

LPE-Aiyars M. 73

Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY

JUNE 10

Prof. C. N. Vakil on

VOL 2 NO 32

DEVALUATION AND YOU

- will prices rise? Page 6





Feasting and Fasting





Bombay Friday June 10 1966

## After Devaluation, What?

DEVALUATION is a defeat for India however much our Finance Minister may try to make it out as a victory of common sense. Devaluation puts the official stamp on what was a known fact-that the value of the rupee has fallen.

Devaluation is inevitable when costs keep going up and prices rise. Devaluation is not the answer to the inflation. What is more, causes that have

created the devaluation still operate.

In a special article for HIMMAT (page 6), Prof. C. N. Vakil warns that after devaluation "an equally radical measure is required for the politicians to have a complete change in their attitude to public expenditure, and develop a sense of financial discipline, because in the absence of such a discipline we may fall again in the same trap of rising prices and the need for further devaluation."

Reckless spending on projects has to stop if India is to be economically stable. Money in crores slips through corruption and inefficiency. It creates a deadly surplus of wealth in private hands that results in an unhealthy demand which pushes up prices. If we can execute efficiently a Rs. 22,000 crore plan, let us. If we can't, even a Rs. 10,000 crore plan will shoot up prices. Unless corruption and inefficiency are tackled at all levels no amount of foreign aid will save India, nor will financial gimmicks.

## Death in Leopoldville

On horror's head horrors accumulate.

OTHELLO Act III Scene 3 PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S summary trial and execution of four former senior Cabinet Ministers could be dismissed as just another round in the Congo tragedy. But the official radio's morbid call to the whole population of Leopoldville to come to the public hanging of these men has revolted the Congo's friends.

If Mobutu's purpose was to shame his opponents, it back-fired. He has shamed his friends also. Oldtime residents reported that they had never seen the city in such a state of anger, frustration and shock. That night the city streets were dead as though an evil spell had been cast over the population.

Public hangings of opponents are very temporary props to power, and horror has an awful way of accumulating horror.

## Rhodesian Deadline

STRONG STATEMENTS by the Presidents of Kenya, Zambia and Tanzania indicate that African impatience with the Rhodesian situation is mounting. From Rhodesian African leaders in exile come ominous warnings of "the period of mass bloodshed which is bound to come as our armed struggle develops and intensifies". Time for a peaceful solution is running

At present "moderates" among the white Rhodesian leaders-of whom Mr. Smith, strange as it may seem, is one-appear to be in the ascendant, as is shown by their willingness to negotiate, and at least discuss concessions, with the British Government. But economic chaos and growing violence may soon push out the moderate leaders on both sides, and end all possibility of a negotiated settlement.

Grave responsibility, therefore, rests on Britain to take whatever steps are necessary to end UDI swiftly and avert misery and bloodshed that could inflame the whole Continent. Responsibility lies with other countries to refrain from inflammatory statements that strengthen the "wild men" of whatever race, and drown the still small voice of reason

that is not yet silent.

### Hover Over Dover

THE FRENCH AND BRITISH Governments are about to decide finally whether or not to build a Channel Tunnel. Before they do it would be worth making a full-scale inquiry into the costs of doing the job by means of Hovercraft. Beginning in 1961 Britain's National Research Development Corporation have spent over £3 million on Hovercraft.

Last month a regular cross-Channel service started. The journey takes one hour each way (compared to a five-hour journey). Thirty-six passengers are carried in a bus-like cabin. At present a sandy beach is being used for the Calais terminal,

but a concrete landing place is being built.

Flying experience is the best background for learning the co-ordination needed to drive a Hovercraft. Plunging across the waves at upwards of 30 knots and weighing only nine tons, the Hovercraft has to follow the surface of the waves as closely as any small boat. But the craft dances so lightly on the waves there is no anxiety of being overcome.

In 1968 it is planned to have much bigger Hovercraft operating on the cross-Channel service. The new craft will carry 250 passengers and 35 cars and weigh 160 tons.

India needs to explore.

## Feasting and Fasting

In one direction at least we need more controls. There should be a regulation of fasts.

Last week, one day's reading alone turned up three threatened fasts by fulminating propagandists. Note the "threatened"! A majority of fasts announced these days are called off long before the protest is due to begin. While the announcement gives tremendous publicity to the agitator's cause his decision to yield his intention casts not a ripple.

Should not those intending to claim the public's attention by fasting be required to deposit some earnest money with a Registrar of Fasts? This should be forfeited where the faster ends his hunger strike before his demand is met. The Registrar would also supervise the fast, thus doing away with the secret feasts by night which some who fast by day are known to enjoy.

Such an arrangement would certainly reduce the number of threatened fasts and reserve this method once again for those who have a genuine protest.

The Finance Minister might even find new revenue in this way,

#### Briefly Speaking ...

Wise men talk because they have something to say; fools because they have to say something.

> PLATO 427?-347 вс

#### Money-Happy

IN THE TIMES of Charles Dickens Mr. Micawber could say:

"Annual income £20, annual expenditure £19.19.6, result happi-

"Annual income £20, annual expenditure £20.0.6, result misery."

Nowadays it seems one can live beyond one's income and still be happy. Witness the Governments of five states of Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and Assam which have drawn overdrafts from the Reserve Bank of India to the tune of Rs. 89 crores.

Andhra, which is the worst offender, does not even deign to give any kind of explanation for its overdrafts.



The Minister has called a top priority urgent meeting. I think it will probably be around the middle of next month.

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.



ARISTOCRAT

the Reserve Bank refuses the bills, there will be a crisis between the Centre and the States. As always, the solution given is: "Only the Prime Minister is in a position to talk to the Chief Ministers concerned with the requisite degree of firmness."

#### Acting

Senior Finance Ministry officials

don't know what to do about it. If

IT IS MORE COSTLY acting in television than in real life. For the television series, "No Hiding Place", two detectives in plain clothes were chasing a tramp in Villiers Street, Charing Cross, London. The chase was so real that a man in the crowd joined in, swung his walking stick at the plain-clothes Detective Sergeant and knocked him unconscious.

When he recovered consciousness, actor Michael McStay found he had stitches in his head. "I suppose," he said, "this is an occupational hazard. Obviously he is very public-spirited, and I hope his face is not too red when he finds out what he has done."

#### Civic Sidelights

THE DELHI ADMINISTRATION Weights and Measures Department in a series of raids found that "about 90 per cent of the hawkers that sell vegetables and fruits use magnets to tilt the balance or use fake weights including stones".

What are the Weights and Measures Departments of other Municipalities doing about it? And the hawkers?

In Nagpur milkmen raised the price of milk from Rs. 1.50 per litre to Rs. 2.00. Reason: the Municipality has taken stringent measures against adulteration.

## Marathi and French

A FOREIGN FRIEND of mine in Poona, who is well-versed in French, says that Marathi is easy as a language. He finds a phonetic similarity between Marathi and French words.

He points out among other instances that "deux" ("two") is "don" in Marathi. "Maja now" ("my name") is "mon nom" in French.

Has anyone else noticed this similarity between French and Marathi?

#### Image of Africa

INDIA'S HIGH COMMISSIONER in Nairobi, speaking before a United Nations committee in Africa, spoke heatedly against the Smith regime quite genuinely, but also with an eye to win the sympathies of Africans.

But what do Africans themselves feel about India? Mr. Adedokun A. Haastrup, High Commissioner for Nigeria in India, who shortly returns home, said that much remains to be done to disabuse the average Indian's mind of old prejudice about Africa. Mr. Haastrup, a friend of India, complains that African students are embittered when asked "ridiculous" questions put to them by Indians about their country and customs.

#### Salvation Navy

AN OFFICER of the Salvation Army dressed in his plain white uniform with red epaulettes, told me his experience in an Asian country. As he was on a collection drive, he plucked up courage to visit the Chinese Em-

A poker-faced Chinese hardly listened to what he had to say and started to attack the American Peace Corps. When the Christian gentleman explained he was not from the American Peace Corps, the Chinese ranted against the West, quoting facts and figures as if from a tape recording. Having had enough of it, the Salvation Army official said that all he wanted to know was whether the Chinese would like to back the social work that the Salvation Army was doing. The Chinese leaned across his desk and asked, "What navy did you say you come from?"

#### Win a Transistor!

The latest Murphy transistor radio (Model 579-Two band, shortwave) 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 I.

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.

30 ...... HIMMAT, June 10, 1966

-Circulation Manager.

## The Left-wing Communist Party of India—disparate elements

A large portrait of Stalin stared me in the face as I walked up to an official at the Bombay headquarters of the Communist Party of India (Left) in order to get some literature. The photograph was typical of the defiance in which this Party, officially termed Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), split from its parent body.

