved by 1970-71. This would therefore mean that additional capacity to produce about 1.6 million tons of nitrogen and 800,000 tons of phosphates has to be built up within the next 5 years. This is indeed a massive programme.

Fortunately, considerable amounts of naphtha from the petroleum refineries would be available for pro-

duction of ammonia and nitrogenous fertilizer. All the future nitrogenous fertilizer plants may use naphtha as the main raw material. However, the other raw materials for phosphatic fertilizers, like rock phosphate and sulphur, have to be necessarily imported and these materials, particularly sulphur, are today in short supply throughout the world. To a certain extent this would affect India's fertilizer production but alternative means of overcoming these problems are now under consideration of both the public and private sector industries. New fertilizer plants are likely to come up at Cochin, Madras, Goa, Haldia, Barauni and Kanpur.

In addition to this, systematic efforts should be made effectively to use the organic manure available in the country. The production of compost from the sewage sludge and from the organic manures is now receiving increasing attention.

What is needed is an organized and massive programme for production of both inorganic and organic fertilizers using to the maximum extent possible indigenous raw materials, equipment and know-how.

#### UNDER THE LENS—from page 7

the same time as they seek to wean Pakistan away from the U.S.A. and China. At this moment they have to tread carefully lest the one aim frustrate the other. But they obviously hope that as India is drawn by her isolation into growing dependence on the U.S.S.R., and Pakistan is balked in her aims by a more neutral U.S.A. and by the inability of China to express her support by more than gestures, the Soviet Union will be able to bring India and Pakistan closer. A Moscow-New Delhi-Rawalpindi axis will effectively drive out U.S. influence from South and South-East Asia and successfully challenge China's claim to undisputed mastery of the area.

The choice before India is therefore not between present self-reliance and submission to Western pressures on Kashmir. It is not just a question of possessing the Kashmir Valley or negotiating its future. The threat is not only from China. We must make sure that our policies do not isolate us and that we do not have to choose tomorrow satellitedom under the Soviet Union to save our pride today.

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### New Bounce in Ceylon's Rubber Trade

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

Ceylon is jubilant at the fruits of this year's rice-rubber pact negotiations with China. The Chinese are paying more for Ceylon's high class rubber and asking less for their own rice.

Ceylon stands to gain at least £250,000 in crucially short foreign currency, or even as much as £625,000, if all the negotiations are successfully completed. This gain was reported to be "at the special request of the (Ceylonese) Commerce Minister". This seeming generosity is naturally appreciated here.

At the same time a Ceylon delegate gets up before the U.N. General Assembly's Economic Committee to complain at America releasing natural rubber from its stockpile and thus depressing the price of Ceylon's rubber. Ceylon's representative, Mr. E. L. Senanayake, M.P., who is also Mayor of Kandy, though no relative of the Premier, called the American action "an anti-foreign aid operation". Mr. James Roosevelt's statement that the U.S. are "not unsympathetic to the point he brought up" and that they are examining it, while welcome, hardly offsets China's action.

The Times of Ceylon editorializes that "the harmful effects of the rubber stockpile releases...cancel out much of the benefits of aid". Ceylon's total exports, the paper says, have increased between 1948 and 1964 by 2.7 per cent but the purchasing power of the exports increased only by 1.6 per cent which is "very frustrating". The paper suggests the U.S. should "look wider and consider the repercussions of this

act on millions of people who are dependent on natural rubber for their daily rice and curry". No one likes receiving handouts and so the paper's contention is powerful that "trade... is far more fundamental to progress than aid".

History also enters into it. During the second world war, when Indonesia and Malaya, the two premier rubber-producing countries of the world, were under Japanese occupation, Britain appealed to Ceylon to help the war effort by producing more rubber. Loyal Ceylon buckled down to it at once. She even went so far as to slaughter-tap her trees, an extreme measure that gives more rubber but ruins the trees. Britain profited from her colony's effort by buying the rubber not only at the low world rate but reselling it to America at a much higher price.

Some years later Ceylon's Minister of Agriculture, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, came to America with a request to buy Ceylon's rubber which was facing throttling competition from Malaya. He pleaded with them to pay a few cents above the Singapore world market price. The Americans were adamant that they would pay the Singapore price and not a cent more, a decision undoubtedly influenced by Britain's war-time dealings with them. It was then that Ceylon started looking elsewhere and China's willing hands were waiting.

### Stirrings in Yugoslavia

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Ljubljana

When one walks through the streets of this third largest city of Yugoslavia, one gets the feeling of a live and questing population.

The Slovenes who live in these parts just south of the Austrian border are known for their sharp intellect and high cultural life. So it is not by chance that the University of Ljubljana is known as the most free and progressive behind the Iron Curtain.

The universities and the theatres are in fact the two places where freedom has become the object of a real cult, especially of the younger generation. At the University of Zagreb a group of young professors and lecturers are editing a magazine called

Continued on next page

## The week in Asia

**SINGAPORE**—Formosan sources report that Japanese and Czechoslovak experts are to be employed in two newly constructed ordnance factories which China has set up in Lhasa and Shijatse. There are also reports of a stepping up of road construction activity in Tibet. Ninety per cent of Tibet's main roads are now suitable for heavy vehicles.

**KUALA LUMPUR**—A clearing house for exchange of views, techniques and methods on development projects among Afro-Asian nations will be set up early next year here. According to Malaysia's Deputy Prime Minister, it will be known as an Asian economic and social development centre.

**DJAKARTA**—Practically every one of the hundred ministries here has worked out its own plan to remove all suspected "coup" elements including those who stayed away from their jobs after October 1. This is part of the purge to remove Communists from key government positions.

**SINGAPORE**—Riot police used tear gas to break up 500 chanting Left-wing students who tried to march on the Prime Minister's office. Students were protesting against expulsion of 85 Left-wing university students earlier last week.

**PEKING**—China has signed with Canada one of the biggest wheat sale contracts in history, totalling more than 400 million dollars. China will be buying over 223 million bushels of Canada's grain.

**DJAKARTA**—An estimated 15,000 demonstrators demanded a break in relations with Peking and the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and its affiliated organizations.


**PEKING**—There is no reply from Peking to the charge by Kenya's Minister of Commerce and Industry, Dr. Kiano, that China was increasing her trade with South Africa and deceiving the rest of Africa by protesting she is not trading with her. Sino-South African trade, he charged, has grown from £300,000 in 1961 to £3 million in 1963 and to well over £7 million last year.

**DJAKARTA**—A six-hour meeting with leaders of seven political parties was warned by President Sukarno that "once we turn to the Right, it would be a calamity even greater than the September 30 incident". Conspicuously absent was any representative of the Indonesian Communist Party. Reports are circulating, meanwhile, that the Army has just uncovered Communist plans for an open war to be launched on the eve of "Heroes' Day" on November 10.

at

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Praxis in which they are trying to develop a modern philosophy based on a new conception of Marxism. In fact they are submitting everything in the State to their way of criticism with the result that very little of orthodox Marxism is left!

Also from Zagreb comes the lecturer Mihailov who dared to express, after a trip to the Soviet Union, that he believed that a "third revolution" was badly needed, "a revolution of the spirit". Although Mihailov was condemned by a lower court for his "subversive" ideas, the Supreme Court of Croatia practically freed him of all accusations.

