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WEEKLY 30p.

ASIA'S NEW

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 10 1967







"A NEW FORCE ON THE NATIONAL SCENE"

Says ANTENNA



Exclusive from Edward Crankshaw: KHRUSHCHEV, KOSYGIN AND ASIA

Strengthen your teeth against decay with Binaca Fluoride

Why do teeth decay?

Food particles left in your teeth after a meal break up into acids.

Acids weaken the protective enamel.

Result—live tissues of teeth are open to attack by decay causing germs and decay means painful cavities (caries) with probable loss of teeth.

What to do

Toughen tooth enamel with Fluoride. Fluoride unites with enamel to give extra toughness to resist acids and decay.

How to do it

Brush with Binaca Fluoride, the only toothpaste which contains the active Fluoride compound sodium monofluorophosphate, and visit your dentist for periodical check-up.

Brush extra toughness into your teeth with Binaca Fluoride—
the toothpaste that is particularly good for children.

IBA

Asia's new voice WEEKLY

BOMBAY FRIDAY NOVEMBER 10, 1967

A paralysis of government

THE DUTY of a government is to govern. Neither in Haryana nor in the UP nor in Bengal has there been any vestige of a government in the last six months. In Bihar, Kerala, the Punjab, there is instability.

Over 200 million of our people have had very little of adequate government since the elections leave alone an efficient one. Meanwhile, the politicians are having a heyday. How long will this last?

In Haryana, Chief Minister Rao Birendra Singh has been walking a tightrope for months. Pre-occupied with his own survival, he and his Cabinet have spent little time looking after the grievances of the people. His Congress opponent alleges, with some reason, that Mr Rao is going about "distributing offices" to keep himself in power.

Uttar Pradesh, India's most populated State of 80 million has witnessed an "intense war of nerves" for two months between constituents of the coalition—the SSP and Communist members versus the Chief Minister—over the question of land revenue. One dreads to think what happens to the requests of thousands of people of Uttar Pradesh whose letters are pending in files unattended.

In Bengal, Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee has watched meekly whilst law and order have broken down. In Punjab the Chief Minister doesn't know when his slender majority will turn into a minority. In Kerala the Industries Minister, T. V. Thomas, a Right Communist, and Chief Minister Namboodiripad, a Left Communist, are criticising each other over an agreement Mr Thomas made with Japanese industrialists to develop Kerala's industries.

What is the solution? The Left Communists in Kerala and Bengal are keen on a mid-term election but there is no assurance that any party will emerge with a majority as a result of it.

Some observers believe that once the Congress disintegrates totally there will be polarisation on ideological lines between the Rightist and Leftist forces. They point to the fact that today, Congressman Patil, Swatantraite Dandekar, and Jan Sanghite Madhok are closer together on economic issues than are most Congressmen.

Every country has the government it deserves. Our politics is a reflection of national life—be it manifest in floor-crossing politicians or others with chameleon-like colours and irresponsible ways.

To fight purely for a political solution is an exercise that is bound to lead to frustration. For democracy to function, character has to come first.

Shift in the Mediterranean

ADMIRAL L. SOTGUI, Commander Allied Naval Forces, Southern Europe, did some plain speaking in Malta recently. Addressing a NATO Conference he said, "I think that only a few people are aware of a historical fact which is taking place under our noses, that the nephews of Catherine the Great are now making their way to the warmer seas. Blockaded in Europe by the firmness of the political and military NATO Alliance, stopped in South-East Asia by the determination of the USA, embarassed on the East by the Chinese ideological rebellion, the Soviets had to play their big card and escalate to a maritime power."

He pointed out that the Soviet Navy had become the largest in the world and since the recent sixday Middle East war had become a permanent naval force in the Mediterranean. Ultra modern, and logistically supported, the presence of such a force represented an entirely new factor in the modern world.

The immense French Naval Base in Algeria is to be evacuated entirely in the next few weeks from Mers el Kebir. Already the word is spreading that Algeria may invite the Soviet Navy to make use of it.

There is growing awareness that the Israeli-Arab conflict is much more than a local conflict. It may prove one of the turning points in history.

West Asia's other crisis

FIGHTING BETWEEN rival nationalist factions in South Arabia has cost more lives in the last few days than months of fighting the British. In 4 days, 100 people died and 300 were wounded in clashes between FLOSY (Front for the Liberation of South Yemen) and the NLF (National Liberation Front). Talks in Cairo between the two groups for forming an independent government have broken down. The British are accelerating their evacuation, already well advanced.

FLOSY's strength lies in Aden itself, whose urbanised population fears domination by the tribal interior. The NLF claimed to control most of the hinterland where, by deposing the tribal rulers, they have begun a social as well as a political revolution.

Britain's withdrawal from Aden coincides with Egypt's withdrawal from the Yemen where the coup that overthrew President Sallal last weekend removed the major obstacle to reconciliation between republicans and royalists. South Arabia apart, the prospects of peace in West Asia's other crisis areas seem promising.

In South Arabia for the moment, the NLF seem to have the ascendancy over FLOSY, but it is to be hoped they will settle their differences soon. Otherwise outside powers will be tempted to use their rivalry to gain a foothold in this strategic gatepost of Suez and the Indian Ocean.

Briefly speaking...

Super grand luxury

PERHAPS it's a sign of modern affluence (or is it dishonest advertising?) that these days manufacturers only seem to make "large size", "giant size" and "king size" packages. The smallest available is often labelled "large". A variation on this is the description of new models of the "Simca 1100" car unveiled at the Paris Auto Show last month. It comes in four models: "luxury", "super luxury", "grand luxury" and "super grand luxury".

Burma shift

A POSTCRIPT to Freebooter's column last week on the Burmese veering out of China's orbit comes in the news that the last of 400 Chinese



technicians has left Rangoon. Since the anti-Chinese riots several months ago they have been unemployed,

Scapegoats

Since the June war, 280 officers of the UAR army have been cashiered, according to Mr Mohammed Heikal, editor of Al Ahram. President Nasser's search for scapegoats was to be expected. But they should have been sought among the politicians. The Egyptian army, already minus 5000 Israeli-held officers and men, including nine generals, will find this amputation difficult to bear.

Drought down under

It is a paradox of nature that while India is now enjoying one of its best seasons for many years, Australia, who generously shared her surplus grain last season with starving India, is now suffering a serious drought. Unlike the regular monsoons of India, Australia's rainfall is, in many parts, unpredictable and light. The 1967-68 wheat crop is expected to be only half of the normal and in some areas sheep, starved for fodder, are being sold off by farmers at 10 cents (83 paise) a head. Already in Melbourne, city water supplies are being severely restricted, even though the summer has not yet begun.

Summer sittings

THE MOVE to hold at least one session each year in Bangalore is gaining strength among Members of the Lok Sabha. Over 200 MPs have now submitted a memorandum to the Speaker urging this. It seems an excellent idea on many counts. While millions have to make their way eventually to New Delhi, the "fountainhead of all wisdom" (and permits!), few from the North have occasion to go South. Bangalore's magnificent legislature building, ambitiously constructed with just such a purpose in view, would provide a dignified summer home for the Parliament. The session need not be so long that the

As for conforming outwardly and living your own life inwardly, I do not think much of that.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU, 1817-1862

whole Government would have to move South in the wake of Ministers held there by long sittings. The Ministries seem to carry on pretty much as usual these days anyway, even though the Ministers are often neither in Parliament nor in New Delhi nor in the country!

Mammoth footbridge

The Commissioner of the Bombay Municipality is to be congratulated for throwing open to traffic the new Princess Street overpass without waiting for some VIP to cut the ribbon. Not so worthy of congratulations is the Commissioner for Police who, despite regulations preventing its use by pedestrians, has not done much to keep it free for vehicular traffic. Out-of-Bombay readers may be interested to know that it has been styled the "longest flyover" in the world—longest to complete, that is!

