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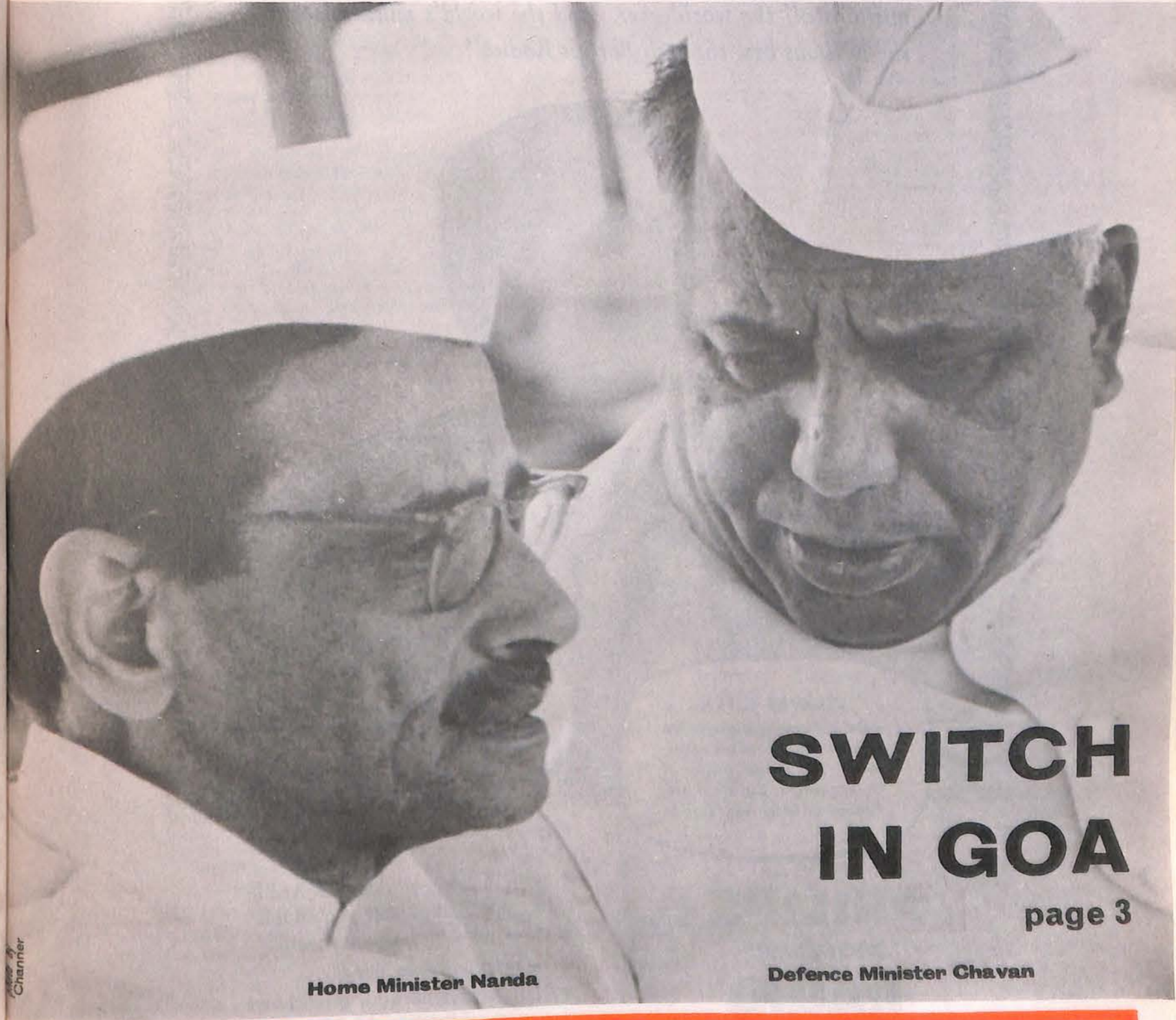
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# HIMMAT

25P

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



## SWITCH IN GOA

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Home Minister Nanda

Defence Minister Chavan

Friday  
July 23  
1965

# PRODUCE OR STARVE

page 5

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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, July 23, 1965

Vol. I No. 38

## Switch in Goa

"SOME PEOPLE'S GENIUS," a wit once noted, "lies not in taking, but in giving infinite pains."

