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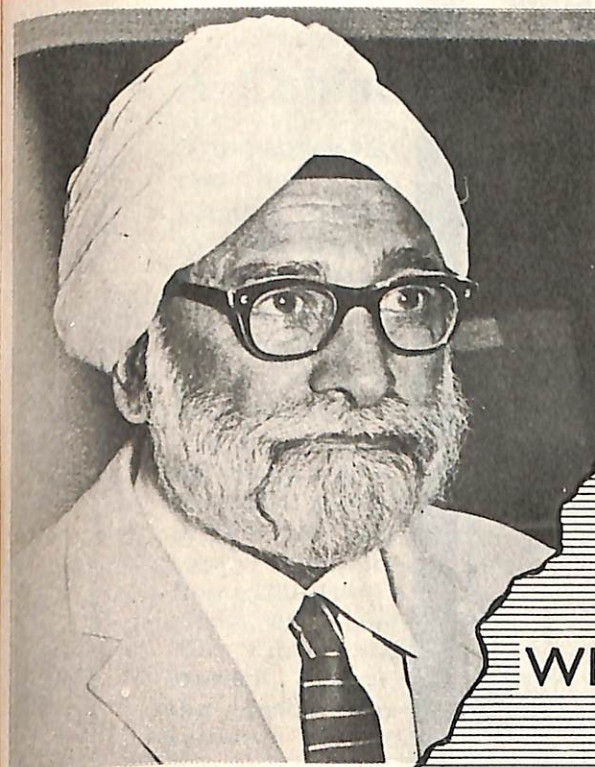
HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

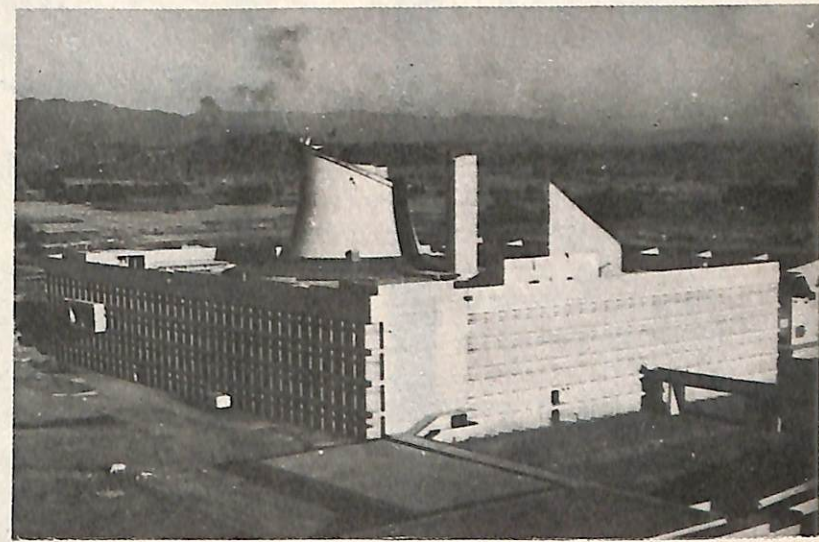
Asia's new voice

FRIDAY APRIL 21 1967

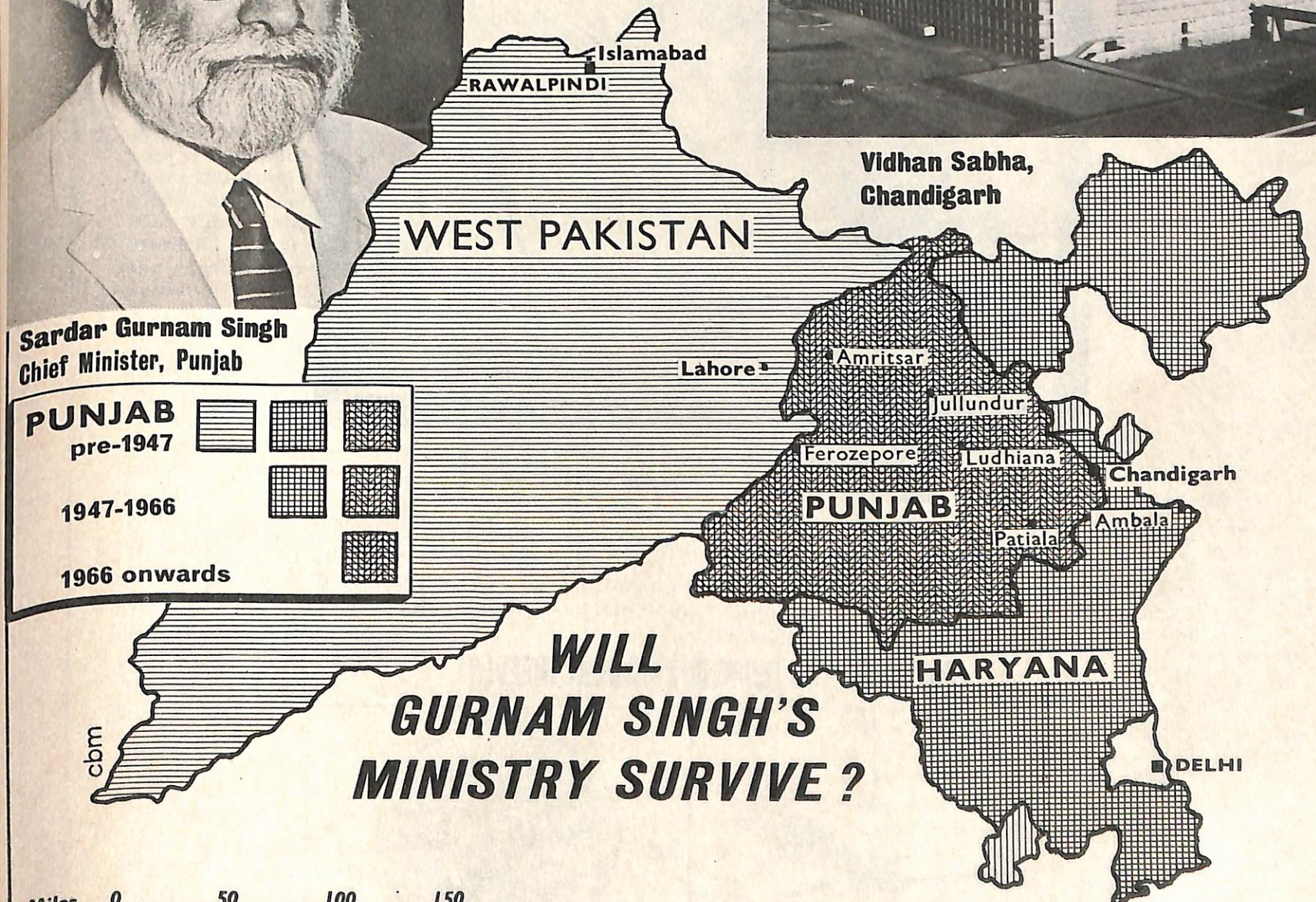
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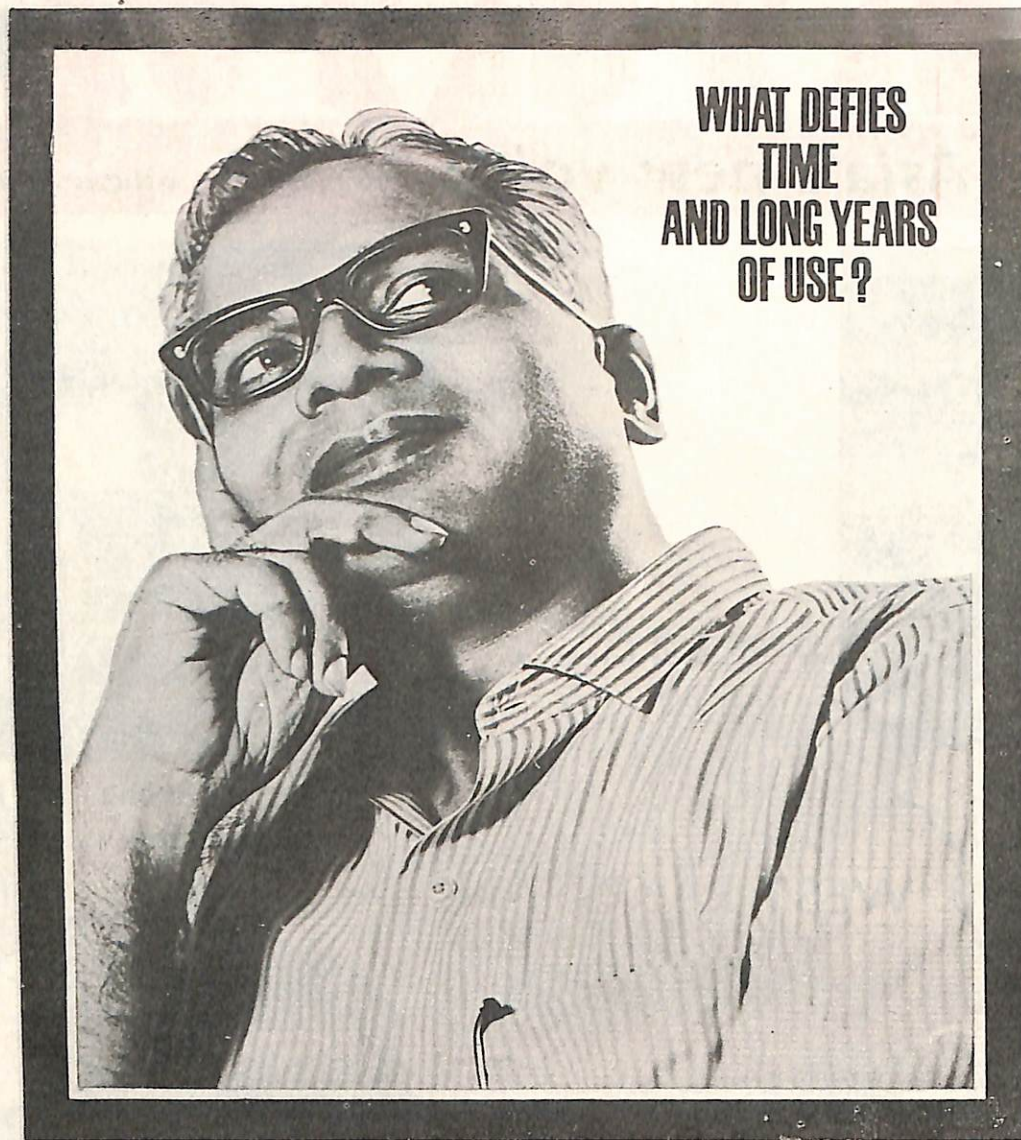
Sardar Gurnam Singh
Chief Minister, Punjab