First again

HARDLY HAS the world's largest super-tanker, Idemitsu Naru of 210,000 tons, wet its hull than news comes from Japan of yet a larger ship—the first of six tankers in the 276,000-ton class. It will be completed in eleven months, surely another record as far as delivery schedules go.

Birbal

Rs 200 JACKPOT

The winner of this week's "Find the Ball" Competition, Mr S. Boominathan, is a Madras lecturer in Civil Engineering. He collects the Jackpot Prize of Rs 200, for marking exactly the centre of the cricket ball which was painted out in the original picture. Turn to page 23 and test your skill in next week's contest. Even if you don't win the Jackpot you could collect a handsome Swan Pen and Ball Pen Set.



from the Capital

The end of the coalitions?

by ANTENNA

NEW DELHI The resignation of West Bengal's Food Minister, Dr P. C. Ghosh, and the reported defection from the United Front Government of several members of the State Legislative Assembly has injected a new element of

uncertainty into the survival of this ill-assorted alliance, and what the Congress Party could not achieve last month through the somewhat hamhanded diplomacy of Mr Gulzari Lal Nanda may now be realised through the Bharatiya Kranti Dal.

The latest developments in Calcutta are, at any rate, even if Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee miraculously survives at the head of his motley team, an impressive curtain-raiser for the national inauguration of the BKD at Indore on November 10. They mark the emergence of this new Party, formed at Patna six months ago, as a significant force on the tangled Indian political scene.

Can the events in West Bengal be interpreted as the beginning of the end of the confused period of political transition which followed the shattering reverses the Congress Party suffered in some States and the formation of heterogeneous, hotchpotch liaisons of convenience whose sole binding force was to keep the Congress out of office at any cost?

Negative months

The nine months since the last general election have been purely negative in the sense that national politics has degenerated into a naked power struggle, with the Congress desperately, and quite ineffectually in general, trying to regain the ground it has lost and the new inheritors of office trying equally desperately to cling to their gains.

Now, according to observers in the Capital, a watershed has been reached. The transitional period is coming to an end, and new, positive trends are appearing and fresh alignments are taking place, of which they consider the Bharatiya Kranti Dal the most hopeful from the point of view of the resuscitation and growth of Indian democracy.

What takes place at Indore this week has become, in their opinion, all the more important because of

the utter political bankruptcy of the Congress, which was proved, if proof was necessary at all, at Jabalpur a few days ago.

For there, instead of attending seriously to the political fence-mending which was urgently called for if the Congress Party wanted to present to the country a different image from the one of irresolution and dissension that has come to be increasingly accepted since the elections, its leaders succeeded in converting

what was to have been a crucial decision on economic policy into a weapon in the factional struggle at the party summit.

And while members of the All-India Congress Committee were orating to empty seats, the centre of interest was the knife-sharpening which went on behind the scenes in preparation for the election of a party president in December.

Positive guide to action

The main question to be answered at Indore this week is whether the BKD will be able to produce a guide to political action more positive than the anti-Congressism that prevails

continued on next page

On your toes

DANGEROUS FRIENDS

IF the Prime Minister's opponents are bent on putting her out of a job, her friends seem to be killing her with irrelevant tasks. As one wit remarked: "God save me from my friends; my enemies I can take care of myself."

This past week has seen Mrs Gandhi — custodian of 515 million souls, beset with economic crises, law and order breakdown and deep party feuds — dashing around the country attending functions and leaving the government of the nation virtually unattended.

Hardly returned from an extensive tour of Eastern Europe and the UAR, Mrs Gandhi was off for the AICC meet at Jabalpur. Then to Bombay to open the International Tourist Fair — a modest exhibition by international standards. She also found time to whizz out to Matunga (on the final day!) to inaugurate the All-India Gosamvardhan Sammelan concerned with protecting the cow and its progeny.

Even the Prime Minister saw the ludicrous side when she explained: "I don't know how I can inaugurate a sammelan after its business is

almost over. Anyway I inaugurate whatever business remains."

Then back to Delhi, a few more files and a message cancelling her visit to the cyclone-devastated areas of Orissa as she was leaving next day for the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

Considerable pressures and promises must account for Mrs Gandhi's visit to Moscow (second in a few weeks) for what is a political celebration. For what Moscow is celebrating this week is not the overthrow of the Tsar but Lenin's overthrow of the democrats who had ousted the Tsar eight months earlier.

Apart from foreign Communist leaders, Mrs Gandhi's company in Moscow was decidedly thin. Surely a message would have sufficed. She could have left India's representation to Communist leaders who are, incidentally, busy trying to oust her government at home.

If Mrs Gandhi's friends won't reduce their claims upon her, she should reject their more irrelevant requests. Otherwise she may find that even if she has the political strength to stay in office she may lack the stamina.

Freebooter

This week HIMMAT...

WISHES Pope Paul a speedy recovery from his operation.

IS ENCOURAGED by a report that the annual income per head in India increased from Rs 310 in 1961 to Rs 427 in 1965, even though in the same period the population rose by 50 million.

WELCOMES the Maharashtra Government's decision to withdraw its scheme of compulsory sterilisation and AGREES heartily with Mr J. P. Narayan who calls the scheme "an affront to the fundamental dignity of the human being".

HAILS the opening of India's first college of Satellite Communications by Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Dr Vikram Sarabhai who said space communications could help change the face of India.

CONGRATULATES Orissa farmer Kumar Dharia for producing eight times the average yield of paddy using Taichung rice.

CHEERS Agriculture Secretary Sivaram for exploding the view that large-scale starvation is inevitable, and for predicting that India can "confidently" hope to grow 280 million tonnes of food grains a year by the end of the century.

COMMENDS to leaders of other parties, Swatantra leader M. R. Masani's example in offering his resignation as Party General Secretary on grounds that it was not good for politicians to stay in office too long.

IS DELIGHTED to record that Bombay consumer prices fell in September for the first time in months.

IS APALLED by a report that only 400,000 houses have been built in the last 15 years to meet a need estimated at 74 million, and DECLARES that people need not, and will not, wait some centuries for decent housing.

COALITIONS-from page 5

in the States where the Congress no longer holds sway.

Will the men who are assembling to formulate a new political credo, reaffirming their faith in democracy, be able to provide a practical answer to the Communists and the communalists who are dominating the non-Congress coalition Governments in the States?

Will the BKD leaders, almost all of whom have at one time or another held commanding positions in the Congress Party, be able to create an alternative to the crumbling Congress or produce only a prop that will help the Congress to regain power in those States where it is in oppositions?

Inspiring ideology

Will these breakaway Congressmen succeed in fashioning an inspiring ideological faith that will win the approval of the Indian voter or present a picture of frustrated, embittered individuals trying to lever themselves back into office at any cost?

People here who fervently believe that Indian democracy has a future are asking these questions and expect the Indore conference to provide satisfactory answers.

The moving spirits of the BKD, like Mr Harekrushna Mahatab and Mr Humayun Kabir, consider Communalism, as exemplified by the

like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Madras and the Shiv Sena in Bombay, a great threat to national unity and that the time has come to put a halt to their growth.

Congress powerless

The Congress, obviously, is unable to do this, riven as it is by factionalism and by the activities of the Communist sympathisers and communalists who have found prominent places in its ranks.

The BKD leaders argue that, if democracy is to be saved, parties and persons who believe in democratic values have no place in the coalition Governments like the Communistdominated ones in Kerala and West Bengal and the Jan Sangh-dominated ones in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

No democracy in coalitions

Logically, therefore, believers in democracy must withdraw from these coalitions, but at the same time they must see to it that the Congress does not utilise this opportunity to get back into office.

Thus, will the BKD be in a position to come forward with alternative proposals for forming new governments—without the grave-diggers of democracy and without the Congress. How this is to be done remains a moot point. This will be the acid Jan Sangh and regional growths test of the practicality of the BKD.



