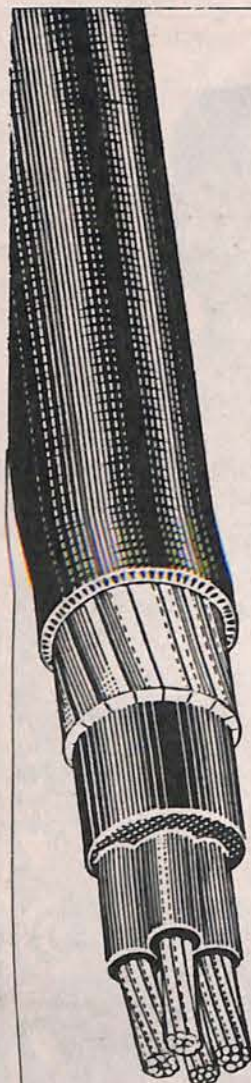


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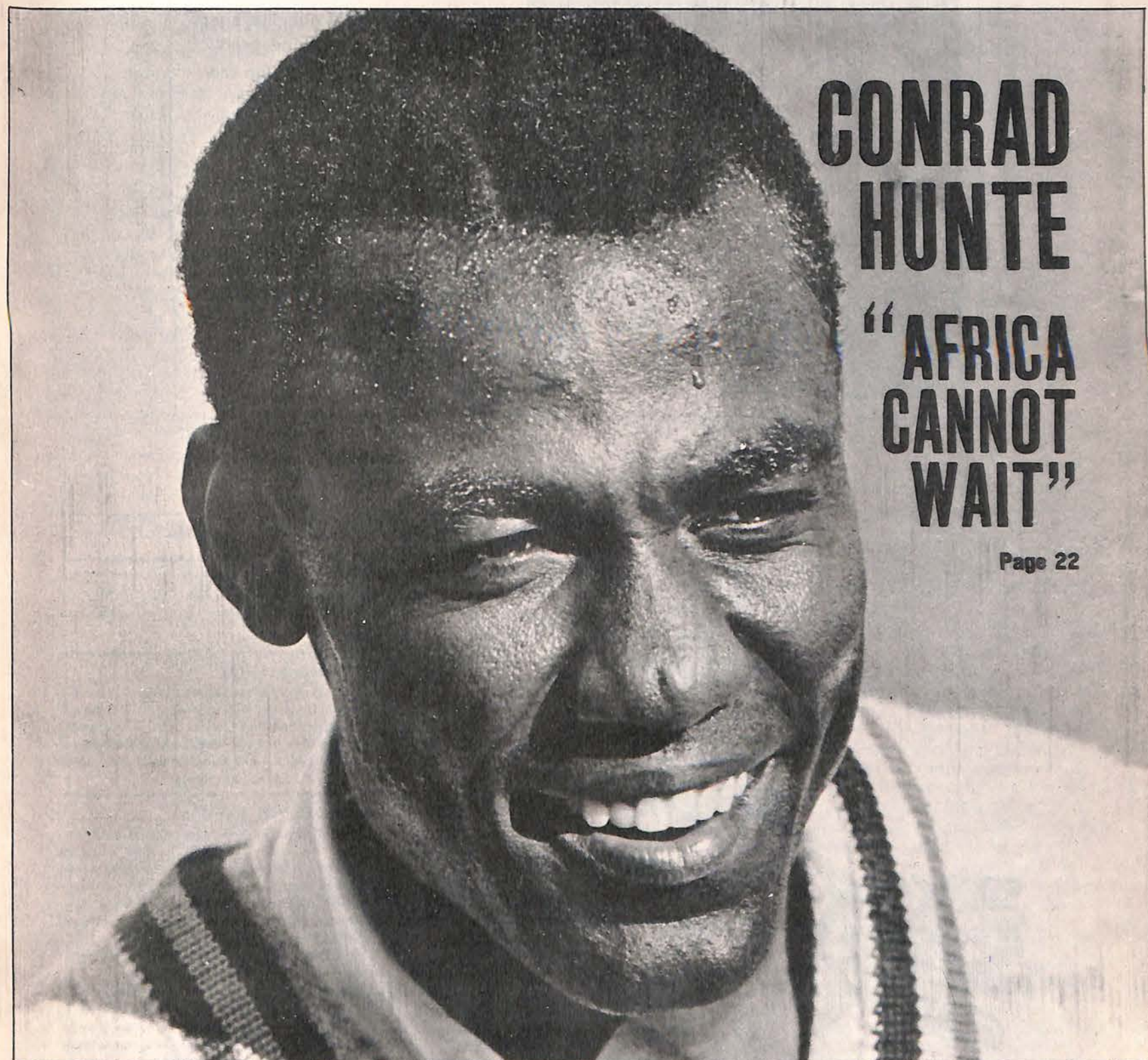
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WEEKLY



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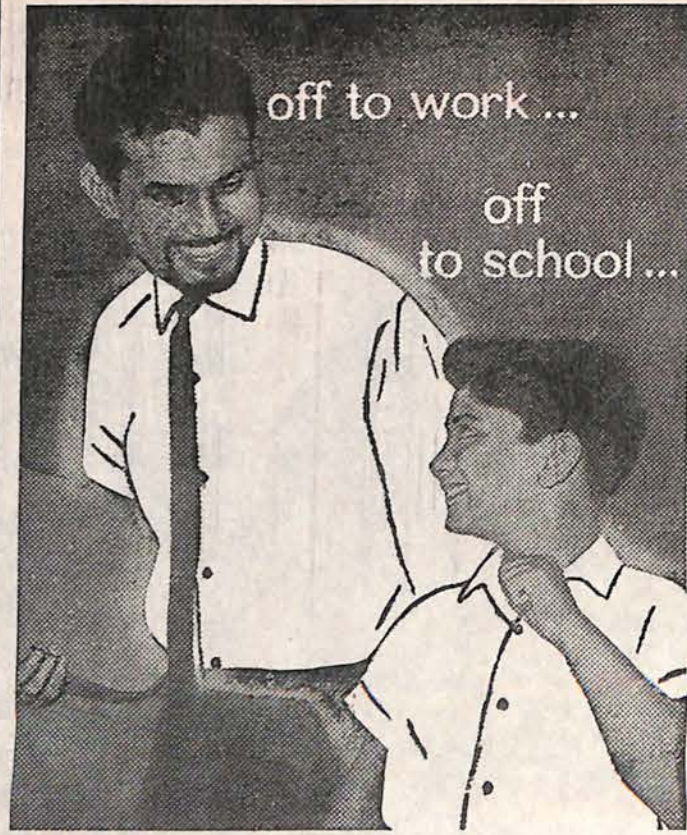
"AFRICA CANNOT WAIT"

Page 22

Friday
November 26
1965

Under the Lens

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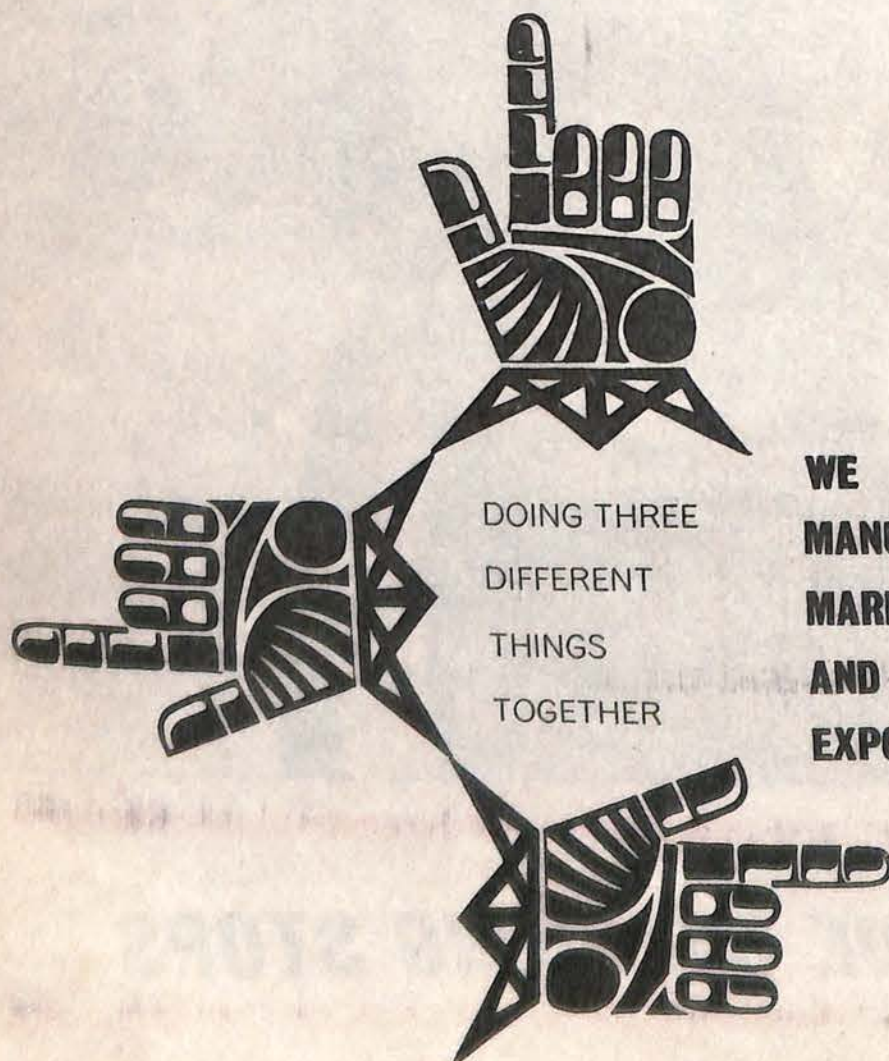
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WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, November 26, 1965

Vol. 2 No. 4

Cooler Counsels

COOLER COUNSELS seem to prevail at last. The President leads with his warning to people against "talking too much about war". While the nation had to be prepared to meet any challenge, the people should bear in mind that it could not always live in conditions of war, he said.

Speaking the same day in Madras, Prime Minister Shastri urged Congressmen to "immediately move in to channelize the great upsurge and enthusiasm in the country". They should not, he said, lose sight of "the real battle" that has to be fought in the economic field for at least 20 to 25 years.

Change in the public mood is reflected by prominent editor Frank Moraes, who says this week: "The value of action, of courage, of freedom from fear and of discipline are what India needs today. This cannot be achieved by militarist thinking or swagger. To mistake violence for strength and aggressiveness for action is to create a climate for chauvinism and jingoism."

There are signs that the checks and counter-checks of democracy are asserting themselves in our nation's life.

Rhodesian Rumbblings

SOUND AND FURY over the U.D.I. seem to increase with the distance from Rhodesia. In New York, African states have proposed military action by the U.N. In Cairo, President Nasser has declared Egypt in a "state of war" with Rhodesia. Moscow and Peking have emitted rumbblings about "racism" and "imperialism".

African leaders on the spot use a different tone. President Kaunda of Zambia condemns nationalists who talk of killing every white man. Dr. Banda of Malawi has poured cold water on the idea of military action by the O.A.U. "We are waiting to see what Britain will do," said President Nyerere of Tanzania.

These African leaders are confronted by the harsh fact of the Rhodesian crisis: namely, that effective economic sanctions or military action will be an expensive business, not only for Rhodesia, but for its African neighbours. Malawi has over 100,000 citizens employed in Rhodesia. If the latter's economy is disrupted they will be sent home. Zambia exports 600,000 tons of copper a year through Rhodesia and would have to find other outlets. The Benguela Railway via the Congo and Angola might carry out 25 per cent. Lockheed Hercules aircraft with a 25-ton payload are being tested on the route from Zambia to Dar es Salaam. 18,000 flights by these planes (one every half hour) could lift the rest of the copper—provided the U.S., or someone else, foots the bill.