It was the same desire to establish their non-conformist extremism that made them display prominently and provocatively a large picture of Mao Tse-tung at their Tenali convention in 1964, which laid the basis for the establishment of their Party later in the same year. For though not all of the Left-wing Communists are Stalinists or Maoists, they share a preference for what they call "the certainty of direction and singlemindedness" of the Stalinist period and "the courage and capacity to sacrifice" of the Maoist revolution in

One Left-wing Communist leader when asked about his attitude to Communist China, confessed his feeling that whereas in the Soviet Union Communists are becoming self-satisfied and content with what they have achieved, the Chinese still seemed to retain their revolutionary fervour and passion".

Much has been written about the pro-Chinese attitude of the Leftwing Communists of India. It is an

## SAY THAT AGAIN...

Let no man think he is too big to be dealt with firmly.

PRESIDENT KENYATTA

We live quietly these days. MRS. NINA KHRUSHCHEV

We are keeping a Nelson's eye on the situation. (UK seamen's strike) MR. WILLIAM HOGARTH General Secretary, National Union of Seamen

Inventors of new taxes are not noted very kindly in the history books.

MR. T.V.N. FORTESCUE British Conservative MP over-simplification to generalize, for the outstanding fact about the Leftwingers is that they are not a monolithic Party, completely united in their views about China as well. As compared with the official Communist Party (Dange) there is, however, definitely a pro-Chinese bias among the Left-wingers.

Following the Tashkent agreement, Communist leaders like E.M.S. Namboodiripad and the official organ of the Party, People's Democracy, have launched a massive campaign for talks with China. "If the Govern-



Namboodiripad

offers to start talks with China on the same basis as the Tashkent talks. that is without any preconditions from either side, and

if China rejects such an offer, then is the time to talk about China's intransigence," they declared in an official statement (People's Democracy, April 24, 1966).

One of their leaders told me that Pandit Nehru would have been wise to accept Chinese recognition of the MacMahon line in return for India's acceptance of the de facto Chinese occupation of Aksai Chin, an offer presumably made by Chou En-lai to India in 1960. This is also the official view implied in the declaration quoted above. "Now we know," says the declaration, referring to the Chinese Premier's visit to India in 1960, "that a solution was within grasp but was sabotaged by powerful elements in the Indian ruling classes."

Though I have said in an earlier article that India should be prepared for changes in Chinese leadership that might pave the way for negotiations with Communist China, I believe there is, in the immediate campaign of the Communist Left, a certain amount of assumed or deliberate naivete about present-day Communist China. They cannot be unaware of the strong nationalist and imperialist overtones of Chinese policy which have so far rebuffed even Communist attempts (such as that of the late Communist Party General Secretary.

Under the



by R. VAITHESWARAN

Ajoy Kumar Ghosh) to arrive at an understanding with the Chinese leadership. They must also know that the Indian and Pakistani acquiescence to meet and agree at Tashkent, was a consequence of big power, especially Soviet, pressure to the like of which Communist China cannot be subjected.

The Party programme of the Left, however, is mainly along classical

Leninist (and Maoist) lines. Lenin spoke of two revolutions: 1) the bourgeois democratic revolution which would accomplish the tasks normally achieved by the capitalists such a s develop-

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ment of national industry (as opposed to foreign capital), liquidation of feudal landlordism, etc.; 2) the Socialist revolution which would achieve the transition from a well-developed industrial base to Socialism. Lenin formulated this thesis mainly to accommodate the situation existing in backward, pre-revolution Russia to the formulations of Karl Marx.

## Big and Little Bourgeoisie

The thesis of the Leftist Communist Party is along these lines. However, some features of the Maoist thesis of "New Democracy" have been incorporated into the strategy of "People's Democratic Revolution" outlined in the Party programme. These consist especially in the separation of "Big Bourgeoisie" from other sections of the bourgeoisie and in singling out this "Big Bourgeoisie" (which is said to be in alliance with foreign imperialism) and the feudal landlords as the main enemy.

Though the programme thus starts, as all Communist Party programmes Continued on page 21

HIMMAT, June 10, 1966

The devaluation of the rupee is a The devaluation of the rupee is a will have widespread will have widespread landmark. It will nomy. It is prolated to explain in brief the saliefects of devaluation so that posed to explain he layman may be in a position. ent aspects of devaluation so that
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to grasp value of the rupee
The exchange of gold and the Reis fixed in terms of India is charged uses is fixed in terms of gold and the Re-serve Bank of India is charged with serve Bank of India is cnarged with serve Bank of maintaining it. In the function foreign exchange transpractice our foreign sterling or dol. lar as these are convertible into gold.

In columbe equal to Rs. 21 and 11. now effected means that the pound now be equal to Rs. 21 and the will now be equal to Because we are dollar to the former values, it will used to the former bankers, business come time for bankers, business. used to the former bankers, busi-take some time for bankers, busitake some time for bankers, businessmen and the ordinary citizens to get adjusted to the new values. to get adjusted to the new values.
Once this adjustment takes place it Once this adjustment takes place it would be possible to carry on our transactions in the normal way.

Huge Foreign Debt

The principal reason for making the change is that in recent years our the change is that in recent years our economy has assumed a distorted shape. We have been importing large shape. shape. We have been importing large quantities of goods for our developquantities or goods for our develop-ment, but are not able to pay for the same by adequate quantities of exports. In international transactions payments are made in terms of goods that is exports and imports cancel one another. To the extent to which this is not possible, the adjustment is usually made in gold or in a currency which is convertible into gold.

As sterling or dollar is convertible into gold, in practice international transactions are settled in terms of sterling or dollar. We had sterling reserves but these have been depleted because of such adjustments. We do not have enough gold reserve with the Government for making such adjustment. The only way in which we have been able to do so is by having large quantities of foreign aid and some foreign investments. This has created the problem of a huge foreign debt, for which we have to pay interest and instalments of principal from year to year. The amounts of such repayment are so

By Professor C. N. Vakil and You

leading econo Vakil, one of India's

Director of leading C. N. Vakil, one of India be the Central Board of the Reserve India be the the Central Board of the Reserve the Sociology of Economics and UNESCO 1956 and Director of author Asia, 1957-1960. He is author Asia, 1957-1960. He is "The Falling Rupee" and "Econolindia", Ed. Ed. Divided

large that we are not able to meet them and we are not able to meet them and we are not able to melloans for the have to incur further This loans for we have to incur further situation is obviously unsatisfactory.

The justification of such foreign which are thus possible, we are trying to build up our according, so that ing to build up our economy, so that we may be able to produce more not also for export in order that we may also for export, in order that we may earn the foreign exchange necessary to pay our debt.

The Government of India have tried in recent years to devise a variety of schemes to give an impetus to exports. But these have not succeeded to the desired extent. The time was overdue when some radical measure was necessary to sary to give a permanent impetus to exports and to make imports dearer so that there may be a check on balance. To bring about a better balance between the two is the inten-tion of devaluation.

# Will Be Impetus

Our exports are not sufficiently competitive in the foreign markets because our prices are high. Now that it will be possible for the for-eigner to buy Indian goods worth Rs. 21 for one pound sterling, he will be induced to purchase Indian goods, if he was not willing to do so when the pound could fetch only Rs. 13 worth of Indian goods. It is expected that Indian manufacturers and businessmen will have the inducement to manufacture goods which have a foreign market.

At the same time imports will become dearer as we shall have to pay more rupees for imported goods. The tendency to import will therefore be checked and those who can use local goods will try to do so thus reducing imports. Devaluation will also be an impetus to local manufacturers. So long as it was several times more profitable to import than to export, this was not possible. Now that it will be profitable to export it is hop-ed that the tendency will be in the right direction. If this expectation is realized we shall have a greater balance in the economy and the selfreliance for which we are working may be brought within sight.

In order that the above situation may not have certain undesirable effects some steps have been taken by the Government and some more are likely to be taken. For example certain import duties have been reduced for essential goods and certain export duties have been imposed particularly in the case of our traditional exports such as tea and jute, for which the exporter does not deserve the advantage which he would

It is possible that there may be an upward trend in the internal price level because of the change in the value of the rupee. But as imported goods are already priced high we shall not have a rise in internal prices in the same proportion in which the value of the rupee has changed.

#### Absurd Talk

The present Index Number of prices is around 180 with 1952-53 as 100. We may assume that the tendency of the price level will be to go nearer 200, but the Government should take steps to maintain it at some reasonable level, which should be determined as soon as possible. The maintenance of the internal price level at a relatively stable level is the same thing as maintaining the value of the rupee. The fact that the value of the rupee had fallen in recent years or that the price had risen considerably was due among other things to the inflationary policy of the Government.

Unless the Government stops inflation with determination in future we will not be able to maintain a stable price level. All talk of holding the price line by politicians is absurd, when the politicians themselves are responsible for spending lavishly on a variety of unwanted

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## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

#### French A-Test Worries South Americans

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

One-third of the French Navy has set sail for a nine months' spell in the Pacific. This was in preparation for France's plans for an atomic bang in the South Pacific about 750 miles southeast of Tahiti.