We Indians seem to specialize in this art. Instead of gearing all our energies to meet the most serious economic crisis since independence, we are still excitedly drawing our internal boundaries between the States.

After the Prime Minister's statement earlier this month that the decision on Goa's future may have to wait for some time, his keenness a few days later to hold an election on Goa's future marks a sharp switch in policy. Now that the gates have been opened, it is the task of all who care for India to ensure that the Goa issue will not be used to divide our nation. Goa's future is an issue for the Goans to decide. The less others interfere the wiser they will be.

There are signs of hope that this approach may be taken. One report states that Defence Minister Chavan and Maharashtra's Chief Minister Mr. V. P. Naik—both strong protagonists of Goa's merger with Maharashtra—will not campaign during the elections in Goa. It is hoped Mysore leaders will follow suit. Statements by Mysorean and Maharashtrian leaders even issued from their respective States will do more harm than good.

It is important that not only Congress leaders, but leaders of other parties follow the policy of non-interference in Goa. The solicitude that the leaders of Maharashtra and Mysore show for the Goans can, with benefit, be shown to their own people.

For example, last week when the constant rains hit Maharashtra, hundreds of thousands in the shacks and slums of Bombay and its suburbs were submerged in knee-deep or waist-deep water. Last Thursday thousands of them must have stood up all night in water or sat up protecting their children and families from just a heavy monsoon. If only all the hot air in this country could be converted into houses and food for our people!

In his inimitable way, Mr. S. K. Patil said, "Goa is not going to Mars or the moon, nor is it going to Portugal or Pakistan."

What Goans need to feel is that they are wanted as a people by India whatever they choose to decide, and are not looked upon as a prize to be won by Maharashtra or Mysore.

Mahatma Gandhi was a shrewd judge of our national character. "Our besetting sin," he said, "is not our differences, but our littleness. We wrangle over words. We fight often for shadow and lose the substance. It is not our differences that really matter. It is the meanness behind that is ugly."

It is for statesmen of the calibre of Mr. Chavan now to ensure that while Goans are left free to decide their future, the rest of the nation concentrates on development, defence and food production.

## Scales Fall

THERE WAS NOTHING NEW last week in President Bourguiba's denunciation of Chinese ambitions as "a new imperialism". What is new is the lengthening list of nationalist leaders who have begun to unbandage their eyes and face facts.

A week earlier, Malawi's Prime Minister Hastings Banda said that China was spending millions to corrupt African leaders. "It was money that could be better spent on feeding our people," he said. In question was an alleged bribe of \$ 50,400,000 from China which led to his dismissal of several Ministers.

Tunisia's Bourguiba, in a West German television interview, saw China "even trying to seize India and the whole of South-East Asia". The danger in the Afro-Asian region, he believed, was "a colonialism, camouflaged under ideology, like that of China who wanted mastery over Asia and Africa".

Nations, long blinded by old hates and hurts, are understanding China's modern bid for dominance. But diagnosis, while essential, is no remedy. As every patient knows, diagnosis without cure can be a door to despair.

Exposure of China's aims is not enough. Needed is a democratic ideology which matches China's and bids higher for the allegiance of all emerging and developing nations.

## Shanti! Shanti!

ONE OF THE MOST extraordinary episodes of political belligerence, the World Peace Congress, has ended in Helsinki. Five days of charge and countercharge led many delegates to wonder whether the organizers would dare attempt another meeting for a long time.

Nigeria's delegate warned that Russia's and China's "constant bickering" might cause the withdrawal of Africa's most populous nation. Nigeria, he said, had joined the Peace Council thinking that it was not, and would not become, a political movement. It found that more energy was spent fighting colleagues than against "the enemies of mankind".

The Peace Council has ignored the violation of human rights in Tibet. It has consistently refused to brand China the "aggressor" in the conflict with India.

In spite of this a charter plane-load of 100 delegates went from India. *The Hindustan Times* alleged that "P" forms for the delegation were reluctantly issued by the Reserve Bank only after "frantic requests from the Soviet authorities in India" were made to the Cabinet.