The U.N. Security Council has called for an oil embargo, but as Lord Malvern, the former Rhodesian Prime Minister, pointed out, "If they cannot find a way to fly in oil to Zambia they will kill that country

too." Zambia's oil is refined at Umtali in Rhodesia. To be fully effective, an oil embargo would have to include South Africa and Portuguese territory also.

If Zambia succeeds in finding other outlets (as she probably will) and closes her border with Rhodesia, sanctions could have a decisive effect. One quarter of Rhodesian exports go to Zambia and Malawi. Another quarter go to Britain in the form of sugar and tobacco and this market has been closed already. Through action by Britain and Zambia alone Rhodesia stands to lose £72 million a year—one half of her export earnings.

Threats of violence will have the effect of increasing white fears and rallying support behind the Rhodesian Government. The most effective answer to Mr. Smith is a statesmanship that proves that his reason for the U.D.I.—fear of African rule—is groundless. African leaders in Kenya have shown such statesmanship. The best course is to give economic measures against the Smith regime time to work.

Five-and-a-half M.P.s

AMENDMENTS to our Constitution are rather like the monsoon. They come round every year. We have almost come to regard them as a legitimate feature of Government business. But "down under" it is different. The Aussies are rather jealous of theirs and no Government can meddle without first putting their intentions to a referendum. And to 26 questions put to the public over the years the cautious Australians have voted "Yes" only four times.

One of the questions to be considered in a forthcoming referendum involves the increase of members of parliament due to a rise in population. Section 24 of the Australian Constitution provides that, as nearly as possible, the size of the House of Representatives should be twice that of the Senate. There are now 60 Senators, ten from each state, and 124 Representatives. The simple solution would appear to be an increase of a dozen or so Representatives and six more Senators, making eleven from each state.

But the predicament facing Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies is that though Senators are elected for a six-year term, half stand for re-election every three years. Even the shrewd and gifted Sir Robert has not been able to devise an arrangement whereby 5½ Senators in each state can face the electors!

There could, of course, be 72 Senators, twelve for each state, but this would mean something like 150 Representatives. The prospect of so many politicians being added suddenly to the public payroll (all at Rs. 3,000 a month) would make any voter prefer to amend the Constitution.

A pity India's Constitution writers did not make future amendments the business of the whole electorate instead of permitting a steamroller majority Party to amend so often what was carefully drafted, without so much as a by-your-leave.

Briefly Speaking ...

I am a believer in punctuality though it makes me very lonely.

E. V. LUCAS

Me First

THE SERIOUS motor car accident to the Chief Justice of Bombay has spotlighted reckless driving. It is true that Bombay is over-populated, her pedestrians prefer to walk on the roads rather than on the footpaths and are apt to charge across the road at any point. Even so, drivers are becoming more aggressive.

"Me first" seems to have become our philosophy and it manifests itself in thinking that our destination is more important than that of other people. Courtesies seem to have lost all meaning. Pedestrians are hardly given a chance unless there is a traffic light or a policeman and at times they wait with a hunted look at road crossings.

Safety First

1 Give the ordinary police con-

CHALTA HAI ...



vins

"It is only a list of a few things I want him to get me when he goes abroad to explain our case."

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



INSUL PEAR

stable confidence that if he does take action against an errant driver, influence shall not be used to get the driver off scot free.

2 Appoint as a start 20 or so public-spirited citizens as police watchdogs who in the routine course of their work can jot down breaches and communicate them to the police. They should be men of integrity and reputation, doctors, lawyers, educationists, and others, both pedestrians and motorists.

3 Educate more youth in road safety patrols. The present R.S.P. trainees are first-class and every encouragement needs to be given to expand the scheme.

4 Install more traffic lights as at Grant Road and enforce speed limits at places like Marine Drive. There is no point in motorists speeding home at a reckless speed whilst pedestrians have to risk their lives—as Chief Justice Chainani did.

5 Strictly enforce ten hours' duty as the maximum for a taxi driver. I have spoken to taxi drivers who work 12, 14 or 16 hours a day to make more money. As they tire, their driving suffers.

The Bombay Police are second to none in managing large crowds as the Eucharistic Congress showed and, if given the green light, they will be able to do just as well with motor traffic.

Fund or Levy

CHIEF MINISTER Sri Bhaktavatsalam presented Mr. Shastri in Madras with a cheque of Rs. 1,11,11,111 for the National Defence Fund. A friend who runs a business at Mount Road, Madras, tells me that the Commercial Tax Officer came to him last month and asked him to donate a certain figure to the National Defence Fund. The Officer stated that his senior had allocated to his circle the target of a few lakhs (he gave the figure), and he had to allocate amounts to the firms in his circle.

It seems that the Commissioner for Commercial Taxes in Madras issued instructions to his officers to call on firms. For the week ending October 30 they should concentrate

not on tax, but on N.D.F. collections, were the instructions.

The N.D.F. is a laudable object, but should it be made into a levy? Commercial Tax officers have wide powers over firms and the Government knows well enough that firms cannot afford to ignore such requests coming from them. It is difficult to imagine that such a step could have been taken without the knowledge of the higher authorities.

Out of Bond Age

JAMES BOND seems to be rocking the boat of Indo-Soviet relations. The Union Government has directed United Artists to change the name of the James Bond thriller, "From Russia with Love", to "From 007 with Love". The film ran under the original title for more than 20 weeks at a local theatre and has now moved into the suburbs.

Count Ten

THE FOUNDERS of America were men who believed in rules. Benjamin Franklin was one such person. Another was Thomas Jefferson who played a key role in drafting the U.S. Constitution. The other day I came across his rules, as relevant today as when he made them:

Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today.

Never trouble another for what you can do yourself.

Never spend your money before you have it.

Never buy what you do not want because it is cheap.

Pride costs us more than hunger, thirst, and cold.

We seldom repent having eaten too little.

Nothing is troublesome that we do willingly.

How much pain the evils have cost us that have never happened!

Take things always by the smooth handle.

When angry, count ten before you speak: if very angry, a hundred.

Pies and Ploughs

THE REFERENCE in last week's editorial should have read: "It is heart-rending to read a news report that in Maharashtra State 'measures passed by the Government to permit installation of water pumps have proved fruitless due to red-tape and negligence'."

R.M.L.

Shastri's Visit to the U.S.A.

By R. M. Lala

After having secured MiG fighters to replace our recent war losses, and after our Finance Minister received reassurances of continued Soviet economic (and presumably military) aid, Prime Minister Shastri states he "would not like to say No" to Mr. Kosygin's offer to meet President Ayub in Tashkent, but that he would only discuss subjects other than Kashmir.

Mr. Shastri has explained that the time is not right for fruitful talks with Pakistan, that the cease-fire has yet to be stabilized and that Pakistan is still aggressive. It is understood in Delhi that President Ayub Khan's acceptance at this late hour of Mr. Kosygin's invitation of September 22, took our Prime Minister by surprise. Within a matter of hours, he faced the Lok Sabha, where he made the above statement.

Mr. Kosygin's response is not known, but it is unlikely that he is beaming with joy at our intransigence. Mr. Shastri's present stand, compared to his earlier one, shows that he is not as confident as he was of Moscow's total and unconditional support on the issue of Kashmir. Not only have the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. stood together on the question of a cease-fire, but they still stand close to each other on the question of a Kashmir settlement.

Two Powerful Giants

The United States Ambassador, Mr. Chester Bowles, in a forthright speech last week said, "Although we have proposed no specific plan, we deeply believe that some basis for better relations (between India and Pakistan) must be found." The main difference is that whilst the Soviet Union has given assurances of continued military and economic aid, the United States has completely cut off military aid for the present and will only continue giving what economic aid is "in the pipeline". The U.S. wants an assurance that her funds are not drained directly or indirectly into a war over Kashmir.

India is scheduled to receive Rs. 256 crores (over \$500 million) worth of U.S. economic aid. There

is no doubt that the U.S. is sincere in wanting to continue her massive assistance programme to India. Lack of spare parts and raw materials have brought some factories almost to a standstill.

Hard realities demand that India has both grains and guns. Guns Russia can supply, but not the grains which she has to import herself from the U.S. With six states of India suffering from drought and the prospects of famine condition, India has to look to the U.S.A. for help.

A few weeks back, when fellow-travellers within the Congress and ultra-nationalists outside were imputing political motives to the U.S. wheat loan under PL 480 and were demanding an end to it, Union Minister S. K. Patil was urging Washington to step up the supply from six to ten million tonnes for the next year. The fact that the Finance Minister has now cut out cotton imports under PL 480, shows that accommodation is being made to import larger quantities of grain.

Frozen Pipelines

Both for food and fresh economic aid, Mr. Shastri's meeting with President Johnson is deemed vital, and in spite of a few taunts about being summoned to Washington, Mr. Shastri's visit will help.

Mr. Shastri's task in the United States is much greater than opening frozen pipelines on aid. He has the immense responsibility of building Indo-U.S. relations on a rational footing.

Americans have their faults like us Indians. Mr. G. L. Mehta who was our Ambassador to the U.S. told me the other day, "Americans are a warm and generous people, though they are apt to be self-righteous." "But then aren't we?" he added promptly.

We have behaved with the United States rather as an arrogant debtor. We are right to make sure that we are politically independent, but we have also claimed the privilege of needling and insulting the creditor when we so feel like it. In the last 14 years, the U.S. has delivered to India 35 million tonnes of grain. Today out of every five grains of wheat

grown in the U.S. one is assigned to India (18 per cent of the U.S. production). Recently certain elements of our national life, including some leading Congressmen, accused the U.S. of arranging wheat shipments on a month-by-month basis rather than on a long-term agreement, to put political pressure on Kashmir. No official spokesman had had the courtesy or frankness to say, "This arrangement was operating before Pakistan attacked India." It was only last week that the U.S. Ambassador clarified the issue.

A vital factor to regulate Indo-U.S. relations at the U.S. end will be her policy of arms supply to Pakistan. The U.S. will be unwise to part with any weapons for Pakistan, which means that she will have to stay her hand with India too.

India has taken for granted that if China threatens with the atomic bomb, the U.S. will warn Peking.

Out of Touch

Now, hearing of a U.S. press report that India may test an underground explosion, Mr. Bhutto threatens that Pakistan would have to go in for one if India produces the atomic bomb. Mr. Shastri reiterated India's policy not to make the atomic bomb. (Even in our peaceful uses of atomic energy there may be some difficulty with imported parts and our programme may be slowed down.) Be that as it may, nothing can increase the tension on the sub-continent more than India undertaking such a programme now, and if India diverts her limited resources to that task, the U.S. may reconsider her economic aid programme.

During his future visit to U.S.A. Mr. Shastri may well be asked for a reassurance on our nuclear policy. But the crunch-point will remain Kashmir.

There is some shift in the public mood and hot-headed politicians may be getting out of touch with the people. In the next weeks, Mr. Shastri may prepare the Indian nation for an honourable settlement on Kashmir—for on it a great deal revolves. The success of Mr. Shastri's U.S. visit may be proportionate to his spade-work in this field before he leaves for abroad.

All thinking people will support Mr. Shastri's efforts to strengthen relations with the U.S. The world's two largest democracies have a great deal to give not only to each other but to other nations as well.

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When the cheering stops— what the nation has to bear

Everyone recognizes that Pakistani Foreign Minister Bhutto's acceptance of the Soviet initiative for bi-lateral talks between President Ayub and Prime Minister Shastri is an admission of the failure of their policy of force.

