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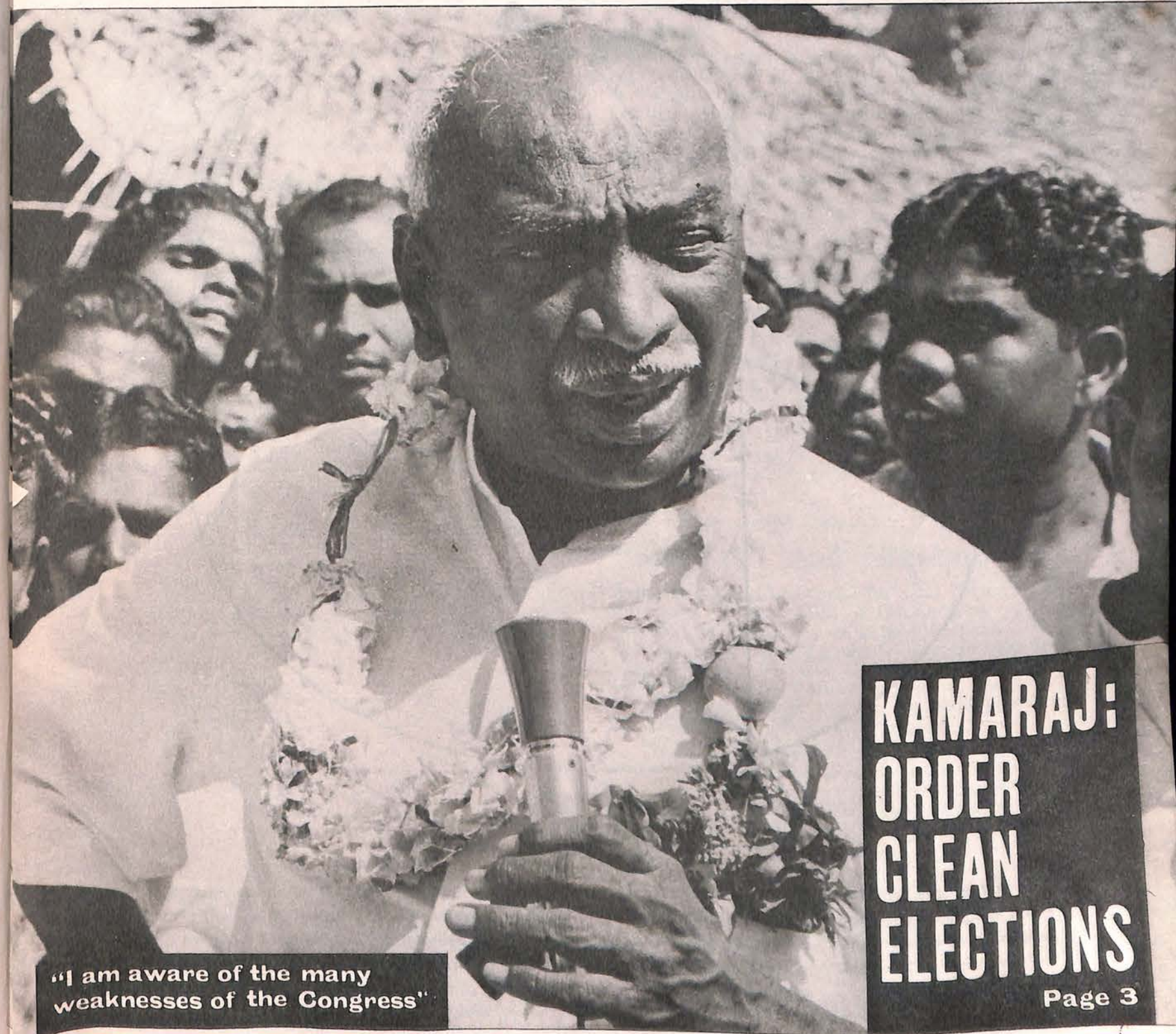
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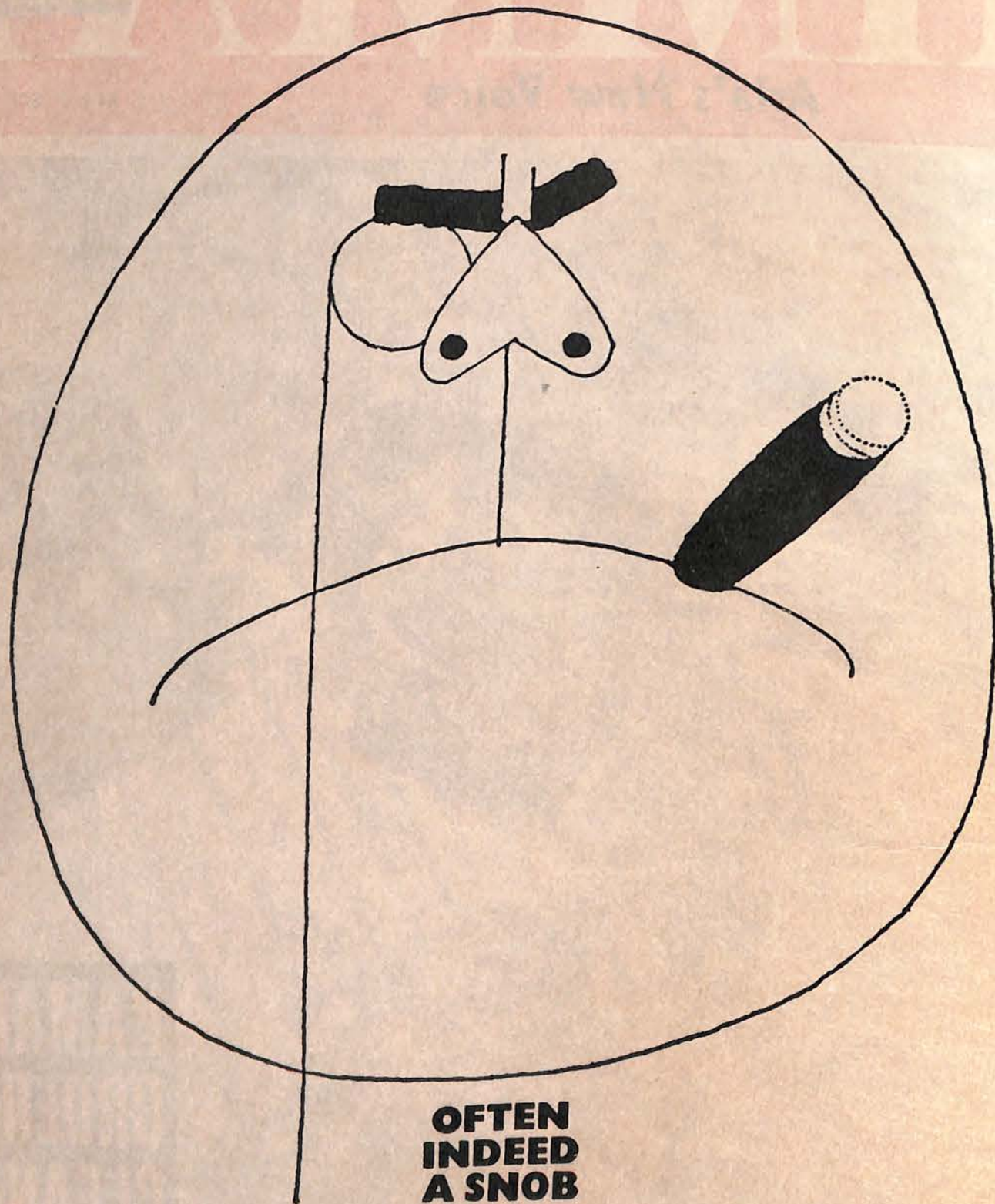


"I am aware of the many weaknesses of the Congress"

**KAMARAJ:
ORDER
CLEAN
ELECTIONS**
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Under the Lens

NASSER RETHINKS NON-ALIGNMENT




OFTEN INDEED A SNOB

But that is only when we must insist on a specified raw material rather than compromise with a non-standard substitute.

Or when we must reject what our own factories have produced, which do not conform to specifications.

Or when we must recommend to industry new methods of using our products and processes rather than preserve the old ways, which obstruct standardisation.

Or when we must question the ultimate quality of what we make, as we continually do. Yes, we are snobs, of a sort.....

INDIAN OXYGEN LIMITED 

HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday May 20 1966

Kamaraj: Clean Elections

ON THE EVE of the AICC meeting in Bombay this weekend, Congress President Kamaraj has done some fresh thinking. "I am aware of the many weaknesses in the Congress today," he writes in a recent article, "but I also feel certain that given wisdom and determination, these weaknesses can be removed."

Speaking on Sunday at a conference of the rebel Bangala Congress in Serampore, Bengal, Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, prominent Congress MP, former Chief Minister of Orissa and a member of Mr. Nehru's Cabinet, said, "There is no evidence of any possibility of correction of the Congress organization by itself. It has been almost wholly swallowed up by those who have no faith in democracy and Socialism..."

Mr. Kamaraj faces two challenges. The first is to clean up his party and keep it together. The other is to win the elections. Never on the eve of elections has the Congress been as much in disarray.

In Orissa and Bengal an influential section of the Congress has split in the last weeks. Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee in Bengal is putting up his own candidates and observers reckon he may capture up to 50 seats in the State Assembly, thereby terminating Congress rule in Bengal.

In Kerala, liberation hero Mannath Padmanabhan says that if the rebel Kerala Congress and the official Congress do not get together they face defeat at the hands of a coalition led by the left Communists.

In the Punjab, now on the eve of being split into Haryana State and Punjabi Suba, there are a dozen Congress claimants for the two posts of Chief Minister.

In the UP, Congressmen who do not get tickets may well fight Congressmen who do.

Even so the Congress colossus is confident of victory. "It is almost impossible to oust the Congress from power for many years to come," Kamaraj continues. In his article on Nehru, "The Nation's Leader and His Legacy", written for the National Book Club, the Congress President presents his political strategy for the coming months. His main aim is to avoid a united front of Opposition parties. He wants to divide the Opposition and makes a special appeal to all leftist parties to get behind the Congress.

Our Socialism, however, says Kamaraj, has to be "a home-grown product".

Kamaraj acknowledges that there were "bossist tendencies" even in Nehru's time, and that the

Kamaraj Plan was launched "to cleanse the Congress".

Though Mr. Kamaraj may feel that the plan has achieved a certain target, in the minds of most people the Kamaraj Plan has only served to cut the rivals of Mr. Kamaraj down to size and catapult Mr. Kamaraj himself into prominence.

The next Kamaraj Plan may need to be one that sets out to change people rather than to get them to change office. Manoeuvres will not do the job.

If Mr. Kamaraj is genuinely interested in curing the "weaknesses" of his Party, only a moral stand on a specific issue can begin to revitalize Congress. One such issue is the conduct of the Congress candidates in the coming elections—their collection and dispersal of funds and other practices.

