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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



Exclusive

IS JAPAN A BROTHER ?

by **Nobusuke Kishi**
former Prime Minister of Japan
Page 7

**Friday
February 4
1966**

Rajmohan Gandhi

HOW TO CHANGE INDIA

New Horizons

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

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WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, February 4, 1966 Vol. 2 No. 14

Involving Japan

WAR AND POVERTY constitute Asia's major debit. They represent a long and wearying bondage for the continent. But there is a rising credit. It is Japan's thrusting enterprise and technical resources coupled with a growing awareness of her Asian commitments.

HIMMAT publishes on page 7 an important assessment of this development specially written by Japan's former Prime Minister, Mr. Nobusuke Kishi. Mr. Kishi has played a major part in Japan's increased status in world affairs, her mammoth strides in industrial expansion and the confidence which former enemies now have in her intentions.

Mr. Kishi stresses that "the world today is too small for regional problems to remain regional". He believes that "humanity shares in common the aspirations for freedom and peace, that are neither European nor Asian, American nor African. They are global." He sees that it is "in this pattern that Japan needs to stretch her perspective of responsibility".

In recent weeks there has been a practical implementation of this "involvement".

There was the designation of a roving ambassador to explore avenues of peace and mediation in Vietnam. Though Prime Minister Sato last week did not elaborate on the brief given to his envoy, Mr. Masayuki Yokoyama, there has been speculation in Tokyo that he will attempt contacts with North Vietnam elements in neutral countries like Cambodia.

Japan's major share in the newly-established Asian Bank is another indicator. The recent departure from Tokyo of a Japanese-style "peace corps" is a further step.

Chief Cabinet Secretary Hashimoto spoke last week of Japan's readiness to help India and Indonesia meet their grave food shortages.

A high-level economic mission from Japan representing industry and trade circles, described as the largest ever sent, is at present visiting India. Solid hopes are entertained for expanded trade, extensive technical and agricultural assistance and also the setting up of joint industrial ventures.

A nation which maintained an annual rate of growth of 10 per cent from 1952 to 1963 and then raised it higher can teach India a great deal. With little but hard work and relentless determination Japan has become the world's biggest ship-builder and third largest steel producer.

There is growing acceptance of the fact that any attempt to meet China's ideological pressure on the rest of Asia must hinge on maximum co-operation between India and Japan. It must be more than a marriage of convenience.

In this respect Mr. Kishi puts very clearly the issues facing Japan and, for that matter, India.

Lessons of Tarapore

IT IS WELCOME NEWS that the Tarapore atomic power project strike in which nine men lost their lives is off.

The Tarapore workers had been on strike since December 9, demanding recognition of the Bombay Labour Union and improvement in service conditions. The Bombay Labour Union also resented the agreement reached earlier between the firm and a minority INTUC union.

A joint statement issued by Mr. Portland of Bechtel India Limited and Mr. George Fernandes, President of the Bombay Labour Union, said that the end of the strike "is based on an agreement to meet after work resumption to consider the matter of recognition of the Bombay Union" and its other demands.

Both parties are to be congratulated on getting together and terminating the tragic situation.

It is hoped that a spirit of flexibility and fair dealing will bring a speedy final settlement.

Mr. Fernandes has shown this spirit in his report of Saturday's meeting. "We have agreed," he said, "to build a relationship based on mutual trust and understanding and I am looking forward to a long period of fruitful relationship between the company and the union in the interests of the workers."

Several factors point to the justice of the demand of the Bombay Labour Union for recognition. No one can question that it represents a very large section of the workers.

It is efficiently run, and has a record of sticking to agreements made. The rank and file respect its leader as a man with their interests at heart. There are many advantages in dealing with such a union.

For a union with such power there are great responsibilities to society. The right use of such power can be a major contribution to building a sound industrial economy. Mr. George Fernandes has the reputation of an able trade unionist. Will he also become a leader who can be counted upon to take the interests of the country as seriously as those of his unions?

Equally fundamental for industrial relations in the country is the need for Government to see that their policy does not favour unions which have their patronage and that they do not use such unions to serve their political advantage.

It appears that the Tarapore company has been caught in a political power struggle in which Government-sponsored forces have brought pressure. It is evident that the Government was not impartial in the dispute.

Finally, we hope that the relatives of the victims in the police firing will be given adequate assistance.

Briefly Speaking ...

Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire their own welfare.

THE LAWS OF MANU
AD 100-200

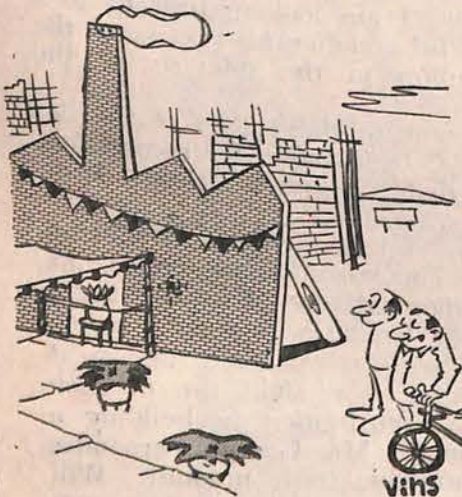
("Enlightened self-interest" originated in India, it seems.)

Holidays

THE ANDHRA Chief Minister, Mr. K. Brahma Reddy, away in Delhi for Mr. Shastri's funeral, complained on his return to his State that offices and banks in Hyderabad were closed for four days at a stretch—two days after Mr. Shastri died and two more for the Sakrant festival. "No other country in the world takes so many holidays," he said. One would have thought that it was for men like Mr. Reddy to set the pace as Chief Minister.

In contrast I hear that the em-

CHALTA HAI...



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QUBIRAMA

ployees of the Atomic Energy Commission at Trombay and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research held short condolence meetings for their head, Dr. Homi Bhabha, and returned to work at their establishment. "That was the way Dr. Bhabha would have wanted it," said Registrar Puthran of the Tata Institute.

Sound the Trombone

A SINGAPORE FIRM received an enquiry recently from Saigon for 12 million trombones. Despite the escalation of the Vietnam war, this seemed somewhat excessive. The French Commercial Attache resolved the problem. *Trombone* is a French brand of paper clip.

Smallest Post Office

THE SMALLEST post office in the world is a pony celebrating its tenth anniversary. In the winter resort of Braunlage in West Germany, the four-legged mail box collects the cards and greetings from visitors at the spa's park. The animal is reported to walk with a certain amount of dignity and authority since a special stamp "The Pony Post, Braunlage" has been issued. Children are allowed an occasional turn on its back.

How to Win Contracts

THE MAN behind the £ 100 million arms agreement between the UK and Saudi Arabia, is Group Captain Geoffrey Sanders, formerly of the RAF. Sanders, a personal friend of the Saudi Royal Family, worked for two years on the deal making 71 trips to and from Britain. The agreement was the largest single export order for aircraft ever obtained by Britain and was won in the face of stiff US competition.

Do our exporters show the same persistence as Group Captain Sanders and does our Government allow them to?

Sign of the Times

THE WORLD'S AIRLINES are expected to carry 205 million passengers in 1966—14 per cent more than in 1965, says Sir William Hildred, director-general of IATA.

Chinese Needle

THE CHINESE have invented a surgical needle with a diameter of 0.04 millimetres (.00015 of an inch), says a report from Hong Kong. The needle, a literal hair's breadth, is used for sewing together small blood vessels. Stitching has to be done with special forceps under a microscope.

Up in Smoke

SMOKING rose to a record 523 billion cigarettes in 1965, in the United States, following a one-year drop due to reports linking smoking with lung cancer. Experts predict a further increase this year despite the new regulation which came into force on January 1 requiring packets to carry a health warning.

Tailpiece

THE WORLD does not abound in statesmen who admit when they are wrong. In former UK Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, there is one. He says, "I have never believed in the infallibility of Governments. I think if a Minister is right oftener than he is wrong it is a considerable achievement."