The readiness of Mr. Shastri earlier for such talks and the reiteration of his desire in Parliament is a welcome initiative. But there are many who wonder of what use it can be in the light of the Prime Minister's explicitly stated condition that Kashmir shall be excluded from the scope of these talks. Mr. Shastri must be aware that this pre-condition makes any fruitful negotiation with Pakistan impossible. Despite the loud cheers with which his statement was received in the Lok Sabha, it can only commit him to a course of uncompromising rigidity and continued conflict.

Obviously the Shastri Government feels that they have reached the point of no return on the question of Kashmir. This may be a popular policy at the moment. It is always satisfying to sing the tune that the listeners seem to appreciate most. It is a temptation to play up to the chauvinists in Government and Opposition and steal the thunder of their vehemence. The admiring adulation of enthusiastic masses who for the time being give strong support to the policies of Government is heady drink. The immediate political gains are immense.

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri has become something of a national hero as a result of the Indo-Pakistan conflict. He has emerged as a leader in

his own right and has freed himself from the tight control of those who run the Party machine.

The Congress Party is stronger, vastly more popular, but if war can so rapidly turn the situation in one's favour, the unhappy consequences of it can as easily turn against those it has helped. It may be a serious miscalculation on the part of the leadership to assume any permanence of the mass mood. The tide can turn as foodgrains become more scarce and queues get longer.

The hopelessness of unemployment will be added to the frustrations of economic privation, as industries dependent on imports begin to shut down or retrench. Past failures in economic performance, present natural calamity and the obstinate clinging to a course that freezes all channels of badly needed aid can only result in acute economic crisis.

Inflexible Positions

I understand that our leaders calculate on the basis of a resumption of Western economic aid early next year after Mr. Shastri has met President Johnson. It would be too optimistic, however, to hope for full-scale resumption without some assurance of improvement in Indo-Pak relations. How such an improvement can be brought about with both sides committed to inflexible positions is hard to visualize.

A distinction has to be made between India's prompt reply to the Pakistani attempt to resolve unilaterally the Kashmir question by force and a long-term policy on Kashmir and Pakistan. The whole of India

Under the Lens

by R. VAITHESWARAN



rightly gave wholehearted support to the Government and Army in evicting infiltrators from the Kashmir Valley and in meeting the Pakistani thrust into Jammu by the diversion in the Lahore-Sialkot sector. But it is possible to question the wisdom of pretending forever that there is no such thing as a Kashmir problem.

The Indo-Pak war that started with Pak infiltration into Kashmir came at a time of serious crisis in the economy. Even at promised levels of foreign aid, without the failure of rains and the consequent fall in the volume of *kharif* (June to November agricultural season) crops, India faced a severe foreign exchange shortage, prospects of industrial shutdowns due to stoppage of maintenance imports, etc.

Even without the Pakistan war, therefore, it would have needed a supreme effort of national will to tide over the crisis. The possibility of continued conflict between the two countries has led to a suspension of all but the minimum amount of aid. Nature has been unkind as well, and we face the most serious threat of famine of the post-independence period. The time for our experiment in self-sufficiency could not have been more inopportune.

It is good that the present situation has made us conscious of the

Continued on next page

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dangers of excessive dependence on other nations. The war would have been salutary if it helps us to begin serious efforts at achieving self-sufficiency at least in food. Provided the present ban on aid does not continue beyond a few months, there would have been a healthy effect on industry as well by the speed-up of measures of import substitution, etc.

India, however imperfectly and wastefully, was moving towards this goal when war precipitated the crisis. Surely we cannot afford to refuse to modify policies which make it impossible for aid-giving countries to restore aid and in addition divert slender internal resources into war production and war preparedness. This will bring upon the nation scarcity, inflation, unemployment and even perhaps large-scale starvation—revolutionary conditions that precipitate dictatorships and violence.

It is very well to talk of freedom from pressures of the Western powers. But all they ask as a security for their credit is the assurance that India and Pakistan will not go to war again. If we persist in the attitude that Kashmir is not negotiable, we perpetuate the seed of conflict and condemn the nation to economic decline.

Demands of Soviet

The truth is that, subjected to a sudden withdrawal of aid from Western powers at a perilous moment to our economy, we now frantically seek aid from other powers. We have promises of more aid from some powers but it is wishful thinking to imagine that we shall be free from pressures of this sort from the Soviet Union and other European Communist countries. Apart from the fact that even the increased aid which the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

are now prepared to grant to us will not rescue our economy, we may find our policy subjected to the demands of the Soviet and Communist interests in Asia.

The time for cheering and speech-making is over. The next six months will test the wisdom of present policies, the ability of our leadership to meet the crisis, as well as the capacity for work, initiative and responsibility of the nation. The prospects are grim and the alternatives are none too easy. Our leaders will be wise to speak less and allow themselves more room for manoeuvre.

Whatever the policies of Government, the nation has hard days ahead which will be borne happily if burdens are distributed equitably and leaders accept the same discipline and sacrifice that have to be necessarily imposed on the whole country. Both leaders and led are on trial.

BOOKS

New Commonwealth Students in Britain

George Allen and Unwin, (Pp 253, Price 35 shillings)

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON wrote last century, "The first shock of English Society is like a cold plunge." It is evident from a survey just published by *Political and Economic Planning* that even if the waters are still a little chilly, foreign students find the post-bath prospects attractive.

One in every nine students in Britain now is from abroad. Since 1956 the number of overseas students here has risen from 12,000 to 65,000, with the largest increase from new Commonwealth countries. In 1959, for instance, only 409 of the total intake of 1,251 students at the four Inns of Court were British. And the British National Health Service is to a great extent dependent upon overseas nurses for the staffing of many of its hospitals. In 1963 well over 20 per cent of all student nurses were from abroad.

"Give-and-Take"

The Robbins Committee on Higher Education (October 1963) made the point that as an overseas country's education system developed, the country's demand upon British University places would not moderate but be for post-graduates rather than under-graduates. The Committee added that it would greatly regret a dwindling in the number of overseas students in Britain's universities and colleges as their presence here "encourages a valuable give-and-take".

These facts and views are a few of the statistics assembled in this 253-page P.E.P. study, "New Commonwealth Students in Britain". Financed largely by the Ford Foundation, the authors have made a survey of problems facing students that is both disturbing and encouraging. They offer thirty recommendations for the British and Overseas Governments and other institutions concerned with student education, employment and welfare. Produced "with special reference to students from East Africa", it is nevertheless investigating experiences that are common to

all countries sending students abroad for training.

It is clear from the report that Asian students from East Africa, and the majority from there are Asian, will have to make up their minds which nation they belong to if they hope to compete successfully against Africans for Government financial support. "This is not to say that Asians are being openly discriminated against. Formally, it is residents of the East African countries who have not taken out local citizenship who are at a disadvantage, but inevitably this means the Asian community, since the majority of Asian families in all three countries are still undecided about where to make their future."

Many Commonwealth students abroad find themselves with financial worries, sometimes through the slow arrival of funds from home. The report suggests that it would help if a proportion of fees had to be paid in advance. The British Government should "assist deserving overseas students in financial straits by providing funds to be administered and allocated by a voluntary body or bodies already experienced in this field".

Often overseas students have been inadequately advised about what course to take and subsequently are dissatisfied with the work they find themselves doing. Overseas Governments should "take steps to see that students are more adequately advised about their courses and prepared for life in Britain before they leave home".

More Home News

Overseas Governments are also advised to ensure that student bursaries are adequate and regularly paid, to enlarge the staffs of their Student Offices, and to keep students in touch with their home countries, in particular by an increased supply of news.

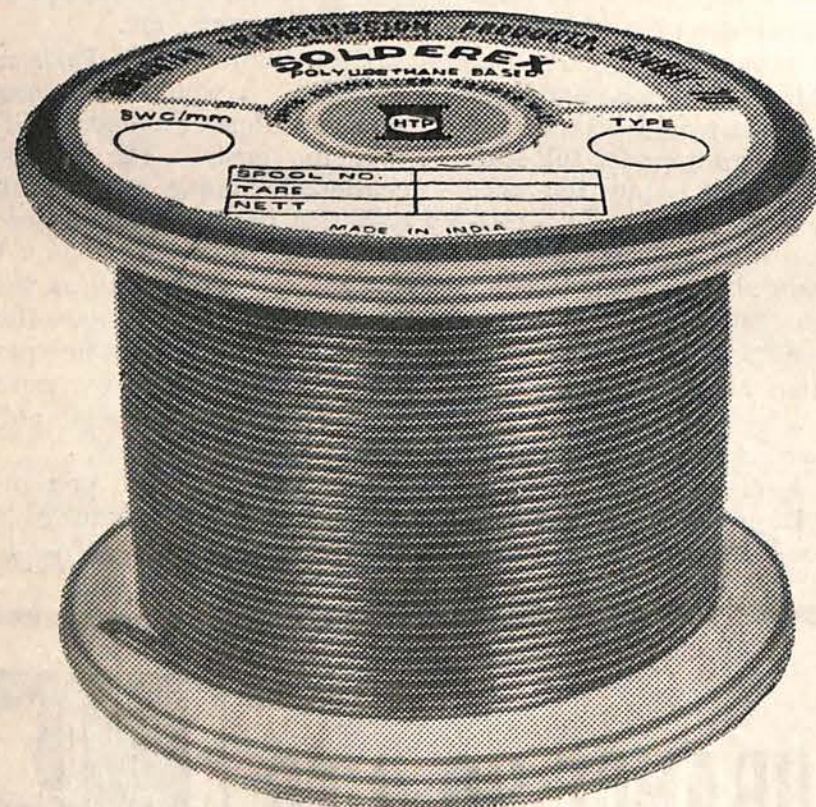
Problems dealt with in the survey are familiar to Indian students, and were largely covered in a HIMMAT

article last December. It is good, however, to learn that ill-health among the students "is reassuringly low" and that 46 per cent of Hindu students questioned "had no trouble at any time" with food. It is important for Britishers not to ride lightly over what the students feel about them. "Coloured students in Britain find that lip-service is paid to Christian ideals while racial discrimination is socially accepted, and they not surprisingly see this as hypocrisy."

There is praise for bodies, governmental and private, as for instance the British Council, who meet students on arrival and take great pains in looking after them. But much more must be done when 13 per cent of the students interviewed can claim to have made no British friends and 15 per cent to have had no contact with any British families in their homes, and when students can still leave this country "with their anticipatory enthusiasm for Britain very much qualified".

In the matter of accommodation—a problem for all students but aggra-

Continued on page 18



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Will It Be Red Troops in Blue Berets?

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

Black and white armies carrying machine-guns and automatic weapons face each other across the Zambia-Rhodesia borders. They have taken up positions at the Victoria Falls bridge, the Kariba Dam wall and the frontier post of Chirundu.

One accidental shot could provoke a border incident. It might even start an all-out war. It could lead, as Prime Minister Wilson graphically expressed it, to Russian troops in the blue berets of the United Nations marching into Rhodesia. This is the very dilemma that Ian Smith claims his unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) is designed to prevent.

The tremor of reaction that sped through Africa when the decision was announced demanded the use of force and violence. In Leopoldville, Addis Ababa, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam students demonstrated and rioted. They vented their feelings more against the British Government than Rhodesia.

The consensus was that had Smith been a black leader there would be British troops patrolling the streets of Salisbury today. There are some who believe that Kenya could be an example for Rhodesia. They consider Smith's action has set back race relations in Africa by a decade.