Vidhan Sabha,
Chandigarh



Under the Lens **AXE FALLS ON LIU SHAO-CHI**



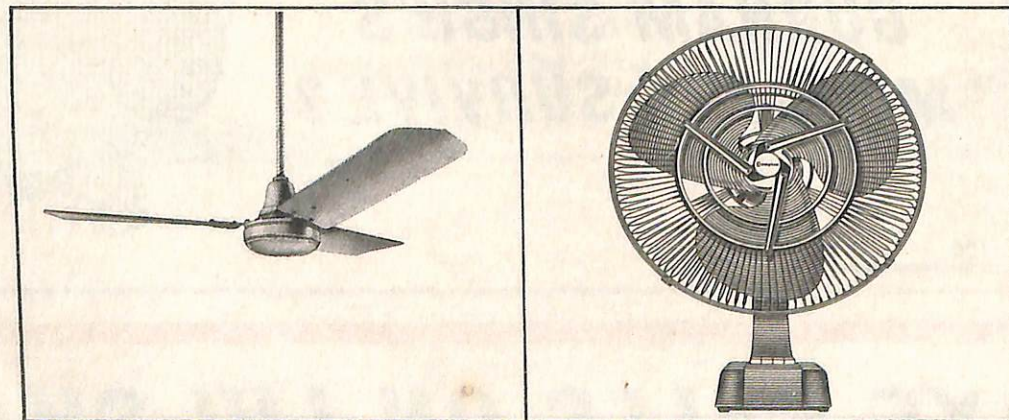
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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

BOMBAY FRIDAY APRIL 21 1967

A Cabinet secret

THE PEOPLE HAVE ELECTED the Congress at the Centre and they want it to deliver the goods. If Indira Gandhi, Morarji Desai and Y. B. Chavan could learn to work together as a team, the Cabinet, the Congress and the country could all begin to function. Smaller men are trying to divide Mrs Gandhi from Mr Desai by a whispering campaign against him. They feel they can add an inch or two to their own importance by so doing.

Morarji has a sense of loyalty and discipline to the Party which, if taken advantage of by the Prime Minister, could be a great help. He is interested in reviving this country. He is believed to be unhappy in his present office as Deputy Prime Minister. Home Minister Chavan is reported not to have forgiven Mrs Gandhi for accepting Mr Desai as No 2. The Prime Minister walks the tightrope between Morarji, Chavan and Kamaraj. It is this division at the heart of our ruling circles that is paralysing the recovery of India.

It is not questions of policy that usually divide people. It is frequently the pursuit of position and power. "Cabinets to rule well must learn the art of changing people". Some may want to change, others may not but the attempt will have to be made. A house divided against itself cannot stand. No one man or woman can rule this mighty nation in his or her own strength. It needs a team—and it needs the almighty wisdom of God. For the sake of India let Indira, Morarji and Chavan get together and govern it well.

Stoking the fire

IN THE LAST ELECTIONS the electorate cast its vote against bossism and selfish leadership and for a cleaner administration. Is the Opposition now giving such a leadership? If it fails to, we can't blame the people for being disillusioned with parliamentary democracy.

The decision of four political parties (Left and Right Communists, SSP and PSP) to organise an industrial strike in the capital in support of striking policemen will make people think twice. These political parties are playing a dangerous game with our security forces and are encouraging discontent instead of attempting to cure it.

When thousands of policemen, upholders of the law, demonstrate outside the Union Home Minister's residence and shout slogans it cannot be ignored. They shouted, "There will be military rule" and "Military and police are brothers". The residence was guarded by outside police units and the military. The Army swooped down and arrested 680 demonstrators. As the Deputy Prime Minister remarked, this strike indicates "a new phase of our national life".

That four political parties have now gathered to call a strike of all the industrial workers of the area in sympathy with the police strikers is a clear indication that they are using their trade union strength to create a political strike. Their purpose is not only to shake the Congress Government at the Centre, but also to consolidate their strength with the workers of Delhi who have largely voted for the Rightist Jan Sangh.

All the four Leftist parties happen to rule some States of India like Bengal and Kerala. Can we honestly believe that if the police of Kerala and Bengal surrounded the home of Mr Namboodiripad or Mr Jyoti Basu respectively, the rest of the workers would be pulled out in support of such a strike by the security staff? In an army, an action like that of the Delhi police—whatever their economic grievances—would be called a mutiny. What is it called in a police force?

Mr Chavan may need the help of his Cabinet colleagues to tackle such a serious situation.

The Asian tripod

AUSTRALIA's energetic and fast moving Prime Minister has just completed a further round of visits to the countries of East Asia, or the Near North, as Australians look at it. In his third tour of the region within a year Mr Harold Holt lent more emphasis to his policy of getting involved in Asia and with Asians, in what he describes as the "exciting task" of conquering mankind's enemies of sickness, poverty and hunger.

The enthusiastic appearance of Australia upon the Asian scene shows a marked change in attitudes and policies since the retirement of his predecessor.

An Australian columnist recently summed it up: "One of Mr Holt's strengths is his deep conviction in the role of Australia in South-East Asia. Sir Robert Menzies didn't like Asia. He avoided it like the plague whenever possible. Mr Holt does not."

Later this year Mr Holt is due to continue his neighbourly calls by visiting Indonesia and Japan. We hope he will soon venture further West to the largest pedestal of what his Foreign Minister, Mr Paul Hasluck, described in Tokyo the other day as "a great tripod—India, Australia and Japan—the three main solid bases" on which stability can rest.

Briefly speaking...

"Tigers" unite

"THE TIGERS", as members of No 1 Squadron Indian Air Force are known, recently commemorated their 34th anniversary at a reunion in New Delhi. Three commanders of this distinguished Squadron have become Chiefs of the Air Staff, including the present one, Air Chief Marshal Arjan Singh. 11 of its members won decorations during World War II; 7 have won them since. The Squadron's motto—"Ekata Men Shakti"—might be India's: "IN UNITY THERE IS STRENGTH."

Changing on the farm

SALUTE FARMERS Harilal Shamji Bhanushali of Saurashtra and Mohanpal Singh of Punjab! Bhanushali increased his wheat yield 25 per cent

by making good use of fertiliser and plant protection measures. Singh hopes to beat a world record, now held by a Mexican, with his Mexican dwarf wheat. It was first imported in 1963 and has been improved by the Indian Agricultural Research Institute.

According to IARI's director, Dr M. S. Swaminathan, the Mexican wheat has started a farm revolution. Using these high-yield seeds, he says, India could be self-sufficient in food by next year.

Mid-East cockpit

THE MIDDLE EAST is the most likely source of war, after Vietnam, according to a *US News and World Report* survey. Communist countries have poured over a thousand million dollars worth of arms into the area, it says. The US and Britain have armed their friends in the region as well.

This week External Affairs Minister Chagla has been in Iran and Kuwait, mainly, according to press reports, to "explain India's position on Kashmir". Mr Chagla should also break new ground and see how India could use her influence in this region to keep the peace.

Calling Information Minister

FROM MALAYSIA'S High Commission in New Delhi come well printed press releases, with contents neatly itemised on the front page under an attractive heading. Why, Mr K. K. Shah, cannot the Press Information Bureau do likewise?

Unchanged man

NORTH VIETNAM'S secret weapon, according to US intelligence, is elephants—seen carrying supplies for the North's forces in South Vietnam. In this war bows and arrows have also been used by Montagnard tribesmen going into action alongside helicopter-borne troops with rockets.

Whether weapons be primitive or modern, one element that seems changeless is men's readiness to fight.

If you wish to appear agreeable in society, you must consent to be taught many things which you know already.

CHARLES DE TALLEYRAND, 1754-1838

Election Contest

ANSWERS

THE WINNERS of the Election Eve Contest were announced last week. The answers are as follows:

- How many seats will the Congress Party win in the Lok Sabha?
Answer: 281
- In the Cabinet to be formed after the elections who will be:
 - Prime Minister—
Smt Indira Gandhi
 - Home Minister—
Y. B. Chavan
 - External Affairs Minister—
M. C. Chagla
 - Defence Minister—
Swaran Singh
 - Finance Minister—
Morarji Desai
- Will the Party win or lose in:
 - Kerala — *Lose*
 - Orissa — *Lose*
 - Rajasthan — *Lose*
 - Gujarat — *Win*
 - W. Bengal — *Lose*

EXTENDED!



Entry forms with special "Find the Ball" picture available by sending Re 1 Money Order or Postal Order with a self-addressed 15 p stamped envelope to HIMMAT, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1. Entries close May 15 and results will be published in HIMMAT, May 19, 1967.

Will Gurnam Singh's Ministry survive?

FROM R. M. LALA IN CHANDIGARH

WHEN LE CORBUSIER designed Chandigarh as the capital of the Punjab, he did not dream that it would be the site of three governments as it is now. In one section of the modern Secretariat block sits the Punjab Chief Minister, Gurnam Singh, and in the other, Haryana's Rao Birendra Singh. A couple of miles away is the Secretariat of the Union Territory of Chandigarh, presided over by a Chief Commissioner and ruled directly from Delhi. This ultra-modern city within sight of the Himalayas, created 15 years ago, has a population of only 1,25,000, yet it houses three Home Secretaries, three Directors of Tourism, three of every official, and costs the Union Government a substantial sum to run.

Before partition of India twenty years ago Punjab, which furnished many of the soldiers of the Indian Army, ranged from Rawalpindi in the north, across the plains of India to Delhi. Also the granary of India, with the finest irrigation system in the country, the State was split into two halves at the time of Independence, one of which went to Pakistan and the other to India. Last November 1, it was further partitioned into a Punjabi-speaking Punjab and a Hindi-speaking State of Haryana. A good slice of it, including the Kulu Valley, went to the adjoining State of Himachal Pradesh.

More harmony

Both Punjab and Haryana claim Chandigarh. Sant Fateh Singh threatened to burn himself if it was not awarded to the new Punjab State. But he relented when the Prime Minister agreed to arbitrate. The Prime Minister is not in a hurry to take on the arbitration. The present Chief Ministers are so busy keeping their majority in their respective states that they haven't yet found the time to speed up the arbitration.