The programmes of the theatres both in Ljubljana and Zagreb show that the central Government has been forced to grant much more freedom in this field also than before.

In the theatres of Ljubljana most of the "avant-garde" authors of the West have become popular—Albee, Tennessee Williams, Pinter, Osborne, Durrenmatt. Companies showing these plays in different East European languages are touring each

others' countries with great success.

But in spite of this so-called liberalization, one should not be deluded. Even if there is more freedom in the cultural field, there is still a tight control on all other aspects of national life. And there might be even conscious intention in letting the population see some of the most "advanced" of the Western plays. If these plays show perversion, drunkenness and senselessness it is easy for the State propagandists to say to the people: "See how decadent these people have become!"

But even some of the authorities in the Communist countries start to realize that such methods could work against them also. A well-known observer wrote recently from Yugoslavia that the leading men of that country were showing a grave concern for the development of the youth.

He wrote: "The Church has lost the young people to a large degree, as is true for many of the East European nations. At the same time the Communists have not won them. As a result the problem of the youth is not just one of the ideology, any more, but one of public morality and it concerns everybody."

Where both the authorities of the Communist countries and many Western observers misjudge the mood of the youth is when they hope to buy them back through material

### U.S. Defeatists on the Run

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Los Angeles

President Johnson's recovery from gall bladder surgery has been slower and less dramatic than he would have liked. But the doctors announce his recovery as satisfactory and he is expected to be back fully on the job in a few weeks.

The political health of American students has been much more in question. People reacted strongly to the small group of students that demonstrated recently demanding that Uncle Sam get out of Vietnam. It was felt that the student protest "made news but not sense" and that peace was postponed by encouraging the Viet Cong to think the American people were not solidly behind their Government.

The Viet Cong not only misjudged the American people last week but also the people of South Vietnam. The one-hour general strike that the Communists called for on October 15



A busy intersection in one of the modern sections of Ljubljana.

advantages. Mihailov expressed this point clearly when he wrote: "As the young Russians have already grown up in difficult living conditions, they see in a low living standard not an evil in itself. What they are really hungry for is a great idea..."

The Western governments have shown very little imagination in trying to exploit this situation. Through the programme of cultural exchanges they would have the means of getting the attention of the younger generation of Eastern Europe through plays, books and films showing what democracy and freedom really stand for. And they obviously do not realize that a nihilistic youth will represent a serious headache for everybody, be they from Capitalist or Communist countries.

in Vietnam designed to coincide with the Leftist-led people's protest in the U.S. flopped. Student counter-protests in support of the Government, on the other hand, spread across the U.S.

In Japan and Korea a group of 130 American students demonstrated a new image of American youth that was wildly cheered and applauded. The young Americans staged "Sing-Outs" and "Speak-Outs" in the militant Tokyo universities, the ancient Kabuki Theatre and in the sports arenas.

They sang, "Freedom isn't free. You've got to pay the price, you've

got to sacrifice for your liberty." They were not protesting but proclaiming a programme to modernize society by first modernizing man's motives and morals. Prime Minister Sato of Japan congratulated them for their work.

In Korea they Sang-Out on the Thirty-eighth parallel and to the university students of Seoul. South Korean Premier Chung Il Kwon greeted them at the Moral Re-Armament Assembly he opened in the South Korean capital city. The Japanese and Korean press reported that their optimism is contagious.

In America this new "Sing-Out" group are referred to as a "new breed of youth" grabbing the microphone away from the beatnik, defeatist student elements.

A career-student who helped organize the U.S. campus protests

### Nigeria Rides Political Storms

FROM VERE JAMES

Lagos

Some of the people who come from overseas to work in Nigeria succumb to what is locally known as "cultural shock". A study of the ailment has been made and a book written on its causes and cure. The symptoms vary. But obviously the combination of intense humidity and the habits and hyperbole of Nigerian life take some assimilating by newcomers.

Nigeria is passing through a phase during which the "sickness" could become particularly virulent. Another political crisis has been provoked by the recent elections in the Western Region where the Federal territory of Lagos is situated. Charges and counter-charges of corruption, chicanery and gerrymandering are passionately proclaimed in press and Parliament, while the mob element has erupted on to the streets rioting, looting and intimidating honest citizens. The Government has replied with a curfew.

Since independence, Nigeria with its population of 55 million, the largest in Africa, has managed to survive the havoc of repeated political storms. As in the past, responsible leaders are confident that the country will survive the present crisis and "it will all blow over".

Meanwhile the stresses and strains on the Federation increase with each successive emergency. The question is being asked, "How long can this sort of thing last?" The numerical

divulged last week how, at a gathering of Leftist groups last May, the idea for the mid-October protests was conceived. At the Berkeley campus of the University of California, he said, plans were laid to stage simultaneous protests all over the world of which the general strike in South Vietnam was one.

Enthusiasm for the protests were dampened. It was remarkable that so pessimistic a group had stirred up so much comment in the U.S. press. Some put it down to the out-of-date journalistic dictum that "anything negative is news and anything positive is propaganda". But whatever it was last week, this week the new breed of patriotic American youth, just back from Korea and Japan, grabbed the headlines with their "Sing-Out" in the 15,000-seat Sports Arena in Los Angeles, at the start of a nation-wide campaign to put the defeatists on the run.

dominance of the North and the economic boost that the discovery of oil has given to the East are only two of many excuses put forward for the secession of any of the four regions of the Federation.

In his recent Republic Day speech, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, President of the Federal Republic, referred to the crisis of a year ago as a "political commotion which would have spelt disaster to the nation". He then spoke of his concept of Nigeria's destiny as "building a united, prosperous nation... a worthy example of true democracy and the efficacy of the rule of law in Africa".

"Unfortunately," he continued "the road to this manifest destiny has not been smooth. It has been made rough by the potholes of misguided ambition, enthronement of privilege, abuse of power, naked greed, rank intolerance and barefaced parochialism."

He outlined important advances  
Continued on next page

### The week in India

**NEW DELHI**—India will have two powerful 1000-kW transmitters in operation by December 1966. The first will be supplied by the Soviet Union and the second was arranged during the visit recently of Commerce Minister Manubhai Shah to Yugoslavia. One will be located in Calcutta beamed across China and South-East Asia. The other, near Bombay, will serve West Asia and Africa.

**BANGALORE**—The Mysore Government is to allot dry river and tank beds for the cultivation of crops by agriculturists at the nominal rent of 25 paise per acre as one measure to step up food production.

**NEW DELHI**—The Union Government is considering a scheme of one year compulsory national service for all students leaving school to take up higher studies.

**NEW DELHI**—Union Education Minister M.C. Chagla said the time had come for India to reconsider its agreement with China recognizing the latter's suzerainty over Tibet. Under the agreement, he pointed out, China was to safeguard Tibetan autonomy and this condition had been violated.

**GAUHATI**—Assam Chief Minister Chaliha announced that the Union Government had sanctioned the setting up of two large public sector industrial units in the State, one for cement, the other for paper.

**NEW DELHI**—India's trade with East European countries, including the Soviet Union, has risen in the last 12 years from Rs. 33 crores to Rs. 1384 crores, a jump from 0.6 per cent to 16.6 per cent of total trade. The Board of Trade is considering whether rupee trade is developing on healthy lines, whether any diversion is taking place and what measures were needed to prevent such taking place.