As the clamour for violence began to mount, fortunately mature and saner voices prevailed. In Dar es Salaam, President Julius Nyerere insisted that students apologized to the British High Commissioner for wrecking his car, smashing the windows of the British Information Services

and burning the Union Jack which they tore from its flagmast.

In Lusaka, President Kaunda of Zambia, a country with a long border with Rhodesia and a large white minority, condemned Rhodesian African "nationalist" leaders who demanded that all the whites in the country should be killed.

"I do not want Zambians who are as black as I am to see a Smith in every white face," he declared. Kaunda has placed unarmed police in front of his troops on the border to prevent any accidental outbreak of hostilities between the two countries.

The three East African leaders, President Kenyatta, President Nyerere and President Obote of Uganda, swiftly arranged a meeting in Nairobi to consider the crisis together with President Kaunda's own representative, Mr. Kamaga, the Vice-President of Zambia.

It is believed that they agreed to put pressure on the British Government to take firmer action against the rebel Rhodesian government but violence was ruled out.

Whatever the outcome of these talks and the events of these past few days the four countries are taking a united position over such questions for the first time. The leaders are in control and the irresponsible extremists have been silenced.

General Mobutu Bangs the Table

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Leopoldville

President Kasavubu is the one Congolese politician who has kept above the chaotic events of his unhappy country. He has been nicknamed "The Sphinx" by his compatriots who have always reckoned with his proverbial wisdom to uphold the notion of Statehood in the labyrinth of rivalries and intrigues.

But this has not stopped Mr. Kasavubu acting always with great firmness, sometimes audacity, when his own position as Head of State has

been challenged. It was so with Lumumba. It is now the case with Mr. Tshombe, whose growing popularity

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

TOKYO—The Japanese Government decided to resume the flow of yen credits to India having apparently received a go-ahead from the Aid India Consortium.

PNOM PENH—Prince Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State, announced that Russia had cut off aid to Cambodia. He stated that Cambodia was much closer to China's position on Vietnam than to Russia's.

BANGKOK—China is enticing a growing number of political exiles from Thailand representing many dissident groups. Thai is one of the languages now taught in Peking's new Foreign Language School.

PEKING—China announced that it would "defer consideration" of the return of three captured Indian soldiers because of the latest alleged Indian "attack" along the Sikkim-Tibet border.

ANKARA—Soviet Russia will construct seven new industrial projects in Turkey with credits valued at \$200 million.

SINGAPORE—Police and troops guarded the Chinese Nanyang University as students rioted against the introduction of English as the teaching medium. Seven left-wing union leaders were arrested for supporting the students.

DJAKARTA—The Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament suspended 72 of the 600 members at the request of the Army for their complicity in the September 30 coup.

SAIGON—In six days of savage non-stop battle between the American First Cavalry Division and five regiments of North Vietnamese regulars in the Central Highlands, American sources reported 1,775 Viet Cong killed, the highest toll in any American action.

PEKING—The People's Daily attacked the ratification of the treaty between Japan and South Korea as a "naked war scheme of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries".

COLOMBO—The World Council of the Maha Sangha (hierarchy of Buddhist clergy) will meet in Ceylon on January 26. Leaders from China, Mongolia and North Vietnam are expected to participate.

KATHMANDU—Nepal announced the establishment of diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia.

COLOMBO—The House of Representatives rejected a combined Opposition no-confidence motion, 83 votes to 47, accusing the Government of concealing an agreement for compensation to foreign oil companies.

HANOI—The chairman of the Liberation Front, political wing of the Viet Cong, asserted that the Front was prepared for prolonged war and would make no concessions for starting peace talks.

among the masses while Prime Minister menaced the authority of the President.

Tshombe has that instinctive feeling that enables confidence to grow between people. He is not afraid of going into the market places or among the poorest sections of Leopoldville and other cities to talk with the ordinary man. His vigorous action saved the country from the bloody rebellion which was penetrating everywhere.

Over 80,000 Congolese have been killed by the rebels, though this is surely an underestimate as everyone who knew how to read or write in rebel-held territory was savagely massacred. Tshombe, with a few white "volunteers", was able to push back the rebels to the borders of the country. The Congolese people know that and find it hard to understand why a man who deserved public thanks has been dismissed.

Since Tshombe's departure, the wave of goodwill that he had built up in Western European nations to-

wards the Congo has stopped. Aid has been halted.

However, Mr. Tshombe may have been so infused with his own abilities that he retained far too many portfolios in his own hands. He was Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, of Labour and of Defence. Mr. Kasavubu urged him many times to include more people in his Cabinet. Always he met with stubborn refusal.

The President appointed Mr. Evariste Kimba as the new Premier. It surprised everybody. Kimba, a tall Baluba from Katanga, was a brilliant lieutenant of Tshombe at the time of the Katanga secession attempt. But he is not likely to become a brilliant captain. He is a cultured, reserved, intelligent man, but lacks the spark that makes a leader of the masses.

Doubtless he could be expected to carry out the President's policy with more willingness than his impulsive and buoyant predecessor. But when one looks at the men around him, one can only be sorry for the country. Too many of the Ministers have dug deep into public funds in the past.

Mr. Kasavubu's utterances in Accra

that he would send all white mercenaries back home may have pleased his local host but failed to get the approval of the Congolese Army. Removing all white personnel now, as military operations are still in progress, would be suicide.

General Mobutu knows this only too well. It is said that he banged the table when he heard of the President's word and quickly got Mr. Kimba to give an explanation over the radio that the white officers under his command would stay. His Army will be within five years the most efficient and stable force in the country.

Meanwhile, Mr. Kimba's Government has failed to get a vote of confidence in the new Assembly and President Kasavubu has requested him to form a new one. Presidential elections are due to be held next spring. Tshombe has not yet said whether he would be a candidate. But, whether as a candidate or not, if he learnt between now and then to work only with straight and incorruptible men, he could surely count on the support of the nation.

Johnson Clamps Lid on Dominica Facts

FROM BRUCE CURRIE

New York

President Johnson has firmly clamped the lid on the smouldering controversy within the Administration over U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic civil war last April.

The State Department had planned to issue a 60-page White Paper containing previously unpublished material supporting the President's contention that there was a Communist threat of takeover in the April 24 revolt against the Conservative Dominican government.

However, the President has pigeon-holed the document to avoid a public clash with Democratic Senator J. W. Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In a Senate speech that was widely publicized in Latin America last month Fulbright criticized President Johnson's decision to intervene.

He claimed Dominican Communist influence had been over-estimated and the Administration panicked in its determination to bolster a "safe, rightist regime".

The facts are that since the OAS established its own peace-keeping force of 9,400 troops, some measure of political stability has been restored under Provisional President Hector Garcia-Godoy. The Communists attempted to undermine the Provisional Government by calling a general strike two weeks ago. It fizzled.

One unexpected deterrent was the radio broadcast by former President Juan Bosch urging workers to ignore the strike call.

The former President had previously been pushed by the Communists to lead an anti-American "popular front" movement that would have combined Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party with leftist partisans, reform-seeking moderates and outright Communists.

Bosch's bitterness towards North America was most apparent when he returned from exile in Puerto Rico and delivered an airport tirade demanding that the U.S. Government recall all its troops and pay one billion dollars in reparations for alleged intervention damages.

Bosch has since changed his tune, for reasons yet unexplained, and recently came out strongly in support of the Garcia-Godoy government, which is sponsored by the OAS.

There are those who believe Bosch is not anxious to antagonize either the OAS or U.S. until after the presidential elections in June, 1966, when he is expected to run.

The immediate problem plaguing President Garcia-Godoy is how to bridge the implacable hatred that divides rebel from loyalist. At the same time he must curb the self-seeking ambitions of those who want to impose a dictatorship of left or right.

The week elsewhere

GUIANA PLOT

GEORGETOWN — Students back from Cuba say Fidel Castro and Cheddi Jagan are plotting a revolt in British Guiana. Jagan, former Prime Minister of the colony, is boycotting the talks now being held in London on the country's independence. The newspaper *West Indian*, of Grenada, reports two students who went to Cuba on scholarships as saying, "There is a plan, sponsored by Cuba's Communist authorities and former Premier Cheddi Jagan, to foment rebellion in our country by

turning the Indians against the Negroes." The students, Samuel London and Mohan Rambarran, said that when they realized that their studies consisted of "sabotage lessons, military training and Communist indoctrination to carry war and death back home", they had asked to be sent back to Guiana.

S. KOREA LOOKS OUTWARD

SEOUL—Foreign Minister Lee Tong Won stated in Seoul that South Korea is ready to play a bigger part in Asian affairs. He instanced the re-

Continued on next page

The week in India

NAGPUR — Workers, rioting against the laying off of a shift, killed the general manager of the Mohatta Mills near Wardha. One rioter was shot in police firing.

JAIPUR — Major clashes took place between Indian and Pakistani troops in the Jaisalmer sector. India has decided to reoccupy all posts in Rajasthan taken by Pakistan after the cease-fire.

NEW DELHI — India and Uganda concluded long-term trade agreements under which India will help in the establishment of sugar plantations, a sugar factory, and will train Ugandan youth in technology.

NEW DELHI — The Deputy Minister for Commerce announced that the Government was considering setting up industries to cater exclusively to the Russian market. A long-term trade agreement is now being negotiated which aims at doubling trade between the countries from Rs. 750 million yearly each way to Rs. 1,500 million.

NEW DELHI — Food and Agriculture Minister Subramaniam announced that India could expect to receive the same amount of foodgrains from America under PL 480 next year as she had received this year.

MADRAS — The Government of India, the National Iranian Oil Co. and the American International Oil Co. will jointly construct an oil refinery in Madras capable of handling 2.5 million tons. It will be the largest plant of its kind in the country.

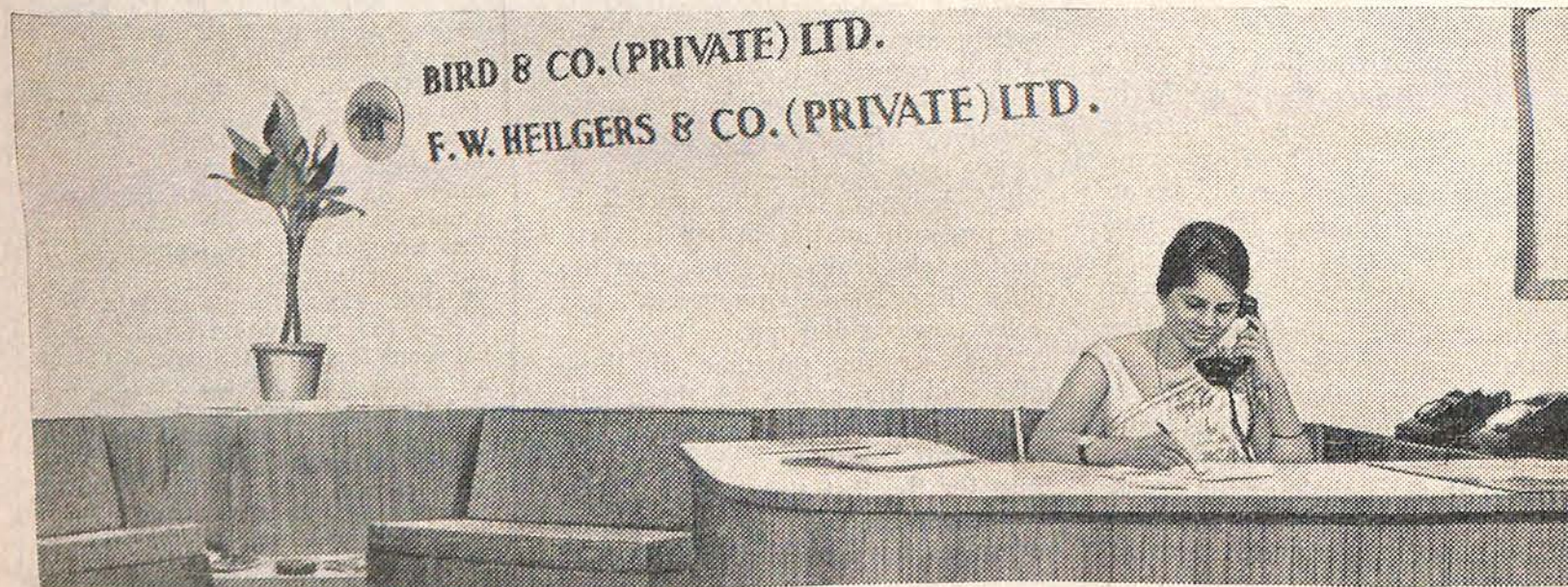
NEW DELHI — The Federal Republic of Germany will grant India a loan of Rs. 406 million to assist Indo-German projects.