The French Prime Minister and Foreign Minister are planning a forthcoming visit to London. Meanwhile General de Gaulle has been in correspondence with the Presidents of Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, in an attempt to allay their anxieties about the nuclear tests. The tests will probably be held in July, though some sources say they might start at the end of June when President de Gaulle starts his ten-day visit to the Soviet Union.

Messages have been despatched to the French Ambassadors in Chile, Australia, and New Zealand informing them that great precautions will be taken against any form of radiation. French experts say that tests with hydrogen bombs are not planned this time. It is believed that the first hydrogen bomb ever constructed by France will not be tested before the end of 1968.

Meanwhile in Mexico City the third annual meeting of COPREDAL (Preparatory Commission for Denuclearization in Latin America) has just ended. This was a twenty-one nation conference with the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain and France as observers.

The Latin American countries were at one in their determined opposition to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

These Latin American nations are worried not only about radiation. They are concerned about the deleterious effects nuclear tests might have on marine life in the Pacificespecially fish.

As with Japan fish contributes substantially to the economies of many Latin American countries. In 1963 Peru overtook Japan and became the world's leading fishing nation. Peru catches seven times as much fish as Britain.

The French say that the tests are nothing to worry about as they will take place almost four thousand miles from the coast of Peru. At the World Congress of Christian Democratic Parties which met in Lima, Peru, at the end of April, thirty-three delegations condemned the French tests. Only the French mission, Luxembourg and the Swiss voted against their decision.

Since this Conference a French scientific mission has been visiting the different capitals on the Pacific Coast. Nevertheless, the President of the Latin American Parliament, Luis Leon of Argentina, has sent a telegram to General de Gaulle asking for the tests to be suspended.

The Latin American continent will almost certainly be the first continent completely to ban nuclear weapons.

## De Gaulle Makes Europeans Think

FROM PETER HINTZEN

The Hague

France's withdrawal from the integrated NATO structure has caused a lot of troubles. Strategy will have to be re-thought. Expensive warning systems will have to be rebuilt. And the NATO and American headquarters and installations will have to be moved at the cost of 800 million dollars. Who will pay?

With Paris's foreknowledge, Washington has published the five secret treaties which were the basis of NATO and US presence in France. These show that France has broken

solemn promises, but it is unlikely she will pay damages. Most other European countries are passing through a period of overspending Continued in next page

## The week in Asia

PEKING - The Mayor of Peking, Peng Chen, ranked ninth in the Chinese Communist Party hierarchy, was dismissed as first secretary of the Party's Peking Committee.

\* \* \* RANGOON - Burma and the US signed an agreement to transfer PL 480 credit to Burma for school and hospital building. It was reported that Gen. Ne Win, Chairman of the Burmese Revolutionary Council, would visit the US from September 8 to 10.

\* \* \* DACCA - The National Awami League called a general strike throughout East Pakistan on June 7. Many Hindu East Pakistanis were reported crossing into West Bengal through fear of communal violence. The League wants more autonomy for East Pakistan.

COLOMBO — Chinese opium is being bartered for Indian gold in Ceylonese territorial waters, according to reports here. Ceylon police believe these contraband operations are part of an international racket to replenish Chinese gold reserves.

HUE — Students destroyed the US Consulate in protest against American support for the Ky Government. Tri Quang, extremist Buddhist leader, demanded the resignation of the military government.

\* \* \* MANILA - The Philippines Government announced resumption of normal relations with Malaysia.

\* \* \* TOKYO - Over 13,000 people demonstrated against the visit of an American nuclear submarine to the naval base at Yokosuka.

\* \* \* DJAKARTA - Students broke into Parliament and forced members to lower the House flag in honour of a youth killed in a clash with police.

\* \* \* SINGAPORE - Indonesia formally told Singapore of its decision to recognize the island state.

\* \* \* HANOI - North Vietnam's President Ho Chi-minh is in China or about to go there, according to informed sources.

\* \* \* DARWIN - Harry Chan, 47-year-old storekeeper, became Mayor of this north Australian city—the first Chinese to hold such a post. He is already first Chinese President of an Australian Parliament - the Legislative Council of the Northern Terri-

#### FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

and have little money to spare. America is already carrying too much, paying for Vietnam and the Great Society all at once.

According to the press here, it is unlikely NATO will move to Britain, as it would make the alliance too Anglo-Saxon and it would isolate Germany. It cannot move to the South European partners, because they are too far away from "the centre". The Scandinavian countries would not want to offend "Big Brother" Russia. Germany is not desirable as she is too close to the Iron Curtain. So-according to these press reports here-the Benelux remains, by a process of elimination. But neither Belgium nor Holland are keen to be the new host: and some people are apprehensive of becoming an indefensible target for nuclear

retaliation. The NATO Ministers Council will have to settle these problems when they meet in Brussels this week.

Another problem: what should happen to French troops on German soil? Bonn wants to keep them as a French guarantee against Communist aggression. But there must be a new negotiated basis, because the presence of a new sort of occupying army is incompatible with Germany's newly regained sovereignty.

President de Gaulle may have triggered off the present crisis, but he only brought to the fore what has been smouldering below the surface for some time. Increasingly more prosperous West Europeans are tired of the East-West tensions against which NATO has shielded them. True, post-Stalin Russia is less openly aggressive. But wishful thinking may cause people to interpret rather

moderate changes as complete conversion. US Secretary of State Dean Rusk and the Foreign Affairs strategist Dean Acheson have

De Gaulletriggered crisis.

drastic overhaul of NATO conceptions. There is some talk of a conference of NATO and Warsaw Pact powers about a detente between the two blocs. It is

expected that Denmark, supported by Norway, will make a proposal to that effect at the Brussels meeting -thus outmatching de Gaulle whoaccording to rumours-wants to suggests a similar meeting during his Moscow visit, but wants to exclude

the USA from it.

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ing lately of

the need for a

A further NATO difficulty is America's understandable need for trained cadres in Vietnam. She is planning to withdraw 30,000 men from Europe and has promised to replace them by 15,000 recruits. But Europeans may have to carry a greater share of their own defence. There is talk of new German divisions. Bonn has already received British requests for more finances to help pay the bill of the British Rhine Army. Also, Germany's neighbours have some misgivings about increased German military strength.

France's fourteen NATO partners are angry that de Gaulle has thrown their safety into jeopardy. Certainly, the present development is dangerous. Yet, whereas de Gaulle thinks for the world, the rest of Western Europe is mainly concerned with it-

Fears in Pakistan

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT A middle-class schoolmaster voiced his fears to me the other

"People like me fear two thingsthat the regime will not allow a fair chance of its being replaced democratically, and may, at some time, be overthrown in a bloody coup. This would touch off a series of coups and countercoups, and the country would never develop. My other fear

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

is that in order to keep themselves in power some group might call in the Americans or the Chinese, and create a situation like Vietnam in this country."

Meanwhile prices rise, and of five things you look for in the bazaar, two will be unobtainable. American Fulbright scholars have been edged out of the mainstream to work in Parsee, Christian or other institutions. Bungalows built to house "foreign experts" stand empty.

The intelligentsia now regard the ultra-red or the ultra-Western as having crossed the limits.

## Cyprus-Expensive Crisis Drags On

FROM MARCEL GRANDY

In a few weeks' time the UN Security Council will again have to face the Cyprus question and decide on the renewal of the mandate of the UN forces here. With it, the warning of several troop-contributing and money-providing nations will have to be heeded. Unless by the end of June there is some progress in solving the 30-month-old Cyprus crisis the supply of troops or money will be cut or stopped. And the UN treasury is already deep in the red on account of the Cyprus operation.

The successor to the late General Thimayya, Commander of the UN troops in Cyprus, is Major General Martola of Finland who arrived last week.

Senor Carlos Bernardes, the Brazilian Special Representative in Cyprus of the UN Secretary-General, returned last night from a round of talks in Ankara and Athens, following meetings with the Secretary-General himself. Not much is known yet of the content of the talks, but it is assumed that the need for direct talks between Greece and Turkey, as well as the urgency of finding a solution, have been stressed. Speaking to the press on arrival, Senor Bernardes said, "I come back from these talks encouraged, because my personal opinion is that both the Greek and Turkish governments sincerely want to bring about a peace-

ful conclusion to this problem." Meanwhile the rift between President Makarios and General Grivasover the question of authority over Greek armed forces and Greek Cypriots on the Island-is not bridged yet. The publication in the press here and in Athens of "confidential" letters emanating from the President, Grivas and personalities of the Greek political scene, tend to fan passion. at a time when internal unity would be of prime importance.