The Soviet Union and Asia-II

Khruschev, Kosygin and Asia

BY EDWARD CRANKSHAW

KHRUSHCHEV was active in his flattery and his bribery, which he conducted with some skill mainly through the institution of the 2½ per cent longterm credit, aid without strings, cleverly publicised.

But at this time what nearly everybody failed to see, because very few people appreciated the latent tension between China and the Soviet Union, was that Khrushchev's wooing of the uncommitted governments of Asia, above all the Government of India, was directed primarily against the pretensions of his great Asian neighbour, whom nearly everybody thought of as his massive and inseparable ally, the China of Mao Tse-tung.

In the natural course of events Peking might expect to establish itself as the headquarters of any successful Communist movements in Asia. Khrushchev was making it clear to Peking that there was to be only one headquarters, and that was Moscow. As time went on Khrushchev and

SAY THAT AGAIN...

Once you break the pledges given to the former rulers, the Government's international prestige, particularly its capacity to raise foreign loans, would be adversely affected.

S. K. PATIL

I realise it was not a very English thing to do, to bite a policeman.

> MR EDWARD COLE, accused in London Court case

The last thing I ever need to do for myself is to make trouble. UK Foreign Minister George Brown

In America television can make so much money doing its worst, it cannot afford doing its best.

> Professor FRED FRIENDLY, Columbia University

In the first part of his article, "The Soviet Union and Asia", Mr Edward Crankshaw, worldrenowned authority on the Soviet Union, analysed Stalin's policy in Asia. In the second part, he shows why Khrushchev sought to woo allies in Asia. The rest of the peoples of Asia, says Crankshaw, "are no more than supernumeries" in the colossal conflict between Russia and China.

his colleagues became increasingly preoccupied with the central danger of a nuclear clash with America. By 1958 this nightmare had come to dominate his thinking. He still took a lively interest in encouraging sub-

version, in exploiting revolutionary situations where they might arise, but it was becoming increasingly clear to him that if the Soviet Union, his Soviet Union, was to prosper and be preserved from a nuclear holocaust



Mr Khrushchev

he must reach some sort of an accommodation with the United States and, at the same time, damp down revolutionary situations which might lead to an explosion involving the Soviet Union and the United States in nuclear war. His refusal to help China make an atomic bomb was due as much to his short-term fear of Chinese recklessness in the interest of spreading revolution as to his longterm fear of an independent China as a great atomic power in her own right, bordering his own sparsely populated land.

The Sino-Soviet quarrel was well under way in 1958; it was formalised at the end of 1959 when Mao Tsetung became convinced that Khrushchev was selling the revolutionary cause down the river for the sake of an accommodation with America. It became irrevocable in 1960 with the Bucharest and Moscow confrontations

between Khrushchev and Mao's representatives to the Rumanian Party Congress in June and the Moscow meeting of all the Communist parties in Novem-



After that it Mr Kosygin was only a matter of time before Khrushchev detached himself, and the Soviet Union, from all aggressive Communist activity in Asia. The process was confused by the Cuba affair, in which Khrushchev could not resist the temptation to face America with a fait accompli on her own doorstep.

But after the Cuban adventure had misfired and with the great Moscow-Peking quarrel at last out in the open. he moved very quickly indeed: from the autum of 1962 to the moment of his fall in the autumn of 1964 Khrushchev had only one thought: his detente with Washington and the wooing of allies against China in Asia. This was the mood in which he reacted to Chinese activities against

Many of his colleagues were not prepared to move so fast. After Khrushchev's fall, Kosygin made a supreme effort to contain the Sino-Soviet quarrel, but in vain: Mao demanded a total reversal of Khrushchev's policies. Kosygin also for some months worked to persuade Hanoi to negotiate with Washington—an effort that was hindered by the first bombing of North Vietnam while: Kosygin was actually in Hanoi, regarded by him partly as a personal affront, partly (Kennedy being dead') as a sign that the new US administration was determined to block attempts at peace-making.

continued on page 18





Japan sees little result from bombing pause

FROM FUJIKO HARA

TOKYO "To halt or not to halt, that is not the question" says Japan's Foreign Minister Takeo Miki. He was referring to the bombing of North Vietnam.

True, much has been said about the Vietnam struggle in the two years since America's active participation began, and very little has yet been accomplished when it comes to actually settling the problem. But Miki, returning from his recent trip to the US, seemed convinced that merely calling for a halt in the bombing of the North will bring no new prospects.

Speaking at a luncheon meeting of the Japan-America Society he said, "I do not subscribe to the thought that if the United States would only stop bombing something may come of it. It is not that simple. No one considers the bombing of the North as desirable. But before urging the US to halt its bombing, I would like to verify the possibility of some meaningful reaction to this move on the part of North Vietnam."

He said he believed the sensible thing would be for the countries friendly to North Vietnam to come forward to act as guarantors and, at

the same time, for those nations friendly to the US to serve also as guarantors towards Hanoi. Such steps may lead to a possible turning point of the war, "but as yet there was no one willing to act as 'guarantor' when I sought this possibility in Moscow, Warsaw and the UN," he

Prime Minister Sato, speaking in South Vietnam during his recent tour, of South-East Asia, underlined this thinking. "A bombing pause might be worthwhile if there should be assurances of a halt in infiltration from the North," he said. According to informed sources, Sato asked the South Vietnamese leaders whether they thought the war can be brought to an end by some means other than the use of force.

The question is undoubtedly a matter of life and death to the people of Vietnam and it appears that what they want and how they feel may be far more important than what the doves and hawks in America or in other nations make of it.

Jealousy weakens Europe

FROM PETER HINTZEN

THE HAGUE At the meeting of the Common Market Foreign Ministers at Luxemburg, France demanded that Britain should give up Sterling's position as an international reserve currency before being let into the Common Market.

Though everybody agrees that something should be Ek-minit! done to cure the weakness of the Pound, it is unreasonable to make a precondition of it. All the more so because France herself was in much the same pos'tion when the Treaty of Rome, establishing the Common Market, was negotiated. France's five partners did not demand then that she should put her own house in order "I know I didn't object. I thought you before entering. On the said you were going to start a DIARY!"

continued on next page

The week in ASIA

HONG KONG - China plans to abolish examinations for university entrance and to reduce courses from five to three years. According to the People's Daily, the proposals will allow students to refer to books and talk with each

KUALA LUMPUR - Enche Mohamed Khir Johari, Malaysia's Minister of Education, alleged that Mao's agents were using subtle means to prepare for a Communist take-over of Malaysia. "They try to win the people over by seeming to champion public causes." he said.

JAKARTA - Armed Davaks have declared ritual war on Chinese guerrillas in West Borneo as a reprisal for a Chinese attack on a village. They have passed vessels full of blood round crowds in their villages to denote their war preparations.

KATHMANDU - The Pokhra valley was electrified on Divali Day. An Indian-aided power generation project was commissioned to generate 250 kw.

BANGKOK - Thai border patrol police captured a jungle camp of Thai Muslims agitating for secession of the southern provinces from Thailand. They seized stocks of food, medicine and Communist leaflets from the camp.

RAWALPINDI - President Avub Khan said: "Ind'a tells the world that she is ready to discuss all problems with Pakistan. But when it comes to Kashmir she says that it was a domestic problem." He charged that Indian leaders were not ready to take meaningful steps for durable peace in the sub-continent.

CANBERRA - Project Sparta, a British, US and Australian joint anti-missile defence research operation, was successfully completed at the Woomera Rocket Range. Each rocket carried simulated inter-continental missile warheads.

SINGAPORE - Government planned to reduce from 40 to 15 per cent income tax levied on foreigners, particularly visiting artistes taking up jobs for a short period.