**KANPUR**—The Thai Ambassador to India addressing a meeting of the International Centre said that Communist agents had crossed into Thailand to carry out subversion and prepare the way for insurgency in Thailand. He said that attempts were made to terrorize and recruit villagers. He declared that the Thai Government was well prepared to meet the danger.

**NEW DELHI**—Mr. Ales Beblar, Yugoslav jurist, has agreed to be India's nominee on the three-man Kutch Tribunal. Pakistan's nominee is Iranian jurist, Mr. Entezan. As both parties have failed to agree on a Chairman of the Tribunal, U Thant is expected to name his choice for the post.

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**FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS**

in the development of the country. During the past year 30 new manufacturing plants with a capitalization of £25 million have been established; new oilfields have been discovered which will make Nigeria the second largest producer of crude oil in the Commonwealth; it will also soon become an important producer of natural gas.

"After five years of independence we have made much material progress," the President declared. "But we are still encompassed by problems whose solution must be found through a spiritual lubrication of the machinery of human relations. Let all our citizens who believe in the unity of the nation be humble and cultivate the habit of listening quietly to the silent voice of God... In spite of our vaunted material progress, if we do not complement it with spiritual progress then we are building our nation on shifting sands."

Nigeria is also making an increasing impact on continental and inter-

national affairs. Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Kenya's Minister for Foreign Affairs and retiring Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Ministerial Committee, stated in Accra that but for the timely intervention of Nigeria in the disagreement between Ghana and the French-speaking Entente States (Niger, Dahomey, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast) the Organization's meeting of the heads of states would not have taken place.

Speaking to an Indian industrial delegation which has been visiting West Africa, the Prime Minister, Al-haji Sir Abubakar Tafewa Balewa, expressed the hope that Nigeria and India would strengthen their co-operation in all human aspects as

**—The week elsewhere—**

**NOW AN H-BOMB**

WASHINGTON—China would explode a hydrogen bomb within the next two years, said the Chairman of the U.S. Senate Joint Atomic Weapons Sub-Committee, Senator Henry Jackson. The Senator, who has access

well as in trade relations. He took the opportunity to comment on the Indo-Pakistan dispute, appealing to both sides to think of an amicable settlement, and prayed for God's guidance in bringing back peace. "I was very much concerned about it," the Prime Minister stated. "After all, you two are brothers and should live in peace without even posting a single soldier on your borders."

None doubt the sincerity of both the President and the Prime Minister. They have a supremely difficult task fraught with many pressures and influences. But Nigeria's growing stature in Africa and the Commonwealth must now be quickly supported by unity, discipline and a clean-up on the home front.

to top secret information in Washington, said, "They are moving along very well and have the sophisticated talent to develop and detonate a thermonuclear device." Senator Jackson also said that China would almost certainly develop her own intercontinental ballistic missiles within ten years. China's third atomic device is expected to be exploded at any time.

**U. K. RESUMES ASSISTANCE**  
BOMBAY—Britain has decided that full economic aid and the normal trade in defence equipment to India will be restarted, according to an *Economic Times* report. Diplomatic sources in New Delhi also state that London has advised Washington of the decision with a view to encouraging a shift in policy there.

**SOVIET AIDS PAKISTAN**  
KARACHI—The Soviet Union is to aid Pakistan in a number of big basic projects including air-fields, heavy electrical plants, mining and steel. According to a Radio Pakistan broadcast, Soviet help has been promised for oil exploration, power, plants, coal-mining, radio communication, harbour developments, iron-ore projects and heavy electrical complexes. This announcement follows the visit to Pakistan of a team of Soviet economic experts. President Ayub Khan termed the Russian proposals as "the beginning of a close collaboration". The Soviet Union has announced the first instalment of \$30 million economic aid to Pakistan's Third Plan.

**FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS**

**CHANGES IN BRAZIL**

BRASILIA—President Castelo Branco enacted sweeping new changes in the Constitution to avert what he called the threat of insurrection by supporters of the former Brazilian regime. His action, which virtually made rubber stamps out of Parliament and the courts and wiped out all legal opposition, included the suppression of all political parties until his term expires on March 15, 1967. He decreed that future presidents would be elected by Parliament indirectly and not by popular vote. He will not be permitted to succeed himself.

President Branco saw a threat to his programme of much needed economic development in the recent success of former President Kubitschek's Social Democrats in elections for 11 State Governorships. Senhor Kubitschek returned recently to political campaigning after voluntary exile. He had been deprived of political rights for alleged corruption during his 1956-61 administration.

**NEW PORT FOR ORISSA**

CUTTACK—A new port will open on the east coast at Pradeep, near here, before the end of the year. The Rs. 20 crores all-weather harbour can accommodate ships of 60,000 tons. Its main use will be to export iron ore mined in Orissa State. Its loading facilities will handle 2,500 tons of ore daily. Mr. Nehru laid the port's foundation stone in January, 1962. In just over three years an area of jungle and swamp has been made into a modern port which will aid greatly the development of Orissa.

**AID BILL SIGNED**

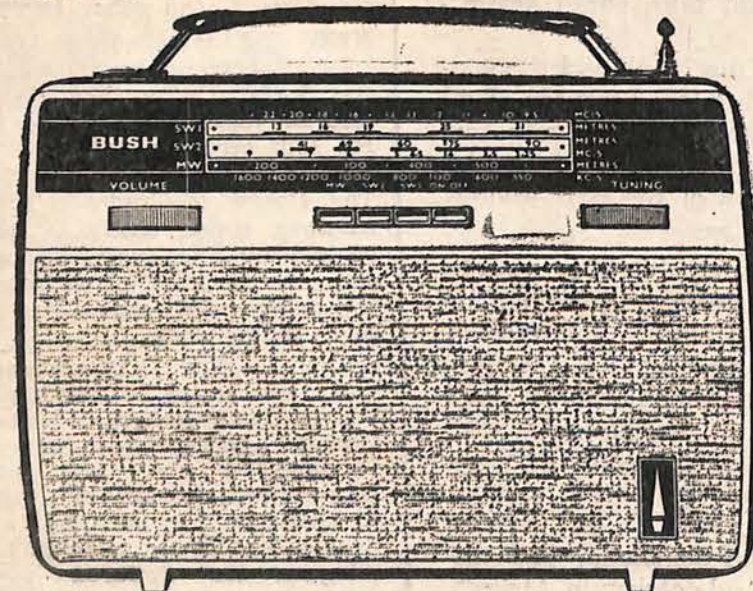
WASHINGTON—President Johnson signed the new 3,200 million Foreign Aid Appropriation Bill and said that henceforth assistance must and would go to those nations that would best use it to bring major and far-reaching benefits to their people. Senator George D. Aiken, who recently met President Johnson with a group of Senators, said Americans were becoming increasingly disillusioned with the ideal of foreign aid. He placed the blame largely on what he described as the vested interests

in under-developed countries. In his talks with the Senators, President Johnson was understood to have been critical of the Indian Government for its failure to make a maximum effort to increase agricultural production and its apparent willingness to go on relying on rupee purchases of American wheat.