Since the partition of India, Punjab has been singularly unfortunate in her leadership, especially the last twelve years. For ten years it was ruled by Pratap Singh Kairon, a go-getting but unscrupulous Chief Minister. When he fell from power he was replaced by a weak Congress Chief Minister, Ram Kishan, who

could neither control his Ministerial colleagues nor arrive at decisions. He spent a good part of his time in Delhi getting senior Congress leaders to make the decisions.

After the February elections the Congress was narrowly beaten in the new Punjab State and an Opposition coalition was formed between the Akali (Sikh) Party of Sant Fateh Singh, the Hindu nationalist Jan Sangh, Swatantra, Communists and the Independents.

The combination of the Sikh and the Hindu parties of the State has removed a good deal of the tension between the two, and there is more security and harmony now in the Punjab than before. The Government is headed by retired High Court Judge Sardar Gurnam Singh.

Within three weeks of office, however, when voting on the Governor's address, a Congress Opposition amendment was carried. Four of the coalition had voted with the Opposi-

tion. Pandemonium broke loose. "Resign!" came the shouts from the Congress benches. Gurnam Singh held firm. He challenged the Congress to move a vote of no-confidence. The Congress benches refused, as such a vote, they said, presumed there was a legal Government when there was none. Gurnam Singh maintains that the Members had not crossed the floor of the House and were still with him.

Governor Dharma Vira took no hasty decision. He adjourned the Assembly to let tempers cool down and after Gurnam Singh had attended the Chief Ministers' Conference asked the Speaker last week to reconvene the House and test the strength of the respective claimants to power.

Considerable horse-trading is now going on in the Punjab, both on the Congress and the non-Congress

continued on next page

On your toes

P FORM CHALLENGED

SLOWLY but relentlessly angry pressure is building up against unfair curbs placed by the Congress Government on foreign travel.

Few feel that Congress leaders have yet learnt the lesson of the polls. Will they also refuse to learn from last week's Supreme Court judgment on the right of every citizen to travel abroad? If not, such stubbornness may spell their rout.

In perhaps his most important final judgment before stepping down to contest the Presidentship, Chief Justice Subba Rao ruled that a person in India has a fundamental right to travel abroad and the refusal by the Government to issue a passport is a denial of the right to personal liberty guaranteed by the Constitution.

While this judgment concerned an Indian citizen whose passport was recalled, it now raises important implications regarding P Forms.

It is clear that the Court's ruling does not confine itself to the granting of a passport. By implication it guarantees the constitutional right to travel freely abroad. And at present

such travel is refused unless the citizen possesses not only a passport but also a P Form from the Reserve Bank. The P Form, however, does not purport to be permit for the citizen to travel, merely a permit for the travel company to issue a ticket! A fine distinction.

Reports indicate that moves are being made to challenge before the Supreme Court this final and obnoxious obstruction used by Government.

It is a spurious measure. Designed originally to reduce the drain on foreign exchange made by Indians going abroad it is now used, in many instances, politically. Cases are known where Indians have been refused P Forms even where their tickets and all expenses have been guaranteed from overseas funds.

Sometimes the Government, reluctant to make a fuss over a passport, has cleverly issued the passport and withheld the P Form. The Reserve Bank's withholding of foreign exchange for all but essential travel is understandable, but its employment as an agency for preventing foreign travel, often for political reasons, will rebound on the Government unless they learn fast from the Supreme Court ruling.

Freebooter

VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT

ENDORSES the statement by 22 leading citizens demanding the release of Sheikh Abdullah, detained for 13 years by the Government.

★

HAILS the courage of UP villager Dala Chandra who seized by the ears an attacking tiger which had terrorised the area, called for help, and killed it.

★

SYMPATHISES with Union Atomic Energy Minister S. Gurupadaswamy, who says he finds his portfolio a "puzzle and embarrassment" because he was allergic to science since his student days, and **SUGGESTS** the way out of his embarrassment might be for him to resign and make way for another.

★

SALUTES Indian Railways, one of the country's great institutions, this week celebrating its 114th anniversary.

★

NOTES a Madhya Pradesh PAC revelation that a former Minister pressurised the Government into buying one of the Minister's own old buildings at Rs 20,000 over valuation cost, then continued using it for 10 years "owing to personal difficulties", and **URGES** that restitution be enforced.

★

IS APPALLED at a report that 90,000 Bombay families live in unsafe houses, **OBSERVES** that similar reports appear after each bad house-collapse, and **PRESSES** Mayor D'Souza to produce a practical programme to end the city's housing nightmare.

★

HAS ACHING corns thinking of Gopi Krishna's astonishing feat of dancing nine hours non-stop to become world's champion marathon dancer.

★

IS SURPRISED at China's reported offer to sell rice to India when she has herself contracted to buy millions of tons of foodgrains from abroad for years ahead.

GURNAM SINGH — from previous page sides. On May 5, the Assembly will be reconvened and the respective strengths known. The future of the present Government will then be decided. At present in a House of 104 (minus Speaker, 103) both sides claim support of 53 legislators.

Last Sunday, former Congress Minister Giani Kartar Singh and 400 Sikh Congressmen claimed that they had left the Congress and joined the Akali Dal, the Chief Minister's party. The exact strength of these dissident Congressmen within the Assembly is not known but this defection will strengthen the position of Chief Minister Gurnam Singh.

Mid-term elections

The Congress has 46 seats in a house of 104. The key factor is the Maharaja of Patiala who, with his three other MLAs, can swing the balance. Neither the Akali Dal nor the Congress are eager to have him in their ranks as a Minister. He can stimulate political instability whenever he wishes and Gurnam Singh would rather have a mid-term election to decide once for all who rules the Punjab.

Chief Minister Gurnam Singh has an open face, and he looks you straight in the eye. When I met him in his office he impressed me as an earnest man who wants to do things for the Punjab. But will he have the chance? "The trouble is," he says, "that the Congress has not adjusted itself to sit on Opposition benches. They had 20 years in power. They should give us more time. For myself, I will not stay in office for one day more if I cannot do so honourably."

He had just returned from the Chief Ministers' Conference, where he had offered to the Central Government half a million tonnes of food grains for use outside his state. "We want to grow more in the Punjab not for money but to feed the nation. At the Chief Ministers' Conference I asked the Centre to make available to us more money for fertiliser, seed and irrigation, to increase our yield."

Outside his office were a score of people, all eager to see the Chief Minister. As I was ushered into his spacious room, a young lady was pleading with him in Punjabi on a minor point of transfer.

"I am afraid," said Gurnam Singh, "bad habits have been created by my predecessors in 20 years of administration, and I cannot end it overnight. Even the smallest complaints and requests come to the Chief Minister. One has hardly time to think. I wanted to put a stop to it, but my officers say I should go easy in the beginning."

"Are you happy about the present status of Chandigarh?" I inquired.

"How can we be when we are tenants in a city built with our money and labour?" Top officials of Chandigarh say that the best course is to maintain the *status quo* of the city. Chandigarh is a sentimental issue and a matter of pride but it costs a large sum to maintain.

After elections, Haryana began with a Congress Government headed by Bhagwat Dayal Sharma, a local Congress boss. Within a couple of days of convening the Assembly a section of his party, led by Rao Birendra Singh, crossed the floor of the House and toppled Congress Government forming a coalition of non-Congress parties. Rao Birendra Singh became Chief Minister. He is fairly secure for the present but a defection of even ten members from his side could topple his Ministry also.

Both Haryana and Punjab use the same building of the Vidhan Sabha, which is crowned by a funnel design of Le Corbusier, to signify the idea of a ship of state, which the Assembly is supposed to steer. A booklet on Chandigarh written by Chief Commissioner Dr M. S. Randhava, says in all seriousness that this building's interior is designed in a manner so as to "soothe the temper of people who are susceptible to exaggerated emotions."

Had Le Corbusier foreseen the tendency of the legislators to cross the floor of the House, and topple Governments, he may have designed a ball and chain to keep each one in his place.

People who count read
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HIMMAT, April 21, 1967

Events in China—is it unnatural to share power?

THE AXE HAS FALLEN on President Liu Shao-chi. Hong Kong reports say that Chou En-lai has replaced him as President of China. Whether or not Chou has become Head of State, it is certain that for some months Liu Shao-chi has not been in any position of real authority in the governance of China.

This does not imply that he has ceased to be a force in the politics of his country. As a matter of fact, the virulent campaign against him suggests that he still exercises considerable influence in the ranks of the Communist Party. If, as is reported, the vote in the standing committee of the Party was five for him and only six (one more) for Mao, in spite of all the purges, expulsions and terrorisation of the past year, Liu represents a more powerful bloc in the party than Mao himself.

After the earlier demotion of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsia-ping, Secretary General of the Party, and the systematic campaign mounted against them by the Committee of the Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards, their removal was inevitable.

Radio Peking, as well as the Peking *People's Daily*, has been continuously and systematically attacking "the first person in authority taking the capitalist road". Last week the *People's Daily* carried a detailed indictment of Liu Shao-chi's classic work *How to be a good*

SAY THAT AGAIN...

Our task, namely to win political freedom, was rather simple. Compared to it, (today's students) responsibilities are staggeringly greater.

EDUCATION MINISTER DR TRIGUNA SEN

For nations as for individuals, greed is the most evident form of moral under-development.

POPE PAUL VI

It is bad to beat one's wife.

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

HIMMAT, April 21, 1967

Under the Lens

by R. VAITHESWARAN



Communist. More recently the attacks have centred on alleged remarks, statements and actions of the President during the entire period of his political activity.

The "People's Daily" editorial against Liu's "How to be a good Communist" is however a well-developed thesis against the sanctified principles of Communist organisation and norms of behaviour handed down to the International Communist Movement since Lenin outlined them in his "What then must we do?" To quote only one example, Liu is accused in the editorial of advocating "slavishness" when he lays down the principle that the Party member must not demur but acquiesce in policies laid down by the higher bodies of the Party even when he disagrees. Any open expression of dissidence would lay the Party member open to the charge of factionalism, the biggest sin in the Communist book.

Actually Liu was only upholding a dogma laid down by Lenin which Stalin raised to the level of a High Commandment, disobedience of which was punishable by concentration camp or death. The *People's Daily* however, upholds the individual Party member's right, under certain circumstances, to differ and disagree. The circumstances presumably are that these differences must be in full conformity with Mao's own line, so that their expression would be a way of fighting Mao's battle in the Party. What is called "Mass Democracy" is thus opposed to "Party Dictatorship" though the unexpressed condition of "Mass Democracy" is "slavishness" to Mao's own thought.