Another example of our "non-alignment": The Indian delegation walked out of one session in support of the Soviet Union on an issue totally unrelated to India's interests.

Reason: Tiny Albania (population: 1,625,000) had charged that the Soviet's main interest was "friendship with America". Tut! Tut!

## Briefly Speaking ...

Be nice to people on your way up because you will meet them on your way down.  
WILSON MIZNER 1876-1933

### Swim or Sink

WHEN CHINA goes in for a campaign, it goes for it in a big way. Some years ago, there was a concerted campaign against all sparrows. By the time all the sparrows were killed, they realized that the poor bird was performing a useful function eating worms.

China's latest campaign is for swimming. Her Defence Minister has directed that soldiers and men of military age should be able to swim "to enable our forces to be free of the obstacles of rivers and water-logged regions." The campaign is obviously aimed at fitting the Chinese Army for intervention in Vietnam with its many rivers. The campaign which is virtually compulsory for able-bodied young men urges "serious swimming" in lakes and rivers—and not relaxation beside swimming pools.

### Light! Light!

WHILE BOMBAY staggers its load on electricity, the historic port of Messina, Sicily, has been plunged into darkness. The State Electricity Board cut off the current because Messina could not pay its bills. Creditors impounded official City Council cars, contractors declined to submit tenders for public works and the supply of stationery at the City Hall ran out.

This Mediterranean city, established in the 8th century B.C., was protected by Roman legions from an attack by Syracuse in 264 B.C. Defence of Messina brought about one of the bloodiest wars of ancient times, the Punic Wars.

Messina now is appealing to Rome to relieve its shortage. What will it cost Rome to help her out this time?

### A Lady's Day

A REPORT claims that the energy a secretary uses for typing for eight hours is equivalent to shovelling one and a half tons of coal.

Commenting on this U.S. report, the *Australian Women's Weekly* says, "All things considered, we'd rather continue to spend our energy on the keys."

### Heat Recipes

DELHI, experiencing a heat wave, held a symposium in its public library the other day. "Ice cream does not worsen sore throats," advised the Vice President for the Delhi Association of Health Education, Mr. G. L. Sarma. "Nor does iced water, provided the ice is not contaminated."

Another speaker said there is no harm in missing a meal in hot weather and that eight bottles of a cold drink provide as many calories as six medium-sized chappatis. Maybe what we need is more indigenous bottling plants and less wheat imports!

### Vegetarian Eggs

THE ANDHRA GOVERNMENT needs to be congratulated on its scheme to give Rs. 2,000 each to veterinary graduates prepared to take up poultry farming and animal husbandry.

This "crash programme" to raise chickens and develop livestock will cost Rs. 140 lakhs in the next two years.

An enterprising friend of mine who knew as much about veterinary science as an astronaut, started scientific poultry farming on a little strip of his garden in Delhi. He has sold all his vegetarian neighbours on the idea of consuming unfertilized eggs. He not only helps India's food problems, but claims he gets a good part of his own breakfast free.

### "Nation of Grumblers"

TALKING ABOUT Britain a lady reader writes an angry letter to the *London Times* headed "Nation of Grumblers".

Sir—It may be the birthright of every Englishman to criticize his country, but he might occasionally stop to think of the possible far-reaching effects of his uninhibited grumbling.

"From a survey I have made of foreign criticisms of Britain through the ages, it is obvious that there are very few abusive remarks that were not in fact invented by the British themselves. Napoleon denied in 1817 that he ever called us a nation of shopkeepers, but Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, certainly did 50 years before...."

As a "foreigner", may I assure the good lady that foreigners appreciate the ability of the British people to laugh at themselves and sometimes even wish that their own countrymen had the same sense of humour.

### Neglected Neighbour

INDIA is becoming alert to her neighbours. One neighbour, however, still neglected by us is Afghanistan. A report in *The Hindustan Times* from its Kabul correspondent states: "Administratively, Afghanistan has been considered unimportant by India. The Indian Embassy in Kabul has not a single Foreign Service officer on its staff." The report continues: "Our publicity is woefully weak. For instance, the Indian Embassy's library has six-month-old magazines lying around and only recently even daily papers were not available."