**EAST GERMAN NAZIS**

BERLIN—East Germany issues a stream of propaganda to try and show that West Germany is largely run by former Nazis. Facts recently published by the Investigating Committee of Free Jurists in West Berlin show that there are many former Nazis in high places in Communist East Germany. They reveal that 53 of the 434 members of the East German People's Chamber were Nazis. So were a Major General of the East German State Security and four Cabinet Ministers. The Director of the Institute for International Relations at a leading East German political academy formerly led an S.S. unit attached to Hitler's security service headquarters.

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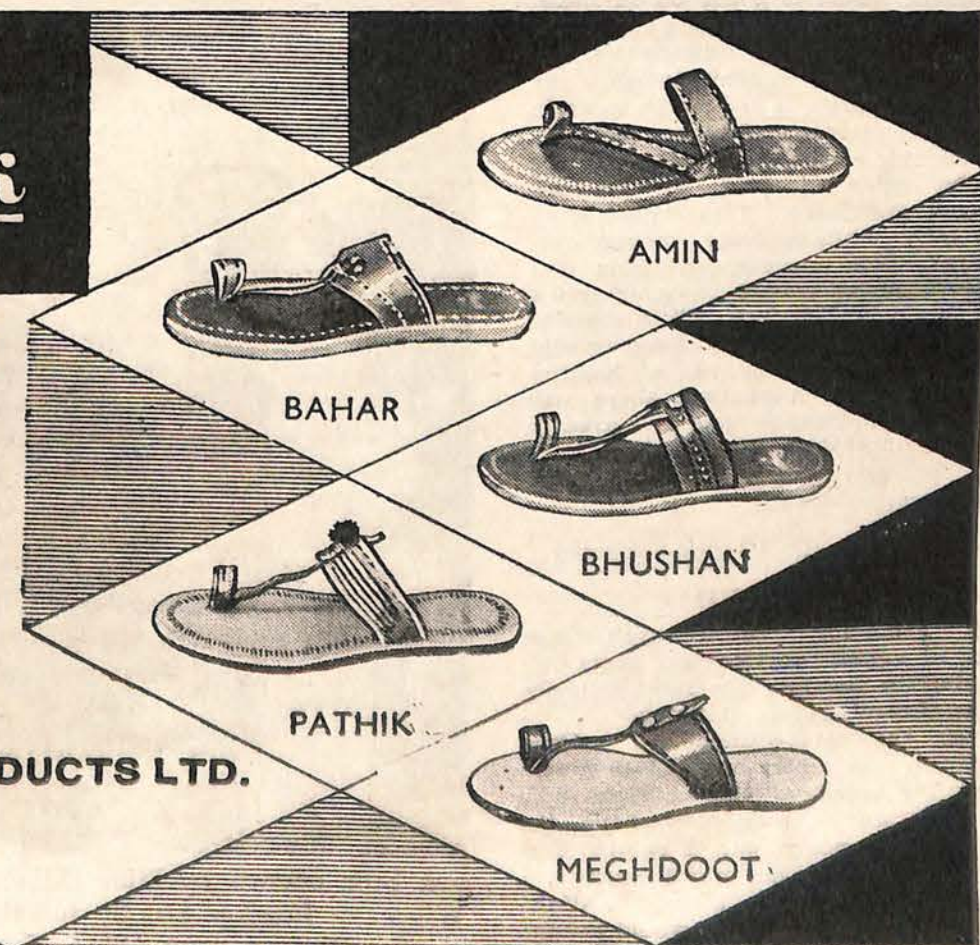
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## LETTERS

### NATIONAL SERVICE

SIR: Mr. M. C. Chagla's decision to revive proposals that University students should do some national service before getting their degrees, is a momentous one. This scheme is long overdue and it is gratifying that at this time of national resurgence it should be again mooted. Besides inculcating in the students the much needed discipline and directing the long vacations to useful purposes, it has the advantage of attacking the basic root of students' discontentment. The significant factors which encourage student indiscipline are their lack of objectives and the abundance of "idle hours".

The role of the student community in national development, in recent years, has considerably deteriorated. While on one side it is their own callousness, the other side to it is the lack of opportunities. Many a plan for development programmes has been frustrated by public cynicism and, not infrequently, official apathy.

During the freedom movement and later during the formative years of our country, the student community found identity in national objectives.

But soon after they resigned to impassivity. The younger generation need to have explained the great experiment which is going on in India.

To the objection that such a scheme involves administrative difficulties and high costs of implementation, my answer is no price is too much to train up a conscientious student community.

Again, this scheme of national service may be extended even to the unemployed graduates. This would keep them busy while seeking proper employment. The commercial firms and the Government should recognize such extra-curricular services, while recruitments are made. All these would facilitate the growth of a healthy environment. Perhaps then there will be less complacency and a greater deal of co-operation generated.

NATESAN SUBRAMANIAN\*

Calcutta 29

\* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

### SHOCKED

SIR: Professor Vaitheswaran has done a signal service to India by bringing to the fore the fatal fallacies in the current Indian thinking.

Even the intellectuals are getting caught in the mass hysteria that has swept the country. Out of those who see this sorry truth, few have the courage to speak out. I salute Shri Vaitheswaran for his moral courage.

I was shocked when I heard a Minister take the vow that he would avenge the death of the late Shri Balwantrao Mehta "in the usual Satara way of fit

for tat, eye for eye". The vast crowd cheered him wildly. If wrong means can attain right ends, if morality is a fiction of the idealists, then I have only one question: Just what are we fighting the war for, if not for the preservation of the values of life?

In 1948 we buried the mortal body of the Mahatma. Today, in 1965, we have extinguished his spirit.

SHRIKANT V. BHAT

Bombay 22

### AIMS OF "HIMMAT"

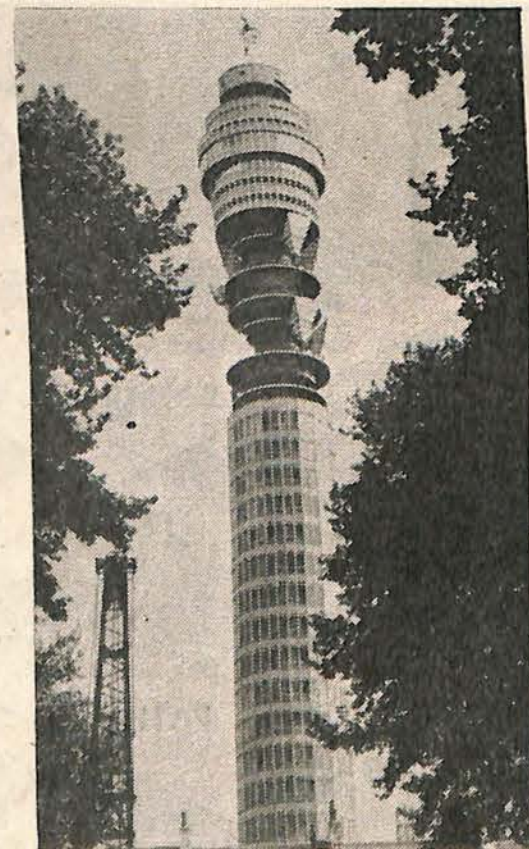
SIR: Your article "Bigger Job than Mao's" (October 8) is a proof of the true aims of HIMMAT. Diagnosis of the present day world trend by it is very accurate. Suggestions like the need for bigger men with bigger roles are simply marvellous. But this can be an ideal, long term policy. In the immediate future the world needs a crash programme in practical ideology as an initial step.