This predilection for "Mass Democracy" is also an expression of Mao's quite genuine faith in the people. It appears that Mao's "Populism" which has always been a marked feature of his thought, has become a predominant aspect of the Cultural Revolution. As his ideas faced increasing opposition from the men in the Party, Mao has turned to the youth and the masses in defeating the Party.

Mao's opposition to the Party leadership is a complex phenomenon but is not entirely incomprehensible if we take account of the main elements that constitute his view of life and history. The most important of these would appear to be his attachment to the simplicity, capacity for sacrifice and dedication of the Long March and Yen-an days. Along with this goes a faith in struggle as the essence of life ("struggle is happiness" he is reported to have said). Also central to his thought has been his faith in the masses, that they would co-operate in the revolution and that their "mentality" could be changed by persuasion and pressure.

Total demand for loyalty

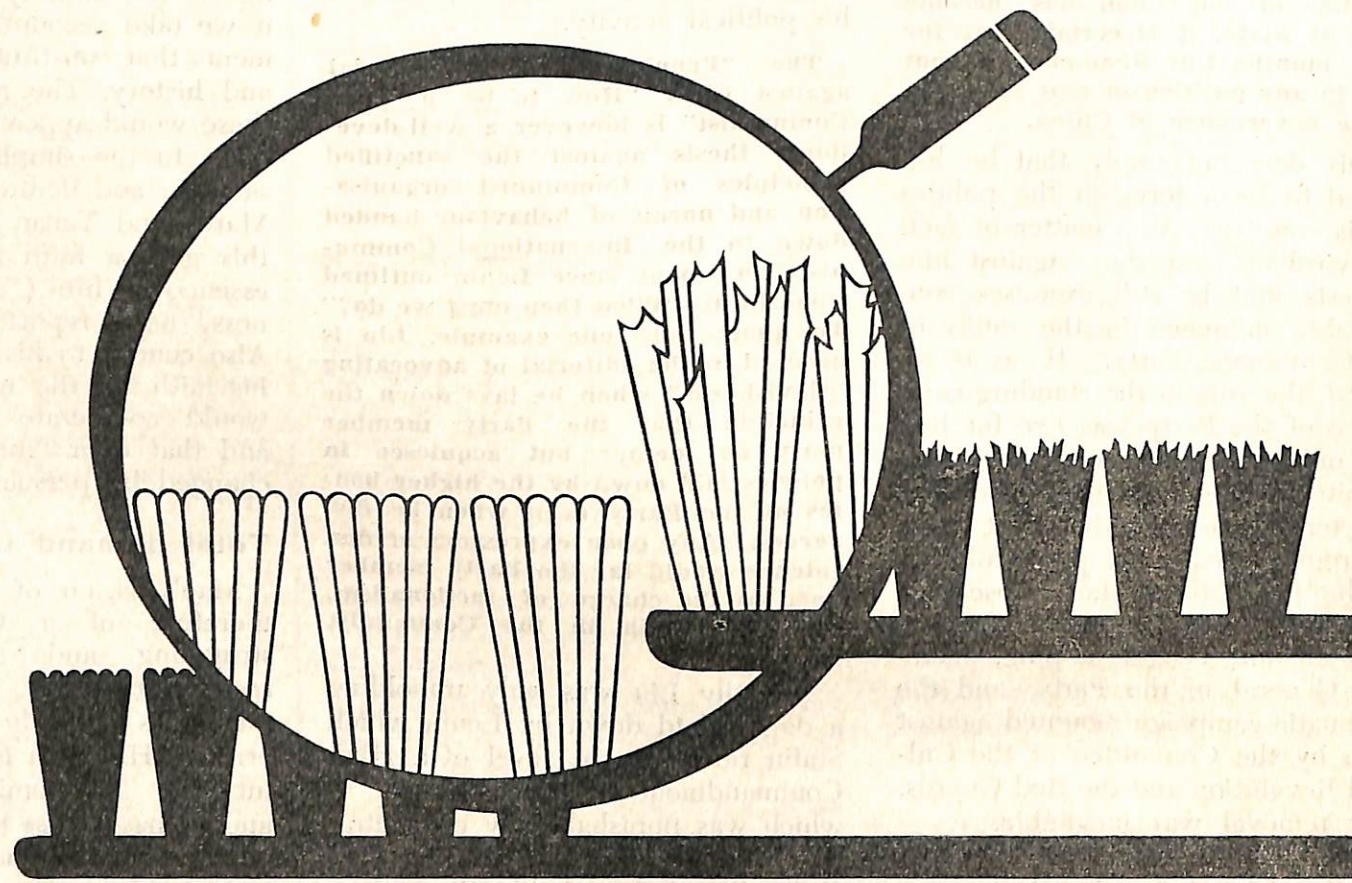
Mao's vision of a New China is therefore of a China sacrificing, struggling and building without respite or leisure, with no material incentives but only the will to modernise. His faith is in the red revolutionary overcoming all obstacles and he has no use for experts or anyone else for that matter who demand material incentives, greater comfort and a relaxation of the scale of sacrifice and the speed of effort. He would demand of the intellectuals a total subordination of their freedom to think, discuss or disagree. His demand for loyalty is total.

As those closest to him increasingly questioned the practicality of his vision, he began to consider himself the sole redeemer of revolution to whose ideas supporters had to pay absolute homage. The demand for complete conformity brought in a fresh issue of conflict which further divided him from his colleagues.

"Hit the head when you strike a snake and dig out the roots when you uproot a tree" is a favourite slogan in China today. Therefore even his closest colleagues have to be sacrificed to the cult of Mao. But the process of liquidation has its own logic. The elimination of Wu-han

continued on page 21

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C I B A

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS



Holland's social sickness

FROM PETER HINTZEN

THE HAGUE Holland's new Government, formed after six weeks of political travail under the new Premier, former Navy Captain Pieter de Jong, has run smack into difficulties: naval ratings, disgusted with the decay of public order in Amsterdam, have taken the law into their own hands.

Unknown to their officers, they travelled all the way from Den Helder naval base to clear Amsterdam's Central Railway Station of long-haired, idling, women-molesting provos.

This unusual initiative of enlisted men has met with widespread response. People are fed up with cowardly authorities who obstruct police action. All the same, it is an alarming sign of the social and moral sickness of this prosperous nation which used to be so orderly and stable that it hardly ever made the world's headlines.

Provos are only one symptom of this sickness. Few in numbers, they rebel against the world of their parents. Barring three or four theoreticians who have some idea in their minds, most of them are loafers and camp followers. They have become unduly known through smoke-bombs thrown at a royal wedding coach watched by the world's press.

It is another symptom of Holland's sickness that professors and politicians try to assume a "progressive" pose by calling provos a vanguard of a new order. Past reformers and revolutionaries may have been as hairy as Amsterdam provos and they, too, may have attempted to disrupt a hated *status quo* with provocations. But they always lent credulity to

their cause through the dedication and discipline of their private lives. In this respect, the provos who indulge in filth and promiscuity have nothing in common with true reformers.

The same sickness is affecting Holland's politics. Recent elections have shown dwindling support for the parties that have governed since World War II. A young man, Hans van Mierlo, has come to the fore from nowhere. Helped by able friends and his attractive TV personality, he has become head of a sizeable party that has no more to its credit than young people and no past record.

Meanwhile, the traditional parties add to the newcomer's strength by being locked in unsavory divisions. The present team ("A cabinet, not a government," quipped one paper) is called "a Government of second choice" because so many people declined to serve in it. They feared loss of income and reputation. This refusal to lead may be the underlying cause of the provo phenomenon. Is an aimless society, dissipated in selfish preoccupations, all that prosperity produces? Clearly, the present *status quo* needs change. It may come from people who provide the Dutch with something more to think about than themselves.

Zanzibar hatchet man fades away

FROM VERE JAMES

NAIROBI In East Africa the bookshops are filling their windows with the new titles of local authors. The latest effort is the recollections of John Okello's meteoric rise to hatchet man in the Zanzibar revolution, and rapid disappearance into the limbo of African obscurity.

Under his leadership, Africans on the Indian Ocean islands of Zanzibar

and Pemba massacred thousands of

continued on page 11

The week in ASIA

TOKYO — Japan opposed India's proposal, at the current ECAFE meeting, for a Trade Ministers' Conference. Behind Japan's move, backed by Australia and New Zealand, lay fears of developed nations being called on to liberalise their import policies.

MOSCOW — Chinese delegates arrived for trade talks with the USSR. AFP reported that Russia and China reached agreement last month on expediting Soviet aid to North Vietnam.

CANBERRA — Australia, Canada and the US have agreed to set up a military communications network, reported Reuter.

HONG KONG — Canton wall posters claimed Liu Shao-chi, top target of Red Guard attacks, had been dismissed as China's head of state. Prime Minister Chou En-lai was said to have replaced him.

PNOM PENH — Cambodian troops routed Communist rebels in Battambang Province. Communists in the Province had recently stepped up propaganda attacks on Prince Sihanouk, Cambodia's head of state.

DAMASCUS — Syria and Sudan agreed to exempt from tariff livestock and agricultural produce traded between them and to reduce other duties.

CAIRO — Aden nationalist leader Abdul Mackawee, secretary general of FLOSY (Front for the Liberation of South Yemen) said his Front was considering forming a government in exile.

SEOUL — At least 55 people died when a South Korean Air Force plane crashed onto a shanty town.

TOKYO — Indonesia, Iran, Taiwan and Japan agreed to help the Mekong River development scheme covering Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and South Vietnam.

PEKING — Negotiations with a West German-French-Belgian consortium for building a steel rolling mill have begun here. If signed, the \$150 million contract will be the biggest yet between China and Western countries. The plant's output would be 3 million tons a year.

DJAKARTA — Indonesia rejoined the World Bank after 20 months' absence.

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Arabs and opened the way to the establishment of the revolutionary government which joined with the mainland in the Union of Tanzania.

The book was written behind bars. He was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for illegally entering Kenya where he had been declared a prohibited immigrant, a status he also has now in Tanzania and Zanzibar.

Reviewing the book, East Africa's fortnightly news magazine *Reporter* comments on the introduction by journalist Clyde Sanger, who describes Okello as "something of an Old Testament character whom one can imagine waging holy wars."