The Congress wants to collect at least Rs. 15 crores (30 million dollars) to win the elections. There will be no difficulty in raising this amount. Everyone knows that business men have to give money to the Congress or their licences are taken away and their businesses are ruined. Everyone knows too how the money is used.

If Mr. Kamaraj is serious, let him at the AICC in Bombay call upon his people for a straight, clean election fight. The best men will come forward. People will begin to trust the Congress again. If he does not, the people will know that he is no more than a Pied Piper who, playing a Socialist melody, is misleading them—that there is no promised land. The question is not whether Congress will win the elections but how long India can survive free the way she is.

Kamaraj can still choose.

"Sleep-in" and Slip-out

AMERICA has had her "teach-ins" and "sit-ins". But this week a new form of revolutionary protest captured the headlines. It is the "sleep-in". Some 350 Chicago University students unspread their bed-rolls and occupied the University Administrative Office building. Their protest was against the practice of using class ratings to defer the military call-up of students with high academic grades.

They may be new in the US, but "sleep-ins" have long been employed in this country—usually in Government offices where staff are forced to slave from 10.30 am to 5.30 pm without a break except for morning coffee, lunch and afternoon tea. Such drudgery inevitably results in exhaustion and inefficiency. Even moving a file from one desk to another requires the effort of banging a bell to summon the office peon, and as the May sun climbs to its noonday zenith, the pace grows slower, the mouths yawn wider and the heads nod lower. Tension mounts and the stage is set for a mammoth "sleep-in".

Fortunately the protest does not usually last longer than 5 pm when there is a noticeable stir as the staff rouse themselves and prepare to leave. But not before signing a sheaf of duplicated letters assuring correspondents that "with reference to yours No.....dated.....re.....the matter is being looked into".

Briefly Speaking ...

Do you know my son, with how little wisdom the world is governed?

AXEL COUNT OXENSTIERN,
in a letter to his son, 1964.

Free To Contest

CONGRESSMEN, like water, can find their own level. Mr. Baij Nath Singh, a prominent Congress ministerialist from the UP, has appealed to Congress President Kamaraj not to give party tickets to the Congressmen for the next general elections and leave them free to contest as individuals.

The rift between the two wings in the Congress in UP is so serious that this suggestion has been put forward. Mr. Singh says that the principle he advocates was applied in the last biennial elections to the State Council in the local authorities' constituencies, and it has resulted in the complete rout of all Opposition

candidates and the annexation of all the 13 seats by the Congress.

The fact that a Congressman puts forward a proposition like this, indicates that the writ of the Congress High Command may no longer run over all Congressmen in India's largest State, the UP, with its population of almost 100 million.

Armless Driver

IN HEIDELBERG, 29-year-old Eberhard Franz, who lost both his arms in an accident, has redesigned a car to suit his convenience. He first bought a car with an automatic gear-change in which the clutch is superfluous and his left foot is free. Mr. Franz steers the car with his left foot by means of a pedal resembling that of a bicycle. His knee operates a starter lever and the brake handle is pressed forward by the diaphragm when he wants to change from the footbrake to the "handbrake"! His right leg does everything else by means of easy-to-reach levers and switches. The indicators are operated by his right knee.

When a man so handicapped can redesign his car, why cannot we in India have a car designed to suit our needs? The designs of all the three cars manufactured in India are imported designs. The Standard Herald has an excellent engine, but the sealed rear windows make it extremely inconvenient for passengers travelling in a hot climate like ours. Surely our national pride should compel us to adapt designs to our requirements?

China Learns About Giving Aid

COMMUNIST CHINA finds that giving foreign aid is a difficult form of diplomacy, reports the *Observer* of London.

During the famine in Algeria in 1962, China diverted 9000 tons of wheat purchased from Canada to Algeria, as a gift; but by the time the grain arrived, the United States had moved in with 60,000 tons. A year later, China extended \$50 million to

Algeria. Within a few weeks the USSR moved in with \$100 million.

China gave a plywood factory to Cambodia. The factory was closed down because the products were more expensive than imported plywood.

According to the *Observer*, China has had a trade agreement with Nepal since 1956, but only one project is completed, a shoe factory.

The most recent Chinese aid to Hanoi, which has received great publicity, is not in the military sphere. It was the opening in the North Vietnamese capital of a Chinese-built vermicelli pastry factory.

The way to a nation's heart is through its stomach.

Mother Language

THE SANSKRIT VISHVA PARISHAD meets in Bangalore later this month, and thousands of Sanskrit scholars will attend. President Radhakrishnan will inaugurate it.

Dr. K. M. Munshi, who is a moving spirit behind the Sanskrit revival, says that the Pushtu language of the Pathans is a dialect of Sanskrit. Even Urdu, though written in the Perso-Arabic vocabulary, is an Indo-Aryan language. He says that 50,000 people in India can speak Sanskrit fluently, though it is widely taught.

It is a pity that in the land of its development, only one out of every one lakh of Indians can speak this rich language that is the root of so many of our languages.

R.M.L.

WIN A TRANSISTOR RADIO

The latest Murphy transistor (Model 579) will be given to the person who sells the greatest number of annual subscriptions (Rs. 12) between May 6 and June 30, 1966.

Those wishing to enter the competition are required to send their name and address to the Circulation Manager, HIMMAT Weekly, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1.

Subscriptions with payment must be sent immediately to HIMMAT. A record of the number sold by each entrant will be maintained at this office and the results declared in the issue of July 8.

—Circulation Manager.

President Nasser reinterprets non-alignment

Mr. Kosygin's visit to Cairo, following exactly two years after the flamboyant excesses of Mr. Khrushchev, is a symptom as well as a demonstration of the growth in influence and prestige of the Soviet Union in the Middle East.

It follows upon the twilight period of sudden changes, inaction and uncertainty in many countries like Ghana, Algeria and Indonesia which had until now been definitely classified as part of the Soviet camp. A qualifying clause that "the social, economic and political structure of these countries is not yet sufficiently strong to guarantee a complete victory of Socialist ways" has had to be added to recent Soviet pronouncements.

The Soviet Union under Brezhnev and Kosygin has reasserted the national interest of the Soviet Union in the region and consolidated and carried forward in spectacular ways the policies of Khrushchev. The new radical rulers of Syria have encouraged the Soviet rulers to seek a

closer alignment with them. Russia promised Dr. Youssef Zeayen, the Syrian Prime Minister, that she would help in the construction of the Euphrates dam, during the latter's visit to Moscow last month.

At the same time, by covert aid to the Egyptian-trained terrorists of the Arabian peninsula, they have obtained the highly satisfactory British promise to withdraw from Aden. In the past two years, Moscow also made successful approaches to Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, who have all turned hopefully to the Soviet Union for greater economic and military aid.

But the biggest stage of the Soviet Union in the Middle East is the UAR itself which so far has proved the most stable of all the Socialist regimes among the developing nations. The Russians have given Egypt over \$1 billion-worth of the most modern military equipment like tanks, jets, submarines, air-to-air missiles, etc. An equal amount is pledged as economic aid. The Aswan Dam is the largest single project undertaken by the Soviet Union anywhere in the world.

The Soviet Union evidently hopes that she can make fresh dents in the Western system of alliances and defence in the Middle East by promoting a rapprochement among the jealous and feuding Socialists of Iraq, Syria and the United Arab Republic. Kosygin has the difficult job of persuading Nasser that despite closer relations with Syria, the Russian commitment to the United Arab Republic remains the strongest and clearest.

A Dead Policy

President Nasser, for his part, has obviously been engaged in a reappraisal of the old initiatives of non-alignment which had assured to himself, Nehru and Tito a unique part in world affairs. But for many reasons, non-alignment in the old sense had become a dead policy. For one thing, it became out-of-date in a world no more polarized between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Chinese invasion of India and the serious Sino-Soviet conflict had not only brought fresh compulsions on India but created new areas of

Under
the
Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

disagreement that threatened the unity of India, Egypt and Yugoslavia. These tensions were best reflected in the aggressive postures of Sukarno, which ultimately resulted in a break between India and Indonesia and a clear-cut division between pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese groups in the Afro-Asian set-up.

Non-alignment from its inception has had an anti-Western ("anti-imperialist") and pro-Communist bias. The Soviet Union and Communists all over the world have always identified the countries following this policy as "natural allies of the Socialist countries".

Debacle of Chinese Aims

"Positive neutrality is the negative reaction of young countries to military blocs created at the initiative of imperialist states," says an article in *Kommunist*. "The policy of non-alignment does not pre-suppose the same attitude toward friends and defenders of peace on the one hand, and foes and aggressors on the other. On the contrary, the young developing countries, carrying on a struggle against imperialism and interested in preserving universal peace, are the natural allies of Socialist countries."

With the serious ideological rift in the Communist world, it became dangerous for the Afro-Asian nations even to meet together lest it create an unbridgeable rift in the hitherto identifiable bloc pursuing a united policy. It therefore robbed both Nasser and Tito of any effective world role.

The debacle of Chinese aims in Indonesia and many African nations as well as the growing anti-Chinese sentiment in India, the Soviet Union and the United States, led, on the other hand, to a more effective alignment for the containment of China. The shift in Indonesia would strengthen this anti-Chinese alignment.

Continued on page 20

CHALTA HAI...



"By the way, what are we striking for this time?"

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.



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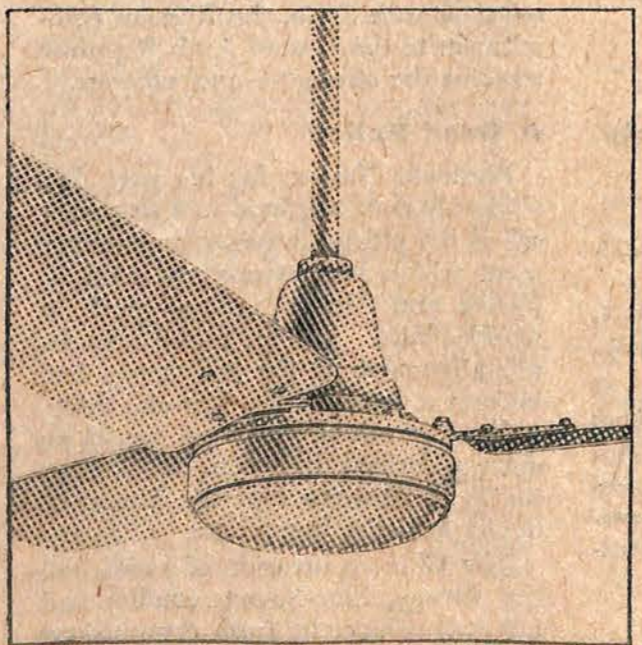
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Cardinal and Communist Leader Clash

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Vienna

Information reaching this capital of Austria from Poland reveals that the battle between Church and State for the soul of the Polish people is reaching new heights. On Sunday May 8 several hundred Polish Catholics met in the main square of Krakow and shouted rhythmically "Przebaczamy" which means "we forgive". This seemingly unpolitical cry nevertheless provoked the political power so much that they sent in police to break up the demonstrations and disperse the people.