Radio Bairak, "The Turkish Cypriot Fighters' Radio Station", announced proudly that the biggest military manoeuvres since the beginning of the Cyprus crisis were entering in-



Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, greets Major General Eino Martola of Finland, new UN Force Commander on the island.

to their second day near Iskenderum, the Turkish naval base 100 miles away from Cyprus. The action involved land, air and sea forces, watched by the commander and top officers of the Turkish forces.

How long this Cyprus situation, with all its side-pressures and darkening perspective can last, is everybody's guess. But one thing is sure: the world at large is getting increasingly tired-and governments worried -with this quarrel which has lasted too long and is costing too much, without perceiving the least movement in Cyprus itself towards agreement and a solution. The time seems ripe indeed for courageous statesmanship in all camps of the conflict.

## The week in India

NEW DELHI - An official spokesman said a second ministerial-level meeting on implementing the Tashkent agreement was being discussed with Pakistan.

SRINAGAR - Government authorities were reported to have discovered a network of subversive cells in Kashmir. Six people were arrested, some linked with the Plebiscite Front, and arms dumps found.

\* \* \*

BELGAUM - Eleven MLAs from Belgaum district, including the Deputy Speaker, resigned from the district Congress in protest against the Congress Working Committee's decision to set up a one-man commission to go into the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute.

NEW DELHI - The shortage of houses in India is 74.1 million, 11.4 million in urban areas and 62.7 in rural areas, it was reported.

\* \* \* KOHIMA - Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi and Naga underground leaders are likely to hold further talks in New Delhi on June 27 and 28.

KANPUR - Meetings and processions were banned for one month because of the strained relations between management and employees of Elgin Mills.

\* \* \*

TRIVANDRUM - Only 37.3 per cent of the 173,805 candidates passed this year's SSLC examination in Kerala.

\* \* \*

LUCKNOW-The SSP and Right and Left Communists in Uttar Pradesh called for a "UP Bandh" on June 21 aimed at "ousting the Congress from power" and protesting against the 25 per cent emergency increase in land revenue.

\* \* \*

CALCUTTA — Left Communists drew up plans for the next round of struggle in two months' time at a West Bengal committee meeting. Preliminary rallies would be held on June 26.

JAMMU - Eulogies of Mao Tse-tung have been removed from history books published by the Kashmir Government. The revision did not change the general character of the books, one of which commends Communism as an ideal goal.



# Say when.



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### Western & ocialists Seek New Goals

FROM GORDON WISE

London

There is a great deal of heart searching and head scratching going on among the Social Democrats of the world. Nowadays, almost everyone lays claim to the word "socialist". But I am referring here to the Socialist Parties represented at the Socialist International Congress held in Stockholm recently.

Pietro Nenni, Deputy Premier of Italy, told the delegates, "The categorical imperative facing Socialists is to make history, not to be subjected to it."

The practical expression of Mr. Nenni's aim for Socialism was contained in the sincere desire to "make it possible for non-white have-nots of the world to join the international fraternity of the white haves", expressed by Singapore's Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew.

This Asian Prime Minister said further in his address, "It must be the serious concern, particularly of Democratic Socialists in the developing countries, to ensure that the line of world conflict does not coincide with the line of colour, and the only way to avoid this is for the white and developed nations not just of the West, America and Western Europe, but also of the East, Russia and Europe, to learn to feel in their bones that peace, progress and prosperity are indivisible, that poverty and backwardness anywhere is a threat to progress and prosperity everywhere."

#### 'Not Others' Problems but Ours'

Mr. George Brown of Great Britain's Labour Government matched this concern when he talked of the "tremendous responsibility" of the West towards "less fortunate countries". He went on to spell out the need to provide "capital and technical know-how, or help indirectly through the provision of trading arrangements that will enable developing countries to sell their products in world markets."

The Scandinavians with their high standard of living and social security have for some time tried to spark the conscience of their peoples towards the rest of the world. Said Tage Erlander, Swedish Prime Minister, at the end of the Congress, "The time has passed when we could discuss the problems of others. In the modern world they are always our problems."

In other words, many European Socialists who have been so successful in bridging the gap between rich and poor within their own countries are now rightly concerning themselves with bridging the widening gap between rich and poor nations.

There was, too, at Stockholm some fresh thinking on the need to reach out to the Communist world. Dr. Bruno Kreisky, Deputy President of the Austrian Socialist Party and Foreign Minister in the Coalition just ended, talked of the "polycentrism of world Communism". He said, "If Albania, the Tibet of Europe, can afford to opt for Peking despite its smallness and poverty, then the richer Rumania can so much more easily take up a position between Peking and Moscow."

Kreisky felt that if Albania can be wooed and won by China, then Western Socialists should be able to do the same for a country such as Rumania which has been going out of its way to assert its independence of Moscow.

## Mrs. Gandhi to Visit Australia?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, might visit Australia next year, according to Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit who has just completed a two-week visit here.

Mrs. Pandit said that after the elections next February, it was hoped she would be able to visit Australia and other South-East Asian regions.

Mrs. Pandit believed India had an increasingly important role in South-East Asia.

The Indian Government was interested in the further development of its ties with South-East Asian countries towards relationships based on common needs, objectives and understanding.

A former President of the UN, Mrs. Pandit said although she supported the UN "good or bad", she believed it must be strengthened to deal with the problems for which it was established.

She deplored the falling off in the level of representation at UN head-quarters. The lower status of representatives had whittled down the UN's influence. It also showed a lessening of interest.

Mrs. Pandit suggested more visits to India by people trained in education, science and journalism to help international understanding of her country.

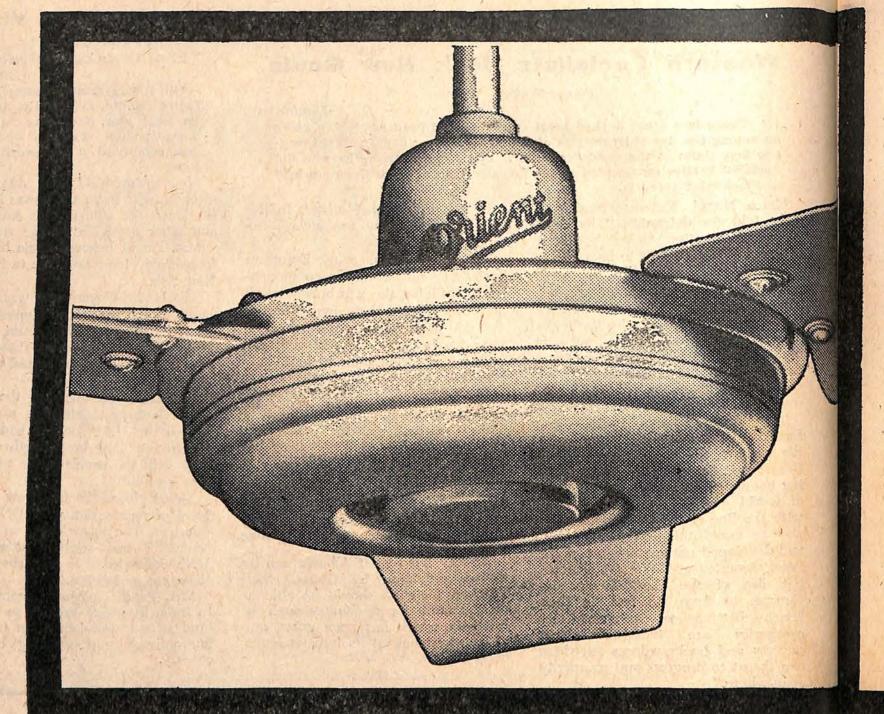


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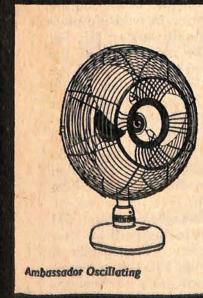
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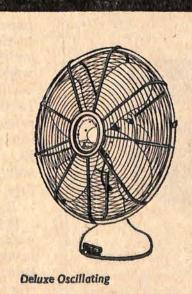
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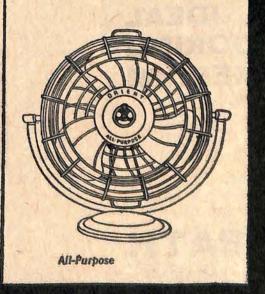


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## Mineral Finds Spark West Australia Boom

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Western Australia is probably Australia's most rapidly developing state. For years its huge area, nearly a million square miles, which is half the size of Europe, had been largely untouched. Now discovery of vast mineral deposits and a "wasteland revolution" where barren lands have become productive, are changing the face of this state.

This dynamic growth has generated a feeling of excitement and a desire to go ahead. The small population of 800,000, most of whom live along the coast, are nearer to Djakarta than to Australia's capital, Canberra.