The *Reporter* continues, "What in

fact emerges is a frighteningly juvenile megalomaniac, who by tragic accident of history found himself with power over life and death and joyfully used it to the full."

Okello is now back in his home village in northern Uganda. On his conscience, according to his own estimate, are the lives of 13,635 people killed during the fighting.

He bemoans his own fate with these pathetic words: "Odd things happened as a result of my actions in leading the Zanzibar Revolution. The ousted Sultan fled to Britain where he is living comfortably. He has been paid £20,000 by the Colonial Office of Her Majesty's Government as compensation for the loss of his suzerainty over the coastal strip of Kenya including Mombasa. I was expelled from Zanzibar as an unwanted person without a cent."

Ayub increases exports and food production

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

LAHORE President Ayub Khan's recent statements here and in East Pakistan give an impression of steady economic progress and great determination to achieve the growth needed. This may account for the President's willingness to allow the old politicians to restart their politicking from January 1 this year.

The country is making great strides industrially. Whereas 15 years ago practically the country's entire exports were of raw materials, now half the exports are of manufactured goods. Exports are also steadily rising.



President Ayub

The main problems facing Pakistan are food and population. The population, now reckoned to be about 110 million, will be at least 230 million by 1985, assuming there is a decrease in fertility in the next few years. Family planning is seen as the only answer to this situation.

As regards agriculture, the Third Plan has just been revised to give it more emphasis. It is hoped now to reach self-sufficiency in food by 1970. Tax incentives are being given for land brought under the plough. The key question of water is being tack-

led both by building more tube-wells and by dam projects.

Following the signing of the Indus Basin Agreement, the Mangla Dam was completed an impressive year ahead of schedule. It is hoped to begin on the Tarbela Dam this year with World Bank aid.

Some progress seems to have been made in getting people to change their food habits. The President said in Dacca, "In the beginning there was a lot of agitation against the use of wheat in East Pakistan. Today it would be hard to find a home where wheat is not consumed."

East Pakistan Governor Abdul Monem Khan is probably right when he says that under the previous system of squabbling politicians and quick-changing governments East Pakistan did not noticeably increase its food production. Now, he says, it has gone up from 63 lakh tons to 104 tons per annum. The system of "agitational" politics had not helped the country.

Even though there may not be absolute freedom of expression and some newspapers are controlled by

continued on next page

The week in INDIA

NEW DELHI — C. Rajagopalachari, J. P. Narayan, Gurnam Singh, Frank Moraes and other prominent citizens called for the release of Kashmir leader Sheikh Abdullah in a press statement.

PATNA — "A good half of Bihar's total area, containing two-thirds of the State's 45 million villagers, is near mass starvation after the failure of the rabi crop," reported the "Times of India". The Centre was reportedly against declaring Bihar a famine area because it might "create a scare".

NEW DELHI — Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi is likely to visit Ceylon next month, according to reports here.

CALCUTTA — The Left Communist Party demanded the ending of imports of US grain under PL 480. It advocated more government procurement, rationing, zoning and price controls.

KRISHNAGAR — East Pakistan's military force has doubled from one to two divisions since 1965, stated West Bengal military commanders.

NEW DELHI — India wants a joint guarantee from Russia and the US against nuclear attack, stated External Affairs' Minister Chagla. Its aim was to deter Chinese aggression.

BOMBAY — Indo-Soviet trade expanded from Rs 1 crore in 1953 to Rs 150 crores in 1964, reported the "Indian Express". Under recent agreements, trade by 1970 would reach double the 1964 level.

SHILLONG — Rebel Nagas were reported preparing attacks on the Assam-Nagaland border. 400 Nagas were said to have marched 300 miles across north Burma into China.

NEW DELHI — Chief Ministers decided at their conference here to continue separate food zones for each State.

PATNA — Bihar's Government said secondary school exams would be reheld in 28 centres where they were abandoned owing to disturbances.

NEW DELHI — Tear gas was used against Delhi policemen who demonstrated over their right to organise as a trade union. 5000 police demonstrated outside Home Minister Y. B. Chavan's house.

The week elsewhere

RHODESIA RESTRAINED

CAPE TOWN—South Africa is reported to be secretly urging the rebel Rhodesian Government to resume negotiations with Britain. The reason is that South Africa has to bear an increasing burden of sustaining Rhodesia against economic sanctions. The President of the Rhodesian Industries' Association stated recently that but for South Africa's help the effect of sanctions would have been felt more widely. The Smith regime may therefore have to heed South Africa's wishes.

OMBUDESMAN IN BUSINESS

LONDON—Britain's "Ombudsman", top civil servant Sir Edmund Compton, began work this month. Entitled Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration, he will investigate complaints against government departments but only after they have been sent to MPs. Out of 100s of complaints received annually by each MP, it is expected that over 6000 will

be referred to the "Ombudsman". His powers are limited—some branches of administration are outside his competence—but he can compel Ministers and civil servants to give evidence and produce files.

SPORTS APARTHEID EASED

CAPE TOWN—South African Premier Vorster announced that in future South African teams could play in international sporting events against teams including non-white members. This applied even in South Africa. Vorster said apartheid would still apply in South African internal sports. Sportsmen generally welcomed the move, but Ethiopian Sports Director Tessema threatened that his and other African countries would boycott the 1968 Olympics if even a mixed South African side took part.

CHINA'S TRADE DRIVE

LONDON—Communist China has launched a new trade drive in East and West Europe. Last month China

strengthened her trade commissions in Rumania, Yugoslavia and West European countries. Trade negotiations are taking place in Bonn and Paris for industrial plants and heavy machinery. There are rumours, denied in Bonn, that West Germany may exchange trade missions with China and eventually give diplomatic recognition. West Germany is China's biggest European trading partner.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

the Government, there is a sense of dynamism in solving the country's problems which may be more important. The newly created opposition parties do not promise a forceful alternative. Already East Pakistan leaders of the Muslim League have threatened to resign, claiming irregularities in the elections to their executive council. This does not make for a good image of parliamentary democracy. Though the real shortage may be, as the President says, of "pious, capable and patriotic leaders".

"The Administration needs deciders, not file-pushers"

RARELY does courage go hand in hand with intelligence, integrity and administrative ability. And yet Mr J. B. D'Souza, General Manager of the BEST, personifies these qualities, setting an example to thousands of civil servants.

The vast Bombay Electric Supply and Transport undertaking was in a shambles. Within months of his taking over he stopped fresh recruitment (there are 500 less employees today), scrapped about 115 uneconomical buses, and reduced expenditure by over Rs 12 lakhs per year. Long-suffering passengers can today gladly spot 186 new buses.

A Master of Business Administration from Harvard and Syracuse Universities, Mr D'Souza can teach our administrators many lessons.

How have you applied the knowledge learnt at these Universities?

"Before, I was possibly a mere efficient file-pusher. The training I got made me more aware of the total content of the job. I learnt the techniques of work-study, personnel management, etc. Government machinery, which earlier seemed to me an unbending steel frame, became more pliable for the service of the public.

"When I took over as the Controller of Accommodation in the Government of Maharashtra, I drastically cut out the number of file-pushing clerks. The organisation was changed to become 'officer-oriented', reducing the number of stages a file had to move through. This certainly made swift decision possible, and corruption was all but eliminated."

Which qualities of the ICS need to be absorbed by the IAS?

"The big failing in the new IAS is the lack of an *esprit de corps*. The senior ICS officers spent a good deal of time training their juniors. This seems to be missing in the IAS of today. No doubt some in the ICS were snobbish. But there have been numerous ICS men who have devoted their entire working lives to the service of the people with a dedication I would like to see in the IAS."

Is the Government over-staffed?

"There is quite an army of file-pushers. But retrenchment will not solve the problem. Government departments and the Secretariats need to be officer-oriented. There would be saving in time for decisions, in office space, in correspondence etc."

Criticism is that local political big-wigs boss the Collector. How have you tackled this?

"A good deal depends upon the person in office. I have not had much difficulty with the influence-peddlers. I suspect that a good part of the complaint about political interference stems from an officer's inadequate understanding of the role of the politician, as well as our own failure either to listen to people's grievances or to let it be clearly known that we will endeavour to arrive at a proper decision.

"Senior officers should make themselves easily accessible to the lower staff. In this way they would not be driven to politicians."

Do you think that the Administration can cope with the increasing violence in the nation?

"In a democracy, quite a number of agitations spring from unattended grievances. For these, government policy may be responsible, but administrative lethargy and ineffectiveness are also responsible. But when the situation does contain potential for violence, those who might turn violent must know that the Government means business."

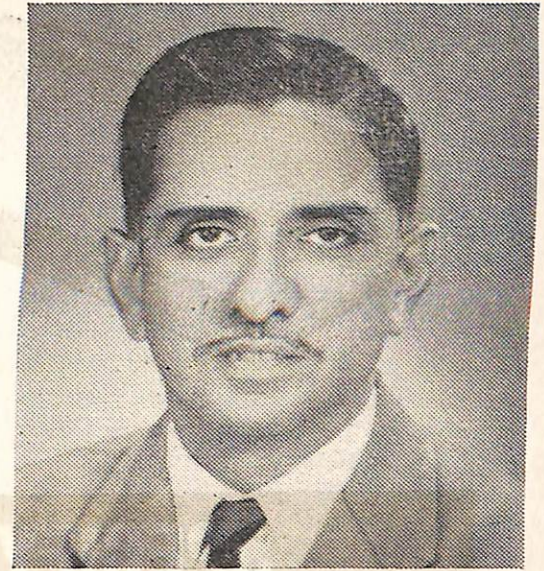
Brilliant young men are not joining the Government service. Big companies are "taking them over". Can this be remedied?

"High salaries need not be the only attraction to men of ability. We need to explain to those 'brilliant young men' that the Civil Service offers able people an opportunity to do extraordinarily interesting work. The challenge and the responsibilities it offers are endlessly exciting."

Do you think that the outcry against corruption is justified?

"The public outcry is justified.

ON THE Spot



MR. J. B. D'SOUZA

One reason why a person might turn corrupt is that he is exposed to temptation at the very time when his domestic circumstances provide a strong motive. Visualise the plight of an official whose salary just meets his essential expenses. His child is suddenly taken ill and needs expensive treatment. Neglect or delay would mean the loss of his child.

"This is not, of course, an argument in defence of corruption. It is an argument for putting as many officials as possible in a position where such temptations would not be strong.