NEW DELHI — External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh told the Lok Sabha that India would support any moves in the United Nations to restore "fundamental freedom" to the people of Tibet. He also declared unqualified support to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and self-determination for Pakhtoonistan.

POONA — Students from rural areas are being forced to return to their villages because of the inability of parents to support them due to crop failures.

NEW DELHI — Prime Minister Shastri declared that he was willing to meet President Ayub Khan on Soviet soil provided the discussions were not related to Kashmir. He told the Lok Sabha that the Government would consider the Security Council's proposal for a simultaneous withdrawal of troops.

NEW DELHI—Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, told the Lok Sabha that the Prime Minister intended to meet Naga underground leaders in the near future.



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cent dispatch of a division of troops to South Vietnam, and of technicians and medical personnel to South-east Asia. In a press interview the 40-year-old Foreign Minister suggested that Korean technicians might also go to Africa, where they would not be affected by attitudes that regarded all Westerners as imperialists. "Who could accuse Korea of imperialism?" asked Mr. Lee. This month he presided at a conference of South Korean diplomats in Mexico City to co-ordinate means of counter-ing Chinese Communist influence in South America. The basis of Korea's expanded diplomatic activity, he said, was domestic stability and economic progress under President Park's Government.

"FRATERNAL GREETINGS"

LONDON—A recent Chinese letter to the U.S.S.R. accuses the latter of trying to get control in Vietnam under cover of giving aid. The secret letter, smuggled from East Europe and published in the London Observer, states in part:

"You (the Soviet Union) wanted to send via China a regular army formation of 4,000 men to be stationed in Vietnam without first obtaining her consent. Under the pretext of defending the territorial air of Vietnam you wanted to occupy and use one or two airfields in South-west China and to station a Soviet armed force of 500 men there. You

also wanted to open an air corridor in China and obtain for Soviet aeroplanes the privilege of free traffic in her airspace. In view of these moves of yours and your collusion with U.S. imperialism, we have every reason to think that you have ulterior motives for offering such assistance.

"Frankly speaking, we do not trust you. We and other fraternal countries have learnt bitter lessons in the past from Khrushchev's evil practice of control under cover of aid. The same old tricks you are playing in Vietnam are even less likely to work.

"You should not oppose Socialist China by allying yourself with U.S. imperialism and with Indian reactionaries and the Tito clique. We hope that you will make a thorough self-criticism, and return to the correct path of Marxist Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"With fraternal greetings,
Central Committee of the Communist Party of China."

UNDERSEA EXPLORATION

KOBE—A Japanese shipbuilding company has successfully completed tests on a six-man submarine for underwater exploration. The 46-foot-long vessel can travel at four knots at a depth of 1,000 feet. Designed for undersea exploration for minerals, plants and fish, it is fitted with a steel arm capable of catching fish or lifting objects off the sea floor. The submarine will collect information about the shallow seas around Japan.



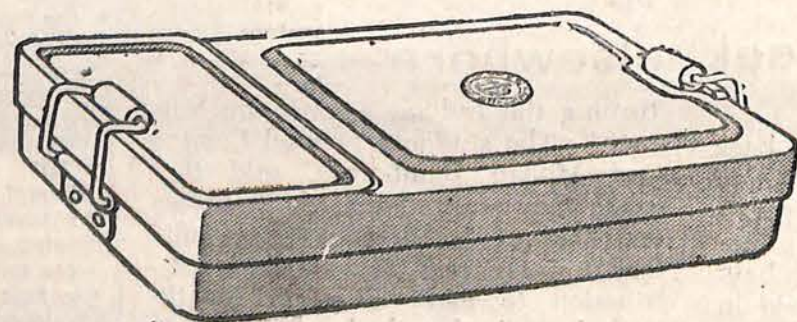
CUSHION OF AIR

KUCHING — At a steady 40 knots, an SRN5 hovercraft skims along a jungle river in Malaysia with provisions for British troops guarding the border against Indonesian infiltrators. A cushion of air enables the hovercraft to travel over land or water. New models will have twin propellers to aid steering through narrow river bends.

NEHRU SCHOLARSHIPS

LONDON—The British Government is to give Rs. 6.67 lakhs to the Nehru Memorial Fund launched by Earl Mountbatten. Announcing this in Parliament Prime Minister Wilson said, "This contribution is a token of our esteem for Jawaharlal Nehru, the man and friend of Britain, the architect of secular democracy in India and a world statesman whose vision so greatly assisted the creation and sustenance of the modern Commonwealth." Under the Memorial Fund, post-graduates will come to Britain on a Nehru Scholarship scheme, and a yearly lecture will be given at Trinity, Cambridge, his old College.

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LETTERS

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD GRAINS

SIR: The above captioned article written by Mr. M. D. Vijayaraghavan in the issue of November 5, 1965, of HIMMAT fails to mention one point which is of immediate significance in achieving self-sufficiency in food grains. I refer to the wastage of food grains occurring at all levels in our country. Indeed, it has been calculated that anything between five to ten per cent of our total production in food grains is simply destroyed at various stages beginning from farms and ending at cooking. The use of fertilizers with a view to getting higher production per unit is a long-term process but the wastage of food grains can be substantially minimized by the provision of good storage facilities, destruction of pests, rodents and other grain-destroying insects.

But the permanent solution will be the increase of production per unit of land. The exhortation by our rulers that every piece of land should grow food and that, instead of flowers, we must grow grains sounds catchy in the context of our condition, but after a good deal of sober thinking, I feel that this remedy may boomerang. To say the truth, we want more forests, more gardens, more orchards to make good the damage done to the soil through 'erosion'. Any increase in the area of cultivation, if it leads to 'further erosion' of soils, and there are scientific reasons to suppose it will, will be a self-stultifying process.

B. D. SHAH*

Bombay 1

* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner.

CHANGE ORTHODOX WAYS

SIR: I think, as Mr. Vijayaraghavan's excellent article (November 5) says, the main problem in India is using fertilizers for cultivation. It is because—

- (a) Fertilizers are not easily available to the farmer
- (b) Lack of "know-how" by the farmer
- (c) Government's inability to subsidize fertilizers
- (d) Farmers are poor and cannot afford to buy fertilizers.

I think the best way to solve this problem is—

- (1) Each village should have an agricultural officer to educate and give advice to the farmer
- (2) Fertilizers should be given to the farmer on credit
- (3) To induce the farmer to use more fertilizers the Government should guarantee that the yield could be increased three to four-fold, the cost of the fertilizer to be paid only if the yield is increased.

This is the only way to get the orthodox Indian farmer to change his traditional ways.

DR. I. S. MENON

Newcastle-upon-Tyne

FANS ALL

SIR: I am a schoolmaster. Our school is quite a HIMMAT fan. Many of our senior boys buy copies. Believe me when I say that we enjoy your magazine for many things, but especially for its bold coverage of news and its excellent, daring expression of honest opinions.

IVAN SASSOON

Calcutta 14

PRACTICAL APPROACH

SIR: After the fourteen languages have been accorded constitutional recognition, it has become of primary importance that English be made a national language forever.

Bi-lingualism has created some problems for linguistic minorities (those whose mother tongues do not fall in any of the recognized constitutional tongues) as they are bound to learn about four languages including their mother tongue.

I do not agree with Shri N. Ch. Veerachari in his recent letter "Gandhi on English" that English has nothing to do with technical know-how. Our dependence on more advanced countries for equipment and technical knowledge is well known. Moreover, technical education is not to be considered a state subject alone; there will have to be technical personnel from one institution to another within India also, and if so, without a common language to interpret these subjects, how can these technical personnel from different states be understood by the students of the different regional tongues? Also, it is a well-known fact that Hindi, although a national language under the Constitution, is as fresh a language as the rest of the regional languages are. There is every likelihood that these have to be fed upon some foreign language either directly or indirectly to reach the matured standards in technical aspects. Therefore, I feel, English has a strong case to be our national language. We must brush aside our sentimentalities and stop overdoing the act of patriotism over a medium which is common to all of us and thus have a practical approach to the issue.

O.P. VERMA KAMBOJ

Shillong

WHICH WAY ASIA ?

SIR: Professor Vaitheswaran's article on Soviet influence in Asia (November 5) served as an eye-opener.

Admitting that New Delhi will now be less obliged to submit to the pressures from the West, we can't afford to ignore the danger of our unconsciously leaning towards Moscow. At this stage we must fully scrutinize Moscow's intentions, lest

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

we land in the same trap as did some of the European nations after the Second World War. A growing dependence on the U.S.S.R. is as suicidal as gradual isolation from the West.

It is of prime importance, therefore, that we realize that Moscow may have an axe to grind in uniting India and Pakistan away from Washington and Peking. It is high time that New Delhi and Pindi compromise over their territorial differences and realize that their independence lies not in heading towards the Right or the Left, but in seeking the path of self-reliance and co-operation. Their mutual stand in the coming years will determine largely the future of Asia.

CAWAS KAPADIA

Bombay 1

FOREIGN POLICY

SIR: The latest Pakistani misadventure has once again exposed the limitations of our diplomatic machine. Most countries are ignorant of the basic facts leading to the arms conflict between India and Pakistan. Though routed in the battle front, the Pakistanis have stolen a march over our always defensive diplomatic machine.

This state of affairs could have been avoided if our Government and our Embassies and High Commissions abroad had worked in a more co-ordinated manner.

The Government is making frantic efforts to clear the mist by sending M.P.s and Ministers to foreign capitals. This move, though laudable, is quite unwarranted. Most of the M.P.s, as far as we know, are not known very much for their oratory or debating skill. Also, the visits of a few Ministers have already sparked off some controversy. Apart from all this the move would have an adverse effect on the foreign service of this country and its personnel.

The only remedy is to chalk out a clear-cut foreign policy and instruct our foreign service to pursue it strictly.

D. KRISHNA

Bangalore 3

"LUCKY INDIA"

SIR: I read ten newspapers and magazines. But for sheer brilliance, the articles in HIMMAT win every time. They present world issues in depth and with a far-sightedness I long to see elsewhere. In fact over issues that confuse, and there are many, I look to HIMMAT to clarify what really is at stake. For instance, nowhere in the British press have I seen that China has an axe to grind in the Rhodesian situation.

Lucky India to have such a weekly.
R.E.R. PROCTER

London W.1.



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VIEWPOINT

First Prize

SHOULD THERE BE MORE STRICT CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS AND MAGAZINES ON SALE?