People are just beginning to realize Western Australia's mineral potential, particularly in the field of iron ore. At Pilbara in the north-west there is an estimated 15,000 million tons of first grade iron ore stretched over a distance of 200 miles. Only first grade ores are mined and the authorities haven't started to estimate the amount of ore in other grades. It is estimated that with ore discovered so far, the West Australian fields could supply the world's total needs for the next 50 years.

#### Kalgoorlie Gold

As well as iron ore, Western Australia is rich in other minerals. Eighty per cent of Australia's gold is mined there at Kalgoorlie. There are also large quantities of manganese, coal, lead, copper, zinc, bauxite, and tin.

Other minerals are being rapidly added to this list. Mr. C. Court, the Minister for Industrial Development for West Australia, told us that, if six weeks ago someone had talked of the possibility of nickel being found, he would have disbelieved him. However, a couple of weeks ago it was discovered. Oil is also being discovered.

Agriculturally, the north of Western Australia is also taking on a new look. The Ord river, which previously flowed uselessly into the Indian Ocean up to the rate of 10 million gallons per second, is in the process of being dammed for irrigation to grow crops of cotton, rice, sugarcane and oil seeds.

In 1965, Western Australia produced more wheat than any other state of Australia. 100 million bushels of wheat were produced as compared to 60 million the previous year.

Since World War II, wool production has increased 85 per cent and the state wool clip has exceeded 200 million pounds weight, while the number of sheep is over 22 million.

With this tremendous development and the resulting foreign trade, West Australians are beginning to look out beyond their own shores. They are waking up to their position in Asia and like many other Australians, they are realizing that their future lies with that continent rather than with Europe. The Japanese have a contract for iron ore to the value of \$A2,600 million and much of West Australia's trade is shifting in this direction. This new trend will lead to closer ties between Australia and the rest of Asia; an association which will be, in future years, of great benefit to both Asia and Australia.

#### Ceylon Bids For Tourist Traffic

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT Colombo

UNESCO's decision to declare 1967 an International Tourist Year may stem from the thought that tourists' curiosity brings nations closer. Governments like Ceylon's are intensely interested in tourism for a different reason—as a pipeline for hard currency.

In a country where new cars, electrical appliances, and many essential household articles are scarce and where the import of potatoes is about to be stopped because foreign exchange is so short, it is not lost on economists that Britain's annual income from tourism alone is one-anda-half times Ceylon's whole national

#### **Progressive Management**

The scenic beauty, the ancient ruins and the beaches of Ceylon are unrivalled. Throw in wild life sanctuaries, singing and walking fish, hot springs and the oldest tree in the world and the tourists should be coming in droves. But they aren't. In the ten years from 1948-58, for example, India's earnings from tourism jumped from Rs. 25 million to Rs. 184 million, Japan's from Rs. 30 million to Rs. 320 million. In Ceylon they only crept from Rs. 5 million to Rs. 6 million.

But the unimaginativeness and mismanagement of the past are now being swept away. Propaganda is being stepped up. Efficient, progressive management from the private sector is coming in. More airlines are being given landing rights at the FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

international airport at Katunayake. By next year, it will have been entirely rebuilt with Canadian aid.

One French airline alone, UTA, is spending Rs. 50,000 on a "Ceylon Theme" tourist exhibition in Paris from July through until September this year.

## The Two Americas: Uneasy Neighbours

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

It has been the curse of the relationship between North America and Latin America that it has been dominated by economic considerations for the last decades. It is like the relationship of a rich uncle with several more or less poor nephews, while it could be the relationship of several brothers, all with great but different gifts and talents.

The reflection of this relationship is seen in the struggle to change the charter of the OAS-the "Organization of the American States". This organization includes all the nations of North and South America with the exception of Canada.

After the American Marines had landed in Santo Domingo last year the United States asked for the help of the OAS. With her help the originally American intervention was transformed into an "Inter-American peace-force", now commanded by a Brazilian general with troops from several American nations.

The United States would like the OAS to become more effective as a peace-keeping force. She proposed at a special meeting in Panama this year, that any difference between two member nations could be brought before the OAS. And she is asking for the formation of a permanent inter-American peace-force ready for action where needed. Both these suggestions are opposed by the Latin American States including Brazil. They fear that the OAS could become a tool of US foreign policy.

#### **Economic 'Guidelines'**

The Latin American States on the other hand feel that the USA should help them in their economic progress and that the OAS could become the basis to it. They would like to see the "Alliance for Progress" become a binding permanent part of the inter-American system.

In the last general meeting of the OAS at Rio de Janeiro last November, certain guidelines were worked out. They were mainly based on the resolutions of the "Conference for Trade and Development" in Geneva and tried to commit the US to help the exportation of Latin American

raw materials to world markets. The US signed these "guidelines" for a revised inter-American charter to be signed in July in Buenos Aires.

But when a special meeting was held in Panama to draw up this re-

## The week elsewhere-

#### "CONFRONTATION" ENDS

BANGKOK-Indonesian and Malaysian negotiators agreed after talks here to end the three years of "confrontation" and restore friendly relations. Following this agreement, Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik said his country, Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines had decided to form a union for economic, technical and cultural co-operation. Singapore Premier Lee Kuan Yew was reported as saying his country would like to join the union.

#### NIGERIAN RIOTS

KANO, North Nigeria-Over 92 people were killed and hundreds hurt in riots when Northerners protected against the Government's plan to abolish Nigeria's four regions. Demonstrations developed into clashes in many towns between Northern tribesmen and Ibos from Eastern Nigeria. The police and army were reported to have the situation under control.

#### ADENAUER: THE PRIORITY

BONN-Dr. Konrad Adenauer said here recently, "The most important thing in the world today is to make the principles of Moral Re-Armament a reality in the private and public life of every nation." West Germany's former Chancellor was receiving 150 young Americans of the MRA musical "Sing-Out '66" in the German Parliament building. "Europe needs America, but also America needs Europe," he told

vised charter itself the Americans went along only for a while. At the last moment they refused to commit themselves in detail and pulled back, though they are fully in favour of a general commitment towards economic aid.

This puts the whole revision of the Charter in July in question and is fresh fuel on the fires of anti-Americanism across the continent.

This whole picture could change in a very short time if one nation would combine its desire for its own national development with selfless service to her neighbours. This nation need not be the one with the greatest national wealth but the one with the greatest force of character-it could be any nation of the OAS.

them. "Sing-Out '66" has been invited to West Germany by the Federal Government.

#### CAMBODIA ARMS

PNOM PENH-Large supplies of arms are reported to have come recently into Cambodia from Communist China. It is said to be the third arms delivery since October. It is estimated that Cambodia can now equip 75,000 troops from mainly Chinese material. Soviet and Chinese technicians are building airfields near the Thai and South Vietnamese borders. China has an intelligence HQ in Pnom Penh, the capital.

#### CHURCHES AID INDIA

GENEVA-The World Council of Churches is half-way towards its target of three million dollars to finance land reclamation and dig 200 irrigation wells in India. A German "bread for the world" campaign aims at raising \$ 1,350,000 to provide food for 150,000 motherless children in Orissa, 50,000 in Bihar and 200,000 in Calcutta.

#### SENATE CUTS AID

WASHINGTON-The Senate Foreign Relations committee cut President Johnson's request for \$664 million for foreign aid to \$620 million. The committee also declared that foreign aid should not be regarded as a commitment "to use armed forces of the US for the defence of any foreign country".









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# ON THE Spot HIMMAT meets the people

# He Stood on the Edge of an Erupting Volcano

The 30-year-old man I was talking to is from far-off New Zealand. He spoke of India with affection and respect. He talked of how close were the ideals and hopes of our two countries. He made New Zealand real to me.

By profession an accountant, he likes the classical music of Beethoven and Dvorak and for relaxation enjoys a game of squash. Like most New Zealanders he is fond of the open country. His sports are gymnastics and harrier-running (6½ miles, crosscountry) and he has run in the Wellington-Masterton, 60-miles relayrace, one of the classics of New Zealand.

As a keen tramping club member and skier, he has spent much time in the hills and mountains and loves the "bush" (back-country) of New Zealand. He recalls climbing the volcano Ngaruahoe during the early stages of an eruption. "Standing on the lip of the crater, seeing rocks being tossed through the churning clouds of smoke and steam, with the ground shaking under my feet, gave me the most awe-inspiring few minutes of my life.

## Next Street Blitzed

"A more amusing incident occurred when a small party was tramping in murky weather. Visibility was limited and after sidling around an outcrop, we came across fresh footprints on the track. Puzzled, because we had met no one—it was still early morning—we suddenly realized we were following our own tracks through the way we had come."

Are you a born New Zealander?

"I was born in Britain and was very young when the second world war started. I remember aerial dogfights and was once shocked to see half the next street destroyed by a German rocket." When did you come to New Zealand?