"It is also necessary to raise morale by improving the work-situation. Look at a Government office. Seldom do we see such unkempt heaps of files and loose papers. All these have a serious effect on the amount of pride officials take in their jobs.

"Government has grown up in a paternalistic tradition that is difficult to shed. Government plans in isolation, reflects in secret, and eventually announces the decision. The secrecy provides opportunity for practices that would not arise if the process took place in the open. The public is taken too little into confidence. 'Public relations' too often become publicity of the kind that portrays Ministers laying corner stones. Officials must tell the public more about how they arrive at decisions.

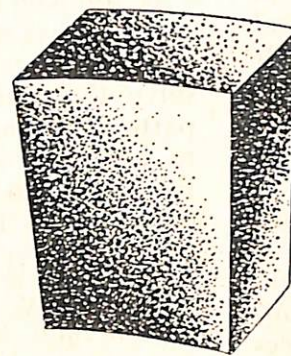
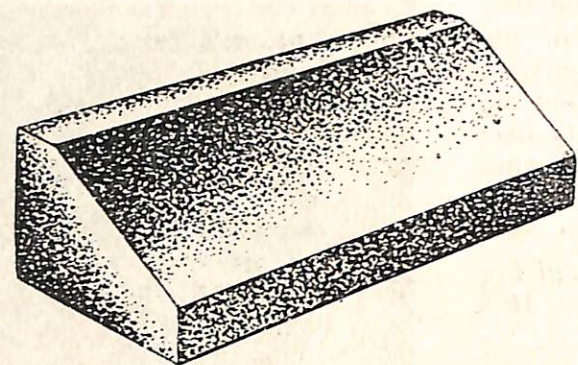
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I HAVE CHANGED TO RATH VANASPATI

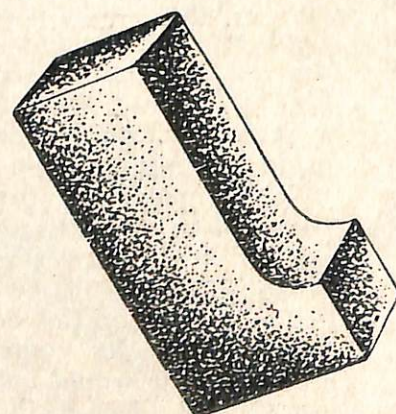
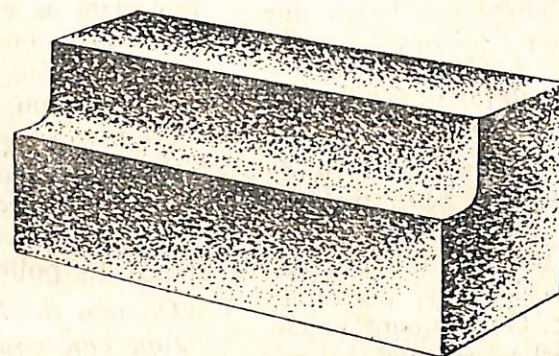
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viewpoint

The Congress now needs to be dissolved

India needs a revitalised Congress

First prize to R. M. Rao, Madras 33*

CUTTING OFF THE HEAD is no cure for headache. The answer is, therefore, an effective No. It has become a fashion to blame the Congress for one and all the misfortunes of the country and in the process we seem to be groping for something new.

During the last 15 years, the growth rate of our country was certainly higher than many advanced countries of today in their comparative periods of development.

Expectation of life has risen from 32 to 50. 52,300 villages and towns have been electrified compared to about 3000 before independence. The number of children at school has gone up from 23 million to 68 million and is expected to rise to 97.5 million by 1970-71. In spite of massive increase in population (134 million in 15 years i.e. 2.5 per cent per annum), people are better off today—better fed and better clothed than before Independence.

True, corruption and nepotism have taken deep roots in the Congress and the country and there is a measure of demoralisation and divisiveness that has crept into the

party's ranks. But to think that non-Congress governments will be immune to these evils is just wishful thinking. Corruption and nepotism are basic human weaknesses which must be tackled from the social side rather than from the political angle.

Another strange argument today is that the Congress is neither going left nor leaning right and hence it should split in two. Perhaps it is the reason why it must continue. When there is polarisation of political forces, liberal minded parties like Congress alone can give a ray of hope to the common man, who wants economic equality, orderly progress and peace.

Yes, Congressmen are power hun-

gry. But viewing the situation that is today prevalent in the country, when opposition parties have organised all sorts of "fronts" and "dals" just to oust the Congress and capture and share power, one wonders whether every man is not basically power-mad.

There are still many Congressmen who even after twenty years of being at the gadi are quite good, simple, basically honest, and do care for the people. They must come to the fore and revitalise this organisation.

In the interest of the country as a whole no responsible thinking Indian would view with equanimity the break-up of the Congress which reflects the liberal and moderate opinion of the country whether it is foreign relations, language policy or Socialism.

Congress is not a free political party

Second prize to C. T. Marathe, Poona 2

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, as its very name suggests, was never a political party in the true sense of the term, but a congregation of nationalist forces working against foreign domination in the pre-Independence era.

During the period of foreign rule, no political parties as such could function. But two opposing forces—namely, foreign power and the nationalist movement—necessarily dominated the national life. It should be remembered that these two alternative forces themselves were historical in character and did not offer themselves to readjustment on economic and social consideration.

Consequently the basis of formation of a political party—taking a clear position on economic and social matters—was absent during the foreign rule.

It did not matter that the various conflicting interests had come together on a common political (and national) platform, for such differences as there were, were not of much material import in the absence of any possibility of translating them into action. So, the Congress, while

full of contradictions within itself, could function effectively as a challenge to the foreign rule, which eventually had to withdraw.

The same functional efficacy, however, did not obtain once the Congress was installed in power, obviously because the act of governing required clear positions on a number of issues which the Congress could not take.

The Congress has not been able to conceive and profess one single programme of economic and social transformation because it was not designed for this task.

The fatal mistake was to steer a nationalist force of one time, into a forced partydom. Equally fatal was the mistake on the part of the people to think that authority to govern is a reward for past service.

As this misunderstanding gradually disappears, as it is recognised that authority to govern is a positive mandate to shape the future, and as the economic polarisation gathers momentum, the Congress will be dissolved of its own, making room for the formation of political parties in the true sense of the term.

* At Mr Rao's request his prize money is being donated to the Bihar Famine Relief Fund. — Ed.

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

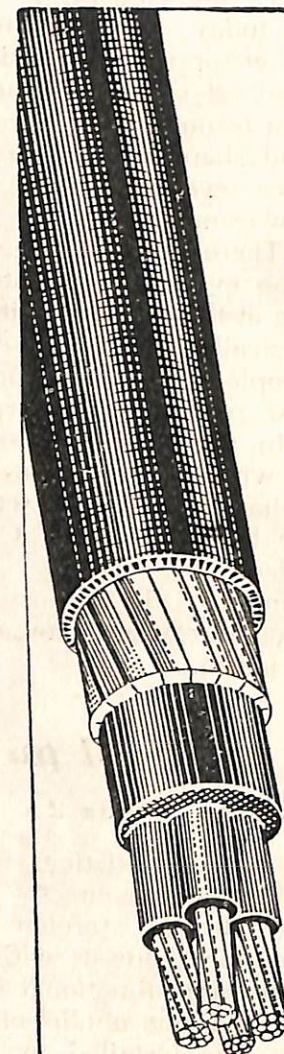
As the Presidential candidates have already filed their nomination papers, the Viewpoint Competition on "Who should be next President—Dr Radhakrishnan, Dr Zakir Husain or Mr Javaprakash Narayan?" is cancelled. The next competition is

* Are women drivers safer than men?

Closing date: May 12

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

Send entries of not more than 500 words to Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate St., Bombay-1.



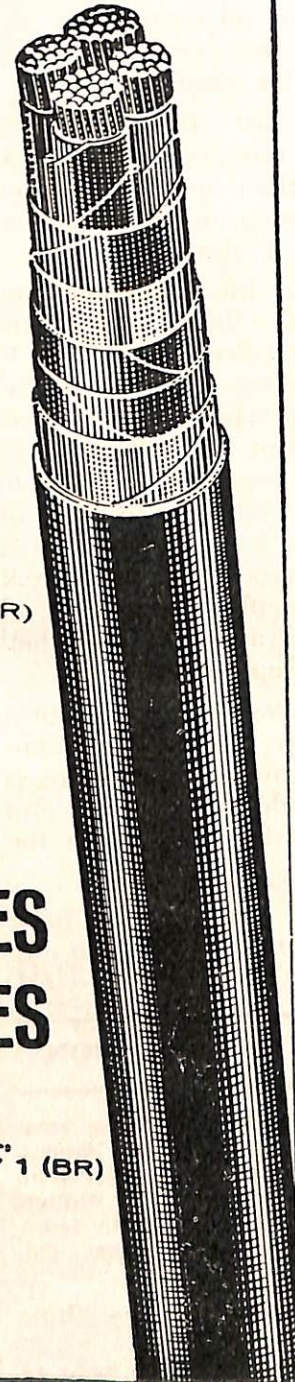
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Pataudi's men carry India's hopes

BY RUSI MODI

MANSUR ALI KHAN of Pataudi and his men leave for England in the early hours of next Sunday. This will be India's sixth visit to the UK, and there is tremendous excitement as to the outcome of the tour.

While India has put up wonderful performances at home in the recent past she has achieved nothing of note abroad, and has yet to win a Test Match outside India. This will be a short tour comprising 3 Tests and 15 county matches. India in the beginning was opposed to the double tour idea, but after making unnecessary fuss had to accept the twin tour programme.

I for one feel that the selectors have picked the best possible side. It is true that we are going without a dependable pair of opening batsmen but the important point is whether a better man has been left out.

ON THE SPOT — from page 13

"Discipline is required on the part of the official and citizens as well. Citizens must be more conscious of the needs of other citizens. The most vital of all, however, is the need to foster a sense of self-respect. Neither high-level officers, nor the Ministers, have done anything to foster this. This is related to the kind of treatment officials receive at the hands of their superiors in public and private. Ministers carelessly belittle the officials under them. Many a time a decision taken after deliberation is set aside."

Can corruption be cured?

"The only effective long-term prevention against corruption is the build-up of individual integrity and self-respect, and what follows from it, the evolution of a strong public opinion that condemns corruption in any form—be it bribery, intellectual dishonesty or favouritism.