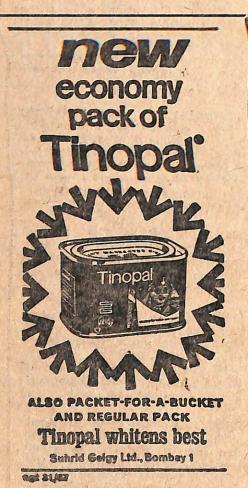
BAKU - Russia's Caspian fleet will more than double by 1975, a Tass report said. Several ships capable of assembling oil derricks will be added to the fleet.

HIMMAT, November 10, 1967



contrary, many escape clauses helped France over the first difficulties.

For Britain to give up the present status of the Pound would be folly. It is not just a Big Power status symbol or a source of income for the City of London's privileged bankers. The Pound fulfils, at the moment, an in-



SHRIRAM

dispensible function in international trade and payments. It would have to be replaced, not abolished, possibly by a European reserve currency. Britain is willing to help create such a European currency, as the British Chancellor, Mr Callaghan, has said in an article in the Paris Le Monde.

Whereas the UK has too few reserves to support the international status of the Pound (which has compelled her, whether Tories or Labour were in Whitehall, to pursue economically crippling stop-go policies), the Common Market countries suffer from a surplus (about \$20,000 million). Abolishing the Pound as an international currency would work havoc and it would add to Europe's progressive withdrawal from the world, unless such a European currency were created.

In this way France's policy towards Britain means a shrinking role for Europe which is hardly what President de Gaulle says he wants. Barring Britain from the Common Market has the same result. The Six are too small to be a match for the USA. With Britain, they have a chance. The technological gap between America and Europe is widening. Figures on computers show up this gap. Last year 43,000 new computers were introduced in the US compared with only 2500 in the UK and 5500 in Common Market countries. In 1964, 82 per cent of the world output of computers were produced in America.

President de Gaulle says his aim is to make Europe great and enable her to stand as an independent equal besides the American giant. His policy, partly motivated by jealousy of Britain's world role, has the opposite effect. America's technological and economic preponderance will lead to an ever bigger brain drain from Europe and a growing reliance in Europe on America's techniques and products.

Housing a million people

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

HONG KONG On Thursday, October 26, six-year-old Jenny Fung Kwaichun became the millionth person to be housed by the Hong Kong Government in its tremendous resettlement scheme. With her parents and five brothers and sisters she moved from a small house-boat in a fishing village into a huge multi-storey building in the twenty-second of the Resettlement Estates built by the Government in the past 14 years. Government has also given them \$3000 to furnish their tiny flat to mark the occasion of the millionth resettlement.

On Christmas night, 1953, a huge fire swept through the hill-side squatter huts where 50,000 refugees from Communist China were perched after having left Mainland China. In those four years since the Communists took over in China there had been a constant stream of people crossing the border into Hong Hong. The Government here hoped they would soon go back to their homes in China but few did. Apparently they preferred to put up with "squatting" on the streets, the roof-tops and the hill-sides of Hong Kong to going back to their homes under the Communists. Eventually there were about 1,500,000 of them.

When those 50,000 people were burnt out the Hong Kong Government decided that, although the problem of these people was not of its own creating, it should work out a plan for them. So it set up a Resettlement Department and thus began a housing scheme which few places in the world can have equalled. Without any assistance from outside,



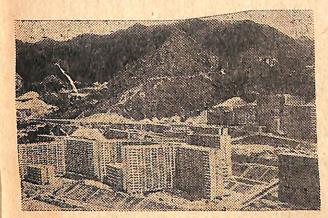
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OTOYS OFOOTWEAR OUPHOLSTERY ORAINWEAR OWIRES AND CABLES OPIPES AND TUBES GENGINEERING ITEMS

SHRIRAM VINYL & CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES, NEW DELHI-1

the Government has paid for the cost of housing one million people who did not originally belong here. The cost to date has been about \$750 million Hong Kong dollars, i.e. about £47 million Sterling or Rs 98.7 crores.

True, most of these people are living in very crowded conditions—one 10 ft by 12 ft room per family of five in multi-storey blocks housing 2500



Section of resettlement estate housing 113,000 people

in the earliest ones of 7 storeys and 5000 in the latest des gns of 16 storeys. The largest estate has 113,000 living in it. In all the estates there are schools, clinics, playgrounds, shops, markets, community centres and transport services.

The original blocks were meant to be temporary and designed so that when people returned to China the one-room units could be converted into flats. However, continued influx of people from the Mainland meant that this accommodation had to become more or less permanent. There are still 400,000 squatters yet to be resettled and Government's plans for these people reaches into 1972.

The design of the resettlement blocks has been improved from time to time. The earliest ones have only communal toilets, bathrooms and washing places, whereas in the latest blocks each room has a tiny veranda, off which there is a toilet-bathroom. The average rent per room is HK\$14 a month (17/6 Sterling, Rs 18).

Some feared that these blocks would become slums but this has not happened. There are very few rent defaulters and in almost all cases the rooms are well-kept and the people who go out from them to school and to work are, on the whole, immaculately dressed. One must remember that these people had homes in China and were not slum-dwellers.

In addition to the resettlement estates there are also low-cost housing estates for those families who can afford a little better accommodation and 113,500 people are living in these.

——The week elsewhere-

50 YEARS OLD

MOSCOW — A visit by India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the link-up of orbiting space satellites, and a military parade featuring four new types of rocket added variety to celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

World Communist leaders assembled for the six-day festivities. The celebrations were followed by talks on what to do about China and other subjects.

KENYA-SOMALIA FEUD ENDS

ARUSHA — The four-year border war between Kenya and Somalia was formally ended at a conference in this Tanzania town. President Kenyatta of Kenya and Prime Minister Ibrahim Egal of Somalia signed an

agreement to stop the fighting, resume diplomatic relations and encourage trade. They agreed to appoint a committee to find solutions to the differences between their nations.

President Kaunda of Zambia was mediator of the conference at which agreement was reached in half the expected time. The agreement has now to be implemented in the border region of north-east Kenya where 200,000 Somali tribesmen live.

ANTARCTIC CONQUEST

SCOTT BASE, Antarctica—Sir Edmund Hillary, who with Sherpa Tensing first scaled Mt. Everest, reported that members of an expedition led by him had climbed Mt. Herschel in Antarctica. Hillary reported that two-men assault teams had twice climbed the hitherto unconquered peak.

The week in INDIA

CALCUTTA — West Bengal's Food Minister P. C. Ghosh submitted his resignation from the United Front Ministry. 17 other MLAs of the Bangla Congress and the Bharatiya Kranti Dal also quit the Front, according to reports.

CHANDIGARH — The Congress opposition claimed its right to form the Government in Haryana and urged the Governor to dismiss the Rao Birendra Singh Ministry as it was in a minority now.

NEW DELHI — Home Minister Chavan held informal talks with the princes on abolition of privy purses and privileges. The Maharaja of Baroda said, after the talks; "I am sure the Home Minister will act in an honourable way."

MADRAS — All India Radio stations in Tamilnad dropped the Hindi term "Akash Vani" from their announcements. Instead, they adopted "All-India Radio" in English followed by the Tamil term "Vanoli Nilayam" (radio station), along with the name of the station.

IMPHAL — 150 Mizo hostiles are receiving intensive military training under Pakistani and Chinese experts in East Pakistan, according to reports here.

CALICUT — When Chief Minister Namboodiripad visited Beypore, he was greeted by toddy bottles, fish, tapioca and chappals. They were tied on strings and posts and at one place, a big board bore the inscription "Starvation Nagar".

VISAKHAPATNAM — Hundreds of card holders were turned away from ration shops on Divali day as there were no stocks. Street vendors sold rice openly at high prices.

BOMBAY — The "outdated, outworn and abnormally overloaded" telephone exchanges in South Bombay will switch over to the most modern equipment on November 11. General Manager of Bombay Telephones M. S. Muthanna said the area would have two giant automatic exchanges with a total capacity of 20,000 new lines.