R.M.L.

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Kerala crisis—dual face of Soviet Communism in India

Kerala is in the headlines once again and as usual focuses the seriousness of the economic and ideological crisis for the entire nation. In an impressive demonstration of united protest last week, the entire State came to a standstill for the day demanding more rice. In the northern districts where the Left Wing Communists are strong, violence flared up.

The trouble has just begun. With no prospect of any improvement in the food situation, discontent and disorder may well increase. The students plan a continuation of state-wide agitation and will, in addition to going on strike, picket Government offices. The momentum of popular resentment and propitious opportunity may well achieve on the eve of the general elections (due in early 1967) a unity of the opposition, especially of the Left (the Socialist, Revolutionary Socialist, Right Wing and Left Wing Communist Parties) which in lesser times has proved beyond them. In classic Leninist style, strong and united action would cement an alliance born out of convenience.

Moscow Unity Move

The new factor in the situation is the Soviet Union whose leaders must be conscious of the fact that the Dange group, on whose support they have hitherto relied, excludes them from major areas of Communist influence in Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal where the Left faction is in predominant control. They are therefore engaged in a move to bring these factions together and help them exploit the situation better.

Reports from New Delhi suggest that major moves are under way, inspired by Moscow, to create once again a united Indian Communist Party from the two parties existing at present—the pro-Russian Party led by S. A. Dange and the so-called Marxist Party (pro-Chinese) led by former Chief Minister of Kerala E. M. S. Namboodiripad.

Mr. P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of the Marxist Party, convalescing in Moscow has apparently come under the persuasive pressure of Soviet ideologist Suslov's dialectical brilliance and has presumably modified his pro-Chinese views consider-

ably. It is reported that members of the Politbureau of the pro-Chinese Party brought together in New Delhi by the Government, by a remarkable coincidence had the chance to discuss a letter from Mr. Sundarayya outlining a new policy which would be more independent and less pro-Chinese.

Pressure on Right Communists

The Soviet Party is prepared, in return for this qualified support from the Left Wing Communists, to persuade the Right Wing Communist Party to adopt a more militant anti-Government policy and perhaps even to sacrifice Dange at the altar of unity. Talks are probably under way in Moscow for uniting the Indian Communist Party on this basis. We may therefore expect soon the emergence of a united party more militant and aggressive in its struggles inside the country and not any less accommodating to Soviet needs than the Dange group. By this manoeuvre the Soviet Party hopes to isolate the extremist pro-Chinese elements.

If this Soviet effort succeeds, it will be a major victory for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the Tashkent agreement was to the prestige of Soviet power in Asia.

The Soviet Union will then be in the unique position of having the cake and eating it as well. Because of the threat from China our Government believes that Soviet friendship is an indispensable condition of our survival. Therefore in terms of inter-state relations, the USSR is at the pinnacle of influence and popularity in New Delhi. By a combination of selective economic aid in vital fields such as heavy engineering and oil, bold initiative as over the Indo-Pak dispute at Tashkent and persistent lobbying and propaganda, she has become the most important external factor in the making of Indian policy.

The paradox which will soon become apparent is that the very same Soviet leaders who, as members of the Government, support and strengthen the Government of India, are seeking, as Communists and leaders of the CPSU, to find the most effective way

Under the Lens

by R. VAITHESWARAN



of organizing revolutionary means to replace it.

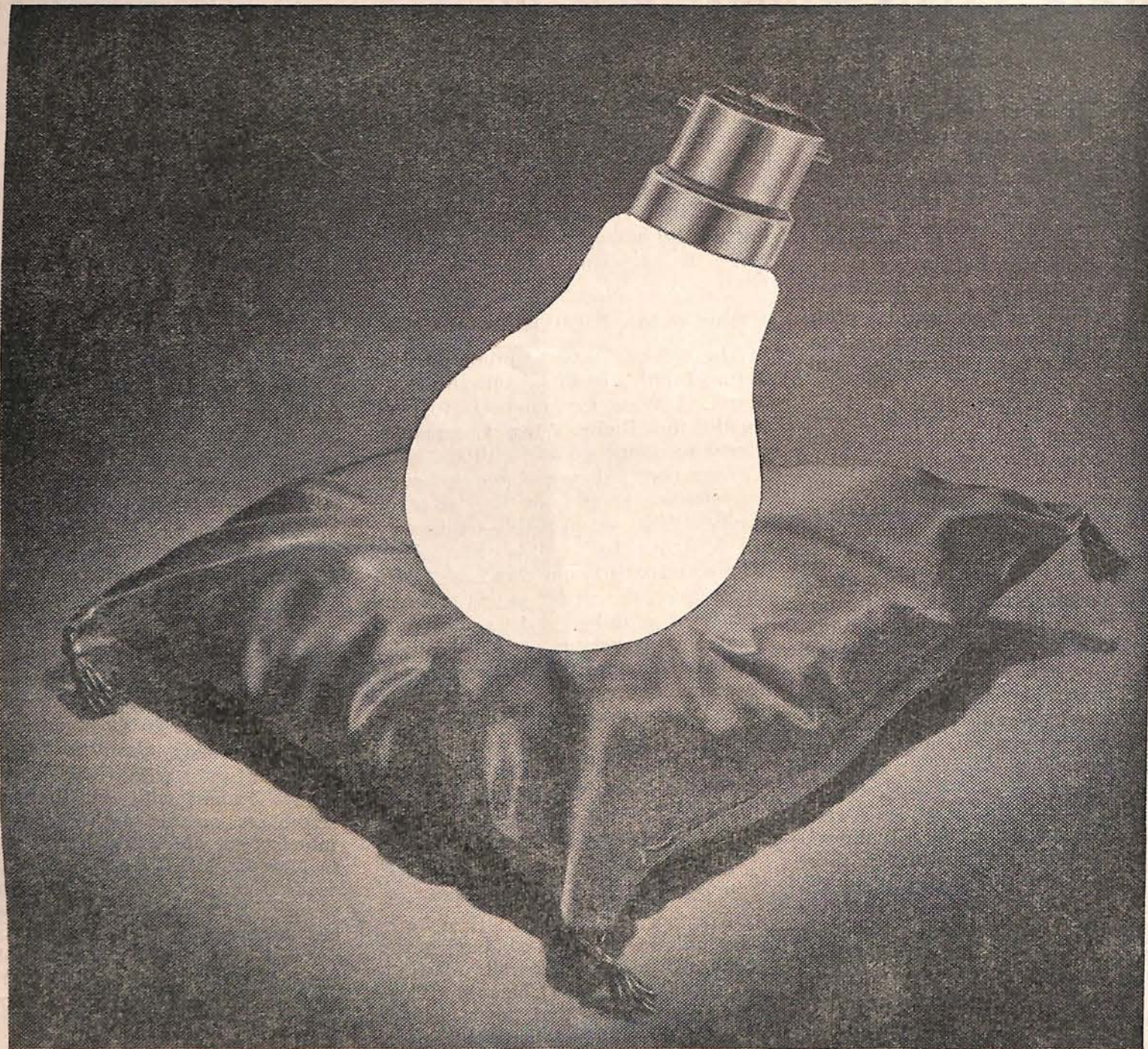
Will the Government of India, who have both supported and received co-operation from the docile Dange group as part of our policy of friendship with the Soviet Union, continue the same policy with a united and more aggressive Communist Party just because it is less pro-Chinese and has the blessing of the Soviet Communist Party?

Challenge to Government

The Soviet Union has nothing to lose. Her position in New Delhi is largely independent of the fluctuating fortunes of the Indian Communist Party. The attempt to unify and support the Indian Communists will strengthen her endlessly in her ideological dispute with China. Failure is not fraught with disastrous consequences as far as her strategic interests go, which are already secure in New Delhi. If, however, she succeeds, she would have won a major victory in the international Communist movement. Equally important, she will have a more powerful instrument to achieve her ideological as well as national interest in South Asia.