This event was just the last in a whole chain which started with the publication of a letter of the Polish Bishops addressed to their German colleagues last November. In this letter Cardinal Wyszynski, the Primate of the Catholic Church of Poland, and the other Bishops wrote: "We stretch out our hand to you (the German Bishops) in that forgiveness which is sealed by the Vatican Council now approaching its end and ask for forgiveness in our turn." The German Bishops answered with a long letter accepting the offer of forgiveness from their Polish colleagues and bringing up some of the most painful memories of the European history of the last fifty years. But they also indicated in their letter that whatever the governments decided, the people and their religious leaders had the right and duty to point to a new road.

1000-Year Celebration

The occasion which prompted the exchange of these letters was the thousand years celebration of the christianization of Poland. The place where this was to be celebrated in the beginning of May was the city of Czenstochaw where a picture of a black Madonna has been the object of worship by the Polish people for centuries.

Cardinal Wyszynski and the Polish Catholics hoped to make these celebrations a world event. They hoped that Pope Paul VI would be able to come and had invited also 30 Cardinals and 120 Bishops from 56 countries. Thousands of laymen had also been planning to visit Poland coming from all the corners of the earth.

But the Polish Government and the head of the Communist Party, Wadislav



Gomulka

Gomulka, decided differently. Gomulka and Wyszynski had known each other for many years. In October 1956, when Gomulka came to power, forcing the Stalinist wing of

his own party to withdraw, one of his first actions was to free Cardinal Wyszynski from prison. The Cardinal seems to have promised Gomulka at that time that the Church would keep out of politics and that it would not start a new Catholic youth movement. But this winter the uneasy coexistence between Church and State seems to have come to an end. Not only was Cardinal Wyszynski not given his passport to go to Rome for the beginning of the celebrations, but the Polish Government refused systematically to issue visas to the foreign dignitaries including the Pope. They even refused to give out tourist visas saying that tourism inside Poland would occupy all available means of transport and that therefore the foreign tourists would have to wait till the end of the summer to visit Poland!

And when the celebrations themselves started, the Polish Government organized counter-demonstrations in all big cities of the country. While Cardinal Wyszynski preached to a hundred thousand in Czenstochaw, Gomulka spoke at a mass rally in a nearby place. A military parade and a speech by the Defence Minister took place on the same day as the

Continued on page 20
More 'World's Capitals' on page 9

The week in Asia

KUWAIT — The Kuwait Government deported over 40 people believed to be supporters of the Arab nationalist movement. Most of the deportees were not Kuwaitis.

DJAKARTA — According to a Reuter's report, the Indonesian Government is to recall all students now studying in Communist countries. Action would be taken against those refusing to return.

PEKING — Peking newspapers published a photo of Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung with the visiting Albanian Premier. The non-appearance of Mao in public since November had caused speculation about his health.

DJAKARTA — Lieut. General Suharto told a press conference Indonesia planned to make its own nuclear bomb.

KATHMANDU — Nepal is to export Rs. 26 lakhs (Nepalese currency) of raw jute to Russia, and Rs. 1.5 lakhs jute bags to China, reported PTI. A local daily said the jute would be sold to China for less than if sold to India.

RAWALPINDI — Britain signed an agreement to lend 4 million pounds to aid Pakistan's third Five Year Plan.

COLOMBO — The election of Sri Lanka Freedom Party MP, T. B. Subasinghe, was declared void by the election judge. The charge included undue influence on voters. He is the sixth Ceylon MP to be unseated.

PEKING — New China News Agency claimed US planes shot down a Chinese aircraft over Chinese territory.

TASHKENT — Pravda reported that 17,700 families were made homeless by recent earthquakes here.

CANBERRA — The Australian Government declared it would oppose use of nuclear weapons against China or North Viet Nam.

SAIGON — South Viet Nam Premier Ky said his military Government would remain in power another 12 months. He said it was impossible to hold elections in three months as agreed during the recent Buddhist agitation.



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HIMMAT, May 20, 1966

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Nasser: Tough Talk—and Desperation

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

Even after allowance is made for those flights of rhetorical emotion to which Arabic orators feel entitled, the recent address of UAR President Nasser still was rough. Outside Egypt it was headlined as "fist shaking" and "menacing".

Referring to the 12 Hawk jet fighters King Feisal of Saudi Arabia is buying from Britain, President Nasser said, "We tell him we can destroy his 12 planes in five minutes." He described the Saudi frontier towns of Jizan and Nejran, which border Yemen, as having been "stolen by Saudi Arabia in 1930" and affirmed the Yemen Republic's right to reoccupy them.

President Bourguiba of Tunisia was referred to as "the criminal who assassinated Salah bin Yusef"—the Cairo-based Tunisian nationalist who opposed Bourguiba's leadership.

Speaking of the Saudi moves to convene an Islamic conference, the Cairo leader went on, "Those bearded men who traffic in religion cannot cheat the people. Religion dictates that the wealth of Muslims be given to Muslims and not to a particular family." Such fulminations fall on unsympathetic ears in many cases since the hundreds of thousands of Muslim pilgrims just returned from Mecca bear eloquent witness to the untiring interest of King Feisal personally in their comfort and safety.

Referring to the "imperialist powers", President Nasser complained, "A clash is being imposed on us in the Arab East. I have tried to bring about peaceful co-existence and called for Arab summit conferences, but (forces of) reaction used the conferences to strike at the forces of progress and revolution."

To many observers the speech is disturbing, not so much for its extreme language, as for the evident frustration and desperation from which it rises. The UAR has suffered serious set-backs in Yemen. Troops returning in mounting numbers tell the sad story in town and village: it does not always jibe with official releases. "Quit Yemen" slogans appear on walls and doors.

US—Saudi Links

A State Department spokesman in Washington, R. J. McCloskey, was asked to comment on the warnings in the speech. He stated that, while America had no mutual defence treaty with Saudi Arabia, it remained—as President Kennedy had declared in 1963—"strongly opposed to the use of threat or force in the Near East". He reaffirmed America's pledge to support Saudi Arabian territorial integrity.

From President Nasser's standpoint it is particularly difficult to have to accept American food aid in these circumstances. Many Arab leaders who do not agree with the policy of "progress and revolution" advocated by Radio Cairo, cannot understand why Washington continues to help a country so deliberately backing subversive movements, not only in Yemen, but in every Arab country. Indeed, the present tempo of escalation in the Riyadh-Cairo confrontation may soon force Washington to abandon its present make-shift policy.

'Harambee'—Pull Together—Africa

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

They called it "the glorious first of June". That day in 1963 when Jomo Kenyatta became the first Prime Minister of Kenya. It was the climax of a life-long struggle which he himself described as "the happiest moment of my life".

Tens of thousands of jubilant Kenyans thronged the street outside what is now the President's Office.

On the steps of the front entrance Kenyatta took the oath of office ad-
Continued on next page

HIMMAT, May 20, 1966

The week in India

NEW DELHI — Defence Minister Chavan said China had from 125,000 to 150,000 troops on India's borders.

CALCUTTA — Rebel Congress Parties in West Bengal, Orissa and Kerala were understood to have exchanged letters with a view to launching joint action.

NEW DELHI — It was reported that UK Premier Harold Wilson will visit India, Pakistan and possibly Iran next October.

PATNA — Thirteen people were killed and many injured by freak hailstorms in Champaram district.

NEW DELHI — Communist MPs walked out of the Lok Sabha after accusing Planning Minister Asoka Mehta of getting the approval of the World Bank president for his statement in Parliament on his visit to the US.

NEW DELHI — Over half the Government officials are corrupt, according to a sample survey conducted by the Indian Institute of Public Administration in Delhi.

TRIVANDRUM — The Kerala teachers' joint action committee announced that 130,000 teachers would strike indefinitely from June 1 for more pay.

CALCUTTA — The United Left Front was reported to have decided to launch a "limited direct action" soon because of the West Bengal Government's alleged failure to fulfil its promises made during the recent food agitation.

NEW DELHI — Home Minister Nanda said the Government had proof that Mizo and Naga rebels were getting military aid from Pakistan.

LUCKNOW — Communist and SSP demonstrators held up Vidhan Sabha proceedings by preventing MLAs from entering the House. Several MLAs were manhandled, including women. The demonstrations were against an increase in land tax.

SHILLONG — Rebel Mizos, aided by Naga underground forces, were reported to be preparing a fresh rebellion during the monsoon at the end of June.

SRINAGAR — Most shops closed in a protest called by the Plebiscite Front against the continued detention of Sheikh Abdullah.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

ministered by the last British Governor, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald.

Wearing a beaded cap and carrying his customary silver handled fly-whisk the Old Man rose to address the hushed crowd. In his fatherly fashion he spoke of past struggles and of the trials and opportunities facing the new nation.

His speech ended. The new Prime Minister, obviously pleased, grinned and chuckled. Then with the roar of a lion, a flick of his fly-whisk, he yelled "Harambee". The delighted crowd responded with a tumultuous "Hey". Everyone knew it. This is the cry of workers in forest and field when they want to "pull together" to shift heavy obstacles. It is the Swahili equivalent of "One, two, three, heave". The cry and its response went on for minutes until it dissolved into cheers and laughter. Some even wept.

As a youth Kenyatta had worked for a South African farmer leading a team of oxen. He would have used the expression a thousand times when

the wagons got stuck in mud or on the rocky tracks which then served as roads.

"Harambee" gave expression to the mood and the need of a nation. It became a national ideal as well as the motto in the official Kenya Coat of Arms.

Farmer and Statesman

A few days later my wife and I were taken to his home at Gatundu to pay our respects and offer our congratulations to the man we had learned to admire and regard as a friend. He was quietly working on his land amongst the coffee, the cows and poultry. This man who had stirred the hearts of thousands and led a country to its independence talked to us about pruning his roses.

Mama Ngina (Mrs. Kenyatta) prepared tea for us. In a memorable leisurely hour we chatted with a man whose candour and conviction has made him one of the outstanding statesmen of this century.

He spoke of the past and the future. Of a man who had betrayed him and whom he had forgiven. Of the white farmers who he hoped

would accept the new conditions of living in an African-governed country and help build it. He earnestly spoke of the youth—and their morals. Our objectives were clear and we sacrificed for them, he told us, now we must inspire a new generation to create the character of our nation.

The other day we re-visited Gatundu with the cast of the All-Africa musical "Harambee Africa". 150 young men and women from eight African states have accepted Kenyatta's challenge. They are the spearhead of thousands more. In song, dance and skits they demonstrate that prosperity only comes through hard work—and it need not lead to decadence. Unity comes when men change. Corruption can and must be cured. With such answers they are convinced that Africa's role is to begin to civilize mankind.

President Kenyatta, his wife and several children, together with the Minister for Education, listened intently to every word and obviously enjoyed this kaleidoscope of the new Africa. Speaking afterwards in Swa-

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

hili he urged them to take the spirit of Harambee to all nations. "It is my belief that if you scatter these ideas all over Africa, Africa will set a pattern for the whole world and we shall speak with a united voice."