VARANASI — Sarvodaya leader Jayaprakash Narayan agreed to lead a Socialist-minded political party. "But it would be on my own terms and not on the terms of the party," he said.

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Nigeria's Auntie Aug -she is a triple Chief

HER PARENTS named her Oba-Fun-Milayo, meaning "God the King has given me joy".

In the 60 years since, Chief Ayo Manuwa has already given joy to thousands. She is a pioneer of women's education in Nigeria. In 1946 she started a girl's primary scohol; in



Chief Ayo Manuwa

1949 a secondary modern; in 1963 a comprehensive grammar school and now in January next she opens a vocational school for girls who are not academically brill ant. It has been an uphill battle for her but a winning one. The person who has helped her most was the first Prime Minister of Nigeria, the late Sir Abubaker

"As soon as I used to enter his room he used to fold his hands and say, 'Yes, I know what you are going to tell me. The Government is not doing enough for women's education. All our funds are going for the education of the boys. Yes. Yes. Yes.'"

Chief Manuwa is the head of the Business and Professional Women's Club of Lagos. She is the head of various educational institutions started by her but her real heart lies in the Lagos Babies Home which she started for abandoned children.

Such children are a new phenomenon in Nigeria, she says. Formerly the homes and tribes used to support them but now they are often found abandoned in the gutters and the bush. The home at present has nine babies and 18 toddlers. Once they are cared for and grow up a little,

HIMMAT, November 10, 1967

Chief Manuwa finds them suitable homes to grow up in. "I believe a child must have a normal, happy home to be a normal happy child. And so I get them adopted.

"Every day at 7.30 am I leave my residence with my troops."

What troops? I inquired.

"I have seven children staying in my home. Most of them were abandoned by their families. The most interesting character is a young girl called Modupe. She is quite a handful. She's up to all sorts of mischief and gets into trouble. But she's a darling kid with a twinkle in her eye. I called her Modupe because it means 'I thank God for this child'. Another young boy I have is three years old. He was found lying in the bush and his hand was damaged as a baby. I took him when he was a year old. We have great times with these children and on their birthdays we have interesting birthday parties."

It must be quite a handful looking after them?

"I have a matron to look after them but I always keep one of my relations because sometimes matrons tend to be quite hard and with children you need compassion."

And how do you manage the rest of the house?

"Cooking is my hobby and I teach young children how to enjoy it with

I asked Chief Manuwa how she happened to be Chief.

"I am a tr ple Chief, though not a hereditary Chief. Some time ago my father's tribe made me a Chief. My mother's tribe, possibly jealous, said, 'If your father's tribe makes you a Chief, we will make you a Chief too.' Then on June 30 the King of Lagos who greatly admires the home for abandoned children made me a Chieftain for life."

What powers do Chiefs have in

"Chiefs are greatly respected. For example, in Lagos we meet every month, discuss current events, and plan what we should do for the society. Certain people like the King of Lagos carry great weight. He is



also Chairman of the Lagos City Counc l. He is an interesting man. He is a chemist by training and plays the violin beautifully. He is shy but a fine gentleman indeed."

The present situation in Nigeria is much in the mind of Ch ef Manuwa. I asked her what she felt about it.

"You know, there have been months when I have spent sleepless nights thinking of my country and the conflict that is raging there. Then one day I had the thought, 'You did not create Nigeria. You and your people thought highly about vourselves. You thought yours was the largest country in Africa-the country to show the way to other nations. You all became arrogant and sometimes God has to slap the arrogant to bring them to their senses.' When we come to our senses we will have learnt the lesson God wants to teach us."

What do you think is the solution?

"Force is not the way to bring peace. There is grievance on both sides. Bitterness and hate and pride are not easy to cure but they can be cured. I believe if a few people get together and pray and seek God's way for Nigeria the country can still be saved. To find such people in Nigeria will be my task.'

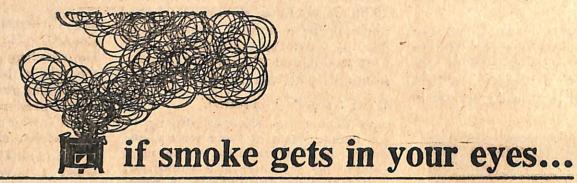
R. M. L.

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The crisis that never was

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN LUCKNOW

ONE characteristic of the politics of sprawling Uttar Pradesh (population 80 million) is that it never centres on ideologies but on personalities. To an outsider the whole thing presents an enigmatic picture. What was played up as a big crisis recently and which fizzled out provides a fine example of the crisis that never was.

The ruling coalition now consists of six parties: Jan Sangh, Jana Congress, SSP, PSP, Republican and Communist. Swatantra left the coalition on account of profound differences over policies. The Jan Sangh, being the major partner with 98 members in the Assembly, tries to assert itself and makes its presence felt.

Urban middle class

That was the starting point of the so-called UP crisis. The urban middle class is its main stronghold. It saw to it that tax on urban land property was removed. It also saw to it that the procurement plan was diluted considerably. Ideologically the Jan Sangh comes nearer to Swatantra than either Congress or PSP.

The second hitch started when the Jan Sangh packed all co-operative societies and education committees with its own nominees, particularly men with RSS leanings.

The discontent came to a head while tackling the question of remission of land revenue. The Communist and Socialist Parties were pledged to abolition of land revenue from the very beginning. Even the Congress of late had veered towards this view.

Both wanted credit

Both the Communist and Socialist members of the coalition wanted to strengthen their base in rural areas by showing that they were responsible for abolition of land revenue. They began to press the Chief Minister, Mr Charan Singh, who is an ace agrarian economist.

With wheat selling at Rs 50 to 60 in the open market and the land

yielding a bumber crop with hybrid Mexican varieties of seed, the question of land revenue had taken an entirely new shape. Today, if a cultivator sells eight kilos of wheat he can pay off the land revenue. It is no burden on

him.

Chief The Minister was against abolition of land revenue in this context. It fetches the exchequer Rs 21 crores. If this revenue is given up it will tell on the developmental activities of the



Chief Minister Charan Singh

State. But to the leftist members of the coalition, abolition of land revenue was an article of faith.

The maximum that the Chief Minister was prepared to do was give tax exemption to the extent of 50 per cent on all holdings up to six and a quarter acres. The other members of the coalition agreed to it.

Start now, or later?

The question arose whether the fifty per cent remission should be given right now or from the next rabi season commencing from November 15. The Chief Min ster said there were administrative difficulties for doing it right now and so it would be done from November 15. The leftist partners said No. It should be enforced immediately. Deadlock ensued.

SSP Ministers joined hands with Communist Ministers and seven of them resigned and threatened to launch direct action. The Chief Minister was unvielding. He said he would set the machinery of the law in motion if the leftists embarked on direct action.

The leftists dared not give a call for a strike or any other form of direct action. The cultivator is not

anxious to get land revenue exemption. On the other hand he is anxious to pay it. He feels that if there is no land revenue, one day the land may be taken away. What is the proof that he owns the land?

When total deadlock set in, the Chief Minister at one stage threatened that he would resign and ask the Governor to order mid-term elections. No party was prepared for such a course.

Face-saving formula

The PSP intervened to bring about a compromise. The SSP stuck to its guns. The Chief Minister knew full well that the leftists, despite all their threats, would not topple the Government. The next alternative is the Congress Government, which nobody wants.

The Communist Party at last provided a face-saving formula that the revenue collected would be pooled in a kisan fund for the benefit of the kisans, a proposition to which the Ch ef Minister had no objection.

The Ministers withdrew their resignations and the so-called crisis was resolved. The Chief Minister had his way and the leftist partners of the coalition had the satisfaction that they had created a make-believe that they championed the cause of cultivators.

Thus the crisis that never was there resolved itself!

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BOOKSI

Two revolutions

THE TWO REVOLUTIONS, by R. H. Bruce Lockhart. National Academy Rs 3.