The Soviet Union is manoeuvring India into an Indonesia-type of situation prior to the September crisis, the only difference being that the Communist Party of India would be less pro-Chinese.


The challenge to the new Government is therefore formidable. To the external pressures that dictate our pro-Soviet postures are added the difficulties of our economic situation and the food crisis and the prospect of a united and effective Communist opposition. The Congress Party, considerably weakened by the passing of two great leaders in 20 months, racked by factionalism and in some states split into two, faces its most crucial year.



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Is Japan A Brother?

By Nobusuke Kishi

Japan is facing challenges today to accept a more significant role in world affairs than she has ever performed in her history. How she rises to them and what she does in the coming years might well affect the future course of important sectors of the world.

During a visit to Europe last autumn, I met President Luebke of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mayor Willy Brandt of Berlin, Chancellor Klaus and Finance Minister Schmitz of Austria, President Saragat of Italy, President de Gaulle of France, and President Tomas and Prime Minister Salazar of Portugal. I also conversed with various industrial and cultural leaders of Europe. They all displayed a deep concern in the problems of Asia and keen interest in what responsibility Japan would assume in their solution.

Other Nations Look at Japan

Naturally, when looking at Asia, the policies of the United States loom large in European eyes. The impression I received was that West Europeans, especially leaders in such nations as Germany, feel uneasy about the future of American commitment in Europe. They see the United States concentrating her attention on problems in Asia and observe, for example, the reduction of some American troops in Germany to be sent to the Orient. The question arises whether the United States will actually be able to fulfil her commitment to help defend West Europe in event of a crisis. A corollary feeling is the need for increasing the individual defensive strength of each West European nation.

Concern over China

At the same time, European leaders reveal support for the American stand in South Vietnam. With the situation developing as it has in this area, they see no other practical course than the general one now being taken by the United States and her allies in Vietnam. Communist China, on the other hand, appears as a dangerous force to be treated with caution.

Mr. Nobusuke Kishi was Prime Minister of Japan from 1956 to 1960. The present Prime Minister, Mr. Eisaku Sato, is his younger brother.

As Prime Minister, Mr. Kishi brought Japan back into a respected position among the nations of the world after the early post-Occupation years of domestic reconstruction. His visits in 1957 to the nations of South and South-east Asia, Australia and New Zealand, will be remembered as a major factor in restoring mutual trust, which THE TIMES of London evaluated as the most constructive step taken by Japan since the war.

In autumn of 1965, Mr. Kishi toured Europe, meeting with political and other leaders of various nations to exchange views. In December, he chaired the First General Assembly of the Asian Parliamentarians' Union. In this article Mr. Kishi expresses some of his long-held convictions about Japan and the world.

France, for example, has found that diplomatic recognition has not led to expected increases in economic relations. The original French mood of friendliness towards Communist China appears to have cooled off in the frigid Chinese adherence to doctrinaire concepts, which always lurk behind recent Asian conflicts.

My conversation with President de Gaulle centred mainly on Communist China. President de Gaulle apparently feels that France's position must be emphasized as a counter-balance to the dominant positions held by the United States and the Soviet Union in international affairs. It is probably with this attitude that he has tried to deal with the Chinese. But the doctrinaire arguments the Chinese present against imperialism and colonialism have made the French feel that the Soviet Union is more mature and able to talk more realistically.

Other European nations also have not been finding their trade with Communist China expanding. Germany, while hoping for increased

trade, has run into limitations due to the restricted ability of the Chinese to pay and the lack of goods they can offer the Germans. Italy also has not expanded her trade, although she has sent trade missions to Communist China.

Europeans tend to have little interest in the problem of the Chinese Government on Taiwan, when they think about the Communist Chinese question. Japan, however, cannot regard any problem about China without giving adequate attention to the important factor of Free China. It seemed to me that this difficult matter was not fully recognized in Europe, when trade or political matters were considered.

Regionalism "Too Small"

My recent impression is that Europeans, while showing interest and concern in the problems of Asia, still regard them as isolated from the problems of Europe. They seem to feel that the internal problems within their respective nations, or regional problems such as those within the European Economic Community, are closer at hand and demand priority attention.

However, the stability of Europe, with the Soviet Union deferring from a militarily aggressive policy in face of Western unity and military might, is in sharp contrast to the instability and upheaval of Asia. When Europeans become uneasy about their future security because of a diversion of American attention to Asia, they reveal a sense of separation from other regions of the world.

While I can appreciate the European's concern for Europe, as I appreciate the Asian's concern for Asia, it is my belief that the world today is too small for regional problems to remain regional. Humanity shares in common the aspirations for freedom and peace that are neither European nor Asian, American nor African. They are global. And wherever these basic aspirations are at stake, the local problem is global.

Technology and ideology have shrunk the world and made it fluid, so that a conflict in Vietnam has repercussions in New York or Tokyo,

Continued on next page

and racial strife in southern Africa has its impact on London or Moscow. Politically, each region may regard itself separate from other regions. National characteristics and levels of political development differ from nation to nation and region to region. But the urge to move forward, the seeking and testing of ideas and methods of progress, find no national or regional boundary line.

On the broadest base of nations and continents sharing this urge for advancement, Moral Re-Armament has demonstrated its effectiveness in uniting Europeans and Asians for the common goal of achieving a world of freedom, justice, and dynamic progress. Among such Europeans and Asians, I have not seen the attitude of isolation between one regional interest and another. To them all basic local problems are global and need global solutions. They take global action, Asians going to Europe to help Europeans and vice versa. In this pattern, Japan needs to stretch her perspective of responsibility.

Japan's Role

I found that Europeans seem to find it difficult to understand Asian affairs well and think that Japanese would have a better grasp of the situation and make more accurate evaluations. Japan, enjoying rapid economic progress and growing strength, a member of the free world and also an Asian nation, is expected to have a unique and important role in helping to solve the burning problems of Asia.

A similar view of Japan was expressed by the Members of Parliaments of various Asian nations last

December, when the first General Meeting of the Asian Parliamentarians' Union was held in Tokyo. India, Malaysia, Laos, South Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, Free China, the Republic of Korea, and Japan were represented. The Asians were unanimous in saying that Japan had given ample lip service to the need for aid to developing countries but has not seemed to follow up her words with enough action. The Japanese parliamentarians present decided to heed this opinion.

The Asian Problem

In accepting the challenge, the Japanese people must first ascertain the nature of the problem in Asia and in their own nation, and then proceed with determination to help in their solution. In Asia, the instability, conflict, and crisis are due to many factors inherent in the social and political tensions of both developing and modernized nations. But there are two major factors, which I think aggravate the situation beyond what might be regarded as a natural level of tension in progressing societies and which pose grave, immediate perils:

(1) Militant Communism, especially as represented by Communist China, is determined to pursue its set course of taking nations over, either by subversion and violent revolution from within or, when not succeeding in this strategy, by military force of various types from without. Only recently we have seen such attempts in the abortive Communist effort to take over in Indonesia last autumn, the build-up of Chinese forces on the Sino-Indian border, the aggravating of the dispute between India and Pakistan, and the sustaining of the war in Vietnam. As long as such a policy continues, chaos and conflict will continue.

(2) By default we free nations of Asia are unwittingly promoting the militant Communist effort to exploit chaos and making ourselves impotent in bringing about a solution. The disunity among us makes us weak. Our national interests, when narrow and selfish, conflict with those of other nations, and every division serves to expand the interests of those with a larger but more sinister interest. Moreover, in our preoccupation with divisive aims, we become unable to meet and solve the pressing problems common to us all.

Japan is in part responsible for this division among nations; for she enjoys relative political stability and high economic growth but has not

accepted the full burden of leadership in promoting unity. Shortly after World War II, Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman gave us the theme "Japan the Lighthouse of Asia". But there is a long distance between the word and the fact.