A farmer keeps the field clean and ready for the coming rains. So also

## FRONTIERS OF science

### NEW LONDON TOWER

LONDON—Men have long been obsessed with building towers. The latest, dubbed by a newspaper, "Bloomsbury's Tower of Babel", has



just been opened by Prime Minister Wilson in London. Strictly functional, the 620-foot Post Office Tower will be the centre of a European

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

every citizen ought to clear the weeds from the political arena by enacting, himself, the twin roles of leader as well as follower, at least for the time being. He can chalk out a programme best suited to him in his walk of life and that which coincides with the interests of his nation and the world at large. Then he can march on with this programme, holding the torch of Moral Re-Armament in his hand, with a firm determination in his heart and cool thinking in his head. From this preliminary base the prospective leader, with the least effort and in the spirit of full co-operation, can effectively "launch a revolution so powerful and fascinating that Mao will want to join it".

N. V. SIVARAM

Bangalore 2

microwave network. Its aerial will handle 150,000 telephone calls simultaneously and operate 40 TV channels. The tower has three public viewing platforms and a restaurant which revolves once every 25 minutes.

### INVISIBLE LIGHT

FORT BELVOIR—The world's most powerful searchlight capable of 120,000,000 candlepower has been developed by U.S. engineers at Fort Belvoir, Virginia. It can produce both visible and invisible ultra-violet light. The searchlight can be mounted on planes, patrol boats or land vehicles. Tanks using the ultraviolet light could travel across country at night without the beam showing.

### BRICKS FROM SALT WATER

ARLINGTON, Virginia—Houses built from salt is the plan of Mr. William Van Schelven. In the fast growing process of distilling seawater to produce fresh water for human and industrial consumption, one of the by-products piling up is large amounts of impure salts. Disposal is becoming a problem on land and dumping it back into the sea limits future conversion of salt water to fresh. Mr. Van Schelven has patented a method of compressing the salts into bricks and coating them with an extremely strong and waterproof resin. He claims it will be commercially economical and will produce building bricks which are relatively fireproof and are safe from invasion of termites and insects.

## VIEWPOINT

First Prize: Rs. 35

# SHOULD THE U.N. REINSTATE THE DALAI LAMA IN TIBET?

By C. Dayakar, Waltair, A.P.

BEFORE DECLARING that the U.N. should reinstate the Dalai Lama in Tibet, we should consider whether the U.N. is capable of doing it. If it can, it should do so.

The recent happenings show the helplessness of this great organization. When the major countries failed to pay the amounts due towards the costs of the U.N. it had evoked fears that the U.N. might join the now extinct League of Nations. However, after a long controversy, the U.N. was salvaged. But its effectiveness is not in any way improved.

Tibet is now no more a land of pious Buddhists and their Lamas but a military camp with buzzing aircraft, rattling tanks and clinking army personnel. To liberate Tibet from thralldom is indeed a very good plan. It is apparent that China will not keep quiet if the U.N. moves in this regard. Any such move undoubtedly involves the U.N. on a large scale.

It is not improbable that Russia might veto the resolution of the Security Council for any confrontation of the U.N. with China. Even if Russia does not exercise the veto, the U.N. has no military might to act with boldness. The U.N. is incapable of effectively enforcing its resolutions even where small member-nations are involved. In these circumstances, how can we expect it to drive away the Chinese from Tibet? It should be remembered that China is not a member of the U.N. and that it has sufficient military strength to withstand any such move.

To liberate Tibet from the clutches of China, the following are the prerequisites.

First of all, the veto power should be abolished so that the resolutions passed by a majority are not annulled by one of the Big Five.

Secondly, China should be given membership in the U.N. in order to make China obligated to the resolutions passed where it is involved.

Thirdly, the U.N. must be made militarily strong. This means that it must have a strong army equipped with modern weapons, a strong air force as well as navy.

All the countries should realize the just and legitimate rights of the people and act unitedly to crush imperialist elements and liberate the people from thralldom.

Now again rises another problem. From where does the U.N. fight China? It has to fight through India. But will India risk involvement in a major clash with China? To allow the U.N. to fight Red China through India will mean direct fight between India and China. It is most unacceptable to India and her people.

To conclude. Only if we could achieve all the prerequisites for making the U.N. a strong organization, can we think in terms of liberating Tibet from Chinese domination and reinstating the Dalai Lama there.

### Second Prize: Rs. 10 TAME THE DRAGON

By J. A. JAGTIANI, Bombay 50

UNITED NATIONS MEMBERS should realize that what has happened to Tibet will happen to them in the near future. If Britain, a tiny island, could once rule an empire on which the sun never set, cannot China, a huge country with the world's largest population, repeat the drama?

India could have given the lead in 1950 but it went by China's past history and fell victim to Chou's siren voice of *Panchsheel*. India should prominently sponsor Tibet's recognition as an independent country by United Nations, for not only she but the whole world is aware of Chinese duplicity in Indonesia, Malaysia and Tibet. China has spread its tentacles also in Korea, Vietnam, Pakistan, Ghana and Albania, better to serve as its springboards for achieving world supremacy.

Tibet's question poses moral problems for the U.N.—shall jungle law

## COMPETITION

\* Should India recognize Nationalist China (Taiwan)?

Closing date: November 12

\*\* Should there be a more strict censorship of books and magazines on sale?

Closing date: November 19

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prevail or righteous causes triumph? The U.N.'s charter is in a shambles in Tibet, where freedom of speech, thought, religion and movement, are daily casualties.

It was the duty of the Secretary-General, himself, to have drawn the Security Council's attention, as Mr. Thant has done in the Indo-Pakistan conflict, to China's overrunning of Tibet.

Tibet had appealed when China invaded and by inviting the Dalai Lama to the U.N. Forum even now, it will only be making amends. The world would hear the shocking story of China, systematically exterminating the Tibetan people by castration of men and forcible marriages of Tibetan women to Chinese men; of either burning or turning of monasteries into barracks after denuding them of their priceless treasures and tearing their precious scriptures; of senior lamas either being shot dead or forced to work as road builders or labourers; of Tibet, which always had surplus food, but now faces starvation.

There are some wishful thinking nations, among whom India once was one, that the mere seating of China in the U.N. would tame the dragon. With cajolery, inducements, threats and blackmail, China will build a third force within the U.N.

After giving the Dalai Lama recognition as Tibet's ruler and throwing out the proposal for seating Red China, the U.N. should, with the help of India, Tibet, Formosa, Japan, U.S.A. and U.K., put into force its military and economic blockade plans to force China to give unto Tibet what belongs to Tibetans.



## BOOKS

### The Fine Art Of Political Wit

by Leon Harris (Cassel, London, Pp 244. Price 30s.).

READY WIT is perhaps not so plentifully found in any other walk of life as in politics. For one thing there is the give and take of public discussion; and for another thing wit serves well to arrest attention, and it is wit that helps to emphasize certain points.

Humorous remarks have also a luminous quality which helps ordinary people to understand certain points more effectively than by mere discussion. Hence on the hustings and in the parliament gifted men have made many retorts and observations that have a lasting quality. A good many of the most remarkable of them are collected and discussed by Leon Harris in his new book.