"After the war my father, who was a policeman, came to New Zealand with our family. I completed my education in New Zealand and on leaving school took a correspondence course in accountancy. I worked for a bank, and then joined Unilever, working there for ten years."

What was your ambition then?

"I was secure and comfortably off with a sports car and flat. I liked to do what I pleased; my main concern was that things stayed that way."

## Inescapable Logic

What changed your views?

"I read a book called 'The World Rebuilt' which told the story of a change that had occurred in the Ruhr Valley after the war, enabling the vast industrial might of that area to pave the way for the German economic recovery. It spoke of changing human nature so that man's abilities were redirected into channels for building a society where everyone has enough food, shelter, satisfying work and a purpose for his life. For me-my only purpose an entirely selfish one - this was a great challenge. I acknowledged the logic of changing oneself first, but found many arguments to save me from making a decision on it. However in spite of my denials, the beginnings of a faith date from that time."

And then?

"A Moral Re-Armament Conference in Australia last year convinced me that this idea was not only practical, but I should take a hand in it. In putting my own house in order I found I needed to apologize to my father for the resentment I had borne him for many years. This simple act resulted in a new unity and respect for each other. I also discovered a radio licence that had remained



Peter Wood-Sports car was outpaced

unpaid for five years. If I was to expect the leaders of my country to be free from corruption, I, of course, had to pay this, together with the income tax I had previously found easier to ignore."

It is fine putting right the things you needed to, but what did you take on?

"I was the proud owner of one of those long low MG sports cars, but I found this idea of MRA had more pace than the car. So I sold it and gave the money to help launch the musical revue "Sing-Out Australia". When we were invited to India, I decided this was what I wanted Australia and New Zealand to give the world. So as well as giving my time and energies—I am business manager of 'Sing-Out Australia'—I gave Rs. 20,000 which was the rest of my savings

"We raised through our own efforts and with help of business and industry in our lands, Rs. 250,000 to come out to India. I believe there are men in India, who will back both 'Sing-Out Australia' and the show 'India Arise' to go wherever they are

eeded."

H.M.S.

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## BOOKS

#### Readings from Liberal Writers

Selected by J. Plamenatz (George Allen & Unwin, London. Pp. 241. Price 21 sh.)

In his scholarly Introduction John Plamenatz has given an excel'ent analysis of the liberal attitude as used in this book. It is not merely love of freedom and liberty. This was notable from very ancient times. But the liberal mind was brought to the fore especially in the late eighteenth century. Locke was an apostle of it. Plamenatz says: "The freedom he proclaimed is

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the right of every man to live and think and speak as he pleases provided he respects the same right in others, and does for the community his part of what must be done if it is to maintain itself and protect this right."

Liberals may be deeply conservative. Others may be deeply in love with virtue and freedom. But they will be liberals only if they recognize the right of others to go their own ways in thought and life. Montesquieu and Burke were conservative, but they were liberals. Many medieval people were idealists and saintly, but as they wanted to impose their views forcibly on others they were not liberals.

This basic idea of the liberal mind may be seen behind all the selected passages in this book. Take one brief passage from Rousseau: "Children

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have their own ways of seeing, of thinking, of feeling. Nothing is less sensible than to substitute ours for them....Each one of us brings with him at birth a temperament peculiar to himself which determines his genius and character, and which we must not change or constrain but form and perfect..."

Naturally the liberal mind is concerned with freedom, its rights and limitations, in view of the need for the wellbeing of society. The first part of this book, therefore, consists of passages dealing with freedom and opportunity. The second part presents the rights and limits of authority. The attitude of the liberal to government, to freedom of thought and to the possible dangers to freedom are illustrated in the last three sections. Though the study, the quality of the passages selected makes it useful for intellectual stimulation and even diversion.

#### Daily Life in Ancient India

By Jeannine Auboyer (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London. Pp. 344. Price 42 sh.)

Some have expressed surprise at the roots of Indian life remaining unaffected in spite of centuries of foreign domination. The reason for that may be seen from the account of ancient Indian life given in this book. Thousands of years ago an advanced way of life had become established in the country. The remains of Harappa and Mohenjodaro show that it was a highly advanced life that the people lived. At the base of that life, supporting and directing it, were thought structures which were most surprisingly advanced. It is only natural that a people with such a background and entrenched high traditions remain totally unaffected by new superficial influences.

The detailed pictures of life in ancient India, from 200 BC to 700 AD given by Mile. Auboyer make exciting reading. She has made her reconstructions by thorough and careful study of architecture, literature and other artistic forms. These are reliable because, in spite of the exaggerations and idealizations of the artists, there is an essential truth and reality in all of them. In a scholarly way the author begins with a background study of the geography and history of the country, and then presents the political and social set up.

The conclusion which the author draws after her elaborate study is significant. She says: "In a world in transformation, India is performing the dual feat today of exercising an increasing influence in world affairs despite innumerable difficulties, and at the same time, upholding the example of a living tradition expressing the spiritual yearnings of its people.... They pass on to future generations the refinement, the brilliance, the sensitiveness of an incomparable civilization."

P.L.S

Німмат, June 10, 1966

## LETTERS

#### WHEN GOVERNMENTS CHANGE WAYS

Indonesian Army Chief General Suharto's announcement that Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia has run its course comes like healing ointment to an aching Asia. Regimes (as President Sukarno's was) built on and fed by hate never last. They have within themselves the seeds of their own destruction.

Years ago Hitler used the same weapon-hate. He expected his Reich to last a thousand years-history gave it ten! Red China, spurning history, preaches the same doctrine of hate. People in China ask for bread, and they are given the stones of bitterness.

The world is a sorry picture of hate masquerading in clever disguises. When governments have love as their cornerstone and goodwill as their foundation, only then will we begin to build the world of our dreams.

IVAN SASSOON\*

Calcutta 14

This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

#### ADULTERATION

The Food Minister recently revealed in the Rajya Sabha that not only foodstuffs but also other essential commodities are adulterated in this country.

It seems that there is not a single item of daily necessity in this country - ranging from milk, edible oils to the life-saving patent drugs - which is free from adulteration! This evil is, undoubtedly, injurious to the health of the public, particularly children, and must, therefore, be viewed with grave concern. In the interest of the health of the nation it is high time that the concerned law-enforcing authorities

#### **DEVALUATION**—from page 6

things or indulging in wasteful and inefficient types of expenditure in the name of development or welfare.

Just as devaluation is a radical measure to cure the economy of its ills, an equally radical measure is required for the politicians to have a complete change in their attitude to public expenditure, and develop a sense of financial discipline, because in the absence of such a discipline, we in India may fall again in the same trap of rising prices and the need for further devaluation. If this happens there will not be any stability in the economy, and no respect for our economic affairs among foreign Governments or investors.

took more effective steps and more drastic measures to check this social crime perpetrated by the anti-social elements who seek to live at the cost of the lives of the innocent human beings!

LALITA G. SALELKAR

Bombay 12

#### CORRUPTION IN INDIA

Unless we fight corruption on a war footing, India can never become a prosperous country.

Last year I organized a function. To get permission from the Calcutta Collectorate I had to visit the collector's office every day for three weeks. Another person who had also come for permission got it in a week's time because he bribed someone.

Nowadays even teenagers encourage blackmarketeering. When tickets are not available for a cinema show, young boys and girls purchase tickets at blackmarket prices. I can't, for the life of me, understand why they cannot hold their temptations. Must they go to see a movie even if they have to pay Rs. 5 for a Rs. 2.20 ticket?

It is a very hard job to eradicate corruption from the country. We will have to change the whole society. We will have to-mould the character of the people. There are still millions of honest people in India. The Government should form small committees of seven or eight honest, sincere people in every locality and village. Their duty should be to keep an eye on anti-social elements and report them to the police. Well, before this programme can be put into operation, the police must also make a firm resolve not to accept

Widespread corruption is ruining India. If we want to built the India of our aspirations, we must all strive together to fight corruption.