One of the major problems within Japan is the public mood of non-involvement and inaction, the fear of stirring a controversy or risking a clash. The mass media is influenced by this mood and in turn promotes the sentiment of pacifist neutralism. Communist China has its share of leftist activity in Japan, which manipulates an influential sector of Japanese journalism within all forms of the communications media.

The public in general, of course, do not believe in the doctrinaire policies of Communist China, but are nevertheless influenced by the tone of what they see and read of a leftist nature. In many instances, the effect fits into the strategy Peking pursues. The influence also polarizes the foreign policy positions of our political parties and prevents us from having a united policy that transcends party allegiance.

At times, Vietnam, for example, has been reported and interpreted in the Japanese press along the lines held by Hanoi instead of Saigon. The long years of public revulsion to war, combined with this type of manipulation of news and analyses, have caused a considerable proportion of the Japanese public to react negatively to the American military commitment in South Vietnam. The ironic result is that Hanoi thinks Japanese sentiment supports their standpoint, and this assumption encourages them to prolong the war. The fact is, however, that Japanese sentiment resists military involvement *per se*, and does not support Hanoi's militant policies.

Support South Vietnam

As a member of the free world, Japan should certainly support the American commitment to help South Vietnam defend her freedom. Because of restrictions in her Constitution, which prohibits any involvement of Japanese military forces, Japanese cannot co-operate in Vietnam militarily. But there are numerous other areas, indeed more basic and essential in the long run, in which Japan should assist intensive-

Continued on page 14

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Yankee - Ruski Bhai Bhai ?

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Los Angeles

The United States has suddenly taken a new policy tack in welcoming greater Soviet influence in South-east Asia.

Vice-President Humphrey has gone out of his way to praise Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin's role in suspending the hostility between India and Pakistan.

The administration hopes the Soviets can help persuade the North Vietnamese to negotiate.

Much US diplomatic as well as economic and military aid has been directed in the past towards reducing Soviet influence in India, Burma, Laos and Pakistan.

Unquestionably the world has changed since the containment policy was inaugurated. There has been no serious clash of Russian and American interests since the Cuban crisis in 1962.

The opposition to this new relationship call it the "unholy alliance" and claim that a secret peace arrangement has been proposed in the

backstage Vietnam peace manoeuvres, the neutralization of the entire Indo-Chinese peninsula under the International Control Commission.

It will presumably be the same International Control Commission that was created under the Geneva treaty of 1954, comprising India, Canada and Poland.

The idea in Washington is to increase Russian influence in South-east Asia at the expense of Chinese influence.

Soviet and American interests in Asia are parallel, for the moment, because of a common animosity towards China. But they are not identical and probably will not be until Moscow abandons its zeal to make all the world Communist—a pursuit wise old Konrad Adenauer of West Germany recently claimed has not been dropped.

Cold Dessert in The Market

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Zurich

The host was Prime Minister Werner of Luxembourg. The guests were the Foreign Ministers of the Common Market, among them for the first time since the crisis of last July, M. Couve de Murville, the recently reappointed Foreign Minister of France and diplomatic mouth-piece of President de Gaulle.

Normally at such conferences, after several courses of good French cuisine, even great controversies are seen in a warmer, more optimistic light. This time, however, the report says, "Even dessert and food did not seem to de-ice the atmosphere."

The questions discussed were of major importance for the future of Europe. The Ministers were talking about the new orientation which the European Common Market and the European governments were going to take. And one thing became increasingly clear as the deliberations in Luxembourg went on: the close presidential election of de Gaulle has not changed his concept of the future of Europe and the world one bit.

De Gaulle demands three things as conditions for France's further co-operation in the Common Market:

- 1) No supernationality in the organs of the Common Market. That means that every nation will preserve a veto power on decisions where her own rights are concerned.
- 2) A curtailment of the powers of the commission of the EEC which has increasingly become a government of its own, receiving ambassadors, sending official notes, etc.
- 3) A rapid fusion of the three European commissions—the ones running the EEC, Coal and Steel Pool and Euratom—with governments deciding the composition of the new commission together.

In practice this will mean that France will demand the heads of the present Presidents of the EEC commission, the German Professor Hall-

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

SAIGON—Two weeks' lull in the Vietnam war ended with heavy fighting between the Viet Cong and US troops in the Central Lowlands.

TOKYO—Prime Minister Sato appointed M. Yokoyama roving ambassador to nations involved in the Vietnam conflict as part of his Government's effort to bring peace.

KARACHI—It was reported that President Ayub may include Maulana Bhashani, left-wing leader of the opposition National Awami Party, who attended the recent "Three-Continents Conference" in Havana, in his Government in an expected Cabinet reshuffle.

LAHORE—Nepal Foreign Minister K. Bistu said here that his country was considering revising its agreement to allow the UK and India to recruit Gurkha soldiers.

TEL AVIV—Israel is facing one of the worst droughts in years. Unirrigated crops in the Negev have been written off.

COLOMBO—General Ne Win, Chairman of the Burmese Revolutionary Council, will pay an official visit to Ceylon this month.

DJAKARTA—Major General Suharto, Indonesian Army Minister, announced that Lieutenant Colonel Untung, leader of the abortive Communist coup last October, and Mr. Njoro, leader of the Communist trade unions, would be tried shortly.

SAIGON—Chinese MiG 21 fighter planes of Soviet design were reported on airfields and in the air over North Vietnam.

RANGOON—Rebel Karen tribesmen burnt Government offices and looted houses in a raid on Paung, 150 miles south-west of Rangoon. Karens have been fighting the Burmese Government since independence in 1948.

BANGKOK—Contributing nations have pledged 972 million dollars out of the authorized capital of 1,000 million dollars for the Asian Development Bank, it was announced here.

KUCHING—Malaysian Mines Minister I. A. Rahman flew to Sarawak to investigate a riot between civilians and Malaysian soldiers.

TOKYO—Japanese seamen began a second 15-day strike, making 1200 ships idle. They are seeking a Rs. 130 a month wage increase.

KARACHI—Processions and meetings have been banned for two months in the Pakistan capital and other cities following demonstrations against the Tashkent declaration.



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

stein and of the Dutch Vice-President, Sicco Mansholt, who have both been against de Gaulle's concepts for a long time. But the discussions concerning the Common Market and all its aspects are only the surface manifestation of a much deeper disagreement which divides not only the French Government from her five partners in the Common Market, but also many of the political leaders inside France, Germany and the other countries from each other.

What attitude Europe should take towards America is one basic issue. De Gaulle and his friends in Germany and other countries feel that sooner or later Europe, if she wants to keep her voice in world affairs, needs her own means to defend herself, and cannot depend indefinitely on US arms and men.

The second issue concerns the question of supranationality. The five partners of France in the EEC accuse her of just wanting to go her own way and not submitting herself to the "common interest of the Com-

mon Market". De Gaulle may think of France's interest more than he ought to. But at the same time, he is keen to keep the European economic situation open enough so that Britain and the other EFTA countries, and later the Eastern European nations could also join such an organization.

The next weeks will show how things will further develop. De Gaulle has already announced a press and television conference mid-February to announce his views. He feels in a strong position. He has a concept and is ready to fight for it. So far, the others are on the defensive, and unless they come up with something pretty new and big very fast, the French President will have his way.

"Sir Bob" Bows Out

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS
Canberra

After some months of speculation the Prime Minister of Australia, Sir Robert Menzies, has stepped down at the age of 71 from the office he has held for sixteen years.

Sir Robert has proved himself one



Sir Robert Menzies

of the great figures of Australian history and of the Commonwealth. Whatever one may think of his viewpoints or his actions, one is bound to recognize the wealth of experience of a man who, as Deputy Prime Minister, attended his first Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in 1935.