He has chosen them especially from the British and American poli-

ticians, though incidentally he refers also to others. There is thus the story of Demosthenes saying to Phocian: "The Athenians will kill you some day when they are in a rage," and Phocian replying: "And you some day when they are in their senses." When Talleyrand was told that members of the Upper Chamber had their conscience he seemed readily to agree, adding that some of them had even two. Khrushchev was another who was often humorous. When someone was given a prison sentence of twenty-three years for calling him a fool, he remarked that three years were for insulting the Party Secretary and twenty years for revealing a state secret.

### Shot for a Goose

The book as a whole is concerned with British and American politicians. Beginning with Sheridan the author goes on to Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, and Aneurin Bevan in Britain, and Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln, Adlai Stevenson and John F. Kennedy in America. All these are given separate chapters; but in between there are plenty

of examples of the wit of Gladstone, Disraeli, Roosevelt, Wilkie and many others.

The witty observations in the book are of different kinds. Many of them are sudden replies to critics and hecklers, as, when someone said that he would rather vote for the devil than for Wilkie, the latter asked: "But what if your friend is not standing?", or when some one wished he had the wings of a bird, Bryan remarked: "You would be shot for a goose."

But the fundamental difference between the witty observations is due to the presence or absence of malice. There is no doubt that some little malice is present in all wit. But the best wit is that which makes a hit scoring a point without any real ill will. Many observations in this book are harsh; but even more show merely a gay spirit with much understanding of life and character. That is why it is a rewarding experience to go through this book.

P.L.S.

## ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

### After 78 Eventful Years His Greatest Task Lies Ahead

K. M. MUNSHI is a literator, lawyer, educationalist and statesman. His early novels not only captured Gujarat by storm, but regenerated its literature. At the height of his career at the Bar he commanded fabulous fees. He went into the sphere of education and today the vast cultural complex, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, has 26 constituent colleges and branches. "It just grows," he says.

As a statesman he was at the heart of affairs for 40 years.

Now at 78, his mind is sharp as a razor; his cupped ears are alert to catch every word; his reading is wide and up-to-date; he writes articles and books; and presides and speaks at public occasions wherever possible.

Kanaiyalal Maneklal Munshi was born at Broach on December 30, 1887. Though the son of a Government official, his friends got him interested in the Congress Session of

1902. "All my friends were volunteers, but my father would not permit me."

"I eat the salt of the British Government and I cannot be unfaithful," said the father. Cockily the 15-year-old lad replied, "The salt they give is from our land."

Someone gave him a volunteer's uniform and slipped him into the Congress pandal. Two years later Russia's defeat by Japan gave a spurt to nationalism in India, recalls Munshi.

In 1905 at Baroda College he came under the influence of Prof. Aurobindo Ghose, whose ardent nationalism fanned the flame in Munshi's heart. Aurobindo at that time believed in terrorism and some of Munshi's young student friends encouraged him to join in the making of bombs. Munshi had hardly started when a crude contraption burst and wounded one of his friends. Since then

Munshi wisely decided to be through with this kind of politics. "I was too much of a coward to go along with it," he says.

"From 1902 to 1916 I was poor, terribly poor. My whole life has been a steep climb; from an eating house costing Rs. 5 a month to comparative luxury; from complete obscurity to some recognition. God has indeed



Dr. K. M. Munshi

been good. I have climbed, no doubt, strenuously, but laughing, playing, running."

In the early years of this century he stayed in a chawl, read voraciously, worked hard at the Bar and began writing.

People say that you have given a new birth to Gujarati literature. How did you do it?

"I knew neither the grammar nor the syntax of the language, but I knew English well and a little Sanskrit. To it I added my Broach idiom and the result was a vigorous style freed of classical heaviness."

What did you write about?

"About social problems. One of my early novels 'Kon-no-vak' ('Whose Fault?') was about a child widow's life. I wrote about the caste system, of inter-marriages, problems not so important now, but vital in those days."

And what about your historical works?

"Some of the romances like 'Prithvi Vallab' ('The Darling of the Earth') have been filmed."

Munshi delved into classical history and lore of the Puranic period and wrote with feeling. He is engaged in writing the fourth volume of a serial on Lord Krishna to make him live for the present generation.

Not satisfied with advocating social change, he practised it in his

Continued on next page

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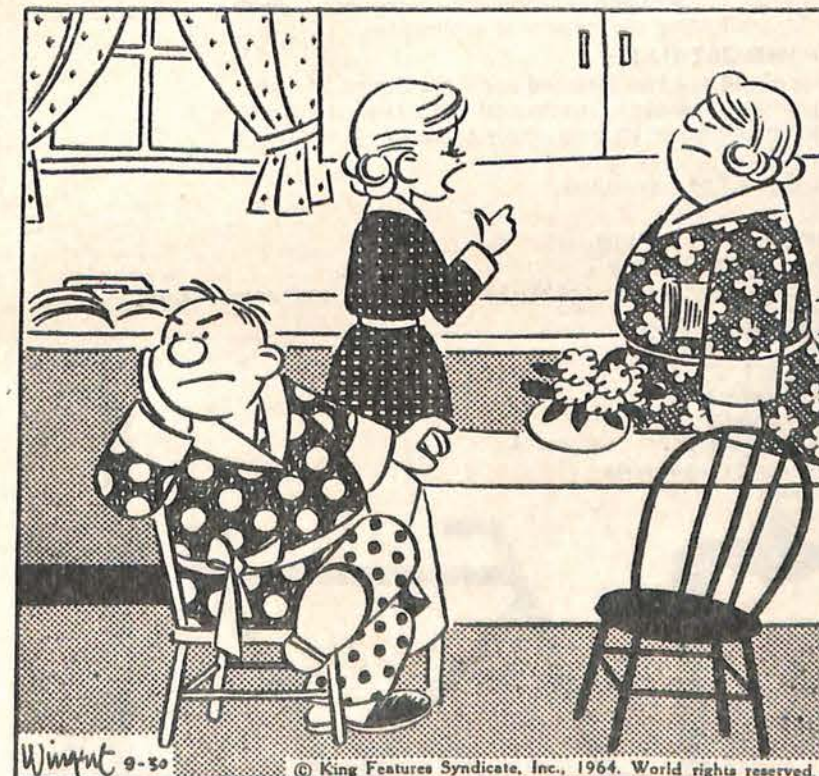
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## HUBERT



"Irate subscriber wants to know if you took his morning paper."



own life. A Brahmin, he married a Jain lady. "My caste elders were worried. They had looked up to me greatly; when I took such a step, they didn't know what to do. To save them embarrassment I wrote out a resolution excommunicating myself—which they sadly accepted... But I did see the miracle of change in my orthodox mother. She was shocked, but she was so fond of me that she took to my wife, Lilavati." Mrs. Munshi is herself a well-known novelist and social worker.

In 1914 Munshi started his political career by joining the Bombay Presidency Association and becoming joint-editor of *Young India* which Gandhiji later wrote for. Soon after, Mrs. Annie Besant started the Home Rule League.

In 1919 Munshi left the Home Rule League for legal practice. He was elected as an independent to the Bombay Legislative Council. In 1930 he "saw the power of Satyagraha as a weapon", was gaoled for a brief period and when the Congress first assumed office, was selected as the Home Minister by Vallabhai Patel.