The occasion was recorded for TV, Press and Radio by the Presidential Press Unit. The next evening it was relayed to the country immediately following the President's special broadcast to the nation. Already requests for "Harambee Africa" are coming from other African states.

Harambee. Harambee Africa. Harambee the world.

London NATO HQ?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

In less than a month London has been named the swiftest city of the sixties and a possible headquarters for NATO. Whatever accolades this capital wins there is plenty of activity. Mr. George Thomson (Minister of State for Foreign Affairs) and Mr. Denis Healey, Defence Minister, are visiting different European capitals. Signor Fanfani, Italian Foreign Minister Fanfani—always a key figure in Britain's relations with Europe—is arriving in London.

If NATO HQ is established in London it makes Britain the main centre for inter-European negotiations. The decision on the future site of NATO HQ is likely to be taken at the June 6th meeting of the organization which opens in Brussels shortly before President de Gaulle pays his visit to Moscow. At the end of his six-day visit to Rome Soviet Foreign Minister Mr. Gromyko proposed a "summit conference" of the nations of Western Europe including Russia.

Meanwhile the expected Common Market agreement on the financial terms of its agricultural policy will go far towards ending the Six's preoccupation with internal matters. This comes at a moment when there is the possibility of building a new bridge with Africa with Nigeria's impending association with the Treaty of Rome.

The possibility of London becoming the new HQ for NATO means an opportunity for Britain to become the leading European spokesman *vis*

a vis the United States. This is a new incentive for Britons to formulate what their role in the world actually is to be.

European leadership must now set its goals large enough so that in striving toward them it is possible to unite, not divide, the world.

Holland, Indonesia Draw Closer

FROM PETER HINTZEN

The Hague

Despite war and recrimination between the Netherlands and Indonesia, people here still feel deeply interested in Indonesia.

Some weeks ago, the great (but misunderstood) advocate of the interdependence of both nations, Socialist leader Sutan Sjahrir, died in Austria. When his body passed through Amsterdam en route to a hero's funeral in Djakarta, former Dutch Prime Minister W. Schermer-

horn spoke at the request of the Indonesians at a ceremony for the occasion. Visibly moved, the Dutchman spoke of misunderstanding and missed chances of co-operation.

From both sides, attempts are being made to improve relations. *Continued on page 14*



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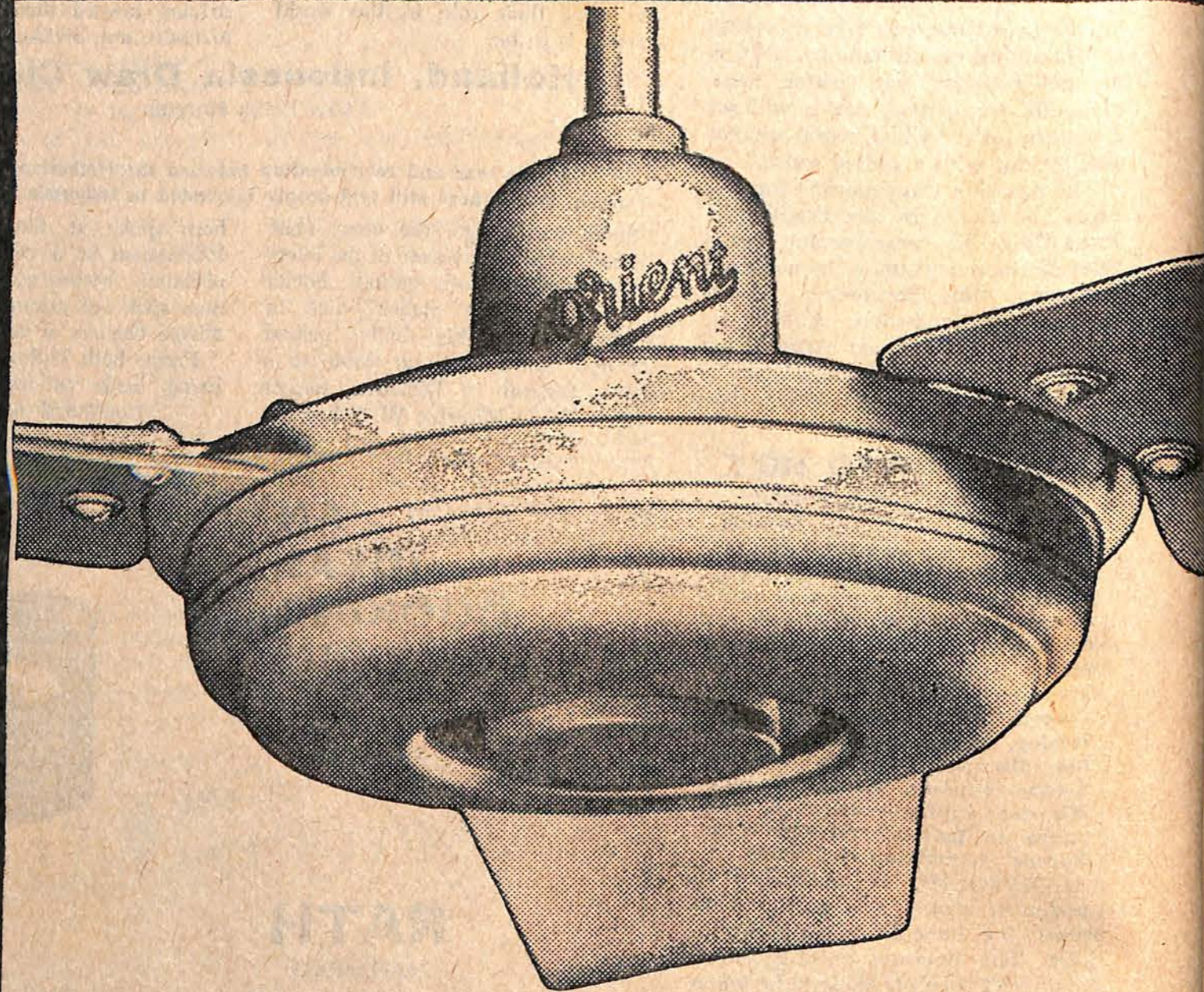
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HIMMAT, May 20, 1966

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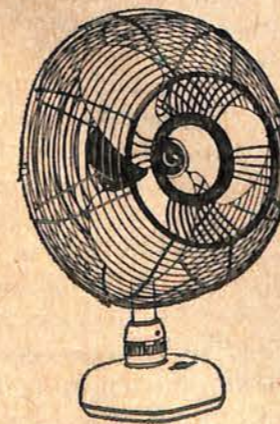


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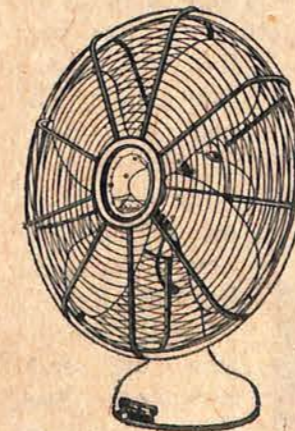


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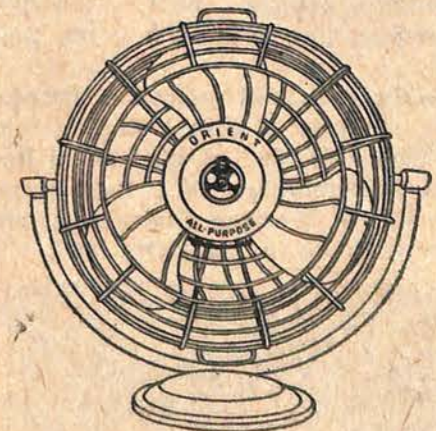
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Shipbuilders Verolme and aircraft manufacturers Fokker have started operations in Indonesia. In February last, Holland's leading development expert, Professor Dr. J. Tinbergen of the Rotterdam School of Economics, was invited to spend a week at the Presidential Merdeka Palace in Djakarta to study what could be done.

At the end of April, President Sukarno, no doubt trying to improve his decaying image, announced a giant scheme of migration from overpopulated Java to the thinly-inhabited other islands of the archipelago. For this scheme, the President said, he would need 35 ships. He would transport daily 6000 migrants who would bring no less than 60,000 acres into use daily. Dutch experts, he

said, would help realize this fantastic plan.

Recent developments in Indonesia, though by no means conclusive, have given the lie to a widespread superstition among intellectuals in East and West: that Communism is an inevitable, if undesirable, phase which developing nations have to pass through. The spell of historic necessity has been broken.

Will Indonesia's new leaders—who include able men of integrity like the Sultan of Djokjakarta—manage to clean up Sukarno's mess of mismanagement without his nation-wide charismatic popularity and without the aid Sukarno succeeded in getting from Communist countries? It remains to be seen. It is to be hoped that Indonesia's well-wishers realize that all is not well yet and all moral and material help should be given.

elsewhere

US support for "reactionary" King Feisal of Saudi Arabia.

President Nasser was expected to ask Kosygin for aid against Israel, including weapons to defend the Aswan High Dam.

ERHARD GREET'S 'SING-OUT'

BONN—Chancellor Ludwig Erhard gave a 40-minute reception to the cast of the Moral Re-Armament musical "Sing-Out '66" on its arrival from the USA. They are guests of the West German Government. "Our whole nation is very closely linked with America in the same ideal," Erhard told the cast, "which is the will to maintain and defend a society of freedom and democracy—even if this demands, as you sing, a price to be paid. No sacrifice is too big

for this aim. The aim which you are proclaiming represents the ideals on which the new Germany has been built." After the reception the cast broadcast live from the garden of the Chancellor's house on the national radio.

World Buddhists Confer

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

The World Buddhist Sangha Conference which has been meeting here with representatives from 16 countries holds enormous potential. It has set up an international Buddhist organization in Colombo. The Chairman and General Secretary drawn from Ceylon will speak for 550 million Buddhists in "formulating and expressing a united world Buddhist opinion". As such, it could be a great world voice.

The first session chairman of the Conference was the representative of Taiwan. The largest delegation came from South Vietnam; the Dalai Lama's monks were there, but no one directly from Tibet. And within hours of the delegates' arrival, the monk leading the South Vietnamese was quoted at a press interview as attacking Prime Minister Ky, urging quick elections and saying that the presence of the Americans was detrimental to the morality of the people. A denial followed the next day, but these are clearly deeply held sentiments.

Tibetan Challenge

The Dalai Lama's representative said in his speech, "Buddhism in Tibet is now being challenged by an irreligious force and its very roots are threatened."

One positive effect the Conference will have is if it realizes its aim to unite the clergy of the Mahayana and Theravada schools of Buddhism. Representatives of both schools have declared that they will study the ideas of the other. In fact one Ceylonese monk went so far as to say that he and his fellow-bhikkhus of the Theravada (Hinayana) school had more leeway to make up in this respect than the Mahayana monks. The Ceylonese monk who, as head of the London Buddhist Vihara, represented Britain at the Conference, stressed that it was "historic and timely" that Buddhists were meeting to make up their differences at the same time as Christians were "boldly seeking to remove the differences of doctrine and discipline that have unhappily kept them separated for centuries".