In 1941 it looked as if Sir Robert's political career was finished when he fell from office after his first two years as Prime Minister. The Party he then led, the United Australia

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Party, was dissolved, and in 1944 he founded the Liberal Party which he led to victory, with Country Party support, in 1949. It is bound to lead to a considerable shake-up in national life to have so major a force out of the active political scene.

Sir Robert's chief love was the Commonwealth and he was regarded by many as its elder statesman. Mr. Harold Wilson called him "a great world figure symbolic of all that is best in the Commonwealth concept". He has seemed to approach Australian relations with Asia with some caution. In his final press conference, however, he emphasized

Nigerian Crisis Not Yet Over

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT RECENTLY IN NIGERIA

The world has not yet heard the end of the unfortunate Nigerian tragedy. The rumblings of further eruptions are discernable as the military government endeavours to maintain control in the country.

The man who holds the key to the future is Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (known as "Zik") who, until the coup, was President of the Nigerian Federation. He has the political stature and the peculiar "charisma" that is inherent in successful African leadership. The ex-President's absence from his country as the clouds gathered and the storm burst was perhaps fortuitous. Or did he, like many others, sniff trouble in the wind?

Many questions remain unanswered. "Zik", the veteran leader of the Independence movement and champion of Federal Government, must have been sick at heart over the shameful events unfolding in Africa's most populous country.

Heads in Sand

Trouble has been brewing for a long time. With each successive crisis responsible leaders buried their heads deeper in the sand as they assured each other "it will all work out in the end". Now the showpiece of stability in Africa has been smashed. What was held out to be the best example of the Westminster pattern of parliamentary democracy is now under military dictatorship.

Two obvious reasons are given for the coup. The increasing dominance of the North and the corrupt "free

that there was no doubt of the importance of Australia's role in South-east Asia, though other countries in the region were more important. Australia's part, he went on, would be to continue as a helpful influence and maintain associations with the great regional countries like India.

The new Prime Minister is Mr. Harold Holt, who has been an MP for thirty-one years, a Cabinet Minister for eighteen years and for the last ten years Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party. Possibly because he has been in Sir Robert's shadow he is much less well known than his predecessor. It remains to be seen whether his leadership will have the same vigour and attack.

for all" in which many Nigerians indulged—from Cabinet Ministers to customs clerks. It had to stop. So the army stepped in.

The Northern Region outnumbers the combined strength of the Eastern and Western Regions. In face of the power of the Northern electorate, together with the religious as well as political "infallibility" of the Sardauna of Sokoto and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Southerners became increasingly bitter and frustrated. Events which led to the coup were focussed by the Western Region elections in October which the opposition claims, with convincing evidence, were rigged by the Central Government. Hundreds have died and suffered in the conflict.

The army was increasingly expected to carry out government policies which, with their growing tradition of fair play and non-involvement politically, they were reluctant to do. It was essentially a Southern and Ibo rebellion. Dr. Azikiwe is an Ibo. It will take superhuman statesmanship to restore unity in the country and maintain the concept of federation.

There has been a gloating chorus claiming the coup represents the failure of democracy and the regional constitutional structure, but Nigeria's failure is simpler than that. It could be written in one word—corruption. Signs of it are every-

The week in India

NEW DELHI—In her first policy statement as Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said the Government's most urgent task was to tackle the food situation.

TRIVANDRUM—Violence broke out in many places in Kerala during the "Kerala Bandh"—a one-day general strike—organized by a coalition of all political parties against the Central Government's alleged failure to maintain the State's rice supplies. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, announced that Kerala's rice ration would be increased.

NEW DELHI—India and Tanzania signed a friendship pact and two-year trade agreement envisaging a 66 per cent trade increase between the countries.

IMPHAL—Renewed activity by the Naga underground army was reported in the Manipur area. They had established a "Federal Government of Naga Hostiles", in some districts with military camps, recruitment and tax collection.

NEW DELHI—It was reported that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, would have talks with Naga underground leaders during February.

BANGALORE—Mysore Governor V. V. Giri said statutory rationing would be introduced in Bangalore and Kolar Gold Fields as soon as grain stocks were sufficient.

AMRITSAR—Withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani troops 1,000 yards from the line of actual control took place in certain sectors following an agreement between the army commanders.

CALCUTTA—5,000 college and university teachers in West Bengal will boycott university examinations this year to support their demand for more pay.

MADRAS—Madras Acting Governor P. C. Reddy said the State's outlay on farm programmes for 1966-7 would be increased to nearly 30 per cent of the State's total expenditure.

NEW DELHI—India's food output in 1965-6 is estimated at 76.1 million tons according to the latest official figures. The Third Plan target was 92 million tons.

BOMBAY—Right Communist leader S. A. Dange called on Bombay textile workers to prepare for an indefinite strike from February 28.

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where. Palatial homes alongside poverty; huge cars cleaving their way through flocks of sweating cyclists; and private bank accounts in countries handing out aid to develop Nigeria.

Dr. Azikiwe is not one of the "it-can't-happen-here" brigade. Speaking recently of Nigeria's role to be a "worthy example of true democracy and the efficacy of the rule of law in Africa", he stated: "The road to this manifest destiny is not smooth. It has been made rough by the potholes of misguided ambition, the enthronement of privilege, abuse of power, naked greed, rank intolerance and bare-faced parochialism."

Instead of celebrating the end of the Muslim fast of Ramadhan, the North mourns the death of their revered leaders. Nigeria is governed by force of arms. The consequences of a nation disarmed morally are plain for the world to see. If "Zik" is allowed to return will he give his country the chance to re-arm morally? The choice is blatantly clear.

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The week elsewhere

DE GAULLE FOR MOSCOW

PARIS—President de Gaulle will visit Russia sometime this year. This is the first major diplomatic move of de Gaulle's second term as President. He is expected to discuss European security in his talks with Soviet leaders. France has established cordial relations with the USSR during the last two years.

JAPAN'S PEACE CORPS

TOKYO—Fourteen young Japanese left for two years' volunteer work in Cambodia, Laos and Malaysia. They are the first to go abroad of the Japan Overseas Co-operation Volunteers—equivalent of the US Peace Corps.

CHINA BANS AIRLIFT

PEKING—China has refused to allow Russia to fly arms to North Vietnam, according to diplomatic sources. The reason is believed to be that China fears the Russians would use the airlift to photograph China's frontier defences. The air route from Tashkent runs along the Tibetan

border with India. The arms being sent, said to be ground-to-air missiles, are now going by rail through China.

TEACHING BY TV

LONDON—London schools are to have the world's largest closed-circuit TV link. Programmes will be piped from a central studio to 1350 schools and colleges. Transmission to 300 schools is scheduled to start in 1968.

VIETNAM WAR SPREADS

BANGKOK—The Vietnam war is spilling over into the rest of Indo-China. North Vietnam has long used the Ho Chi Minh Trail running through Laos and Cambodia to support the Viet Cong. The Americans have retaliated by air attacks with Thai-based planes, by supporting Laotian guerrillas in harassing raids on the Viet Cong supply line. Communist Pathet Lao forces recently captured an airstrip in Laos used to

Continued on next page

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

From Rebel to Revolutionary

THE THREE STAGES of Communist man were recently summarized by a British doctor of philosophy as (1) the revolutionary, (2) the functionary and (3) the non-conformist and rebel. The period from Lenin to the rebellious mood of today's young Russia spans this assessment.

Social Democratic systems in the West have a similar history. Neil Mence is a twenty-one-year old New Zealand medical student. Life in welfare state Lower Hutt, a new industry dormitory near Wellington, made him a non-conformist and a rebel. He quit study, got a job and, in that high wage society, saved enough for a boat trip to Britain.

Iraq Encounter

Wandering through the Middle East, he found himself in the midst of a revolutionary situation in Iraq. Machine guns were set up on the street corners of Baghdad. Tanks patrolled the streets. He had an unpaid job as a shop assistant. The Iraqi family who owned the business gave him board and lodging.