### Creditable

A READER from Calcutta, Mr. Ranadhir Guha, sends a news item that a 61-year-old lady, Srimati Viva Guha of Ballygunge Terrace, Calcutta, has passed the Pre-University Examination this year. She has 12 children and 15 grandchildren.

R. M. L.

## PRODUCE OR STARVE

By Miles Paine

**The race to Mars and the moon may be more spectacular. But the most decisive race in progress is between population growth and food production.**

What are the facts? What are the odds? What can be done?

Everyone knows that the world's population is increasing rapidly and, bar some major and fatal world epidemic, disaster or holocaust, this rise will continue for the next 50 years at least. The following table gives the United Nations' predictions.

Area	Year	Population in millions			
		1950	1960	1970	2000
Asia (excluding Japan)		1,296	1,524	1,870	3,717
Africa		199	237	294	517
North & South America		331	413	490	904
Europe (excluding U.S.S.R.)		393	424	457	568
U.S.S.R.		181	215	254	379
Australia, New Zealand, Pacific Islands		13	16	19	29
Japan		84	96	110	153
World Total		2,500	2,920	3,500	6,280

The main reason for this phenomenal rate of increase is associated with the introduction of modern public health techniques in countries where there has been little application of modern medicine or hygiene hitherto. The expectation of life at birth is rapidly being extended.

In India, for example, a baby born in 1961 would have an expectation of life of 45 years against an expectation of 32 ten years ago. In the same ten years, the death rate has fallen from 27.4 per 1,000 to 18 per 1,000. In Ceylon, the figures are even more spectacular. In one year alone—1948—the death rate per 1,000 fell from 20 to 14, an improvement which took 50 years in Denmark.

Many people mistakenly think that the birth rate is rapidly rising in those countries where a population explosion is taking place. This is far from true. Take India as an example again. The following figures show quite the opposite:

Year	Birth rate	Death rate
		per 1000
1911	51.3	43.1
1961	40.0	18.0

In the last 50 years, the birth rate has actually fallen by 11.3 per thousand—but the death rate has fallen

much further, by 25.1 per thousand. It is likely to drop still more as infant mortality which claims 2 children out of every 10 born in India falls towards the level of 2 in every 100 pertaining in Britain and America.

World population is going to grow. The question is—How fast? Predictions vary. Forecasts for India, with a population of 465 million today, vary between 589 million and 775 million for 1986. If the last figure proves correct, 42 per cent will be children under 15 years of age in 1986.

The remaining 58 per cent will therefore have to provide both for the material needs of this large group, for their education. Little would be left over for investment, and even maintenance of existing living standards would be difficult. But if the lower figure proves correct there is a reasonable chance of living standards gradually rising.

Industrial development is important, but even more so is the ability of each country to feed its own population, or have the means to purchase what it cannot produce itself.

A recent United Nations' publication declared, "Experts are convinced that technical knowledge exists to meet the world's present food shortages and to take care of the needs that will result from population growth for some time to come."

What are these technical factors? They can be divided into seven groups:—

- Bring more land under cultivation (by irrigation, clearing scrub and forests, etc.).
- Build up soil fertility, through natural or artificial fertilizer.
- Combat pests and diseases.
- Use improved crop varieties.

- Mechanize cultivation and harvesting methods.
- Improve livestock strains.
- Develop other sources of food, including food from the sea.

The correct application of one or more of these methods can bring spectacular results. In America, since 1945, wheat recovery has doubled from about 300 kg. per acre to 680 kg. Potatoes have more than trebled from 2,000 kg. per acre to 8,000 kg.

In Taiwan there has been a 60 per cent increase in rice production since the war. In Japan the yield of husked rice has increased from 760 kg. per acre to 1,500 kg. per acre since the turn of the century. In Nigeria, cotton seed has increased its yield from 80 kg. per acre to 1,000 kg. per acre.

But, as a recent report by the American Department of Agriculture points out, there is more involved in solving the food problem than technical ability to raise production. The will and the means must also be present. In addition to technology the following five factors are needed.