"We universally extol patriotism. Dishonesty and corruption receive no attention. If we realised and taught our children that dishonesty and corruption are incompatible with patriotism, we would be more successful in eradicating corruption."

S V B

Kunderan, without doubt, is the best available partner for Sardesai. Not that his technique is ideally suited to cope with the moving ball in England where seam is the theme, but Kunderan is certainly better than anyone else in the country.

The selectors showed admirable courage in dropping Jaisimha and Durrani. Jaisimha in the 1959 tour of England did nothing of note. He could find a place in the side in only one Test out of five, and scored 1 and 8. In 1962, Jaisimha toured the West Indies with the Indian side scoring 117 runs in 8 innings with an average of 14.62. Having failed on two tours abroad the selectors rightly dropped him.

As for Durrani, after his return from the West Indies in 1962 this talented cricketer has not lived up to his reputation. He did change the course of events in the Calcutta Test against Australia, taking 6 for 73 but he has not been the force he was before 1962. His spinning finger very often gives way, and he has not kept himself 100 per cent fit of late. With the result that not only has he become slow in the field, but he is ineffective in every department. Every cricketer experiences a lean season but when one fails year after year it is time he called it a day.

The side touring England has a good spin attack consisting of Bedi, Surti, Chandrasekhar, Prasanna and Venkatraghavan. In the cold windy conditions, several spinners have failed in the past to get adjusted to the new conditions, and should the unpredictable Chandrasekhar not find his length the two off-spinners will come in very handy.

It is true that English batsmen are weak against leg-spin. But where do we have a good back-of-the-hand spinner? Guha and Mohal are the best available new ball bowlers and, hence, rightly selected for the tour.

In batting India is well served by Sardesai, Borde, Pataudi and Hanuman Singh. Our wicket-keeper Engineer is capable of reaching great heights when in the mood. He nearly scored a century before lunch against West Indies in the Madras Test recently. Only Trumper, Mac-



Nawab of Pataudi

artney and Bradman have scored a century before lunch in a Test.

Neither the Indian team of 1952 nor that of 1959 created a particularly favourable impression in England. In fact, not one member of either team was selected for Wisden's Five Cricketers of the Year. John Arlott, commenting on the visits of Indian sides to England in the *Cricketer* Spring Annual, recently published, says that the late Nawab of Pataudi's 1946 Indians were the strongest.

As one privileged to have been a member of that side, let me record that the success of the 1946 team was mainly due to our Captain, the late Nawab of Pataudi. Already a Test Cricketer of international repute and fully familiar with the norms and etiquette expected of a visiting captain on such tours, Iftikar Ali Khan played his part to perfection. And full credit must go to Vijay Merchant, who proved an excellent team man, and last but not least to our very capable and understanding manager Pankaj Gupta.

In order to make the 1967 tour a similar success, heavy responsibility rests on young Pataudi, his deputy Chandu Borde and Manager Keki Tarapor. Let us hope that they follow in the footsteps of their illustrious predecessors of the 1946 team.

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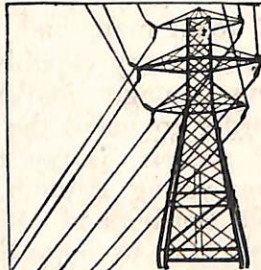
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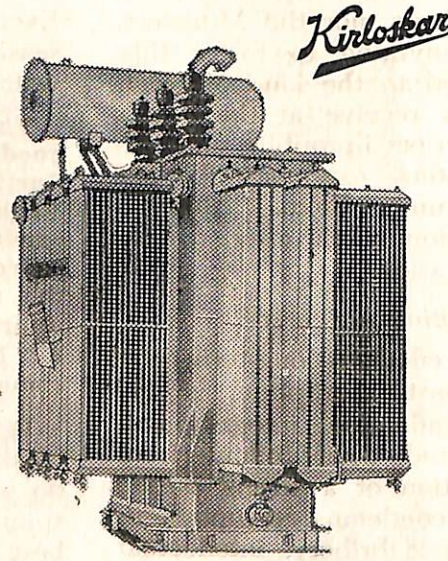
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The Anatomy of Controls

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN MADRAS

WHEN A LAW IS UNJUST OR UNWARRANTED, it reduces even good citizens to the level of common criminals. When the economy of the country and the life of the common man are sought to be regulated by a network of stringent controls, it leads to abuse of power, corruption, graft, destruction of incentive, and then to a cycle of repression and revolt.

The DMK's efforts to intensify food controls and procurement has in Madras led to just this state of incipient revolt and threatened repression.

There has been a hue and cry all over the State about Civil Supplies officials, armed with extraordinary powers, riding roughshod over the agricultural community and, in some extreme instances, rampaging into pooja rooms and kitchens, with their footwear on and smoking cigarettes, even bullying the women while the menfolk were away.

The presence of police officials on many of these raids has been an aggravating factor. Persons who own no lands and have actually purchased their annual requirements of paddy in the open market have been victimised by these raiders. Stocks have been snatched away from persons who had set the reserves aside from the Kuruvai harvest for seed purposes. Agriculturists say that they have been treated like common criminals by over-zealous officers.

To add insult to injury, a new directive is reported to have been

issued by Chief Minister Annadurai to DMK Party workers to be on the alert and to report suspected hoarders. Already there have been complaints that DMK Party members have often accompanied the raiding officials. It is feared that Annadurai's present exhortation to party workers may encourage an unhealthy fascist trend towards bad neighbourly relations, mutual suspicion and distrust, spying and victimisation.

Against this onslaught of public criticism, Annadurai has been forced into a defensive position. He stated that when he took over power he found the food stocks so depleted that he had to embark on strenuous

action to procure and build up comfortable reserve stocks. He pointed out that when Rajaji was Chief Minister he had lifted controls only after accumulating adequate stock reserves to face any eventuality.

Annadurai has not gone so far as to state that he will do away with controls and procurement once the minimal safety targets are achieved. But that is the nebulous impression he has created. This is the rainbow in the sky.

When expediency threatens to erode and destroy basic principles, it is time to take a firm stand by one's beliefs. The DMK was skyrocketed into power by a people disillusioned with Congress policies and administration. The people wanted a completely new government which would create a radically different and better society. They want to live proudly as free men rather than as a regiment of robots operated by the switchbuttons of governmental control.

Will Annadurai lead them to the promised land?

INDIA ARISE *abroad*

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN LONDON

AN ESTIMATED 22 MILLION people saw the cast of *India Arise* on television on their arrival in Britain. They were filmed in the Maharajah Lounge of London Airport singing one of the songs from the show, "Go, Go With An Answer". That evening the film was shown on Independent Television News watched by nearly half the population of the country.

India Arise has its British premiere in Swansea, South Wales, where they have been welcomed by Catholic and Anglican Archbishops, Cardiff's Lord Mayor and mayors of six other Welsh cities, management and trade union leaders.

Last Sunday Mr Rajmohan Gandhi and the cast gave a presentation in historic East Ham Town Hall in the East End of London, launching place in 1938 of Moral Re-Armament, birth-place of British Socialism, and home of Mahatma Gandhi when he was in England. The day following their arrival the cast met Cardinal

Heenan, Archbishop of Westminster, at his residence.

India Arise has received invitations from all over the UK, including Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh and Glasgow, Birmingham and Belfast. Later they will give performances in the Westminster Theatre, London.

The cast arrived last week from France where they performed in Paris, Nantes, sea-port and capital of the western region, and were guests at St Cyr, France's famous military academy.

French national TV and the popular Europe No 1 radio station interviewed Mr Gandhi.



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the good points of your journal, the feature "Briefly Speaking" is sheer boredom and I stopped reading it with the second issue.

In the issue of March 31 I counted seven and a half pages of advertisements. Of the total twenty pages, advertisements take the lion's share of more than one third. I am afraid the proportion of advertisements to reading matter is the highest in your courageous periodical. I wish HIMMAT would cut short the advertisements and introduce greater diversity in its coverage. Let HIMMAT have the himmat to discard "Briefly Speaking" in favour of a short story and one page of advertisements for healthy film coverage.

D. VENKATA RAO, Vizianagaram, AP

HIMMAT hopes to include film reviews, news of student developments and more reading matter. Readers' suggestions of other features also are most welcome. We would not dare publish all the letters which "sing the praises" of HIMMAT.
—Ed.

JUST ONE MORE

HAVING heard a lot about HIMMAT I just bought a copy of the issue dated March 31. I found while going through it, it is a magazine which will develop the hidden thoughts and minds of the younger generation.

PRAFULKUMAR SHAH, New Delhi 3

But it would appear that there is a tendency for this to happen in all political systems and human organisations, totalitarian or democratic and that those men who created many centres of power to check and balance each other were wise. For men in power find it unnatural to share it just as much as the vast majority of ordinary mortals find comfort and safety in conformity. Can it be different anywhere? Will power be shared without conflict and courage of conviction withstand the travails and punishments that are its price?

One has of course the consolation that under a democratic system elimination does not mean liquidation. One can still subsist far away from the pinnacles of power or even plot and reorganise for a return to the painful burden and cost of leadership and responsibility.

This was a Life

SALWA C. NASSAR
1913—1967

DR SALWA NASSAR, President of the Beirut College for Women and Lebanon's first atomic scientist, was born in the village of Dhour Shweir above Beirut. She attended the village school, a long walk each day through olive groves and vineyards with the blue Mediterranean below.

Salwa Nassar took up science. After studying at the American University of Beirut, she taught in Iraq and Jordan. The chance came to take her PhD in California, and then to teach and do atomic research at the University of Michigan. In 1950, she returned home and became Professor of Physics at the American University of Beirut.

One of her many awards was for a course given in the use of radio isotopes in medicine and agriculture. For ten years she worked towards the founding of a "National Council of Scientific Research in Lebanon", and the Government earmarked one per cent of the national budget for it.

In 1964 she became the first Lebanese elected President of the Beirut College for Women, a foundation for the education of girls from the Arab world. She set aside a brilliant career for the sake of the next generation, training human character. She saw Lebanon as a laboratory where solutions to urgent social problems could be found and passed on to the developing countries.

She could not tolerate apathy or the second best. She was always looking for ways in which to win people to an aim that demands greatness. "Our youth are confused," she said, "between the traditional world of their parents and the influences of the West." She herself maintained the faith of her fathers, and knew it included the practice of clear moral standards. She wanted to give Moral Re-Armament to the youth of her country to enable them to take responsible leadership in the Arab world.

On the night she died, "India Arise" was performed in Beirut and the cast of young Indians sang in her honour the Lebanese National Anthem.