VIEWPOINT

First Prize

MY PLAN FOR CLEARING THE SLUMS

By N. B. Kulkarni, Bombay 1

SLUMS ARE a disgrace in any community. Those who dwell in slums today must be offered alternative accommodation. Merely demolishing the hutments is not the answer. So long as the people are not accommodated elsewhere, the hutments would be erected once more.

But how are the slum-dwellers to be accommodated? Are they to be provided with one-room tenements with rent as high as Rs. 60 per month? That would be a mockery of a solution. Are the slum-dwellers to be provided land on which plinths will be constructed, leaving the erecting of the huts to the dwellers themselves? That would mean waste of land and too much land will be taken up by the scheme.

My plan for slum-clearance has two objectives—maximum use of land by constructing many-storeyed buildings and economies in construction.

Multi-storey Flats

Building up to four storeys can be constructed without having to arrange for lifts. That will provide for four families where huts provide for only one family. Economies in construction can be effected by constructing large halls and then using wooden partitions for dividing them into rooms, by reducing the height of the rooms so long as this does not obstruct ventilation, by constructing common bath-rooms and facilities, etc.

Even after this, the cost of construction will not permit very low rents which the tenants can pay. Here a system of graduated subsidy should be evolved—the basic rent should be fixed after considering the costs of construction and it should be recovered from those who can pay it. For poorer families, the rent should be lower, according to the family income. Thus, some families will pay three-fourths of the basic rent, some one-half of it and so on. The aim should be to restrict the rent payment

to a certain proportion of the income. This is better than fixing a low rent for all the tenants.

But this is not the end. Once the tenements are allotted they must be kept clean. Some co-operative effort can be organized among the tenants for this purpose. Surely the leaders of the hutment dwellers can be induced to co-operate in this way. The authorities handling the scheme must reciprocate with prompt repairs. Maybe cash awards or rebates on rents can be allowed for maintaining the buildings and the surroundings clean. Slums do not mean only hutments. The unclean surroundings are a more important constituent of slums. When the slum-dwellers are transferred to tenements, slum conditions would reappear unless they are induced and enabled to observe cleanliness.

CRASH PROGRAMME— NATIONAL EFFORT

By B. N. RAO, Hyderabad 1.

I shall follow a crash programme for clearing the slums, but in doing so I shall not forget what Walter A. Friedlander says in his "Introduction to Social Welfare" that "Worse than slums is a slum shortage that provides no shelter good or bad." In the same book he says that pre-fabricated houses are a failure. I am inclined to agree since I myself would not like to move into a house with asbestos roof and aluminium walls. The latter may be strong but they are not sound-proof. I shall therefore use conventional materials but otherwise adopt unconventional methods.

First, I shall peg land values in the whole country, in all areas with a population of as little as 5000. Simultaneously I shall go ahead with plans for increasing the supply of building materials like cement, bricks and lime. These factories will work at least double shift.

COMPETITION

* What I am most proud of in my country.

Closing date: May 27

** Candidates qualities I would vote for in the next elections.

Closing date: June 10

Prizes: Rs. 25, Rs. 15

Send entries of 500 words or less to: Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1.

Then I shall start a multi-purpose National Housing and Construction Corporation to build houses for the poor and middle classes. In all cities with a population of a lakh and above only flats will be built in multi-storied buildings. All these will be sold to needy people on a hire-purchase system for as many as 25 years, prospective buyers being required to take out endowment policies. In the case of very poor persons I shall build hostels for them, with concessional rents.

The houses will be sold on a no-profit, no-loss basis. It is generally seen that government and public authorities suffer a loss in building houses for the low-income group while private persons gain by building shops in such housing settlements. So I shall arrange for the Housing and Construction Corporation to build and rent shops and small workshops and factories in such areas. Further the Corporation will also be authorized to deal in durable consumer goods like sanitary ware and electrical appliances like fans and bulbs.

'Footpath' Houses

Expansion of cities with a population of more than a lakh will be discouraged. Employment opportunities will be provided in middling cities and not giant ones like Bombay. At the same time, vigorous efforts will be made to solve the housing problems in Bombay and other similar cities. "Linear" houses will be built on the wide footpaths, say, with a length of ten yards, height of four yards but width of only two yards. These houses will be built continuously all along the footpaths with sound-proof roofs on which will be built the new footpaths which will be sloped down where they begin and end so that pedestrians can go up and down easily.

The week

BREZHNEV'S SUDDEN TRIP

BUCHAREST—Soviet Party leader Brezhnev paid a sudden and unpublicized visit to the Rumanian capital following a speech by Mr. Ceausescu, the Rumanian Party chief, challenging Russia's claim to lead the world Communist movement. The Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai, was expected to visit Rumania this week.

KOSYGIN IN EGYPT

CAIRO—Huge crowds greeted Soviet Premier Kosygin on his arrival on a nine-day state visit to the UAR. Soviet-Egyptian ties were made more pointed by reports in the Cairo press the same day that the US would not renew wheat shipments after the present agreement expires next month. Cairo papers also criticized

Chancellor Ludwig Erhard welcomes Blanton Belk, the Executive Director of Moral Re-Armament, and the cast of "Sing-Out '66" at his official Bonn residence, Palais Schaumburg. Mr. Belk presents the Chancellor with a Western Stetson hat similar to those worn by the men in "Sing-Out '66".

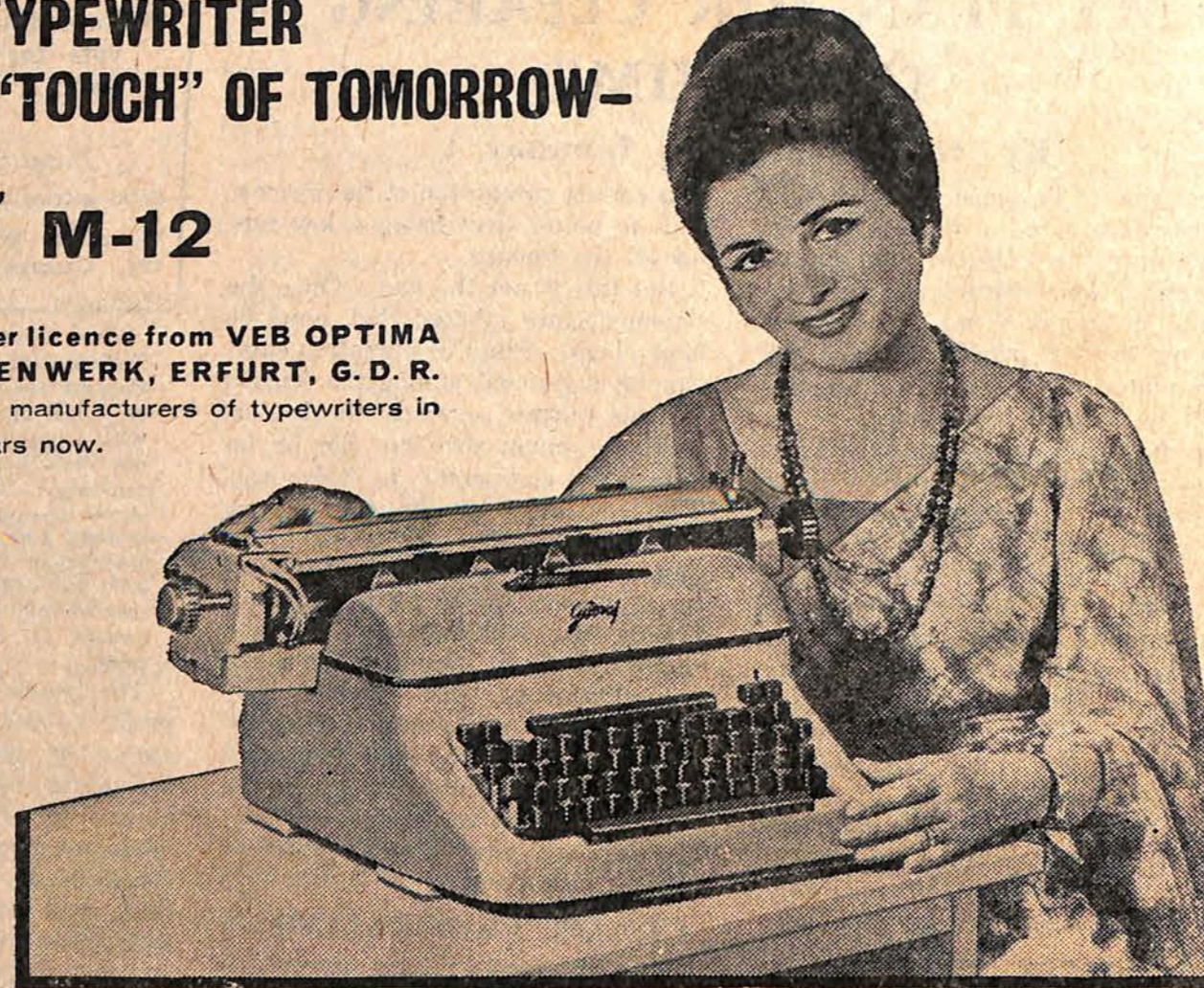


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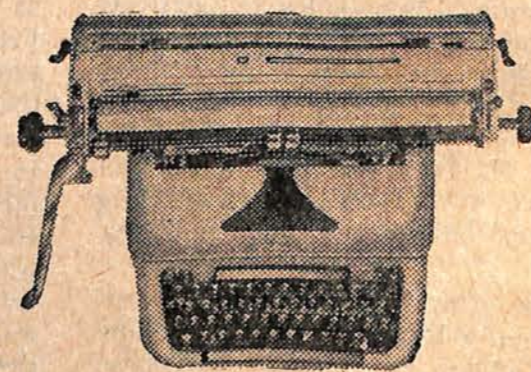
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ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

"My Eyes May be Closed, but my Heart is now Open to all"

TODAY HE IS TOTALLY BLIND. Three
years ago he could see.

While talking to him, I could feel
again and again that he had in him
sufficient vigour and spirit to fight
his way back to independence from
total blindness.

**It is this indomitable spirit which
enables him to view his exciting past
life with a unique detachment and
sense of humour. Among his most
valued attributes is the capacity to
laugh at himself—and for happiness.**

Forty-one-year-old R. Shankar
Narayan, born in a middle-class
Brahmin family of South India, re-
cently inaugurated the "India Arise"
Conference in Bombay. He says:
"My life has been full of changes
and upheavals, which have come
with shocking unexpectedness. Not
once did I ask for them, nor was I
prepared in any way for them. It
seemed to me to be the point of no
return again and again, and at each
new start I would find myself ad-
justing to a new type of life."

How was your early life? I asked
him.