- Demand for agricultural products.
- Capital to invest in yield-raising materials (e.g. fertilizers, implements, etc.).
- Availability of supporting industrial materials and services, such as pesticides, transport, fertilizers.
- Relatively high level of literacy, or other means of communication.
- Incentive to produce more.

In a democratic planned economy, the Government must produce the necessary climate and conditions to encourage the farmer to make the most use of all available technology.

Continued on next page

### NEXT WEEK

Authoritative article on

### MILK FOR ASIA

by

S. F. Barnes

of the

Australian Milk Board

### EAGLE PRESENTS

This weekly feature comes to you through the courtesy of the Eagle Vacuum Bottle Mfg. Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., manufacturers of the Eagle range of vacuum flasks, jugs and insulated ware.



SKIPPER

### CHALTA HAI....



"He got tired of waiting for the Small Car Project. He built his own."

In Britain, which largely depends on imported food, a "land army" was formed during the war to produce every possible pound of food.

In India an important experiment is in progress to overcome the difficulty of communications with a people largely illiterate. All-India Radio has been sending out a number of programmes designed especially for farmers, in their own dialect.

Then again, co-operative loans have aided Indian peasants to purchase fertilizers, pesticides and capital equipment in many areas, though misuse of them has to be guarded against. For services and supporting materials, the farmer has to look to the industrial community to provide his requirements. Chemical fertilizers have transformed agricultural output in many lands, and their potential in the less developed countries has yet to be fully tapped.

The food shortages of 1961 in China brought home the imperative need to raise food production. By the beginning of 1963 China decided to concentrate on developing the chemical industry, and to emphasize the use of fertilizers in preference to farm

mechanization. Machines bring results more slowly.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review*, published in Hong Kong, reports China's current estimated minimum annual fertilizer needs at "around 20 million tons". This may seem high in comparison with a world production of about 40 millions, but the same source says current production in China now reaches 3½ million tons and that there is evidence of large-scale foreign buying.

### Fertilizers Vital

China has been quick off the mark in Kuwait, where the Kuwait Chemical Fertilizer Company will be starting production of fertilizers in 1966 at a price reported to be extremely cheap due to the use of hitherto wasted natural gas. The April issue of *China Trade Newsletter* states that China might buy the total production.

A further development in China is the use now being made of many smaller plants with an output of a few thousand tons (as opposed to the normal 50,000 to 100,000 ton plants). These eliminate transport and storage problems, require less investment and are easy to build and operate.

In Pakistan production is 1.3 million tons, but in India only 390,000 tons will be produced this year, although the declared intention is to raise output to 2 million tons by 1970.

The FAO claim that if even on existing rice-cultivating land 1 kg. of nitrogen fertilizer were added per 16,000 sq. metres, it would raise rice yield in India by 10 million tons a year.

Has sufficient emphasis been given to increasing food production in India? Half the wheat consumed in the country is supplied by America under PL 480 loans. The population is increasing by 10 million annually. Last year, with a good harvest, 86 million tons of food were produced. In 1970 the requirement will be 120 million tons. It was not until the Chinese invaded that the country realized its military unpreparedness. Is the country now aware of the proximity of famine?

The race against famine can be won—provided Government and people give it the right priority. America and Russia use science to conquer the heavens. India could earn the distinction of using it to conquer hunger.

## Everything has been tried in Vietnam except....

From an address at the Demonstration for Modernizing America, Mackinac Island, Michigan, U.S.A.

**The South Vietnamese Government has asked for a Berlin type of airlift to aid the cities of South Vietnam, because they cannot break through the Viet Cong troops. It is a serious situation for the United States, but even more it is a serious situation for South and South East Asia. Everything has been tried, and the world needs a new factor.**

The British Commonwealth of Nations, who met together recently in London, seemed to have started off on a new road by assumption of a fresh type of responsibility for the world. But it collapsed as each power pressed its own particular racial or ideological point of view. The Commonwealth had nothing new to offer to the peoples of Asia and Africa as they had hoped it might.

The Algerian Conference of Afro-Asian nations, prepared carefully over many years as a major manifestation of a united Afro-Asian will, did not even get off to a start. This, of course, saved the world the spectacle of a major boiling bout between Russia and China and the respective powers aligned to them in Asia and Africa. But, once again, the failure of the Afro-Asian Conference showed the essential instability of many of the African and Asian nations, the semi-democratic and autocratic and dictatorial regimes of these continents.