In downtown Baghdad he ran into a New Zealand professor who was on his way to teach medicine in northern Iraq. The professor gave him the best he knew, which was to tell him about Moral Re-Armament and give him an address in London.

The political tension in Iraq which accompanied a reported plot to kill the President meant that the Foreign Office declined to extend young Mence's visa. The British Consul

VIETNAM WAR—from page 12

supply these guerrillas. Chinese regular soldiers have been captured in north-east Thailand where China has established a "Thai Liberation Committee". Thailand's armed forces are being put on a war footing and the US is building bases in Thailand where US forces could land either to counter a Communist attack or to strike against the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

helped him cash in his return boat ticket to New Zealand. There was no boat from Iraq so he bought an air ticket to London.

Back again in Britain he landed a job as barman in a pub, then as instructor in "rock-climbing and canoeing" for the Outward Bound School.

On a weekend jaunt to London Neil looked up the friend of the New Zealand professor. A delegation of British youth were going over to Paris for an MRA conference in which Vietnamese were taking part. Neil decided that he wanted to be one of the young generation who would be responsible for the world's

redirection. He wrote his parents an honest letter and put right other obligations.

I met this young man here at Caux where a thousand European youth are meeting at a Conference called "Race for Tomorrow". He was one of the men who did much of the physical work in sustaining a conference of this size. Now he is in Germany, shouldering some of the skilled backstage work with the German version of Peter Howard's play "Mr. Brown Comes Down the Hill". This will mean an exacting two months' tour of forty-five cities.

"My life is entirely given for the moral re-arming of men and nations," he told me. "After the human misery, poverty and suffering I have seen I could not stand aside."

Mence's experience shows that a young New Zealander or a young Russian can move from the rebel stage to the revolutionary.

G. S. W.

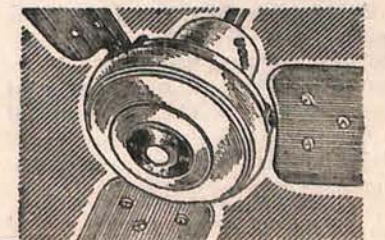
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ly, such as the economic, social and educational fields. Although the Japanese Government has officially declared moral support of the free world commitment in Vietnam, the public and the Government have much to do in fulfilling these words.

What Japan Must Do

We therefore come back to the question of what must be done to bring about a positive Japanese response to these challenges. I believe that Japan first needs to accept a series of truths. One is the truth about Communism, especially as practised by Communist China. Another is the truth that aid means sacrifice. It means that economic co-operation, for example, should not be merely for the motive of attaining commercial gains but for the purpose of building viable and thriving economies. The third truth is that there are consequences attached to responsibilities. Such consequences involve emphasizing the right solutions whether they are liked or not, and following through with them until they are effective. Another truth is that these other truths will operate regardless of whether or not Japan or any other nation accepts them, although the results will be extremely grave if the truths are not accepted. I should add here that a number of leaders in Japan have embarked on the task of awakening Japan to these facts.

Government Take Clear Stand

The process of awakening Japan must include the articulation of these truths clearly by the Cabinet of Prime Minister Sato and by members of the Liberal Democratic Party, the political party that has been responsible for the Government in Japan for many years. The clear stand taken by the Government must then be followed by action. With a firm unity of purpose inside Japan, the problems of Chinese Communism or the causes of instabilities in Asia can be faced without appeasement or fear.

With such public awareness and willingness to commit the nation, there are many practical fields in which Japan could promptly contribute to the stability of not only Vietnam but the whole of South-east and South Asia. For example, rice cultivation is an essential activity in

which Japan should give massive technical co-operation. The modest participation in existing projects is not enough. Japan has the technical resources to aid these rice-growing nations on a much wider scale, helping to increase the per-acre production far beyond present levels and perhaps solve the semi-famine conditions of some regions within the foreseeable future.

Another specific field is the provision of home medical aid. In Japan, the district of Toyama has continu-



Mr. Eisaku Sato, Prime Minister of Japan and younger brother of Mr. Kishi.

ed its centuries-old tradition of sending throughout the nation vendors of medicine produced from herbs and basic drugs. Such medicine is still widely used on the farms of Japan in effectively sustaining health. In such areas as Vietnam, the rural districts could make immediate use of such aid. While modern, highly advanced hospital facilities and the medical drugs and techniques are important and have their place in aid programmes, the readily usable farm medicines would be a valuable supplement to health needs. They could be promptly given in large quantities by Japan.

Agriculture Basic

Sound farms are the foundation of sound nations. Stability and strength in the farming population mean strength against the ideological tactics of the Communists. They moreover mean the sound foundation from which nations can grow economically.

In the military dimension, the burden of international co-operation is being borne by the United States. But the psychological dimension, the battle for the hearts and minds

of Asians, must be borne mainly by Asians. There is an intangible feeling among us Asians that we share much in common, in spite of differences of national interest, especially in our efforts to protect and foster freedom. This feeling was apparent among delegates to the Asian Parliamentarians' Union meeting. With our experiences, both the mistakes and the successes, we Japanese could significantly contribute to this task, if we decide to pay the price.

Alternative to Communism Necessary

In coping with the problems of Asia, Japan and indeed every other nation must approach the task with a basic, guiding principle: Wherever Communist forces and freedom-loving peoples are pitted against each other, politically, ideologically, or militarily, in Asia, Africa, Europe, or the Americas, simple anti-Communism is not the solution. Pure anti-Communism is negative, defensive, and concedes the initiative to the Communists.

While it is important to know Communist strategy and be against it, opposition alone is too weak to unite free nations and often has the elements of hate and bitterness which are the drives of Communism itself. It does not answer Communism nor meet the real ideological needs of the Communist nations, which cause them to be aggressive.

What is needed is an ideal, with practical, realistic steps to its attainment, that is a greater alternative than anti-Communism or Communism. This alternative, by its very nature of being greater than the other alternatives, will require greater, larger commitment and sacrifice than either of the other two.

The young generation, especially, are destined to play a major part in this effort to clarify such an alternative and build the steps to its attainment. The very strength of such commitment to the larger alternative will unite the nations, answer Communism, and open the way for peace in history.

In the broad sense, this is the challenge facing Japan today. I would add that it also faces every other nation. As the title to a well-known song of an MRA musical show told the Prime Minister in Japan last autumn, "Freedom Is Not Free."

LETTERS

SALARIES BY CHEQUE

SIR: I suggest that the salary to all permanent employees be paid by cheque. Some of the immediate advantages will be:

1. The strain on the salary section is spread over a longer period.
2. The cashier is relieved of a great and avoidable tension.
3. Large sums of money do not have to be transferred from banks to paying points at a well-known time, and thus armed robberies are lessened.
4. The loss of work on the afternoon of the pay day, which is more or less the rule (and a curse) now, is avoided; lakhs of man-days are saved in a year for the country.
5. The employees do not run the present risk of having their pockets picked in the office or in the bazaar on pay day.

The indirect advantages are:—

1. Banking and saving habits are forced on the employee.
2. The Government and country are also benefited by the above.

The process could be to issue the cheques from the 25th of the month onwards, with an inhibiting note that they could not be encashed before the 1st of the ensuing month. The employees could be advised to open a savings bank account in a "residential area" bank (which begins work at 8 am) as an "either or survivor account", the other party being the wife (in the case of a man) or any other suitable person.

The battalion of collectors of different kinds of dues on payday will, of course, be inconvenienced!

I am aware that some high officials run with indecent haste to the cashier and request encashment of the pay cheque as a (permanent!) "special case"; but that must be firmly discouraged.

M. S. KALYANASUNDARAM*
Kodaikanal

* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

SUPPLIES ASSURED

SIR: In the past, imports of foodgrains were used to create a false sense of abundance. For that purpose, the objective of building up buffer stocks was neglected. This must not happen once more. Not only must we build the buffer stocks, but also erect a permanent machinery which will be able to start selling out of these stocks when the internal production falls short of requirement. Only then we can assure the people supplies of foodgrains at steady prices.