In the early 1940s when the first Pakistan movement was vigorously launched, he felt it needed to be as vigorously opposed and countered it with the idea of Akhand Hindustan—that India was one, and is one and there shall be no vivisection. At this point he also lost faith in non-violence.

"Gandhiji blessed me and asked me to work for what I believed, but that I would have to do so outside the Congress. In spite of my vagaries he was very kind to me." Munshi travelled the length and breadth of India, but realized that if Gandhiji was not for his campaign he could not go far.

### Constitution-Maker

In 1946 it was Gandhiji who suggested Munshi for the Constituent Assembly.

Munshi was one of the seven selected to draft India's Constitution and if India today has a strong centre, it is due not a little to him.

After independence he was Agent-General to Hyderabad, Food Minister, Governor of the U.P. Since the establishment of the Swatantra Party

he has been its Vice President.

As you speak to K. M. Munshi you realize that few men love India as passionately as he does—for him India is not only the narrow streets and crowded houses and the long queues of under-nourished bodies with large anticipating eyes. To him India is also the grandeur of Asoka, the courage and nobility of Prithvi Vallab, the deeds of valour from the Mahabharat. For Munshi, above all, is still the Broach lad who dreamed of Lord Krishna.

To art, literature, education and public life, Munshi has given greatly. But in the twilight of his eventful life his greatest task may well be ahead of him—to search and see how India can do something great for a world gripped by war and fear.

Not many in our land see the danger from China more clearly than he does. Could it be that the destiny of Munshi, exponent of *Akhand* ("One") *Hindustan*, now is to make sure that the lands of India and Pakistan, so sorely divided, may yet be "one" in spirit to meet the dangers ahead? It is an expanse his brilliant mind can and will grasp.

## This was a life

SALAH AD DIN

1137—1193

SALAH AD DIN'S father was a Kurdish soldier in the service of the ruler of Damascus. As a boy he was more interested in books than arms. He was 25 when he took up his life's mission—to drive out the foreign invaders—the Crusaders or Franks from Europe who had occupied Palestine. It was a deliberate dedication. He gave up drinking and every other distraction and shouldered the responsibility of leadership.

First, faith and order had to be restored in Egypt. Within six years this student, turned soldier and statesman, was in charge of that country. His reign was one of the happiest periods in Islamic history. Colleges, hospitals and mosques were built, and he was a patron of science and literature. For more than 20 years he worked to unite the divided warring factions in the lands bordering the Frankish kingdom. He would always rather negotiate than fight, and often turned an enemy into a friend. In time his authority was acknowledged in Damascus as well as Cairo, from the Tigris to the Nile.

In 1187, he moved against the foreigners. His army advanced past Lake Galilee, cutting the Crusader kingdom in half. Out-generalled, the whole Frankish army fell into his hands.

One treacherous leader among his captives he executed with his own hands. Most he allowed to be ransomed. He and his brother themselves paid the ransoms of women and children, or let them go free.

Franks who were farming were allowed to stay if they wished. Fine buildings the Crusaders left in their capital, Jerusalem, were not destroyed. Salah ad din used them as schools and hospitals. He even built a shrine for joint use by Christians and Muslims.

The armies of Europe gathered to retake Jerusalem. Chief among their leaders was Richard the Lion Heart, King of England—almost as legendary a figure as Salah ad din. They exchanged gifts as well as blows. When Richard was ill, Salah ad din sent his doctor and cool drinks. The Crusaders, however, were foiled and their kingdom broken forever.

Salah ad din died of fever aged 55. One gold piece was found in his possession for he had never enriched himself from public funds. He left an example of honourable dealing in peace and war. The pattern he set has never been forgotten.

## Q and A

Q—Why is it that three words which are in constant use in India have become dirty words elsewhere—that is "cahib", "coolie" and "peon"?

A. DELAUNE, Bombay 6

A—"Sahib" and "coolie" are words of Indian origin and we do not give them the connotation foreigners may choose to. "Sahib" is a term of respect. It may be that having shed imperialism, the British like to shed a word or two that is linked to that period of their history. But from the Prime Minister downwards, millions of Indians speak of "sahib" and when we do, we do not necessarily mean a white sahib. "Peon", I understand, is a word of Spanish or Portuguese origin and is also used in South America for "day labourer". It is not to my knowledge used in the English-speaking world and is scarcely known there.

"Coolie" is a word of Tamil origin (*kuli* means hire), and was widely used by the Europeans in India and China. In the West the term is frowned upon.

Q—What will be the effect on India of Indonesia's coup?

K. PARTHASARATHY, Bangalore 2  
A—This is India's great chance to build a stable and free South-East Asia. India may be able to talk business with Indonesia's army leadership and advise a cooling-off of her confrontation policy with Malaysia. Whatever the merits of the Indonesian case may be, as they see it, they need to realize that China is using them to fulfil her own ends in South-East Asia. Men at the helm of the Indonesian Army may have the perspective to see it and may well be men big enough to change Sukarno's dangerous policy.

Q—Would the present Indonesian attitude of anti-Communism imbalance China's position in Asia?

N. VASUDEVAN, Madras 8

A—Certainly, recent events have been a setback for China. Sukarno is complaining he is not obeyed. Subandrio, who could have held China's brief, did not even take off with the Indonesian delegation to Algiers. China's refusal to attend Algiers may be at least in part due to her Indonesian adventure misfiring. It is too early to gauge the extent of China's defeat in Indonesia because the struggle still continues.

The Indonesian Army is strong, but the Communists are very strong, too, and even though they may be subdued for the time being, there is the constant threat and possibility of pro-Chinese elements or guerrillas taking power in Indonesia. Sukarno is still for China. Even so, it is unlikely he can salvage the whole wreckage of his pro-China foreign policy.

ANY QUESTIONS?