### Massive Intervention

Twice in the past months, the United States has intervened massively with her armed strength to prevent a possible Communist takeover—in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic. U.S. arms and troops are committed to an even greater extent in Vietnam and by the inexorable logic of events, the commitment will grow more.

Let there be no doubt, however much we may regret the horrors of the continued war, the American action safeguards the nations of South and South East Asia, for the time being, from Chinese Communist advance. But let there be no doubt, as well, that long-term effectiveness in achieving the aims of this country or the desires of the peoples of Asia will

depend on whether the non-Communist nations and the United States find common ideological goals that go beyond national interests.

There is a powerful and vocal, if only a minority, opinion in the U.S. that argues and demonstrates against the Government's present policy. These so-called liberals are supported and reinforced by many powerful forces, including governments, in Asia. They want a withdrawal of the U.S. presence from that part of the world. They console themselves with the possibility that Ho Chi Minh will emerge as an anti-Chinese Tito. They present what they call "National Communism" as a desirable end of policy.

### Dictatorship Inevitable?

I have no doubt that those who say this today about Vietnam will say it tomorrow about Thailand, Burma, India, Pakistan and Ceylon. This attitude considers some form of dictatorship as inevitable for the masses of Asia.

**As an Asian, I refuse to accept that the choice for us is only between two kinds of Communism. Even in Vietnam, if the United States will acknowledge the mistakes of her past Vietnamese policy, she will begin to repair the damage. If she backs this up by giving Moral Re-Armament to the fighting soldiers of both the U.S. and South Vietnam, it may turn an otherwise hopeless situation.**

Mr. Walter Lippman, who has consistently argued for American withdrawal, has recently pleaded: "The truth is that the test of a right policy is not what the people feel today, but how the policy works. The facts are the real arbiters of the debate. What is actually happening is decisive and not how many share one opinion at any particular moment."

What are the facts of the situation?

1. President Ho Chi Minh accepted partition in Geneva at the 17th parallel purely as a temporary respite to consolidate North Vietnam and regroup forces in the South.

2. The Delta area of Cochin-China had always been the stronghold of the Communist part of Vietnam and President Ho Chi Minh anticipated victory at the elections scheduled to be held in Vietnam in 1956.

Under  
the  
Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

3. When it became clear that there was going to be no peaceful takeover through the election, North Vietnam regrouped, organized and supported guerrilla activity in the South in a bid to take over violently.

4. The strength of the North has been a basic cadre of dedicated people in the South, who have a base in the villages. This base is maintained partly by terror but also partly by the support the Communists have won among certain classes of the rural population.

5. The Diem Government initially had a certain mass base in the villages, though it became difficult to maintain it under conditions of Viet Cong terror. At a certain stage, the late President realized he would have to reinforce military measures with a "saturation campaign" for Moral Re-Armament to inspire the masses to an ideological loyalty similar to that of the Communists. But the American Government discouraged him even as they had condemned him for his weaknesses. Personal incompatibilities and irritations were allowed to encourage the exit of Diem. The mistake, which the so-called liberals helped to foster, is now being paid for in blood.

### Army Cliques

6. Subsequent governments relying for their power almost exclusively on cliques of army officers, have neither the will nor the ability to secure popular support.

7. Partly as a result of her own mistakes, the United States has virtually to fight the war in Vietnam as an occupying power. This is a logical consequence of the U.S. desire to make the combat decisions which Diem, as a self-respecting nationalist ruler, insisted on making himself.

8. President Johnson has decided to make up for the weakness of the American political and ideological position by overwhelming military

Continued on next page

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strength. But the local population is terrorized or unsympathetic and the South Vietnamese are demoralized by the senseless power struggle of its officers. In this situation, pitched against an elusive, evasive, all-pervading enemy who fights on his conditions at his timing, military strength is limited in what it can and cannot do.

9. The strength of the Communist position is that they have the ability still to win men to their ideology and the leadership to carry out their strategy.