"It was full of many hurts and
disappointments which are the inevi-
table results of being born in a
middle-class family in India. I ex-
perienced many injustices, and car-
ried several inner grievances. I was
proud of being an intellectual and
had firm opinions concerning my
natural rights. During my youth,
rebellion and Communism were
voices in the wind, and I often listen-
ed to them. In 1945, after I had
passed BSc, my life took quite a
different turn. I became a Commu-
nist. The counter-wave against
past frustrations began to rise."

Were you an active Communist?

"For the next four years I worked
among youth, and as a Communist
trade union worker. And then came
the 'Telangana struggle', led by the
Communist Party. This struggle had
originally started as a revolt against
landlords, and as a struggle against

forced labour, but ended as a battle
between the Government and the
Party. Though I had not indulged
in violence, yet being a Communist,
I was arrested in 1949 and detained
for two years. It was my first brush
with the law, and it left a painful
memory. The severe beatings I re-
ceived in Jalna Jail, the 'Black Bar-
racks' of the jail where I was
considered the most dangerous pri-
soner and segregated for months, was
such a harrowing experience!"

*Did this experience help you to
rethink your association with the
Communist Party?*

"The Party was in disarray when
I was released. Though the jolts I
had taken in jail had only made me
a more determined Communist, yet
when I found Stalin being worship-
ped as a demi-god, the pin-prick of
doubt began to assail me. Was Stalin
really trying to bring the Commu-
nism I had dreamed about for so
many years? The answer was an
unequivocal—NO. But the funny
thing was that despite my doubts and
unhappiness, I was still in love with
Communism. But as the cult of
Stalinism grew, my eyes were pain-
fully opened to the hard realities of
Communism. Ultimately I left the
Party in 1952."

Unexpected Shock

And then?

"For one year I continued in the
job I had taken prior to my being
detained. I married in 1953, and am
the proud father of three daughters.
The future was looking steadily hap-
pier when I received a cruel shock
and unexpected. It started as a sim-
ple inflammation of my eyes in 1959,
and enveloped me as total blindness
in 1963."

After a few minutes of under-
standable reticence, he spoke, not
gravely, but with surprising gaiety:

"I had seen blind men, read of
them and heard of them, but I was
completely unprepared for the brutal



Shankar Narayan

reality of blindness. The doctors,
here and in Britain, gave me useful
explanations of why I had gone blind,
but they could not cure it. My im-
mediate problem was to fight the
fatalism with which I and others had
accepted this sudden catastrophe to
resist the forces which were trying
to drive me into lonely corners re-
served for the discarded of society.
Rather than worry, and sit all day
depending upon others, I decided to
be effective and to take an active
part in the life around me."

I was so touched that I could hard-
ly ask anything.

After pausing for a few moments,
he continued with his engaging
smile:

**"This tragic incident is not without
its comforting ending. In my own
suffering I have seen all men strug-
gling in darkness. I have found what
people who never really suffered can't
seem to find—unshakeable faith in God
and deep compassion. My eyes may
be closed, but my heart is now open
to all."**

For a few moments he talked about
his future plans. "There are more
than 10,000,000 blind people in the
world, and all of them are my sisters
and brothers now. I intend to devote
a large part of my time in helping
them in whatever way I can. I wish
to tell them that they are incapaci-
tated only in one direction. A blind
person can work with his limbs and
his brain. It is well within the capa-
city of most of us blind persons to
be competent teachers, farmers,
mechanics and factory workers, etc.
And finally let them remember that
nobody can help a blind person un-
less he or she is prepared to help
himself or herself."

H.M.S.

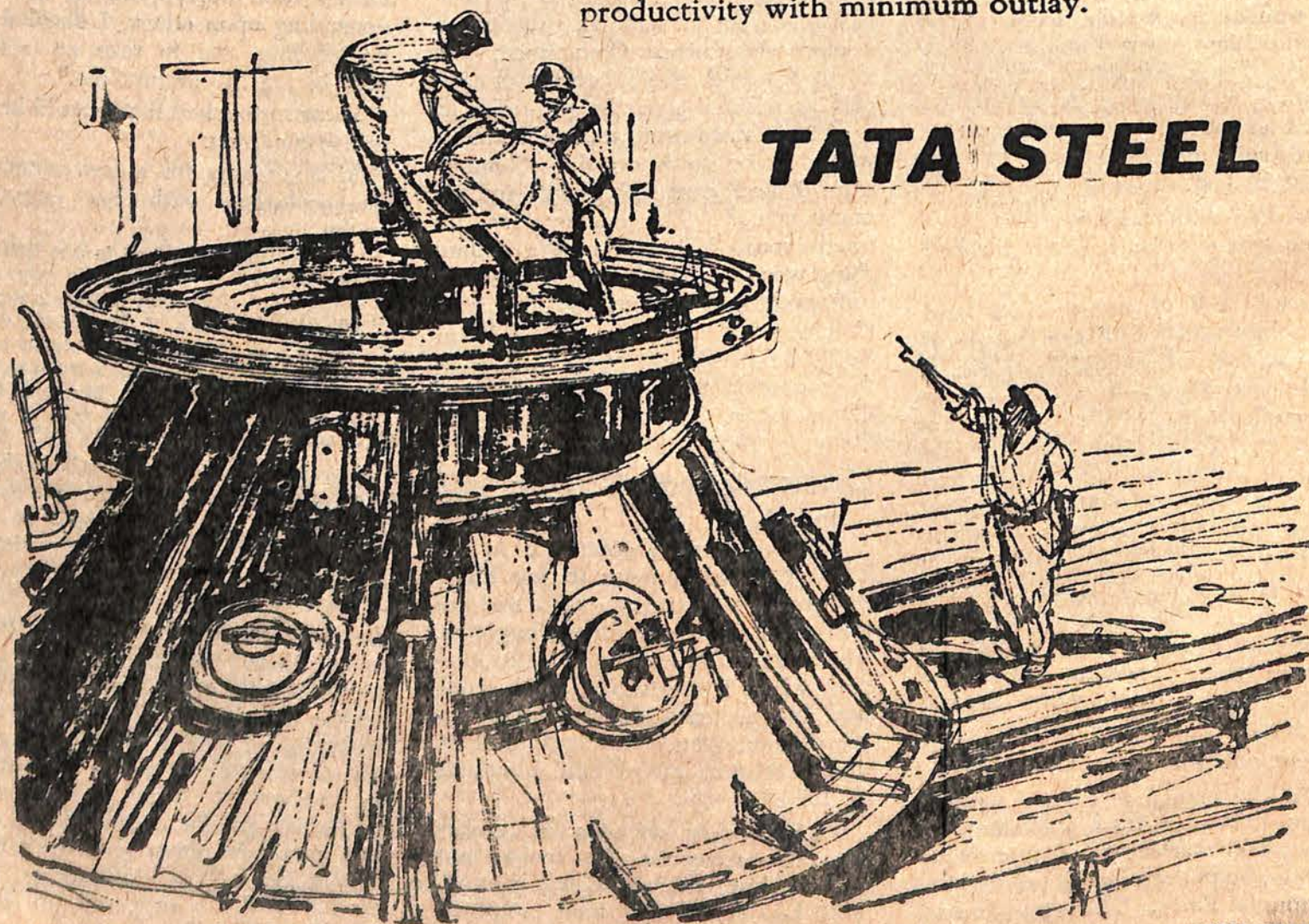
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In 1957, the relining job on a blast furnace took 99 days. In early 1963, the job was done in 74 days, a record that many felt would be difficult to beat. But within about six months, a blast furnace was relined in 64 days.

And now, the relining of the same blast furnace that took 99 days in 1957 has been done in 57 days! And each day saved on relining has meant an additional quantity of pig iron vitally needed in the country.

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LETTERS

HOLIDAYS INTO WORKDAYS

When the country needs more hard work, it is disheartening that the Government is declaring holidays to honour some great man's birth anniversary or to observe his death anniversary, whereas the private sector often works on that day. Too many holidays not only add to delay in disposing of papers, but also make people holiday-conscious.

When the private sector is limiting holidays to the minimum, declaring of holidays by the Government for its staff amounts to discrimination. Even the purpose of declaring the holiday by the Government is not served in as much as people are not bothered about the object for which the holiday has been granted but are wasting away the day. Instead of declaring holidays to honour a great man it would be befitting if people are directed to work an hour extra on such a day.

C. L. NARASIMHAN*

Madras 4

* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner.

SINKING SHIP?

A hundred marks for the article by Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi—"Is India a Sinking Ship?" One cannot but appreciate the urgency with which HIMMAT has tried to propagate revolutionary ideas that will change a sick country.

When you talk about India's problems to any other Indian, you usually have to hear—"Mrs. Gandhi is to blame for the present state of affairs. And Nanda is no better..." This self-righteous attitude leads a man up the garden path and before he knows where he is, he falls into the abyss of despair.

If India is to be put right, it is no use grumbling at the darkness. Let each man light a candle. There is too much of the bad in the best of us; too much of good in the worst of us. If each man corrects the "I" in himself, his vision will be clearer.

Here is where 480 million people can begin to change this subcontinent and build a great future. Then will we have the chance of losing our heads in the clouds of idealism while yet having our feet firmly planted on the solid rock of realism.

DAVID SASSOON

Calcutta 14

NOT SINKING

Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi's article entitled, "Is India a Sinking Ship?" is a brilliant account of India's present situation and how it should go about in its effort to get out of the doldrums.

A few years ago, even two years ago, this question would have been more than justified. But today this question has nearly become unnecessary. Why? Because all over India today there is a growing sense of nationalism in the

truest sense of the word. Which means that the common Indian today is becoming more India-conscious and less self-conscious. India's ship was sinking, but today with Mrs. Gandhi as the captain, India is pulling out of the troubled waters.

Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi also foresees a better India within five years. Some might term him as optimistic, but I am of the firm opinion that he has not exaggerated. The social revolution has already begun.

M. J. AKBAR

Calcutta 14

INDIA'S HOPE

Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi is to be congratulated for his excellent article under the heading: "Is India a Sinking Ship?"

Mr. Gandhi rightly pointed out the futility of violence which "destroys the very people who first use it". Violence should have no place in the affairs of men. Christ himself issued the warning: "He who uses the sword perishes by it."

AUSTIN CARDOZ

Bombay 50

OUR IMMEDIATE NEED

What does India need today? This question needs our attention before we go to the people next year to select our leaders for the next five years.

Our immediate need is for honest leaders who accept God as their Master and act according to His will. He should first learn to use his authority and to say "no" to those vested interests that are trying to divide this country. He should be simple, moderate, unselfish and sensitive to the common man's sufferings. He should select such men for his cabinet as are above their territorial interests and who are really interested in nation-building. Instead of turning towards other nations for food aid, he should turn his attention to 285

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

million acres of cultivable land which is producing 80 million tons of food grain, while the U.S.A. with 202 million acres is producing 225 million tons of food grain.

He should make clear-cut decisions and give a new hope to his people. Lastly he should be above party interest.

Just pause for a moment and imagine the future of India in the hands of a man (leader) who accepts this challenge. Is it possible for us to find such a leader in this present day India?