CW

WASTED RUPEES

AS SOON AS the DMK government took over power, the application forms in the Connemara library were changed into Tamil from English. This step is really condemnable since this library is a national library and English books dominate Tamil ones.

Another measure under consideration is that of changing signs on State transport buses into Tamil. This certainly will cost thousands of rupees. The DMK government may well spend this on something better.

ARTHUR PAIS, Madras 28

MORE INTERESTING FEATURES

I HAVE been reading your informative HIMMAT for two years, but, what I dare to suggest is that some more interesting features be started.

As a student, I should like to see more to inspire and enthuse the student world for constructive ideas. The prevailing tendencies of indiscipline, rowdiness and misbehaviour among the student community should give place to an earnest desire for knowledge and an inquiring spirit.

SYED ZIA MUJTAHDI, Hyderabad 29

I WONDER whether letters singing the praises of HIMMAT alone catch your eye. While I fully appreciate and enjoy

UNDER THE LENS —from page 7

shows the road to detractors like Teng To and Luting-yi and ultimately to Peng Chen himself. Peng Chen's exit must pave the way for bigger heads. And Liu Shao-chi must go.

Is China yet another proof of the seemingly inevitable law of human relationships in the enjoyment and exercise of power—that the many shall yield to the one and that there is no such thing as *primus inter pares*—first among equals? There is only a first who inexorably emerges as the source of all power and authority.

This seems true enough of systems such as those established by Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung where a tight-knit organisation of dedicated cadres are used as the base for building a structure for untrammelled power, ultimately dwindling to one.

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It's your country

by Rajmohan Gandhi

A DOUBLE-PRONGED STRATEGY is now needed to prevent disaster in India. One, an intelligent and persistent battle to give our political leaders in the Centre and the States unity above party for the sake of the nation. Two, the creation from our citizenry of a new force of men and women who could look after India's interests if our leaders let us down completely.

Both are possible. It is also not impossible that neither may be achieved. In that case we might prepare ourselves for our democracy's collapse and for our unity's destruction.

Congress' electoral humiliation and continuing embarrassment in office is bound to be pleasing to quite a few. I hope they prove themselves capable of demonstrating the wisdom and charity which they found lacking in Congress.

Congressmen were wrong, and did themselves no service, when they treated Congress and India as interchangeable terms. Opposition leaders would today be equally wrong if they were to regard every Congress reverse or loss of face as the nation's gain.

Political deals

Some of the Congress bosses were blind when they made the perpetuation of their power their chief goal as well as the transcendent purpose of Government machinery. Forces in opposition to Congress today, including the non-Congress governments in the States, will be not a whit more patriotic if their burning passion does not exceed the desire to throw Congress completely out of office.

Political deals made for temporary office, by Congressmen or by the Opposition, will only damage further the public's shaken faith in the democratic system. Parties with thought-through and long-term plans for the imposition of dictatorial control, whether from Left or Right, will be the only victors.

Men with an ideology can out-think, out-manoeuvre and use men without an ideology. Men ambi-

tous for position and power, as well as men who boil with the bitter desire for revenge, are sitting ducks for men with an ideology.

By men with an ideology I mean men who know where they want to take the country and who are committed to a philosophy, a passion and a plan.

A larger strategy

Communists have an ideology. Some of the Jan Sangh men also have one. The DMK likewise has men and women dedicated to winning more power for the Tamil people. They would be prepared, I think, to sacrifice personal positions for the sake of their larger aim.

These parties have a stronger future than most of the others where the chief reason for association often is the hope of personal power.

If it is true that men with an ideology can manipulate men without one, it is also true that men with a global ideology will outflank and exploit men with an ideology that is national or provincial.

The Communists, for instance, will happily make a pact with the Jan Sangh on any anti-Western or anti-American platform. Similarly they would be quite prepared to work with the DMK on an anti-northern plank.

Let no one conclude from these reflections that in my belief Congressmen, Swatantrites or Socialists are necessarily better rulers, present or future, for our country than members belonging to the Communist, Jan Sangh or DMK Parties.

The country's state makes the ideology of Moral Re-Armament absolutely and immediately essential. And the wonderful fact is that men of all parties can apply it, commit themselves to it and fight for it.

Moral Re-Armament is revolutionary—and simple. It is not an organisation you join. It is a new aim you decide to have for your life. When you are committed to

it, it means that you assume responsibility for what has been and is wrong in the country instead of blaming others. It also means that you make an internal resolve to do battle to put right what is wrong.

It means that you apply to your life and actions the standards you would apply to others, especially to the ones you are prone most to criticise.

It means further that you give as much as you know of yourself to as much as you know of God, and thereby gain access to mighty and untapped mines of energy and wealth.

When you battle for Moral Re-Armament you don't resign from your party. Far from it. You begin to see a new and amazingly constructive role that your party can play for the true strengthening of the national fabric. You continue to work politically. You work harder than ever for the victory of your party and indeed for the defeat of others. But your consuming passion now is the unity and stability of the nation.

Brave men

Men with the superior ideology of Moral Re-Armament will outwit both men without an ideology and men captured by negative or narrow ideologies.

In cold and practical terms, all this means that we have to find the way to change the aims and motives of our political leaders. This can happen. If some of us can find a cure to ambition and self-worship, there is no reason why our prominent personalities and leaders cannot find a similar answer in their lives. To believe otherwise is just conceit.

Will there now rise on the Indian political scene an unselfish patriot, a fearless man of truth, a courageous man daring to learn and practise the art of life-changing, bold enough to place the country's future above his position, humble enough to listen to God?

The nation simply hungers for a man like that, in fact, for a team of brave men like that.

FIND THE BALL

Competition No:16



HOW TO PLAY

The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1, by noon Monday May 1.

There is no limit to the number of entries you can make, but only one cross may be marked on any one picture. The Editor's decision is final and no correspondence will be entered into about results.

The winner of Competition No.16, with the picture showing the ball will be published in May 5 issue.

Name _____
Address _____
I agree to the rules of the competition as outlined above.

CLOSING DATE EXTENDED! CONRAD HUNTE'S BAT

Entries close May 15 and results will be published in HIMMAT, May 19, 1967. Entry forms available by sending Re. 1 with stamped and addressed envelope to:
HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay-1



FIND THE BALL



The winner of Competition No 14 is Noshir Wadia, 72/3, S. N. Banerjee Road, Calcutta 14.

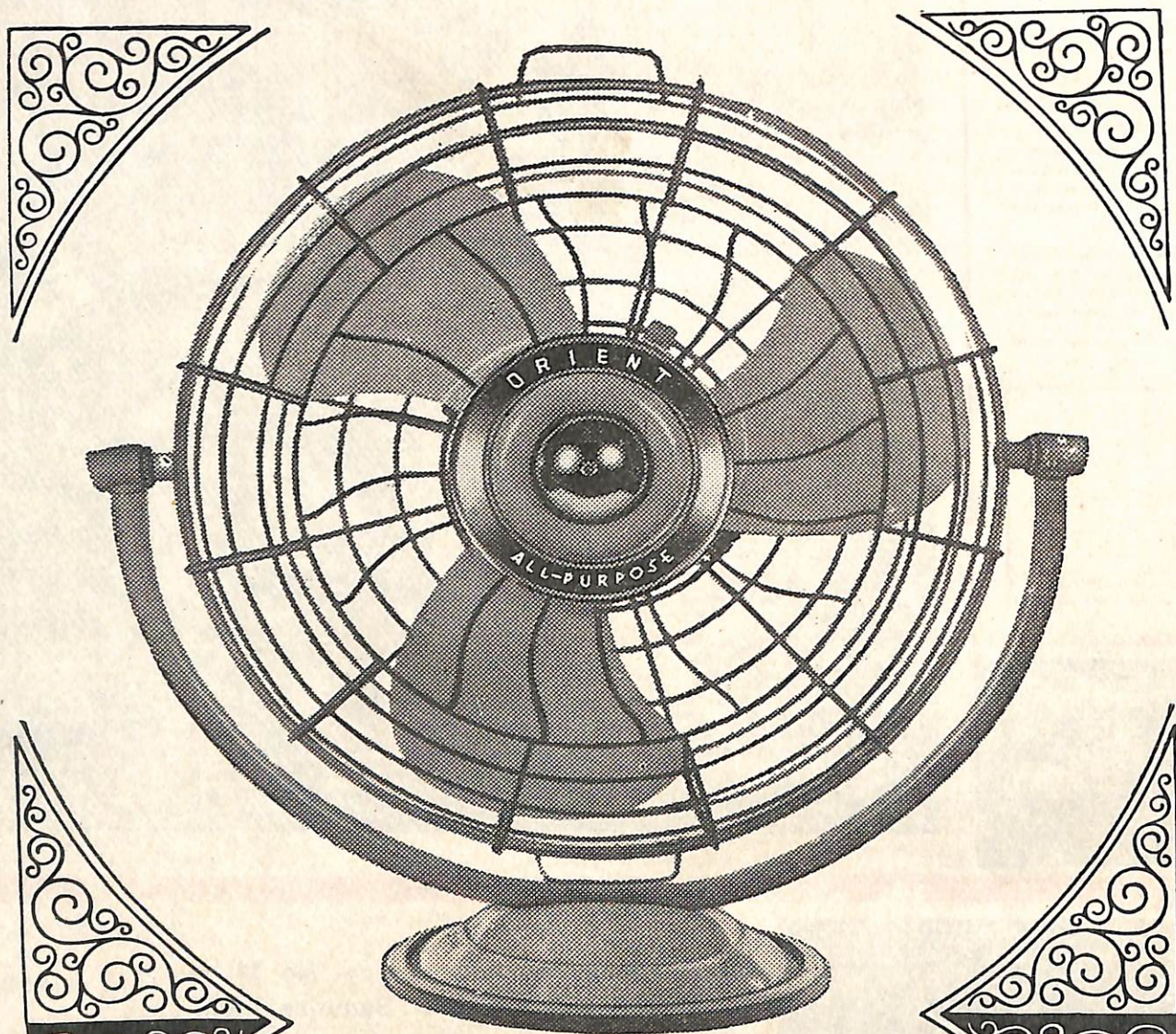
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SVETLANA
— A CHALLENGE
TO WASHINGTON
AND MOSCOW

EDITORIAL P. 3
RAJMOHAN GANDHI 30

NEW LOOK AT INDO-PAK RELATIONS