SHOURABH MUKERJI

Calcutta 19

The trouble with anti-corruption committees is the need felt to appoint an anti-anti-corruption committee to supervize the anti-corruption committee. Often crooks are the first to join anti-corruption committees. An army of bold, honest men who won't accept corruption is one answer .-

#### TELEVISION

Television is not a luxury, as some writers suggest in your columns. This is one of the most powerful new media of mass communication that has spread across Europe, the Americas and a few other countries of the world. Television will create a quicker impact on the people in matters of literacy, agricultural development, health and family planning and scientific, technical and general education of students at all

It is estimated that an all-India television service would involve a capital outlay of Rs. 1000 million. Though

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

this estimate seems to be huge, the benefit to the nation is invaluable and what would take many years to transform the face of our country and weld us into a united, progressive and disciplined nation, could be done in much

The huge running cost could be levied through allowing advertisements. I. S. MENON

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK

#### KEY TO CHINA IS INDIA

In a letter published in HIMMAT of May 27, "Bring China to the UN", Mr. P.V.V. Rajan suggests that "the only wise course to tame China and bring her to her senses is to secure a seat for her in the UN". I fail to agree

There has been much in the Chinese attitude of the past that makes me believe that once inside the UN China will only try to further consolidate her position of domination in world affairs. Her seat in that organization will only add to her arrogance and superioritycomplex encouraging her to work for greater self-aggrandisement. And if at any time were it to so happen that other nations checked her pursuit of her own designs, I have little doubt in that she will walk out with impunity. I believe that the only way to bring China around, as Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi has pointed out, is to confront her with a superior idea. Were China to be convinced that Moral Re-Armament and not Communism is needed to liberate man from his suffering, things will definitely improve. And it is our job to see that China is convinced. Let us begin. The answer to China lies with us in Asia, not at the UN or with the USA.

D. R. MOHAN RAJ

Hyderabad 1.

## VIEWPOINT

#### COMPETITION -

\* India and Pakistan need each other to solve their economic problems.

Closing date: June 24

\*\* What should be India's new role in Asia?

Closing date: July 8

19

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HIMMAT, June 10, 1966



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"THE SAME MAN is seldom successful as rebel and statesman. Sardar Patel was the exception. Without him, Gandhiji's idea would have had less practical influence and Nehru's idealism less scope," said the Manchester Guardian on Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's death. Nehru said: "Sardar was the builder and consolidator of the new India."

Vallabhbhai Patel belonged to the clan of Lewa Patildars who had played an important role in the history of Gujarat. Born of farmer parents on October 21, 1875, he passed the Pleaders' examination and started legal practice early in life. At 35 he went to England and returned as a barrister-at-law. Soon he became a popular and successful lawyer at Ahmedabad.

In 1917 plague afflicted Ahmedabad. Vallabhbhai immediately organized an anti-plague campaign. He also put up a spirited fight to get forced labour removed. Next year he organized relief measures in the influenza epidemic.

From 1924 to 1928, as President of the Ahmedabad Municipality, with single-minded devotion, he streamlined the administration.

But it was the no-tax movement of Bardoli which brought a revolutionary change in his life and also made him a popular national leader. It was after the success of this movement, which brought victory for the peasants of Bardoli, that he came to be known as "Sardar".

Elected president of the Congress in 1931, he headed the second civil disobedience movement which started in 1932. He was arrested and during imprisonment his health broke down.

Though continuously ill and working under a heavy strain, he played a leading part in winning freedom for India. After freedom he became India's Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Home, States, Information and Broadcasting.

The integration of 554 Indian states into the Union of India will ever be a monument to his statesmanship. He united India as it never had been in her long history. And he did it without any rancour and bloodshed and in a remarkably short time.

He died on December 15, 1950.

Realism was the keynote of Sardar's thinking. The ablest organizer and administrator in the country, he had the foresight to see the Chinese menace as early as 1950. Frequently it is said, and rightly so, "Had Patel been alive today, India would not have seen such anxious days."

# Q and A

Q-Do you want decentralization of powers in India? Why?

S. RAJU, Karaikeni.

A-Democracy means the sharing of power at all levels by the people and hence decentralization of powers is essential. The difficulty in India is that while decentralization demands a responsible leadership, such leadership is not readily available especially at the village panchayat level. Political power is used for purposes of patronage. Local politicians who are responsible for education and small public works tend to use their authority for promoting themselves, their party or their financial interests. An autocratic and highly centralized raj is no answer. India needs a revolution of national character and responsibility for decentralization to succeed.

Q—Is the Swatantra Party just anti-Congress as many people tell me? What are its policies or aims?

JANAKI VARADHAN, Bombay.

A—The Swatantra Party was born out of rebellion against Congress misrule. It was founded by a man who, more than any living Congress leader, has "mothered" the Congress Party. Rajaji believes that the Congress Party cannot be changed and hence should be

thrown out by all democratic means. It is not fair to charge it as purely anti-Congress, because the Swatantra has a programme of its own. It stands very clearly for liberty of the individual, for free enterprise. Its leaders have promised that if elected to power they will bring the best talent from all over the country to govern India. It is basically "Liberal-Conservative".

Its policy, however, is not so clear on issues like Kashmir or on the language question where its members are allowed a considerable amount of freedom to express their views.

Q — What should be the place of religion in a secular state like India?

A. B. KHOT, Satara.

A—A secular state is one which is "concerned with the affairs of the world, worldly not sacred, not monastic, not ecclesiastical".

There is no state religion. This does not exclude, and in fact underlines, that there is freedom for all religions. Religious instruction is still given in private schools and moral instruction in private colleges. Moral instruction could be made interesting and fascinating with songs, music and drama.

Indians are basically a religious minded people. If more people live what they pray and claim to believe, we can have a new India tomorrow.

ANY QUESTIONS? SEND THEM TO Q & A, HIMMAT.

the Congress regime, and also that such a coalition is only the first stage towards total Communist dictatorship.

It is in their refusal to see any differences of shade in the Congress Party and their determination to replace it first with a non-Congress coalition headed by themselves and ultimately by the absolute government of their own Party, that the Left-wing Communists differ from the Right-wing Communists. This, and not any pro-Russian or pro-Chinese attitude, is what fundamentally unites such disparate elements among the Left-wingers as "proletarian insurrection-orientated Ranadive and the peasant-based E. M. S. Namboodiripad".

Very little has been written about the essential roots of personal and ideological conflict among the Leftwingers. But it is a factor that is bound to become more significant as the Party consolidates its strength in the major strongholds of the Party, especially Kerala, Andhra and Bengal. The extremist section will bid for control and the danger of violence and organized sabotage grow.

#### UNDER THE LENS-from page 5

do, with the jargon (not entirely meaningless) about stages of revolution, role of classes, etc. which is then used to identify their strategy, it seems to me that in actual fact the Left-wing Party leaders had derived certain conclusions from their political experience and formulated the theory to fit the strategy. These conclusions are:

- 1. The necessity for an all-out, total struggle against the Congress organization as a whole, if the bid to replace the Congress Party in power is to be realistic. Hence also the significance of branding the Congress Party as something to be hated and destroyed.
- 2. The need to win as large a section of the population as possible in the early stages in the struggle to throw out Congress Party rule and the consequent pragmatic approach towards alliances and adjustments with other political parties—including such professed enemies as the Swatantra Party.
- The importance of establishing the leadership of the Party over this movement to overthrow Congress rule, so that it is clear from the beginning that the Communists will control any coalition that succeeds

## China in 1970

TODAY CHINA'S preparedness is matched by Indian vulnerability. An immediate change is needed.

Mr. Kenzo Matsumura, the prominent Japanese Conservative who makes regular visits to China, says that his last visit has showed (1) that Mao Tse-tung was old and sick and (2) that his successors would follow Mao's line.

The Japanese assessment of China has often been accurate. They were the first, for instance, to predict the Chinese A-bomb.

#### Growing Atomic Power

The recent dismissal of Peng Chen from his high position in the Party and from Peking's Mayorship shows that all has not been harmonious inside Peking's top echelon. However, it would be foolish to see in this a relaxation in China's passion.

The steady growth of China's atomic machine is a factor the world has not fully grasped. Before many years are out, China's expanding nuclear capability will be a force on land, in the air and on the sea.

#### Largest Army

China's land army has for years been the world's largest. Its soldiers have also been among the world's most determined. The "human sea" tactic used by the Chinese in the Korean war, whereby tens of thousands of soldiers, sometimes unarmed, have been marched forward to occupy hilltops or cities or to form human bridges across wide rivers, has resulted in the death of vast percentages. But the losses have not been a consideration in Chinese policy-making.

Equipped with atomic artillery -with a fire-power enormously larger than that of a conventional army yet conveniently smaller than that of an atomic bomb-the Chinese army will perhaps become undefeatable on land. The American experience in Vietnam is a sufficient indication.

### By Rajmohan Gandhi

One of our prize daydreams in India is that American soldiers, generals, politicians and citizens are ever agog with a longing to come to our immediate aid. In all our calculations we seem to bank on this instant India-rescue act from America. It is an unsafe assumption.

There is a substantial willingness in America to assist and defend India. There also is, of course, a considerable ability to do so. But there may be a limit to both.

America is interested in preserving democracy in other nations and in preventing the expansion of world Communism. Yet she is, understandably, above all interested in the safety and freedom of America.

#### In Johnson's Shoes

Place vourself in Johnson's position. Look ahead to the day when China has the ability to fight with atomic weapons on land, in the air and on the sea. In particular, when she is able to drop atomic bombs on Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit, Chicago, New York and Washington.