The only man who can accept this challenge is one who has accepted the challenge of MRA, and decided to become honest about his life.

MURALI DHARA RAO

Bangalore

ONE EDUCATION FOR NATION

I propose that the Education Commission (1965) of the Government of India be made permanent.

The adaptation of the educational system must be smooth, continuous and complete. Obviously this cannot be done unless the entire nation is treated as one single unit and there is a permanent and informed body to give it a direction. The Education Commission, like the Planning Commission, will lay down the policies for the entire nation, sanction grants for education and research, supervise the schools and universities.

In the ultimate analysis, there is no better guarantee for India's economic, social, cultural and moral progress than an education system that anticipates and meets the demands of the age.

SHRIKANT V. BHAT

Bombay 22

U.S. AMBASSADOR BOWLES

Replies to Young Indians' Campaign

Miss Anju Chinai, who collected 7411 signatures of children 14 and under to thank President Johnson's daughter Luci for America's food aid to India, has heard from the US Ambassador in India, Mr. Chester Bowles. The original suggestion for such a campaign was made by Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi in HIMMAT earlier this year.—Ed

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

New Delhi—May 6, 1966

Dear Miss Chinai,

On behalf of Miss Luci Baines Johnson, I want to thank you most warmly for your recent letter to her and for encouraging thousands of Indian boys and girls to express their gratitude for American wheat in their individual letters.

Although the wheat is being provided to India by the American government, the program has the whole-hearted support of the American people. The 7400 Indian children, in saying thank you, were speaking to the American people. Thus the flow of wheat to your country and this tremendous response from young people all over India is a true people-to-people communication. We greatly appreciate your efforts and those of the others who wrote.

With best wishes,

Sincerely
CHESTER BOWLES

UNDER THE LENS—from page 5

The Tito-Nasserite reappraisal has therefore to be viewed as an exercise in finding a new role that will unite Afro-Asia once again. This may well be the significance of Nasser's statement that the Sino-Soviet dispute is the cause of the recent successes of "imperialism" in Asia and Africa.

The Soviet Union is apt to view her gains in the Middle East as a further demonstration of her growing influence in this region, while that of China is waning. On the other hand, recent pronouncements of Nasser seem to suggest that he envisages a role of neutrality between the Soviet Union and China and possibly even of mediation. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai's projected visit in early June to Cairo is a confirmation of this.

Nasser is, of course, not unaware of the benefits to his country from a closer alliance of Egypt, Iraq and

Syria with the Soviet Union as a counterweight to the new grouping of Southern Arabia, Jordan, Iran and Pakistan. He has in Yemen exploited to the full Sino-Soviet competition for influence.

But in launching out aggressively against the raids of "neo-colonialism" by which newly independent nations are threatened by "economic, psychological and political pressures", he is attempting a more militant interpretation of non-alignment beside which even Kosygin's pronouncements sound moderate.

It is interesting that Prime Minister Kosygin refused to be drawn by this Nasserite bait during his visit to Cairo. But there is no doubt that there will be an attempt to wrest more pro-Chinese concessions in the new Nasserite bid to give a fresh content to non-alignment. India has to consider her foreign policy afresh in the light of these developments.

officials forbade the carrying in procession of the black Madonna from one city to another and the Mayor allowed only its transfer in a car, young men carried the whole car with the black Madonna on their shoulders for two-and-a-half miles.

In spite of the provocations, Cardinal Wyszynski and his Bishops kept to the simple theme of forgiveness. On the other hand, Foreign Minister Rapacki, like his political colleagues, constantly tried to remind the Polish people of what Germany had done during the last war and to revive the hatred against the Germans. He said: "Today we all know that our Western border is a fact which will not be changed by pleas or threats, manoeuvres or force. Only the West German revanchists will never give up their aggressive plans." Wyszynski did not enter into that argument, but said simply: "We Polish Bishops and the whole nation of children of God call from here 'we forgive'. We must be more perfect than the men of the Old Testament who had the commandment to love their neighbours. Our commandment is to love our enemies."

Nobody knows yet how this fight for the soul of the Polish nation will end, but in any case one thing is clear: after this month of May, Poland will never be the same again.

CARDINAL, COMMUNIST—from page 7

manifestations in Poznan and finally in Krakow, while thousands of Catholics were gathering, the Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki launched in Wroclaw a "Week of Poland's Western Territories".

The Catholics found a way every time to overcome the counter measures put in their way by government officials. When no railway tickets were issued to Czestochaw, they took trains to neighbouring cities and walked for miles to the place of celebration. When



From India's Leather

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BHULABHAI DESAI AUDITORIUM

A Moral Re-Armament Production



"Economy going down, taxes going up, foreign exchange going down, prices going up. Which way are you going?"

This was a life DAG HAMMARSHJOLD

1905—1961

DAG HAMMARSHJOLD was descended from a distinguished aristocratic family in Sweden. His father was Minister of Finance and worked on the principle that "this land shall be built on law".

He inherited a deeply religious character from his mother and maintained a "never abandoned effort frankly to build up a personal belief in the light of experience and honest thinking".

Like his father, he entered the Ministry of Finance where his outstanding abilities brought rapid promotion.

During the war he gave notable service to occupied Norway and was decorated for it.

As Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs he was seconded after the war to the administration of the Marshall Plan and the economic recovery of Europe and helped to found the Organisation of European Economic Co-operation.

All this prepared him for his greatest task, the Secretary-Generalship of the United Nations, after the enforced retirement of Trigvie Lye in 1953. He took it on with reluctance, but once he accepted, applied his great gifts to the task. He turned undesirable elements out of the secretariat and demanded standards of integrity, freedom from national bias, efficiency and competence, thus forging an international civil service that all nations could trust.

His first task was to negotiate with Chou En-lai for the release of American pilots imprisoned in China. His success was the first of many secured by what he called the "diplomacy of reconciliation".

Gradually a leave-it-to-Dag mentality was created at Headquarters and he was very much overworked, spending 16 to 17 hours a day reading cables. Yet he found time for poetry and music.

There were times when his imperturbability gave way under the strain of fierce attacks and attempts to get him out of office. His firm adherence to the Charter enabled him to rout his enemies and rally the Assembly.

He was planning a visit to South Africa and was already at Geneva when the Congo trouble started. He returned to New York and organized a peace force before resuming his African tour. He called in at Leopoldville to counsel and approve. Mystery surrounds the plane crash which ended his life in 1961.

J.H.B.

Q and A

Q—Are such a number of holidays necessary in India?

S. RAJU, Karaikeni

A—Certainly not. We will have a much better country with six public holidays a year and perhaps a couple of essential bank holidays.

Foreign technicians working in India in the last month have expressed their surprise and disappointment that almost every third or fourth day has been a holiday.

Q—What type of Government do you sincerely suggest for our country?

N. C. VEERACHARI, Hyderabad 4

A—The Government I suggest will require the finest men from our public and civic life and include others who now stay away from politics. It will be a Government—

1. Where leaders put the country first and where corruption will consequently fade.
2. Where Ministers work harder than the rest of our people.
3. Where they listen more and talk less—where they cease advising and practice what they preach.
4. Where decisions once taken are not easily pushed aside from pressure of interested lobbies.
5. Where ministers care for each other instead of competing with each other and seek to change their recalcitrant colleagues by a real concern for their change—with firmness if needed.
6. Where the right priorities are taken up and secondary issues that waste the nation's energies are set aside.
7. Where the Government loosens its grip on the daily life of our people, removes its senseless controls, licenses and permits. Let our

people go and they shall grow and the nation shall flourish.

8. Where the leaders of the Government live and think straight. The correct policies will then follow whether their policies are left, right or centre is not material.

9. Where men who govern are in their turn governed by God.

Q—Who is the best servant of the nation? The Minister or the ordinary worker?

T. P. SATHYANARAYANA, Hyderabad

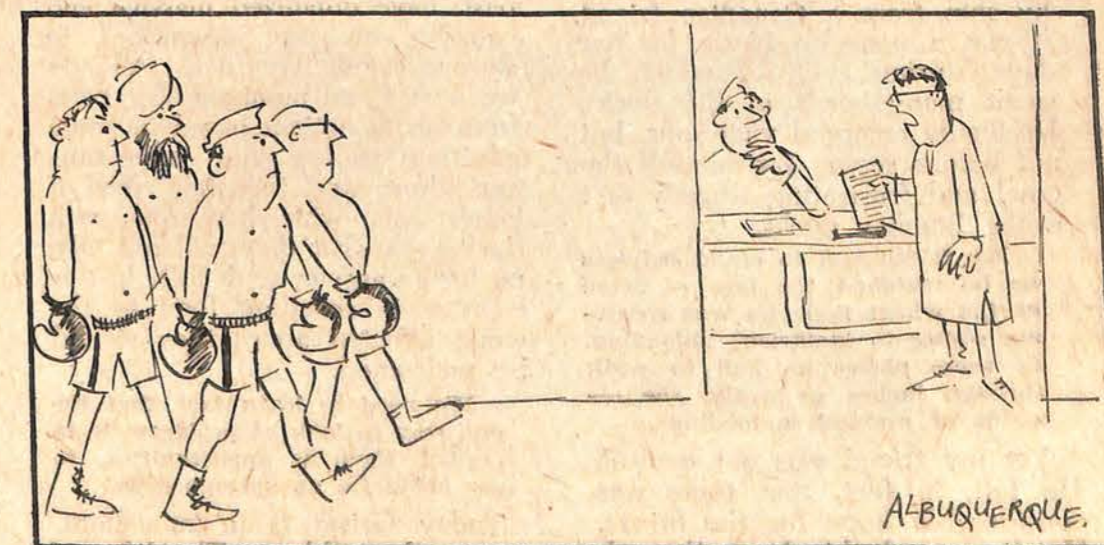
A—It is unfair to label one section or the other as you would like me to. Whilst it is true many ministers who began as "servants of the people", now drunk with power, are unconcerned about public benefit, one can't say that just because a man happens to be a worker he is necessarily a better servant of the nation. Just as there can be a careless lazy minister, there can be a careless, lazy worker and as there can be a conscientious worker, there can be a conscientious minister. It is a fallacy to brand a whole class, a pastime which I am afraid we in India indulge in too easily. It costs us nothing but it could cost the nation dear.

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"A deputation has come to complain about your statement to the press."

The Orissa Famine

By Rajmohan Gandhi

THINKING INDIANS were solidly with Mrs. Indira Gandhi when she pledged the help of the entire nation to Orissa to fight the famine in the State.

She showed statesmanship in admitting that there had been delay in sending relief to Orissa.

It was good, too, that the Leader of the Orissa Opposition, Shri R. N. Singhdeo, was with the Chief Minister, Shri S. Tripathy, at the Bhubaneswar airport to receive her.

Famine is famine for all who suffer, and the country's wish is that the immediate problem as well as the longer-term causes of it be dealt with. Starvation deaths are not a party matter. They are a national concern.