By C. P. Ker, Bombay 29

WHEREVER THERE IS liberty, man is tempted to exploit it; wherever there is power, he is tempted to misuse it. Censorship is the result of these human susceptibilities. On the one side stands the champion of liberty who wants to speak, write and read whatever he likes; on the other stands the man in power seeking an opportunity to confiscate anything contrary to his liking. Freedom of expression is the casualty of this "cold war".

Freedom of the press is one of the first conditions of democratic life. Constitutions guarantee it, philosophers glorify it, and dissenters rise in revolt for it. Life would lose much of its vitality and variety if arts and opinions are tailored to the taste of a chosen few.

But privilege entails responsibility. The freedom of the press is too valuable an asset to be squandered indiscreetly. An irresponsible free press can endanger national security, demoralize public life and perpetrate certain evils.

It is on such occasions that the authorities are bound to step in. But two points have to be taken into consideration when we think of instituting a censoring authority with wide powers. The first is whether it is possible to eradicate something by law. It is said all great truths are born as blasphemies. As Milton eloquently pointed out in his "Areopagitica", truth cannot be suppressed.

Even if we assume that whatever is suppressed is immoral, vulgar and harmful, what is ridiculed today may be accepted and cherished tomorrow. The ban on "Lady Chatterley's Lover" made it immensely popular. Censorship as an instrument for the cultivation of morals has not only failed but also led to some ridiculous results such as the tactics used in Indian films to make up for the forbidden kiss.

The second question is whether we can afford to trust in the impartiality and perspicacity of an official body. Censors are bound to be conservative and it is not unlikely that they will be busybodies with bundles of files and prejudices. Censorship provides an excellent opportunity to undemocratic governments to suppress anything dangerous to them. Democratic traditions cannot develop in a country where every published material is screened by the severe lens of a peevish censor.

Let us not forget that we will be putting back the clock of human progress if we accept a stricter censorship. The freedom of the press was won after hard battles for centuries. The English Parliament, now hailed as the Mother of Parliaments, did not admit press reporters in its galleries till 1771, and a century earlier, bold pamphleteers like William Prynne had their ears cropped and were compelled to stand in the pillory.

The check on undesirable publications must come from the press itself and the society it caters for. Just as it is said "a government gets the press it deserves", we might say "a society gets the books it deserves". What should act as a deterrent is the ethical sensibility of the society.

Second Prize

DECIDEDLY NOT!

by IVAN SASSOON, Calcutta 14

SHOULD THERE BE any censorship at all? Recently an American court declared one of the many pornographic books being reeled off the world's presses, legal literary fare. Are we thinking of losing our censors (or senses)?

I don't think that we have reached those straits as yet, for we do have some sort of censorship of books and magazines on sale. But now the pro-

COMPETITION

* The U.N. should have its own armed forces to implement decisions.

Closing date: December 10

** Who is really responsible for the increasing road accidents?

Closing date: December 24

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In order to accommodate more features like SCIENCE, BOOKS, etc. the VIEWPOINT competition will now be held every two weeks.

blem is: should there be a more strict censorship?

I am decidedly against this. First let us take stock of what kinds of books are really censored. There are mainly two kinds: exciting sex-centred books and magazines, whose uncovered covers make too many bold revelations; and books and magazines of a political nature, aimed at subverting immature minds. A democracy like India does censor books of the second kind, but I am not in favour of any stricter control. A new nation in her teens must know what the world is saying of her.

I am also against any further censorship of the exodus of sex-centred books and magazines because there is another more popular medium of entertainment—the cinema—that will undo the book-censors' strictness.

Besides this, I have found from experience that the best way to have a book or magazine read (and devoured) is to ban it and chase it off bookstalls. Ban a book and it is made a best-seller! I am all too familiar with the schoolboy who sees every "For Adults Only" film. Tell a man "Don't" and he will say "Do".

Further, man has free-will. The planets have no option but to stay where they are and to move with the rhythm of a pre-ordained plan. Man is born free and must be allowed to judge (and then select) his own reading fare. What he chooses will judge him, in turn.

But we want liberty and not licence; freedom with discipline. Censorship there must be. But I don't feel that there should be a more strict censorship. We must develop an inner self-control and a self-imposed restraint.

The Laser and How It Works

MANY THOUGHT that the writers of science fiction were to prove right again. Surely the *laser* was the death-ray that Superman used.

Discovery of the *laser* five years ago was hailed as the greatest invention of the decade. Here was a beam of light of infra-red radiation that did not fan out and could therefore be focussed with great intensity on very small areas. Reflected off the moon, a light could be picked up again with an ordinary 48" telescope. Even at this distance of a quarter of a million miles, the area illuminated on the moon's surface would be no more than two miles across.

Initial expectations, however, proved disappointing. Scientists have found it very difficult, so far, to harness the discovery for useful applications. But within the last few months, hopes have been revived with the announcement by an American meteorological laboratory and the Rank Organization in Britain of two practical devices based on the *laser*. The Russians have also just announced that they had employed a *laser* beam to transmit simultaneously "tens of thousands" of telephone calls between Moscow exchanges.

The name *laser* has been derived from the scientific mouthful—Light Amplification by Stimulated Emission of Radiation. The meteorological

application has been called the *lidar*—light detection and ranging instrument. It combines radar technology with searchlight probing for checking cloud altitude and density.

The Rank Organization has developed a battery operated range-finder which is likely to have military applications. It is virtually undetectable

FRONTIERS OF science

by the target and can be used by day or night. It has a range of up to six miles and is accurate to 15 feet over its entire range of measurement. The method of operation depends on radar technique: the narrow beam is directed towards the target and the elapsed time for the "return journey" is measured.

As so often in the past the medical profession has been one of the first to explore possible applications of new inventions and doctors have already hit on one. A *laser* beam has been used successfully to weld an injured retina of the eye back into place. The swiftness of the *laser* pulse minimizes the chance of eye movement during the operation.

How does a *laser* work? Take some material—gas is easier than a

solid. "Excite" the atoms in a particular way and an avalanche of "photons" will be emitted either as light or infra-red radiation. Why has the *laser* not come up to expectations?

Firstly, the length of tube required to contain the active gas. So far, tubes about a yard long are generally found to be necessary although with improved techniques this required length is constantly being shortened. Secondly, until the recent Russian announcement, it had not yet been found possible to adjust readily the "frequency" as with radio waves, thus limiting information-carrying applications. Thirdly, the power output which it has so far been possible to achieve is very low. Metal boring and melting operations are not yet possible and existing systems would need to be scaled up 10,000 times to vaporize a pound of steel.

But it seems that these limitations are now being rapidly overcome and original hopes may yet be realized.

M.P.

BOOKS—from page 9

vated for non-whites—the British Government is recommended to "renew its efforts to increase the accommodation available to overseas students, in particular by simplifying the means of obtaining government assistance for new housing and by investigating further what types of accommodation are most suitable".

The report concludes that the moderation of British social attitudes cannot be expected to be a speedy happening but must be encouraged. "What is essential is that the need for change be recognized, not as a matter of courtesy to visitors from abroad but as a necessity for ultimate survival. The reactions of students from Asia and Africa are in the end going to influence the attitudes of their peoples to Britain and to Western Europe at a time when the strength of coloured people will be growing... Both sides must continue attempts, however painful, to be flexible in their attitudes and behaviour and to multiply natural contact between mutually tolerant and interested people."

M.D.H.

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

"Outward Look, the Land is Bright"

SAYS DAME FLORA MACLEOD OF MACLEOD

SHE COMES from Highland stock. Her step is firm, her eyes are bright, her back is straight. Chief of the MacLeod Clan, Dame Flora is 87 years old. In the last three years she has been more than once to Japan and India, and has paid visits to Australia, the U.S.A. and Latin America.

She was born in 10 Downing Street, and has been close to the political scene ever since. Her grandfather was Chancellor of the Exchequer when Disraeli was Prime Minister.

Dame Flora first came to India at the age of 22 when it was forbidden to go out in the sun without a hat or a parasol. "Now I see you all go without hats, and even the foreigners have given up their use in India." She read the "Bhagwad-Gita" and the "Mahabharata" before she came out East.

On her return from India she married Mr. Hubert Walter, political correspondent of *The Times* of London.

In 1936, when her father died, there was no surviving male heir

and she was elected chieftain of the Clan of MacLeod. Her home, Dunvegan Castle, is on the Isle of Skye in the Hebrides off the coast of Scotland. Her ancestors were of Norwegian origin, and there was a time when the kings of Norway had very close links with Scotland.

In 1240 the first chieftain of the Clan came to the Isle of Skye and built a wall around it. His descendants built a castle which is believed to be the oldest inhabited castle in Britain. Its walls are nine feet thick and in true medieval fashion it has its own dungeon. Dame Flora throws open the castle to the public from April 1 to October 15 each year when thousands of tourists pour in.

"I am very happy when I am in the castle. I love reading my books. I read *The Economist* because it has a good coverage. And I read HIMMAT to correct my thinking," she adds.

Dame Flora lives every moment with the crucial issues of the day. If she meets you she first asks about



the latest news from Rhodesia. She feels strongly about Mr. Smith's rebellion. She feels equally strongly about the need to support a nation like Malaysia and about the poverty of the people of India.

The prize possession of the castle is the Fairy Flag which led Norway's King Harald Hardrada and his ancestors to victory. Legend has it that he who holds this flag is never defeated in war. The flag was last used on the battlefield in 1066.

Dame Flora keeps in touch with the MacLeods the world over. There are thousands in the United States and Australia, in Canada and other parts of the world and she is like a mother to them. For example, every year on her birthday, February 3, New York MacLeods get together and hold a dinner in her honour. For her work in strengthening links within the Commonwealth, Dame Flora was created a Dame in 1954.

"I Began to Live"

She met Moral Re-Armament when she was 81 through her grandson, Patrick, a promising young member of parliament.

"Then I began to live. I felt how much life had to give. Peter Howard invited me to Japan to go with him to a world conference. It was such fun being with him."

She has just been to Korea, Japan, Malaysia and Ceylon on her way to India. "I see a tremendous growth in all these nations and I am greatly impressed by the sense of purpose

Continued on next page

AN
IDEAL
COOKING
MEDIUM



RATH
VANASPATI

that has made Japan sign the treaty with Korea. Japan has been big enough to say to Korea 'For what we have done, we are sorry' and a new relationship has been born."

Before she left on her Asian tour, Anne Wolrige-Gordon interviewed her in London.

How did it happen that you were born in 10 Downing Street?

"Prime Minister Disraeli was a widower and childless, whilst my grandfather, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, had a large family. So Disraeli gave No. 10 to my grandfather and moved into the smaller No. 11 himself."

What is your earliest memory?

"It was walking along beside my grandmother's maid while she held a bunch of grapes in her hand which she was going to peel for me. Also being taken to see my grandmother after she had died. I was not at all afraid."

You are chief of a great clan. You see it as a world family. What do you feel a family should aim at?

"A family should be united in a great purpose."

Do you think women make good leaders?

"Honestly, I think men make better leaders. Not all men, of course."

We all know cases where a particular woman has qualities lacking in the corresponding man."

What do you think are the qualities of great leadership?

"A conviction of service to the community that can impart it to others."

Do you think a great leader trains others to follow him?

"I think he fails the future if he fails to do so."

How do you look after your clan?

"I make many opportunities of visiting them in their homes in all the English-speaking world. I welcome them to my home. And I have a very large individual correspondence. Every year a Clan MacLeod magazine is published in Edinburgh, by means of which all our members can keep in touch with one another."

When did you first visit India?

"From April to October 1900."

What brought you to India?

"My uncle, Lord Northcote, was Governor of Bombay."

When did you last visit India?

"In 1963 with Peter Howard."