N. B. KULKARNI
Bombay 1

EFFICIENCY

SIR: The Government, instead of spending now crores of rupees on badly-implemented plans, should devote a year or two to an efficiency programme. If all the existing plans and projects could be worked to their utmost capacity it would do a lot to boost the national economy.

In fact, the whole national set-up has to be revolutionized. Our set patterns of living and thinking need to go.

R. SEN
Calcutta 19

NAIVETE

SIR: The portion, relating to contributions to political parties by big business and industrial houses, of the Monopolies Commission Report makes curious reading.

Everyone is unanimous in the opinion that the practice of giving donations to political parties by business houses is detrimental to the process of democracy. Yet the Commission, instead of coming down on it heavily, has come out with a novel suggestion. It calls for voluntary action by political parties to do away with the existing system of collecting monies for party work.

To expect the political parties to observe self-discipline is nothing but an exercise in naivete. Practice of self-discipline is the most difficult of virtues.

B. G. OMPRAKASH
Hyderabad

CORRUPTION

SIR: In spite of the Santhanam Committee's recommendations, we see no abating of corrupt practices. The railways, the customs and the police are three departments both in the Centre and at the State levels which are hotbeds of corruption. Income tax and

COMPETITION

* Who would you choose as members of a National Government for India and why?

Closing date: February 18

** Is one party rule necessary for developing countries?

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sales tax are yet other beehives of corrupt practices.

If we abolish customs and declare all our ports as free ports and if we repeal prohibition, fifty per cent of vested interests living on illegal gratification will die of its own accord.

At least let the next generation start on a clean slate without the legacies of British rule with bakshis, tips, mamools, etc.

T. RAMANUJAM

Madras

"KINGMAKER KAMARAJ"

SIR: I was surprised and pained to see the Kamaraj article. How anyone who is striving for clean politics and God can lionize this Machiavelli beats me clean. I do hope you do not believe the things you say of him.

The write-up will seem to strike a strangely discordant note to HIMMAT readers used to articles based on principles.

No hard feelings.

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This was a life

MOLIERE

1622—1673

JEAN-BAPTISTE POQUELIN was a gay, witty and intelligent boy. He studied classics, philosophy, law and above all human nature. His piercing black eyes read people and motives with an accuracy often born of bitter experience.

He became interested in the theatre which was still regarded as impious and a profession not fit for gentlemen. For his father's sake (he was upholsterer to the king), he took the pen name of Moliere.

In 1643 he helped found a theatrical company called L'illustre Theatre. By his brilliant acting and dancing Moliere soon became the star of the troupe. He began writing farces which drew good audiences and saved the company.

One of his plays amused Louis XIV who gave him a room in the Petit Bourbon where Les Precieuses Ridicules, satirizing pedants, caused a sensation. Further successes aroused the jealousy of other companies. When the Petit Bourbon was pulled down without notice, enemies destroyed all Moliere's properties. From then on he played mostly in private houses or palaces, notably Versailles, the royal palace.

The hypocrisy and corruption of court society, specially where they concerned the victimization of his own class, angered him. He decided to use the stage for the "reform of manners". He did this in a brilliant series of comedies which attacked hypocrisy, deceit, snobbery and man-hating.

His enemies multiplied. Some churchmen hated his exposure of superstition and trickery; the nobles his exposure of their attempts to marry the daughters of rich tradesmen to pay off their gambling debts.

But the king and Paris laughed—and learnt. His satire, always exerted for the triumph of virtue over vice, was tempered by his sympathy for simple folk and young lovers under parental domination. He wrote over thirty plays.

Death came early. He was acting in the title role of his *Le Malade Imaginaire* when he was seized with violent coughing and died that night.

Moliere raised comedy from vulgar farce to a cultural force. The greatest tribute was his actors' refusal of bribes from rival troupes.

The French Academy refused him membership; but after his death erected a statue inscribed, "His glory lacked nothing; ours lacked him."

Q and A

Q—In India are all men equal...in what respect?

T. P. SATHYANARAYAN,

Hyderabad 1

A—Under our Constitution we are all equal before the law. Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi said soon after assuming office, that you cannot really have equality "unless the under-privileged and the poorer people are helped to raise their standards of living and to meet their basic necessities".

It is essential that these needs be met. But anyone who thinks that by obtaining economic equality men respect each other—irrespective of other considerations—is incorrect. Laws of equality cannot legislate manners. We speak of the "dignity of man", but often treat servants badly. The same applies to those we work with and others who work under us in offices and factories. We have a lot to learn from other nations which may not have the length of our history, but who give far more respect to the smallest—and the poorest—man in their society.

Q—What measures should be taken against the misuse and exploitation of freedom of the press in India?

MAHENDRA PRASAD, Madras 36

A—There are two major checks under the law in the case of misuse of freedom of the press. First, are the laws of the country. For example a paper is not supposed to write articles which are likely to prejudice India's relations with foreign countries with whom she has friendly ties.

The second check is the protection given to individuals against libel to their character by the press. These two are legitimate restrictions on free-

dom of the press. The danger lies in the state occasionally stretching its power and using the legal machinery to crush opposition. The question is: who will judge whether there has been misuse of the press or not? It often tends to be the state. As a matter of principle it is better in democracies to permit as much freedom of the press as possible and let public opinion act as a counter check, rather than permit the state to meddle in press affairs.

Q—Why is our Government intending to remove English from the country?

SHAFIQ AHMED, Muzaffar Nagar, UP

A—It is not. Some members in the Government may be, but as official policy the Government does not encourage the removal of English. Under our Constitution adopted in 1950, after 15 years Hindi was to replace English as the official language. An attempt was made last year, but due to the strong feeling aroused in the South, for the present both English and Hindi will continue. In the years to come, Hindi will and should flourish and grow, but the world is coming so close together now that it would be insanity to remove English.

Q—What is the meaning of the word HIMMAT? What does it stand for?

CYRIL PETER, Bombay 1

A—HIMMAT is the Hindustani for "courage". This Weekly declared "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 there is a revolution that can bring about a new order for all men, races and nations...this new age will be carved out by courageous and humble men and women."

In the 15 months since it has started, HIMMAT has striven to support and advance the initiative of such men and women who want a better world.

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How to Change India

By Rajmohan Gandhi

Canberra

INDIA RECEIVES FOOD, guns, bombers, factories and experts from the world. But she does not give much to the world. Even advice, with which we were generous in the immediate years of freedom, is something we have not lavishly handed out recently.

However, I am satisfied that India can and will become a nation that gives, a nation to which others turn, a nation from which others learn.

And a land with clean, adequate homes for all her people, jobs for all who need them and with liberty for each man and woman to choose his or her beliefs and course in life.

In this change an important part will be played by young Indians.

What are the qualities of a young man who blazes a new and revolutionary trail?

First, he lives for others, not for himself.

Frank Buchman was a man whose thoughts and actions were completely given to other people.

Detailed Care

I remember him preparing once for the arrival in Caux of an African leader. Buchman, who was 81, arranged the room for his guest, made sure the bathroom was clean and that there was towel and soap, planned carefully the menu for his meals, worked out after much thought who would meet him at Geneva Airport and drive him to Caux and who would sit with him at his first meal. The plane was late and Buchman, by now quite tired, went to his room to rest. At about 2.30 pm. the African suddenly arrived at the front door. I was hanging around near the entrance and felt it my duty to inform Dr. Buchman that his guest had come. As soon as I entered his room and almost before I could tell him Buchman was on his feet and getting dressed to meet the African.

What would be your first reaction if you were tired and resting and woken up on a warm afternoon to receive and look after someone?

A trailblazer does not pretend to be better or abler than he is.

He does not try to prove he is virtuous. He fights not because he is qualified to do so by skill or virtue, but in spite of his inadequacies and weaknesses.