FIFTY YEARS on from the great Russian Revolution one picks up with some anticipation this new Indian reprint which claims to be "an eyewitness account of Russia, 1917." Appetite is further increased on discovering that its British author was none other than His Majesty's Consul General in Moscow who the following year headed a special Mission to the new Soviet Government.

Unfortunately too much of the book is taken up with potted history



Lenin

before 1917. The pickings from the eye-witness's own observations and experiences are meagre.

Nevertheless the personal comments and reflections Sir Robert does allow himself are well worth having. He was better acquainted with the intellectual Liberal world of Moscow, patriotic and pro-British, than the narrow autocracy of the Petrograd Court, haunted by the tragic-comic, yet very Russian, figure of Rasputin.

In passing, he gives the lie to the official Soviet picture of pre-revolution Russia as a kind of medieval desert where nothing modern existed. In fact, of course, it was the rapid industrial growth in the country prior to 1917 that created the large proletariat on which the Bolsheviks built their hopes.

One attitude struck by the Consul General in some of his Liberal friends is particularly worth recording. It was the wishful opinion that, once in power, the Bolsheviks "would not last a month". It is the philosophy of "the quicker we let the worst come, the quicker it will go away again". It was the attitude of some moderate Germans towards the Nazi Party in the early 1930s. It is the sort of dangerous fatalism one sometimes hears from "decent" people today.

hears from "decent" people today. The first (March, 1917) revolution of "The Two Revolutions" of the title ended Tsarism in Russia and brought the Liberals and the moderate Socialists to power. Lockhart singles out the dual nature of the resulting power structure—the Liberals strong in the Provincial Government and the moderate Socialists dominating the Petrograd Soviet—as its greatest flaw. It was a weakness that the Bolsheviks with their slogan "All Power to the Soviets" exploited.

As for Kerensky, the moderate Socialist on whom power soon devolved, his greatest crime was to stand in the middle "and in Russia the middle has always been squeezed by the extremes".

The second (November) revolution overthrew Kerensky and established the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in power. For those who tend to think of this second revolution as somehow inevitable and methodically executed by masterful plotters, it is refreshing to be reminded of the degree of muddle, inefficiency and sheer chance about those historic months.

On the other hand the author is under no illusions that what finally won the day for the Bolsheviks, who all along remained a small minority, was that their leaders were genuine revolutionaries, gripped by a passion not merely for Russian but for world revolution.

Against this master passion temporary ups and downs were of little account. Against it, too, the weakness and vacillation of Lockhart's moderate friends stood no chance.

P.W.



No significant new releases this week

This India

POTENTIAL LEADERS

MR MOHANLAL SUKHADIA'S suggestion to the Health Minister that married men should not be allowed in the government service, to "curb baby boom", is staggering stupidity. Is Mr Sukhadia intending to hand in his resignation? Of course his colleagues in the Cabinet, Members of Parliament, MLAs, civil servants, as a matter of fact the majority of government employees will have to follow suit. The re-employment of all these people will certainly employ our energy, imagination and resources, or will they all get a pension? Undoubtedly, special posts will have to be opened for the increasing number of spinsters.

The fifteen—sixteen-year-olds will obviously take on governing the country. Perhaps they will make a better job of it. They certainly show great promise. In an essay competition, "Changes needed in Indian character", the results of which were announced in last week's HIMMAT, the wit, clarity and patriotism of young Indians is astounding. The following are some of the quotes.

"I met a person who had done his PhD in mathematics. He was flying to America. I was very pleased to meet such an educated man but when I came to know that he did not want to stay in his own country, all my pleasure faded away," says a 16-year-old boy from Amritsar.

"The moral degeneration in Indian character today lies in the legalisation of abortion and all the methods of birth control. How can the husband know the purity of his wife?" asks a young schoolgirl.

"We get wheat from America, MiGs from Russia, fashion books from Paris and oil from Arabia. What is it that we can give nations that they do not have?" comments a boy from Chittor.

A seventeen-year-old states, "No society can flourish if the core is rotten and the core is the family."

"The trouble is we have no sympathy for others but great self pity," says a fifteen-year-old.

"We are now at the crossroads. The future of the world and India in particular is dependent upon the steps we take now."

Keerja Chowdhury

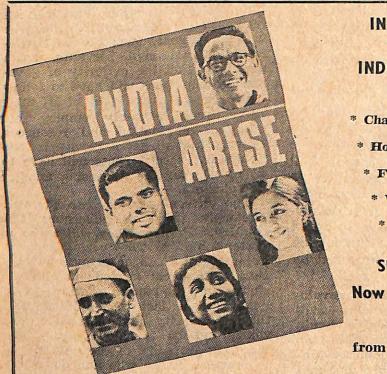
The new men in Moscow took far more seriously than Khrushchev the effect on world Communist opinion of the contrast between Moscow's reluctance to support revolutionary movements and wars of liberation and China's professed (more professed than real) eagerness to encourage them. Thus for two years,

broken only by the showy Tashkent tile to the Soviet Union. In the inte-Conference in which the Russians appeared as peace-makers-a new and proud role-between India and Pakistan, the Soviet leadership had no Asian policy at all. They were caught in a dilemma.

In the interests of containing China, Russia needed the presence in Asia of an America not actively hos-

rest of Soviet power they needed to prove to revolutionary movements all over the world that Moscow was still the champion of the small and the oppressed-who, feeling deserted, might turn to China for support.

For some time there has been a hard struggle in Moscow between the proponents of these two points of view. The struggle continues. But it is not too much to say that both sides are united on one basic point: both sides are interested in the security and growth of the Soviet Union as a power, are seeking to underwrite this by the means that seem most expedient, are interested now in revolutionary movements, subversion, and wars of liberation not as stages in the advance to global Communism (because they know that Moscow can never hope to control a Communist world) but as details in the great game of dividing the West and weakening American power, but weakening it not too much, because America may one day be needed as an ally. From all this it appears that Moscow's interest in Asia is today centred almost wholly on China. The peoples of the rest of that West Continent are no more than supernumeries, at most auxiliaries, in this colossal conflict.

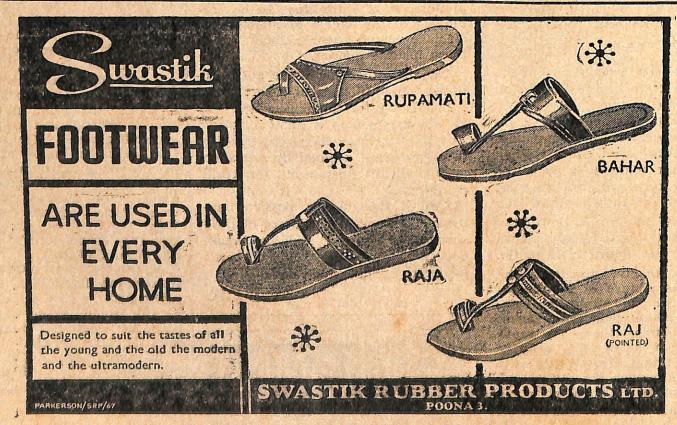


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Dr Ghosh shakes up Bengal

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

"A HOUSE divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free," wrote President Lincoln on the eve of the Civil War.

The United Front Government in West Bengal has within its ranks some Ministers who believe in freedom and others who don't. If there is a house divided against itself, it is West Bengal!

On Monday, October 16, Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee charged that "the wing of a political party" was openly inviting Communist China to start an armed revolution in Bengal. He said he wanted this to be "nipped in the bud" but was opposed in the matter even by some of his friends in the United Front Ministry. He was thinking of resigning but was persuaded not to.

Nineteen days later, on November 4, his Food Minister, Dr P. C. Ghosh, handed his resignation to the Governor, Mr Dharam Vira. Dr Ghosh claimed that he, plus 17 members of the United Front Government, had left the Front. Seventy-year-old Dr P. C. Ghosh was Bengal's first Chief Minister and a respected member of the Congress Working Committee. He left the Congress later.