Faith in Youth

What did you remember most about your last visit?

"The wealth of the rich and the hunger of the poor—the ostentation and the bleak discomfort of the palaces and the hideous squalor of the slums, the students and their eagerness to serve."

What do you think of the younger generation?

"I have great faith in what they could do and what I believe they will do. They must be given a sense of responsibility and unless they realize that, I do not think they will achieve what they want to."

What differences do you notice between India today and India of 1900?

"I think India was well-governed, bored and apathetic. The British were conscientious and devoted but lacked vision. I mean by that they were blind to the possibilities. There was also that deplorable superiority. The small vexations irritate much more than big wrongs. Liberation has released a thousand repressions."

"I see the bare ground springing to life with ambitions for their country, as well as themselves, which had been dormant for years."

This was a life RAMAN MAHARISHI 1879—1950

RAMAN MAHARISHI, saint and sage of modern India, was born under the name Venkatraman in a village near Madurai. The son of a local lawyer, his boyhood was uneventful until at the age of sixteen he felt a strange joy at hearing the name of Arunachala—the holy hill in South India—although he did not know much about it and had never been there. At that time he was studying in Madurai.

Soon after this, he had the sudden conviction that he was going to die. His body became inert, but he still felt a vital force within himself, apart from his body.

Following this experience, he began to regard all earthly things, including himself, with detachment. His uncle and elder brother often chided him at his change of outlook. When he was eighteen, he secretly left home for Arunachala with only three rupees in his pocket.

He travelled by train, for as far as his money would take him, and walked the rest of the way. On arriving at Arunachala he discarded everything he had. To avoid those who disturbed his meditations, he moved many times and finally settled down in an ashram situated on the hill. He remained there until the end of his life.

Gradually his ashram began to attract visitors of all classes and from many countries who came seeking guidance from one who had achieved self-realization and liberation. He helped them in his own strange yet effective way. He seldom spoke to them. For the most part, he concentrated upon them in meditation. But merely to be in his presence enabled people to find peace and go away different. "Silence also is conversation," he told the author, Somerset Maugham, who came to see him.

Once an emissary of Mahatma Gandhi asked for a message. "What message is needed when heart speaks to heart?" he replied.

"There are only two ways to conquer destiny and be free of the bondage of birth and rebirth," he once said. "One is to discover that only the ego is bound by destiny and not the self. The other way is by completely surrendering to the Lord by saying all the time, 'Not I, but thou, O Lord!' and by leaving it to the Lord to do what he likes with you."

Raman Maharishi died, aged 71, after a painful illness which he bore with patience and serenity for two years. At the moment of his death, thousands saw a comet pass over the top of Arunachala.

Q and A

Q—In your reply of November 12, you said "Quitters are losers". Does this also apply to our delegations who quit the Security Council sessions? If so, in what way?

P. S. CHANDRA, Bombay 6

A—Certainly. Most of the Indian press and the majority of our politicians hailed the Foreign Minister's withdrawal from the Security Council debate in the face of Mr. Bhutto's crude attacks as a great diplomatic victory. The rest of the world, of course, interpreted it as a retreat and we would be foolish indeed if we did not face this simple reality. Other nations saw it as a reflection on the strength of our case.

General Mark Clark, when accused of retreating in a certain battle in the last war, replied, "Retreating? Hell, no! We were just advancing in the other direction." It depends which way you look at it.

Q—PL 480 imports harm our agrarian economy. Please answer.

T. P. SATHYANARAYANA,
Hyderabad 1

A—A cripple might as well curse his crutches. America's sale of wheat to India on payment of rupees under Public Law 480 has been a lifesaving transfusion for our nation. Our agrarian economy, left untended for so long in favour of vast capital investment in steel and heavy industry, could not have fed our people these last few years. Even at the height of hostilities with Pakistan, U.S. wheat was being landed in our ports at the rate of 18,000 tons a day.

The danger arises, of course, that these imports tend to camouflage the

chronic lacks in our food policies and production incentives, as well as dulling our sense of urgency about producing more. But it is nonsense to blame the imports. We have only ourselves to rap for this.

Q—Why did not Russia exercise her veto power in the recent Security Council deliberations when one hears so much about the "closer" Indo-Soviet friendship?

DAMJI JIVRAJ SHAH, Bombay 9

A—Most of us in India forget that there is also developing such a thing as a "closer" Russo-Pak friendship. We are so busy congratulating ourselves on having won—as we think—Russia's support, that we don't notice how Russia is working very hard and rather successfully to win Pakistan to her own paths. Why then would Russia want to use her veto against Pakistan?

ANY QUESTIONS?

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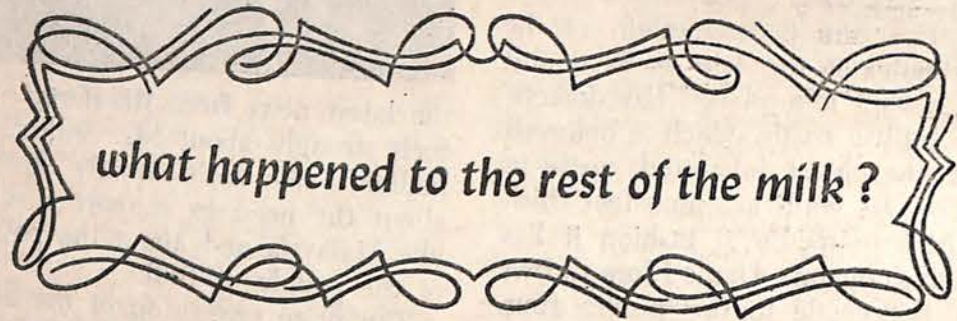
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what happened to the rest of the milk?

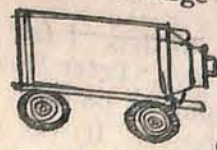


It just isn't there! About 5 oz. of milk is what you get per day—if all the milk India produces is equally shared by her people!

That includes milk products, too! Not enough? Precisely. More milk has to be produced. Distribution has to be widened. That means more dairies and equipment: milk cans, can-washers, pasteurising plants, storage tanks, bottle-washers and fillers...even foil caps for bottles! And that is the range of our products for the dairy industry alone—from a foil cap costing a few naye Paise to complete dairies worth several lakhs of rupees! When you next open a milk bottle, consider—

Who puts the wheels on milk cans?

We do—but not exactly on cans! Large dairies need large quantities of milk.



And it has to be collected in time. A special job for road tankers—virtually tanks on wheels like the ones we make.

Here, food preservation is not a problem!

...but in the tropics foodstuffs deteriorate fast. Take milk, for instance.

Tons of it! That is what a large dairy handles every day! Milk is collected from distant centres,

weighed, tested, clarified, pasteurised and chilled.

It's then stored in insulated tanks

or cold stores. Next comes filling and capping of lakhs of bottles

A complicated process? Certainly. Something that cannot be done well enough—fast enough—without special plant and the know-how—exactly what we provide.

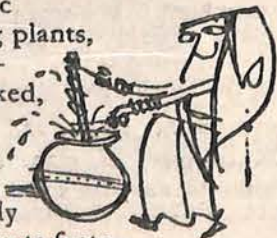
How many hours to churn 11,500 litres of cream?

If by hand-well, it is impossible! But with automatic

butter-making plants, in just a day!—and fully packed, too! Special equipment of this type that we supply

to milk-products factories, include those for making cheese, milk powder, condensed milk, ice-cream—even ghee!

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Africa Cannot Wait

By Rajmohan Gandhi

WILL ALL OF AFRICA be free one day?

Will free Africa stay free? Will one tyranny be replaced by another kind in nation after nation? Or will the dignity of African man and woman rise to new greatness? Can Africans teach all nations everywhere an answer to man's callousness to man?

Says an official of Rhodesia's Smith regime: "It will take Africans more than 200 years to learn how to run Rhodesia."

Writes an African nationalist in *London's Daily Express*: "Zimbabwe's beautiful rivers will soon be flowing with the blood of the white man and his children."

The two statements are insane comments of stubborn men. Each spells disaster not only for the race it seeks to insult, but also for the race it seeks to defend.

There is a man who believes that all Africa can soon be free and that Europe, Asia and the Americas will one day learn from Africa the secret of intelligent living.

His name is Conrad Hunte. The world salutes him for his peerless cricket. But he is more than one of the world's greatest sportsmen. He is a passionate patriot for the West Indies. He also thinks and feels for other nations and continents. Especially Africa, for Hunte is proud to be a Negro.

Hunte's Challenge

A group of Socialist M.P.s in London listened in eloquent silence to a speech by him. It was a great speech.

I hope Harold Wilson reads it. And Ian Smith. And Joshua Nkomo, the Reverend Sithole, Nkrumah and Sekou Toure.

This, in part, is what Hunte said:

"I come from an area—the Caribbean area—that is full of colour, calypso and cricket. It is a vast area—2,000 miles in length—comprised of 200 small and twenty large island stepping-stones linking North and South America.

"Now, in my view, the colonists did not always do things well, or with the right motive. In some instances they made a mess which created reactions and have left

scars of exploitation on the hearts and minds of the people. These must be fully cured. But I do not want to see white exploitation supplanted by black, brown, red or yellow exploitation.

"A great Englishman, Peter Howard, said: 'Today the long-awaited tide of history flows toward the non-white races. It will lift burdens of centuries and wipe out bloodstains in the sands of time. Be sure that tide elevates all humanity.'

"In 1964 I met Dr. Jagan. He was then the Premier of British Guiana. They had in the previous eleven months a crisis of race, an explosion of violence that resulted in 200 people being killed, 800 wounded and 1,600 homes burnt.

Jagan's Successor

"I told him about the world-wide programme of Moral Re-Armament, how in countries like India, Japan, Germany, Britain and other parts of the world, men trained in Moral Re-Armament were modernizing men on a massive scale, teaching them how to cure hate and fear, so that they were free to work hard, to sacrifice, to build a truly great society. I told him that in British Guiana we needed a force powerful enough to change the deep-seated hatred and fear in the hearts and minds of all men, black, white, brown, red, yellow, and big enough to include everybody on a basis of what is right not who is right. He said to me, 'If you can change British Guiana on that basis, I will come and bow at your feet.' Mr. Jagan's successor is Mr. Forbes Burnham.

"I spoke with Mr. Burnham and asked his help. He was very interested and urged me to launch a programme of Moral Re-Armament in Guiana.

"Now I hold that change is inevitable. The point really is, will it be a change by compulsion which leads to man-made dictatorship of one colour or another. Or will it be change by consent, which leads to God-given liberty which is colour blind?"

"We, all of us, have on our hearts and our minds the situation of Rhodesia. I have my own views of the situation. Rhodesia is a

symptom of the deadlock between country after country and inside countries, between colour and colour, class and class, and race and race. It is easy and cheap, in my view, to condemn, criticize and change by force. It is much more difficult to construct a new society by changing the aims and character of men. But it works.

"There is an answer to deadlock. It comes with a price. I was reading a remarkable statement issued to the world press by 14 prominent Europeans in Kenya last week and I quote in part: 'Most of us had perfectly sincere reservations about the speed with which independence was granted to Kenya. We can honestly say that President Kenyatta's Government has kept its pledge to respect the rights of all races and that the bitterness of the past has been largely forgotten in the spirit of "harambee" ("Let's get up and go").

"The next plan for Kenya has been announced. It is a conference in Nairobi at the Kenyatta College by permission of the Kenya Ministry of Education. It is called A New Aim for Africa. A thousand delegates from all races are expected to attend.