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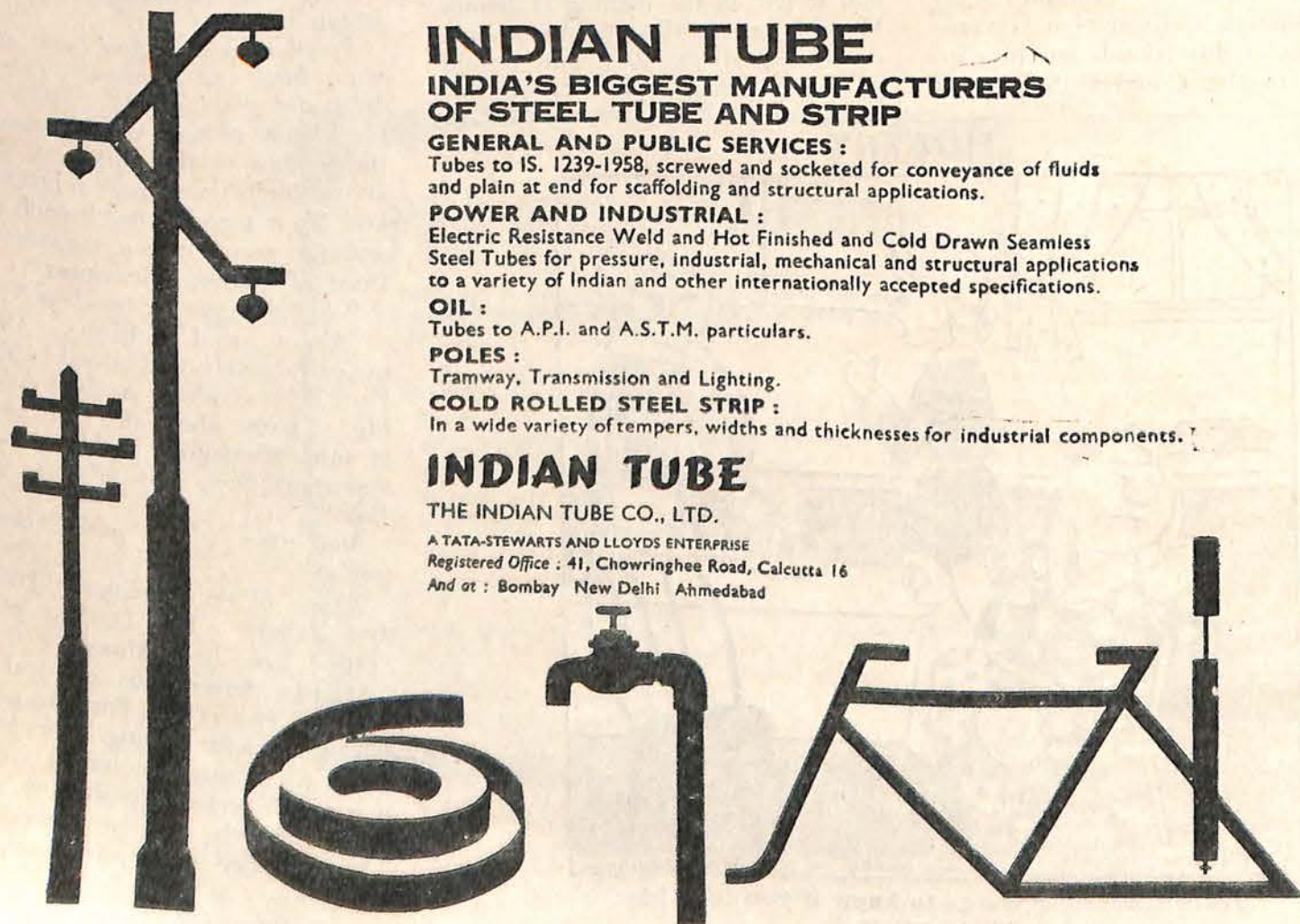
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# The Kimoto Brothers

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Tokyo

I HAVE BEEN talking with three unusual Japanese brothers.

Brother No. 2, Tsukasa Kimoto, twenty-year-old student, was an active, agitating Communist until last March. He was in the militant van of Hokkaido University's Communist students, themselves Japan's extremists.

His older brother Akira, 22, wanted to destroy Communism. He loved stories of the old Japan, proud and imperial, undefeated in war and united in venerating the Emperor. Communism was foreign and evil to him. He wished to see its Japanese propagators dead.

Akira and Tsukasa fought. The struggle was not confined to talk. Fist fights were daily features and "once I hurled an axe at him", says Tsukasa.

Smack in the middle of the flying fists, axes and arguments was brother No. 3, Nozomu, 16. He hated both his seniors.

Today the three are united in their common battle for Moral Re-Armament. Backing them fully are their parents, who had been deeply divided for years and have found unity as a result of the change in the boys.

The Kimotos live in Kyosato-cho, a quiet village in east Hokkaido, Japan's northern island, with nearly 10,000 others. Kyosato-cho is hidden and isolated by hills. The nearest town, Kushiro, with a population of 130,000 is three hours away by train.

## Couldn't Find Work

Father Kimoto, 64, has been in hospital for eight years as a T.B. patient. Before World War II he was a clerk in the Japanese Embassy in Peking, where Akira and Tsukasa were born. "He couldn't, or didn't, find work after the war," says Tsukasa. Mother has supported father and the four sons (the youngest is 14) ever since the boys can remember. This she did by buying Kyosato-cho's produce (potatoes and beet) and selling it at a higher price in Kushiro. Two years ago she started a small restaurant in Kyosato-cho where she is cook, waitress, cleaner and proprietor. Her monthly earnings are around 12,000 yen (Rs. 160).

Recalls Tsukasa:

"Poverty, dreary work for long hours and fights at home are my

memories. Akira stuck with father from the beginning and we regarded him as a good-for-nothing loafer. Because mother was out working I was the cook—I started cooking before I was fully eight. Breakfast, lunch and supper were all done by me, and the food never changed—soy bean soup, rice and *nato*, a bean sauce to flavour the rice."

Tsukasa did this for 11 years until he passed the entrance exams of Hokkaido University and joined as a boarding student in Sapporo.

"Although father's hospital was in Kyosato-cho I hardly ever visited him—twice or thrice a year at the most. Mother never did, though she sent money every month for his food.

## Many Demonstrations

"I loathed my family's situation and resolved to become rich. Gradually I realized that the problem was not mine alone, and I decided to wage war to change society.

"When I was 17 I became a Communist. I read many books and Communism seemed to me capable of solving the questions of my wounded and angry heart.

"Father was unhappy when he learned of my Communist beliefs and told me they would never work out in practice. Mother, a socialist, accepted my new stand as part of her consistent support to me, though I felt there were doubts and fears in her.

"Hokkaido University was an ideal place for me to develop my views and act for them. I joined many demonstrations against America, against the Japanese Government, against the Japan-Korea treaty.

"I decided, too, to let my hair grow long to show my defiance of society and unconcern over the customs, and also to conform to the practices of our radical club on the campus. In 16 months it was 14 inches long.

"I was convinced about Communism, but did not like the Japan Communist Party. They were immature, I felt, and so involved with their immediate and personal problems that they lacked perspective.

"Mao Tse-tung I honoured. But the worship of him as a god and the unquestioning obedience to his dictates worried me. I wanted people to think for themselves."

I asked him how he met Moral Re-Armament.

"Early one morning four young men came to my dormitory. They talked about MRA which they referred to as a revolution that changed human nature itself. My interest was caught at once. Until that moment no one had said to me that it was possible to change the selfishness and greed in people.

"My Communist friends and I had talked of building a society of equality and justice but we had never really believed that men could find new, unselfish motives.

"These four men not only claimed they believed that. From their confidence it was clear they did.

"In spite of my loud shouts for Communism I had always been disturbed by the thought that a fight for a new society was pointless because an atomic war could instantly destroy it. But if man's motives could be changed it was possible to plan for peace.

"Soon I met others working for MRA. More than their words what really won me was their care for me as a man."

Tsukasa was the first to change. He put right his jealousies and hates, returned things he had stolen. He became a liberated man, free to care for his people. He went to see his mother, who rejoiced. He wrote his father, who was moved.

## Kicked Out of School

Akira was stunned when he saw the new Tsukasa. Kicked out of day school for indiscipline, Akira, a big, tough character, had passed night school and joined Japan's self-defence force as a paratrooper. This October, at a conference for a New Asia in Odawara, 72 miles from Tokyo, he decided to change.

Happier than most was Nozomu, who took leave from school to go to Odawara to see what in the world could have changed his brothers. Sure enough, he joined their battle. Now the parents are getting reconciled.

Akira, Tsukasa and Nozomu believe that if their family can find unity and a satisfying purpose, all families can. And they believe that in their experience lies the key to the unity, in freedom and justice, between China and Japan, among Communists, anti-Communists and those smack in the middle.

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