In a statement after resignation he says, "Some parties are more or less openly inciting people to violence. They want anarchy. The Cabinet is unable to deal with them. Democracy is in danger in the State."

He called the United Front Cabi-

net a "conglomeration of warring groups".

Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee knows the truth of this statement, had indicated it himself earlier but now claims that the "unity of our Cabinet is much stronger than our differences".

The Chief Minister has now been told by the Governor to summon the State Assembly and show that he does command a majority.

The prospects appear that the United Front may not command a majority and that Dr P. C. Ghosh may emerge as the Chief Minister of a coalition between the Congress and Dr Ghosh's followers.

In the event of a change of Government in West Bengal there may be strong feelings and possible disorder. The Union Government cannot shed its ultimate responsibility to maintain law and order, whatever the State Government may do.

Peaceful pistol

THIS PISTOL is peaceful. Along the beam travel sounds, spoken into the microphone the researcher holds in his left hand. (Photo below).

If he stands on high ground, he can send a message six miles to another hill top.

To send a message the researcher

points his pistol towards a receiving unit. The invisible laser beam highly concentrated light produced by the "pistol" hits a circular lens like the one the other researcher is holding. This lens focuses the light on a device which turns its spoken message back from light to sound. This can be

FRONTIERS OF science

heard over headphones or speaker.

Laser beams may revolutionise communications in the next ten years, particularly in space.

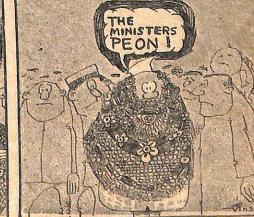
REGINALD HOLME

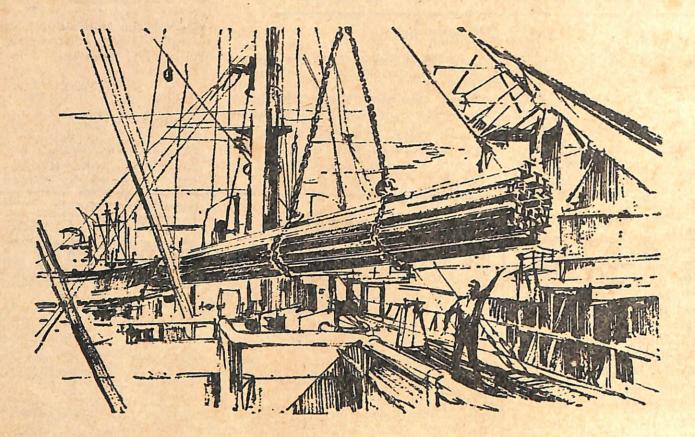












Tata Steel goes abroad

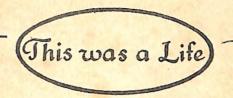
for their economic development. industrialization. Exports by Tata Steel, which are channelled through Commercial and Industrial Exports Limited (CIEL), the Government-recognised export house of the Tata

Several times a year, ships carry- Group, spurted to over 43,000 ing, among other things, angles tonnes valued at Rs. 2.25 crores and channels, bars and joists, during 1966-67, from about 26,500 and other steel products made in tonnes valued at Rs. 95 lakhs in Jamshedpur, sail away from the the previous year. The increas-Calcutta port...bound for East ing exports indicate Tata Steel's Africa, the Middle East, the Far concern to do its bit to augment East and Australia. These steel the country's foreign exchange products are of utmost impor- earnings, so vital to the success tance to the importing countries of our national goal of planned

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SHIGERU YOSHIDA

1878—1967

"THE GRAND OLD MAN of Japan" was born in 1878, the fifth son of a Liberal Party leader. He served as Ambassador to Italy and in London before the outbreak of World War II. He was appointed Foreign Minister in Prince Higashikuni's cabinet at the end of war and became Prime Minister in 1946. He resumed the position from 1948 to 1954 after a brief interval of Liberal-Socialist coalition government.

Since 1963 he had withdrawn from political life but his political and spiritual influence nevertheless was felt at the centre.

Like Churchill he loved to puff his cigar, and like Churchill and Adenauer, he steered his nation when the going was roughest. The fearless courage with which he pushed through his convictions bought him the nickname of "one man rule". But as an architect of post-war Japan's rehabilitation and development, the services he rendered were numerous.

In 1951, he concluded the San Francisco Peace Treaty without the participation of the USSR and, at the same time, signed the Japan-US Security Treaty, setting Japan on the way to national independence and democracy. He drew up the new Constitution, carried out land reforms and executed new educational systems.

He was a vanquished with honour and never compromised his belief under the pressure of the occupation forces. Japan might well have shared the fate of divided nations like Germany and Korea had it not been for his firm stand against the divisive occupation of the allied forces. He refused, too, the initial rearmament programme of US Secretary of State Dulles (when the latter demanded it of West Germany and Japan) believing that economic recovery had priority. Yet it was he who organised the Police Reserve Force which has developed into today's Self Defence Force.

The next step for Japan, he felt, was to play her part in shaping the destiny of Asia. Prime Minister Sato hurried back home from his Asian tour to give him a state funeral, the first since the end of the war.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

I CAME across your weekly and was much pleased by reading its articles and its well-balanced set-up.

I saw the letter of Mr R. V. Raghavan on "India and Pakistan" (HIM-MAT, October 20). Though I have not read your article on the above subject. let me tell you and all the sensible and wise people of India that Mr Raghavan is absolutely correct in his judgement that unless the root cause between our countries is removed there will be no real peace and prosperity. The people of Pakistan of all shades want to remain in peace, and specially with India. but fear, prejudice and lack of trust on both sides mar the progress.

It is the future generation of both India and Pakistan that will suffer, and not anybody else, by the sheer madness of both countries for an arm's race.

Let one also clear the impression given to the Indian masses by your Government that it is only Government in Pakistan that is beating the drum of Kashmir and not the people. This is not the case. The people of Pakistan from Peshawar to Chittagong are asking for justice to the people of Kashmir. What they want is simply the plebiscite for the people of Kashmir either under the UN or even under the auspices of a neutral Asian power. The people of Pakistan want India to honour its pledges given before the world body and not play hide and seek under different excuses at various times.

If the river-water dispute can be solved under the World Bank why not this also, under the UN? It is also wrong to suggest that Pakistan will embark on a more aggressive policy. On the contrary if the Kashmir problem is solved the people of Pakistan will not only be grateful but will go two steps forward in mending all relations.

It is India which will get real prestige and honour. Only then can India rightfully claim the leadership of Asia and in this Pakistan can play a role of younger brother.

I had been to Europe and USA recently and met both Indians and Pakistanis there who have a better view of the present world. They really pity that the progress of both countries has been retarded due to this Kashmir issue which could have been easily settled.

DR AZIZKHAN TANK, Secretary. "Pakistan Youth Front", Karachi 5

FARE ANOMALY

A SINGLE passenger fare from Bombay to Cochin by air is Rs 249 if the ticket is purchased in India and Rs 317 if bought in London through travel agents. The result of this odd situation is that the Government of India will lose much-needed foreign exchange.

During my recent visit to India, though I had originally arranged to pay in sterling in UK for all internal flights in India, noting this disparity, by which I stood to lose Rs 68 in one

single flight from Bombay to Cochin, I hastily made arrangement for the payment to be made in India.

> I. S. MENON. Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, UK

HIMMAT RESCUED

THE last copy of HIMMAT that came via Switzerland, where I was recently, was all wet. It had been rescued from the Comet which crashed between Athens and here! It was the issue on India and Pakistan!

> MARCEL GRANDY. Nicosia, Cyprus

INDIANS NOT CATTLE

I AM one of the strict followers of Mahatma Gandhi who want to condemn sterilisation as immoral and bad. India's millions of men and women are not like herds of cattle.