Should China now massively invade India, what would you do? Would you be prepared to commit millions of American soldiers to fight a land war in the mountains and plains of India that could drag on for years, perhaps decades? Not too likely.

#### Risk New York for Delhi?

Would you be prepared to consider destroying China from the air? You would be able to. But you would have to be a very, very unusual man to do so at the risk of losing Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit, Chicago, New York and Washington.

Militarily speaking, time is on China's side. Every passing year is likely to make America more reluctant to wage total war with China.

India's internal divisions are, of course, more serious than our military weakness in relation to China. These divisions are militarily most relevant. The Naga and Mizo unrest ties down a significant proportion of our army. Internal violence, sabotage and subversion immobilizes another chunk of our military and, of course, occupies the time and energies of nearly all our police force.

It is utterly impossible for our military to deal simultaneously both with the internal situation and with China.

#### Twofold Transformation

Is there a solution? There is. It lies in transforming our life and situation inside the country and in revolutionizing our relationship with other countries. One without the other will be completely inadequate.

Yet to achieve either calls for an audacious leadership that at the moment is lacking.

China's human sea has to be answered by a super-modern statesmanship that electrifies our population with hope and unites them with a stronger resolve than China has. And by the same supermodern diplomacy in establishing a link with the rest of the world and with the major powers that will be unfailing.

#### Will Indira Lead?

We must very soon have a leadership that matches up to these requirements. Difficult? Far more practical, it seems to me, to aim for this than to await Peking's rule over India.

Will Indira Gandhi lead the

With the help of man and God, it is possible for India not only to defend her life and freedom but to plan for the creation of a new, greater China, playing at long last her true world role. Many of China's Communists will respond to this risen India.

## THE DICTATOR'S SLIPPERS by PETER HOWARD

SMALL TALK

MAYBE IT IS. FOR YEARS MY PROBLEM WAS BIG TALK. ALWAYS TALKED BIGGER THAN I LIVED. I USED TO MAKE SPEECHES AGAINST EXPLOITATION, I HATED IT. THEN I REALISED THAT WHEN I TOOK MY WIFE OR ANOTHER WOMAN FOR MY PLEASURE I EXPLOITED HER AS CRUELLY AND SELFISHLY AS ANY CAPITALIST EXPLOITS A WORKER.

> I WROTE ARTICLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM. I FOUND I WAS AN IMPERIALIST IN MY OWN HOME AND IN MY OWN OFFICE WHENEVER I WANTED TO FORCE MY WILL ON ANOTHER PERSON

Episode 13

I LOST MY FEAR OF BEING FOUND OUT

IT STARTED WITH ABSOLUTE HONESTY. I WAS AFRAID OF ADAMANT AND MEN

OF MY WIFE FINDING OUT SOME OF THE THINGS I HAD BEEN DOING WHEN I

WENT AWAY TO CONFERENCES. I TOLD HER THE TRUTH. AT THAT MOMENT

LIKE YOU FINDING OUT WHAT I WAS REALLY THINKING. BUT I WAS ALSO SCARED

THAT, IT ROBS OTHERS OF THEIR MANHOOD AND TURNS THEM INTO BEASTS

IMPERIALISM DOES MORE THAN

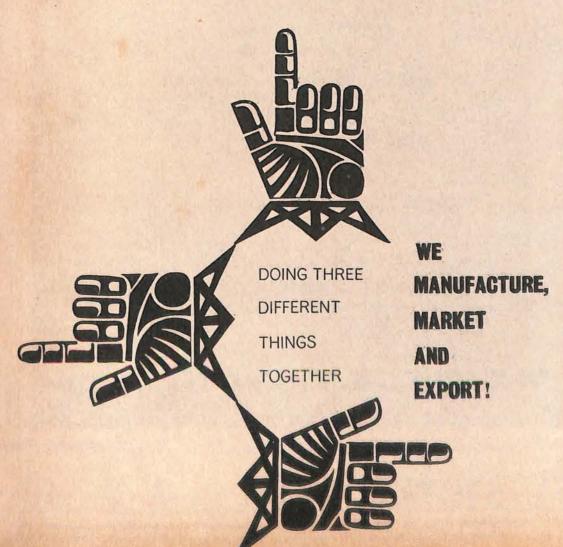
THATS TRUE ! AND I'M GLAD THIS BREAK FROM PRISON GIVES ME THE CHANCE TO APOLOGISE TO YOU AND DESSTANI AND TO YOUR PEOPLE . I USED TO FLATTER AFRICANS AND INDIANS WHEN THEY CAME TO OUR CAPITAL I WOULD GIVE THEM BANQUETS . I WANTED TO USE THEM FOR OUR REVOLUTION BUT I ALWAYS THOUGHT OF IT AS OUR REVOLUTION I NEVER CONSIDERED LETTING THE FINAL CONTROL OUT OF OUR HANDS FOR A MOMENT. I NEVER LOOKED ON YOU AS EQUAL REVOLUTIONARIES OR EQUAL MEN. I'M REALLY SORRY.



EVER SAID ANYTHING LIKE THAT TO ME

WE HAVE ALWAYS FELT IT. THIS IS AN HONEST MAN. WE SEEM TO PUT HONEST MEN IN GAOL DON'T WORRY, MOST OF US HAVE BEEN THERE !





Today Batliboi serves the country in three different ways. And in each way serves it well!

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#### WE DELIVER THEM

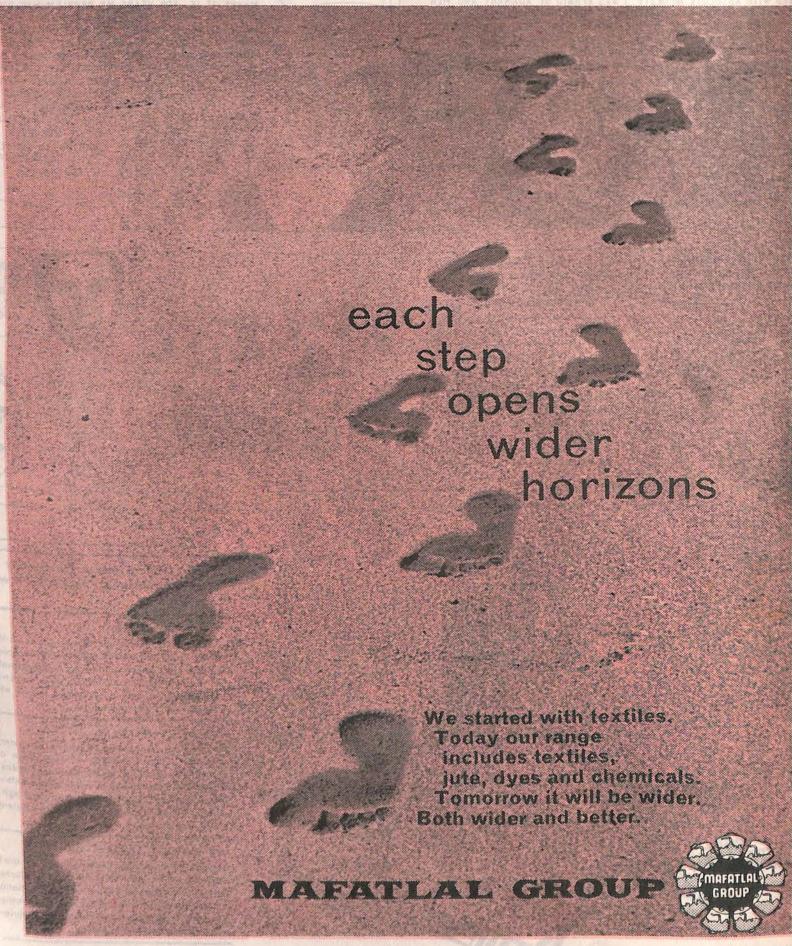
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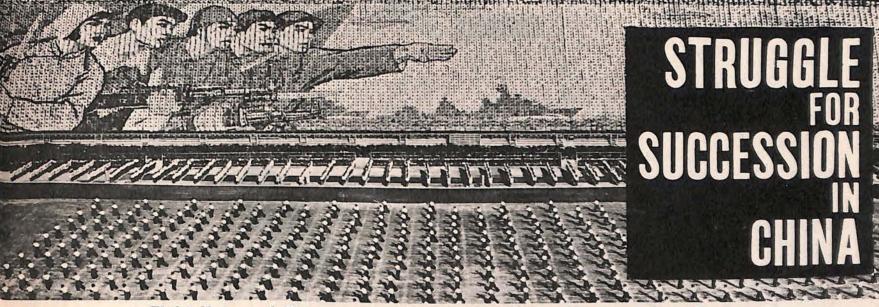
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Eight thousand Chinese school children holding coloured cards form a military background for the national games held in Peking in 1965.

# For the man to watch

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Dr. H. Mahtab: FAMINE IN ORISSA