Kenyatta's Questions

"In his invitation to me, one of the young Kenyans arranging the conference writes: 'This will be the first time youth will meet for an all-African conference of this kind. We plan to get them into action together to mobilize the continent in the task of creating new men and women, whom the world will look to for the answer. Africa can no longer wait.'

"President Kenyatta recently asked a friend of mine three questions.

"How can you create prosperity without decadence? I see Europe getting more and more prosperous and more and more decadent.

"How can you create in the youth a will to sacrifice and a will to win that does not cater to self-interest?"

"How can you create patriotism that spans tribalism and nationalism which are too small and divide?"

The answers will be worked out at the Nairobi conference.



Bhaiji, I am referring to the United States!
For Uttar, Madhya and Andhra, you can take a train!

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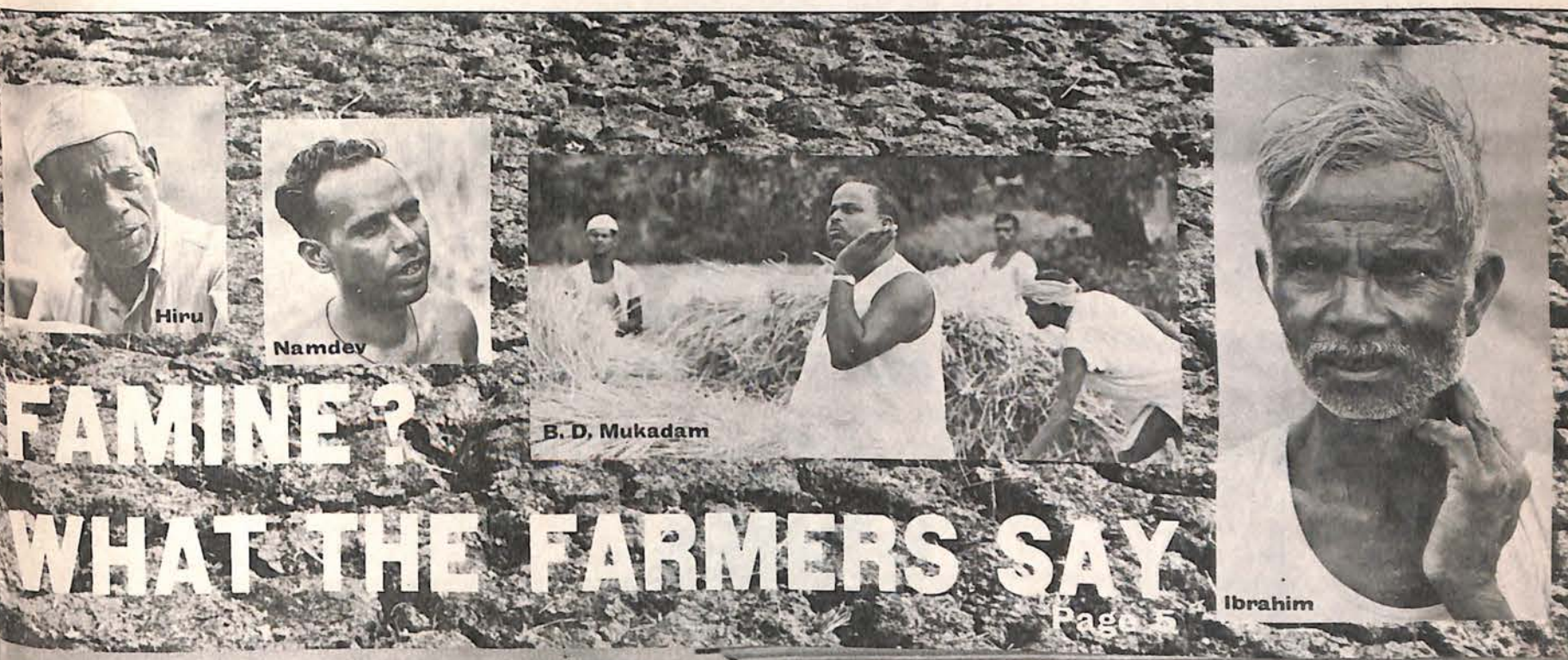
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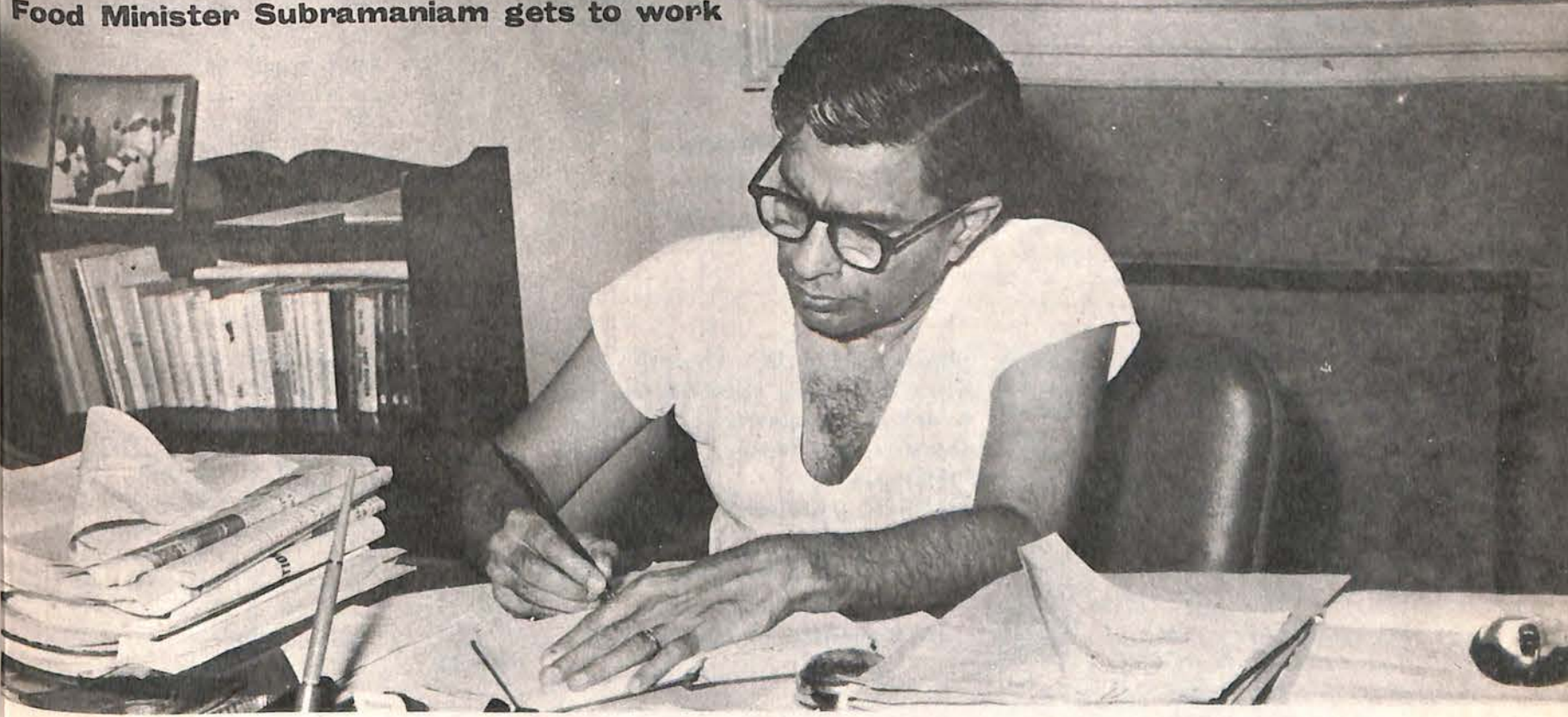
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Asia's new voice

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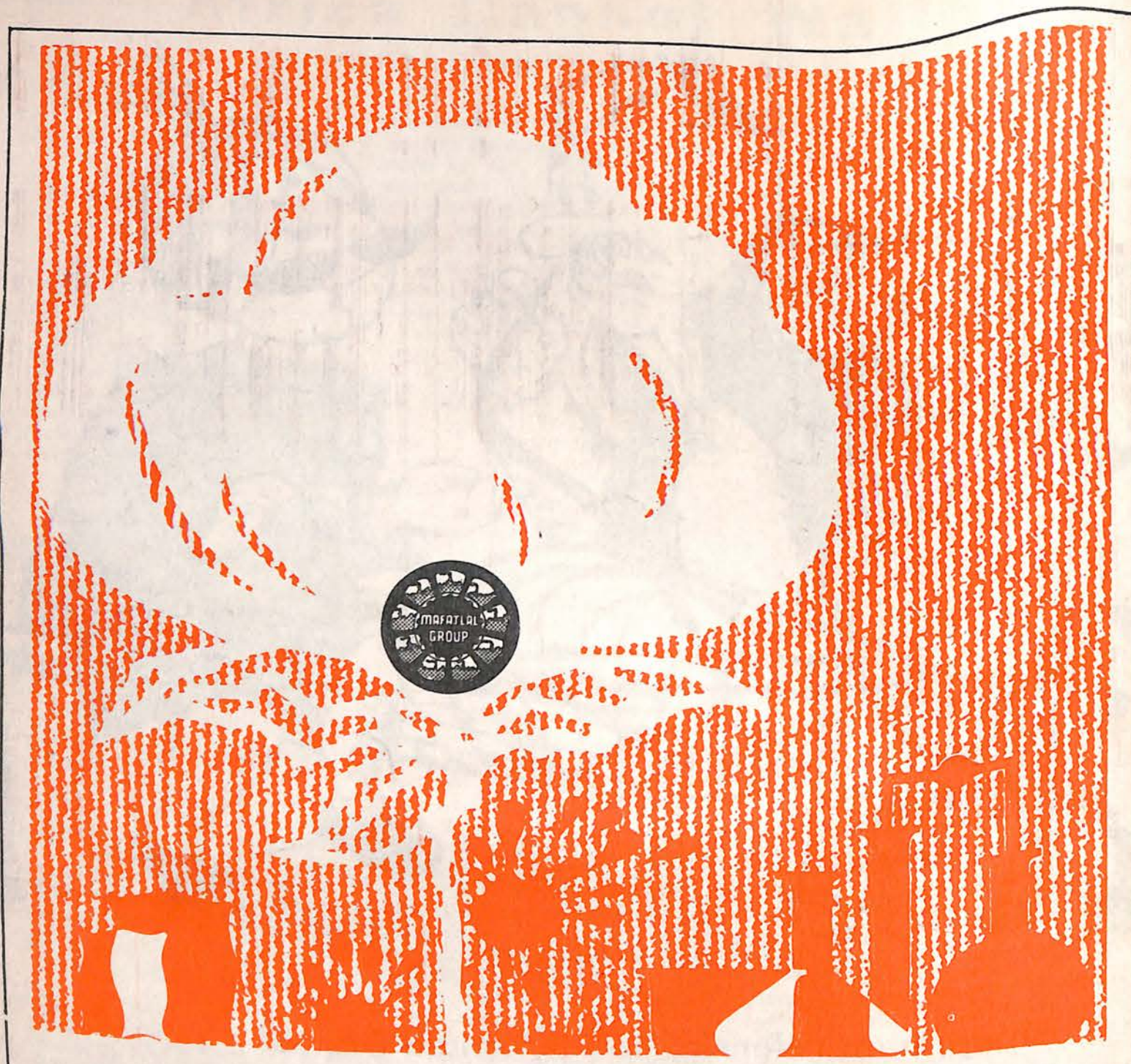


Food Minister Subramaniam gets to work



Friday
December 3
1965

DANGER TO FREE SPEECH
by Rajmohan Gandhi



GROWING BIGGER EVERY DAY

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



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