I am proud of my country's men and women - together they form a fine potential wealth to be taken into account. Stop this animalisation of men and I dare say that we can save India with the help of these many hands.

DIPTI S. BHAVSAR, Ahmedabad 13

INTERFERENCE

I WAS waiting so long to see what stern action our Government would take against "Radio Station, Peace And Progress", for its interference in our domestic affairs soon after the elections. The Government is silent, like nothing has happened. If the broadcast was on the VOA instead of Radio Moscow, we would have seen our noble leaders make such comments as "Grave interference in India's internal affairs".

Are we neutral in any way? Why do we blindly support the Russians? We have taken an anti-American stand everywhere but they still feed us without any thanks. It is high time that a younger generation took control of the Government from the present leaders who are still back in 1948.

JACOB ABRAHAM, Madras

FOR RICH AND POOR

I AM fortunate enough to read one of the best weeklies in India. It is a messenger carrying the news of the Orient and the far West. HIMMAT is meant for the rich people and the poor. It appeals to my heart with its articles written by Mr Rajmohan Gandhi. I am an Indian schoolboy and I think this magazine should be read by every Indian.

DEBASHISH MUKHERJEE. Calcutta 32



Moscow calling

by Rajmohan Gandhi

LAST TUESDAY Moscow celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Communist seizure of power in Russia. Tons of posters and pamphlets and miles of newspaper articles in Russia and outside have called the capture the Great Revolution. Was it really this, and not the small October revolution? Or the great October reaction?

Almost all of this world's Communist rulers and a small number of leaders of other nations, principally our own, would have been treated to a day of unexampled spectacle.

Golden or infamous?

Peking has already described the celebrations as "the most preposterous farce". But the world will not take China's view of Russia without a pinch of salt.

Did those 1917 days of overthrow in Petrograd, now Leningrad, and Moscow herald a new age for all or did they add another chapter to the sordid section of the human story? Were they golden days, or infamous?

Interesting it is that nowhere in the liberal publicity of the anniversary are those early days and deeds described in detail. This is understandable, because Moscow would not today like to emphasise that what took place in 1917 was a military coup.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said in a speech before flying for the Moscow celebration that the October revolution was "one of the greatest turning points of history. Not only did it enable the people of one of the world's largest countries to overthrow the old order of feudalism and exploitation but also showed a new way for social and economic development".

She could have avoided this statement. Some feel that she should have avoided the visit to Moscow, and a few Members of Parliament cabled her against it.

Friendship with the Soviet Union is important. But it is also vital to be clear about what in the Soviet Union we support and what we don't. Nor can it be said that the Soviet Government is friendly only with those that make state-

ments sympathetic to class war and Communism. Its relations with other nations are based on their value to it.

It may be unwise to think that violent class war can be hailed elsewhere and avoided in one's own country. It may be unwise to think that such views will not put off a number of other nations whose friendship and aid we are likely to need for years to come.

The emotional fellow-feeling that seems to link New Delhi, Cairo, Belgrade and Moscow hardly forms a formidable girder. The coalition is unnatural and, as the Arab-Israeli war proved, rather unreliable and ineffective. As far as India is concerned it weakens the country internally and isolates it from most of the world.

There is no question that farreaching changes are affecting the Soviet Union. In the Soviet's internal economy, capitalistic signs are increasingly evident. Dev Murarka, the Indian Express Moscow correspondent writes, "The rush for goods, from shoes to jumpers, from cognac to gin and vodka, in fact for everything which can be used or consumed, has been fantastic. The only snag is that goods are not always in constant supply, and the more delectable items, generally foreign-produced, have either sold out rapidly or the queues for them stretch so long that they demand Job's patience."

Not worth the candle

The Soviet Government has plainly found the regulating in detail of the everyday transactions among millions of men uneconomic and not worth the dialectic candle.

Does this development mean that Moscow is giving up its plan of world Communism? It seems that it is in order precisely to lay such fears, or hopes, to rest that the Fiftieth Anniversary is being staged with such elan.

Another Indian Express article quotes two Soviet philosophers who say, "Constructing Communism only for ourselves is just half the cause. The other half carries international meaning; it is that our revolution and anniversary

may help other people's in Capitalist countries."

The people of Russia and the other States joined together in the Soviet Union have stirred and challenged the rest of the world. Their stamina in war, skill in science, taming of outer space, and speed in sports are conspicuous features of our age. How much of this should be credited to Communism is debatable. Is it a story of not "because of" but "in spite of?" There can be no doubt that men

There can be no doubt that mon like Lenin and Stalin fired by a great passion and clearly supported by a large number of similarly resolute men did something to the hearts of the people which, in economic and military terms, brought strength to the Government. Yet it is entirely legitimate to think that a team of men committed to a greater ideology would have achieved even more, in every way, without Communism's awesome human cost.

Majestic partnership

The poor nations of this planet, whom the centuries seem to leave unchanged, need Russia's aid, as they need America's and Europe's. They are getting it, too, in a certain measure and manner. But the world is nowhere near the majestic partnership that can and must take place between Russia and the Western world devoted to the economic, moral and spiritual transformation of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Nations like ours could assist Russia in her march to this kind of destiny. They will not do so by behaviour that can be interpreted as that of vassals.

A Russian woman now living in Switzerland said to me last March, "Make no mistake, the strongest conviction in the hearts of Russian people is the religious conviction. A hundred years of Communism will not crush it."

If this is true, then we need to be careful that we do not alienate the Russian people with words and deeds which are aimed at pleasing the Kremlin and which do not, in any case, materially improve our position.

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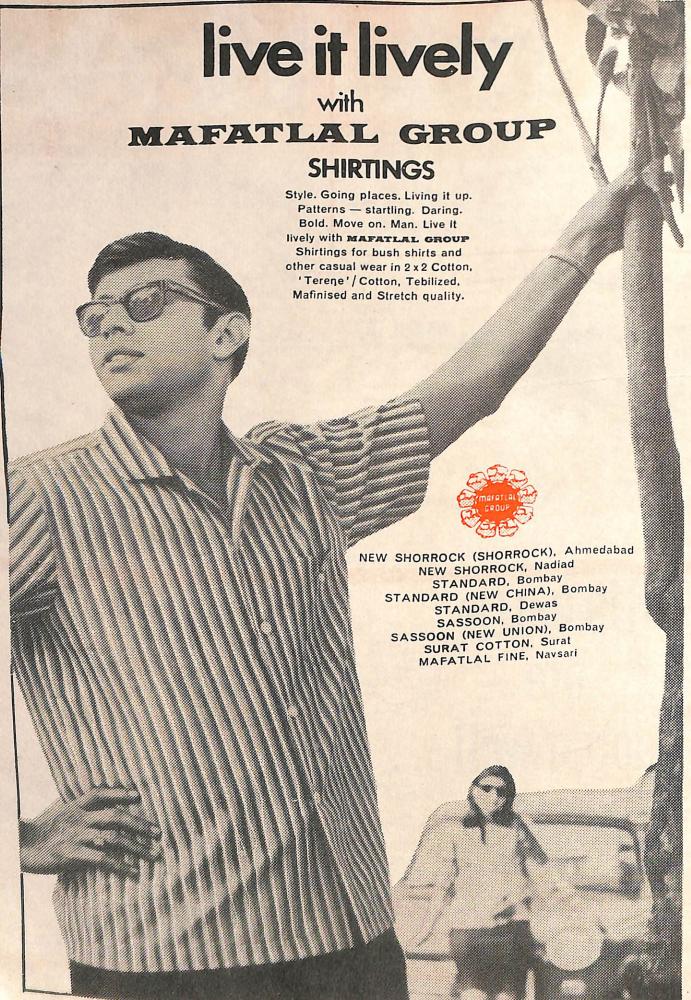
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FRIDAY NOVEMBER 17 1967

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