And they have captured worldwide attention. The desire of ordinary people in Europe, America, Australia, New Zealand and Japan to come to India's aid is proof that care is stronger than callousness as a world force.

The evidence is seen in letters I get constantly. I have just received one from a woman in Denmark. After referring to the press, radio and television announcements about the danger of famine and of starvation deaths, she writes, "It is said that even if we send all the food we possibly could, it would never reach the distressed areas because of lack of transportation facilities."

Wasted Grain

There is some truth in what this lady writes. A friend of mine was trying to clear from the Bombay dock gifts of food sent by ship from a Canadian friend. It was a non-stop battle for five days, during each of which he spent many hours in the docks. He finally emerged victorious, but not before seeing for himself the cruel and frustrating tragedy that is the Bombay docks.

My friend had to stand helpless as he watched the loss of some of the wheat flour he was receiving owing to inefficient unloading. In some places he had to walk through inches of grain, the remains of previous unloadings.

Yet my friend was not cynical. He felt, in fact, that there was considerable hope for the future. He discovered this hope through

his talks and contacts with the various officials while he was battling to clear the gift. When approached boldly and with understanding, they co-operated wholeheartedly and speedily.

My friend concluded that the problem was essentially a human one. A few more able organizers in the docks who knew how to deal with men and, according to him, the pace and pattern in the docks would change overnight.

In fact, my friend has already made a beginning. He successfully altered the view of the captain of the ship bringing the gift to India. From a sceptic who always expected and predicted the worst, the captain started to believe that Indian conditions could shift.

Obstacles as Opportunities

A Norwegian lady, Dr. Catherine Hambro, whose brother, Carl Hambro, was one of the founders of the League of Nations, has also written to me. She says that the impression in Europe is that the distribution of aid is not satisfactory. She feels that if some foreign experts were asked to organize the distribution, there would be a much greater response from Europe. She wants to know if the Government of India would give permission for an international staff to work in India for this purpose.

I don't know whether the Government would give this permission. Personally, I see nothing wrong in seeking the assistance of experienced men who, in the past, have organized massive and complex transport operations in Europe and America. Already we have large numbers of experts from many nations based in India advising us on our education, agriculture and industry. And if honest men with drive and with the resolve that they will not take no for an answer wish to help this country in speeding food to the worst affected areas, they should be welcomed.

We need to learn fast that the one way to look at problems is to regard them as opportunities, to use obstacles as springboards.

Today Orissa is an immediate, mammoth problem. The lives of

hundreds of thousands are in jeopardy. They may not die, but a large number of them will be permanently affected in their health and attitude. Yet I believe that if the nation and the people of Orissa now showed a practical, efficient and united spirit and brought relief to those who in hunger demand it, the whole operation would then be a great boost for the entire country.

Students, businessmen, workers and industrialists all over the country would take heart and the feeling would spread that India can be changed.

Not only India but the world would thrill to any down-to-earth move of this kind.

Such a swift and successful campaign will need far more than the appointment of a special relief commissioner. It would require a large team of able, honest and determined men.

Does Mrs. Gandhi have such a team that she could call upon? I do not know. I do know that there are men and women in India whose competence is inferior to none in the world. To enlist such men and to inspire them into sacrificial action is Mrs. Gandhi's task.

Orissa Can Pioneer

Many people call Orissa backward. I believe economically the State is less advanced than others. But I have for long felt that the people of Orissa have qualities of dignity, patriotism and grace. Destiny may well catapult Orissa into the position of an answer province.

Today the world thinks — and the rest of the country thinks — about what can be done for Orissa. But a reborn Orissa might have a decisive part in the future story of India and perhaps on the course of world events.

Behind the need for food and behind the need to transport it lies the even greater need for an army of men who work honestly, work hard and work in teamwork. To collect or raise such an army requires super-modern statesmanship.

If Mrs. Indira Gandhi were to reach out for it, Orissa, India and the world will thank her for decades to come.

THE DICTATOR'S SLIPPERS by PETER HOWARD

Episode 10

THE DELEGATES HAVE LUNCHEONED AND NOW THE ROOM IS PREPARED FOR THE INTERROGATION.

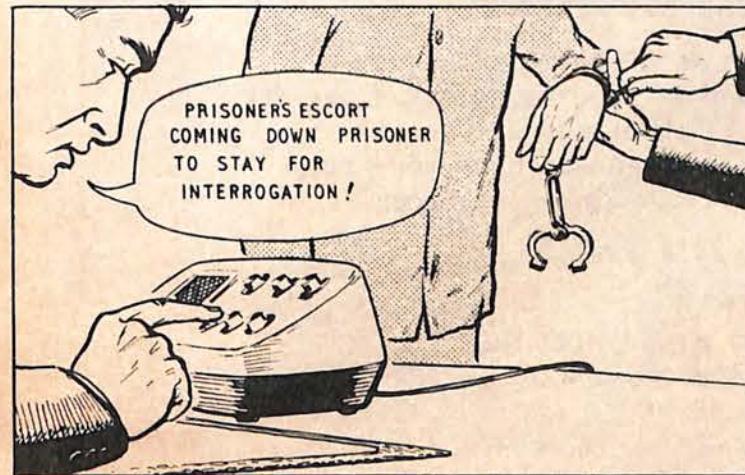


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PLEASE EXCUSE THE HANDCUFFS!



PRISONER'S ESCORT COMING DOWN PRISONER TO STAY FOR INTERROGATION!



WHY ARE YOU IN PRISON?

I WAS ACCUSED OF BEING A TRAITOR. I AM NO TRAITOR. IF THESE ARE MY LAST WORDS ON EARTH — AND FOR ALL I KNOW THEY MAY BE — I HAVE NEVER IN MY LIFE FELT MORE CERTAIN OF THE NEED FOR REVOLUTION ON A WORLD SCALE

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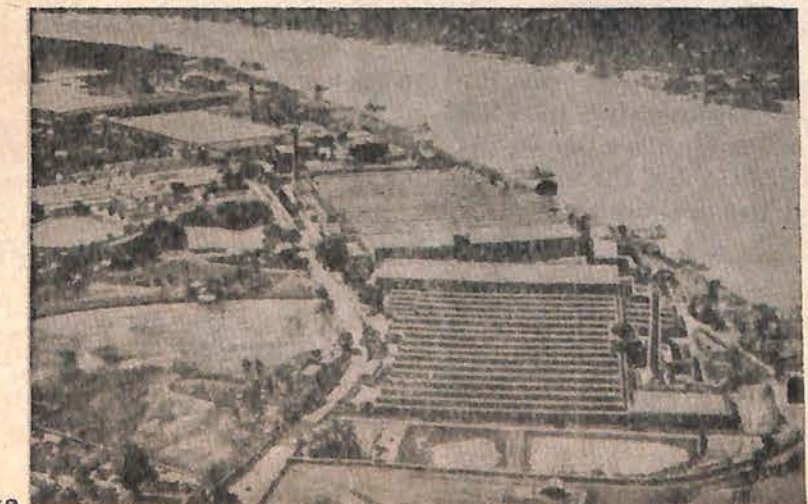
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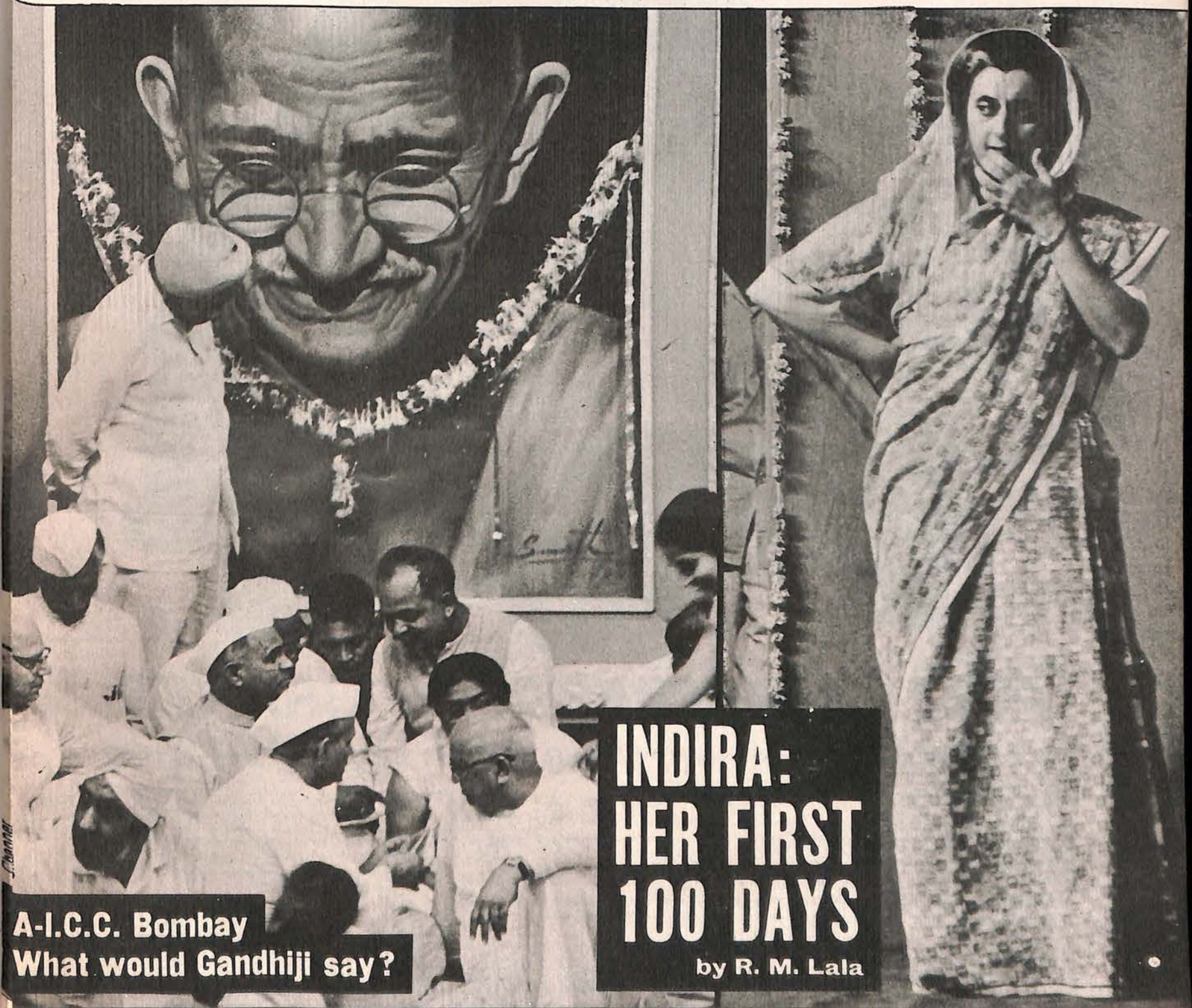
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What would Gandhiji say?

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HER FIRST
100 DAYS
by R. M. Lala

MAHARASHTRA-MYSORE: "DO IT YOURSELF"
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