He creates a team. He has the secret of enlisting others. He is willing, even if not able, to do anything by himself, but he uses his mind all the time to give others the opportunity of working and serving. He recognizes that the man he is inclined to be jealous of is the one who may need his partnership most.

He spends most of his time training his team. He is ever ready to teach what he knows and to learn what he does not, aiming to make his team-mates more effective and responsible than himself.

He is humble enough to lead. He is prepared always to give the place of prominence to his friends and fellow revolutionaries, but never shirks leadership. If necessary, he is ready to lead even if he fears that others might accuse him of ambition and even if he knows that there might be truth in the accusation.

He is not too proud to take correction from others. He knows that each day and each person can teach him something new. That men much older and much younger as well as men of his age, men experienced in the revolution of Moral Re-Armament as well as men who have just come to it, may see things in himself and about his country that he does not see.

Honest Look

He does not have the conceited view that everything Indian is good and that everything good must originally have been Indian. He is aware that virtues and vices, qualities and handicaps, are distributed evenly among different nations and that only God knows which nation is morally better or worse than any other.

He judges himself by strict standards and admonishes himself for his softness and laziness, but is lenient and generous with others, without being fooled by them. He is prepared to be firm with them, too, if firmness is required in changing them.

He is honest enough about himself, about what he has already

done and what he could have done, not to be embarrassed or shocked by the foolishness and selfishness of others.

He is absolutely honest about money and keeps careful accounts.

He writes a brief and objective report on the progress of his work at least once a week.

His mind constantly seeks out fresh and imaginative ways of putting eternal truths across to people.

Daring and courageous, he is not afraid of making mistakes or proving himself a fool in the eyes of friends, enemies, family or country, and if he is afraid he gets honest and changes.

Bold Ideas

Having made mistakes and having burnt his fingers he continues to pursue the bold ideas God gives him.

He is sensitive to the feelings and reactions of others. He understands the effect his words, his suggestions, his comments and assertions have on people around him. But while he tries his best to assess the reactions of others to what he says or does, he is not guided by these reactions, nor by his feelings and impulses, but by what God tells him. He loves others enough to place God first and them second.

He makes instructors out of trainees as speedily as possible.

He learns some practical and manual skill himself.

He is unselfish enough to give his best always to people no matter how he feels.

He is not controlled by response or lack of it. He does not stop caring for, planning for and fighting for people who are unresponsive. Nor does he regard immediate and wholehearted response as complete proof that he is on the right course.

He is honest about his deepest fears, hopes and dreams, instead of pretending they do not exist. But he lets God deal with his fears and fulfil his dreams in His way. He is honest about what he wants, but his life is God's, not his, and he does what God wants.

His life is not always pleasure. It is often pain. But he is the most satisfied man on earth. He is not prepared to exchange his revolutionary life for any other.

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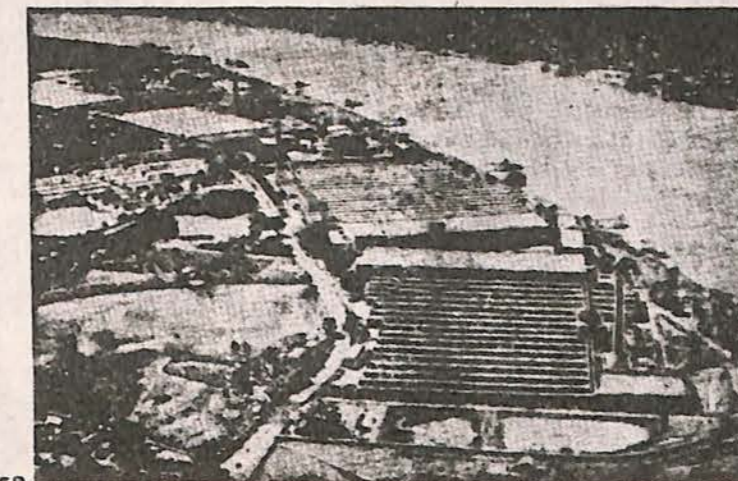
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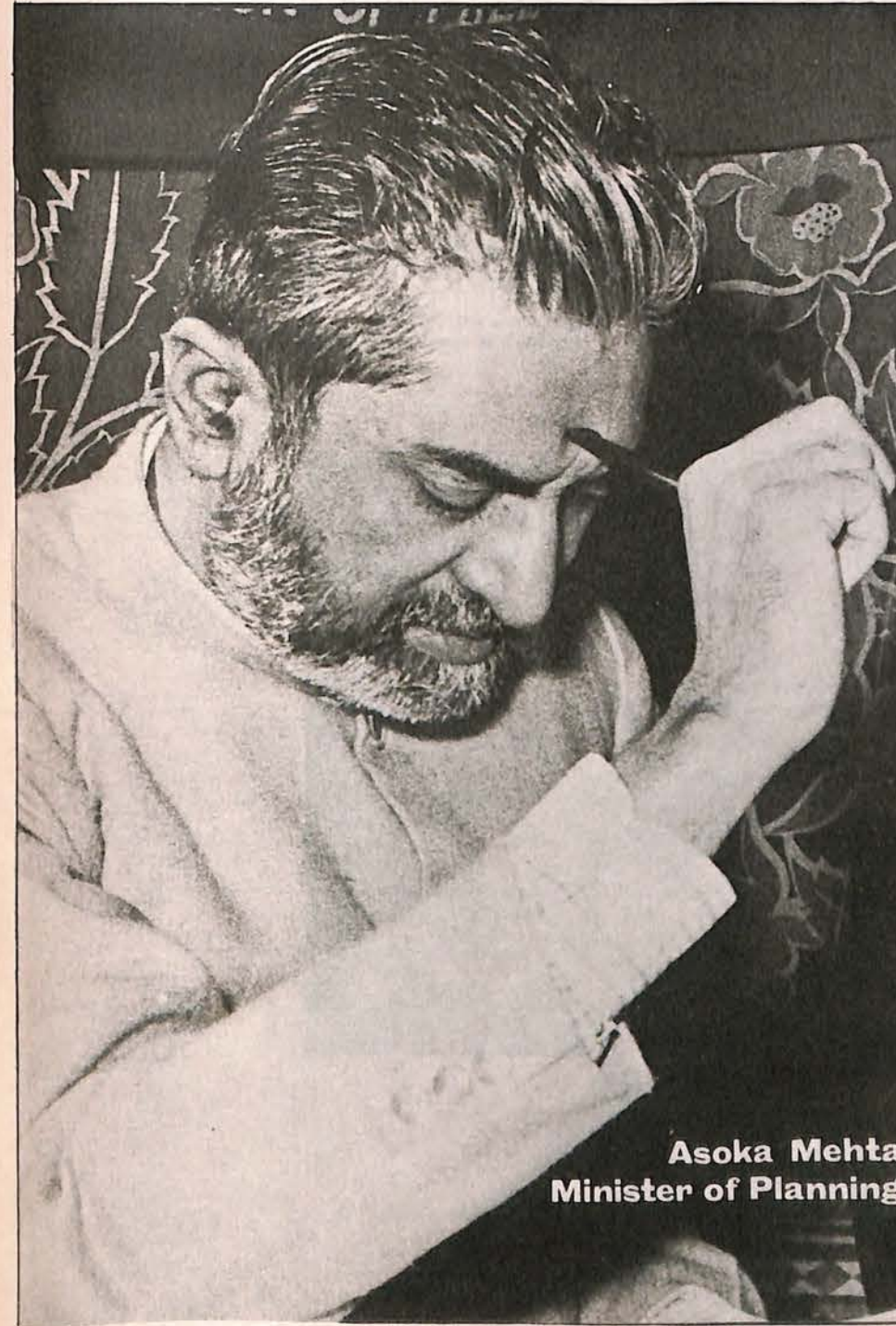
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DILEMMA OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

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Special Report

BEHIND THE KERALA CRISIS