10. The weakness of the American position is the inability even to keep the friends it has.

The last is the crux of the matter. The attitude of calling the tune as well as paying the piper is bound to lead to conflict with every sensitive nationalist, just as it did with Diem. Realizing this, the tendency at present seems to be to base policy on strength, and not on winning support or friends. It is true that the stick is softened by promises of aid.

But it seems the United States has given up any hope of finding under-

standing for her policies and is therefore determined to pursue them undeterred. To a certain extent, this new firmness is preferable to the old kowtowing to every Asian or African who called himself a nationalist. But the increasing tendency to rely on force and pressure will be self-defeating. The failure to win other nations ideologically may result in a more dangerously neo-isolationism.

#### No Short Cuts

In India, I have met in the past weeks great resentment at what is called the pushing and the pressuring. It is not easy to make friends with the sensitive but demanding nationalists of newly independent countries. Often their fixed prejudices and preconceived notions must be exasperating to the representatives of America. But there is no short cut to dealing with people: changing them, winning them, establishing a basis for a common ideology with them.

It is strange but true that the Communists, who are pure materialists, attach far more importance to the

power of ideas to capture men, the grandeur of aim to inspire people to great deeds, and the example of dedicated living to evoke a degree of heroism and self-sacrifice. We must furnish idea, aim and example to democracy. The lack of enthusiasm for, and scepticism about ideology among the intellectuals and policy makers of the non-Communist world comes from a reluctance to match the moral heritage of democracy with great living. America shares in common with many nations, certainly India, a determination to rationalize the gods of affluence, sex and selfishness. Thank God that the modern generation is rejecting these values.

We must make America understand that the injection of dollars into a tottering economy is not a substitute for the leadership that will also evoke the sacrifice and sweat of the nations concerned. Armed strength, necessary as it is, is not a substitute for ideological weakness. Power and pressure are not a substitute for persuasion. There is in fact no alternative to Moral Re-Armament.

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### The Real Crisis in the Common Market

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Berne

Even the elements co-operated in underlining the seriousness of the Common Market crisis last week. Three minutes before midnight, all lights went out in the Palais des Congres in Brussels where the Ministers of the Common Market nations were trying in vain to find a solution to the deadlock.

Two hours later, the French Foreign Minister, Maurice Couve de Murville, got up from the table with the words: "Solemn engagements have been broken. It's absurd to continue."

This latest crisis of the Common Market, not wholly unexpected by the experts, found the European public completely unprepared. Nobody could understand why a small issue like subsidies on farm exports should threaten the advance towards European integration.

The fact was that the issue was much deeper than farm subsidies. The crisis had been more or less deliberately provoked by some of President de Gaulle's adversaries who had hoped this time to force his hand and make him accept some form of supranationalism. They did force his hand—and he walked out.

The question of subsidies on farm exports had been almost settled some days before the crucial date. In 1962, France had agreed to support the advancing of the date of complete tariff union to the beginning of 1967 on the condition that the financial backing of agricultural exports was granted according to her wishes. As France is the main agricultural producer and exporter of the Common Market, her national interests in this particular field were respected by her partners.

#### Germany Switches

Two days before the negotiations broke up last week, Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany were all taking France's side. Only Holland and Italy resisted. But then, after a parliamentary session of the Bundestag in Bonn which took an anti-Gaullist stand, the German delegation in Brussels suddenly switched sides. The other delegations refused to budge and the deadlock occurred.

The real reason why the French Foreign Minister could and would

not give in was that the Common Market Executive had put two conditions on the extension of the farm price agreements: great powers for the European Parliament and tighter central control over member nations' farm tax revenues. Professor Hallstein, head of the Common Market executive, obviously the author of these proposals, knew very well they would rouse a fierce opposition in Paris.

#### Supranational Control

Hallstein and his colleagues obviously miscalculated. They thought that de Gaulle could not afford, politically, to get up against his own farmers and industries—who profit greatly from the advances of the Common Market—especially a few months before the Presidential elections.

Hallstein might not have expected de Gaulle's only serious opponent in the November elections to withdraw and leave the field completely free to the stubborn general. Hallstein probably did not count either on the weakness of the other partners of the Common Market: Germany will have national elections in September and Belgium is in her third month without a government.

The basic question remains whether de Gaulle will accept sooner or later some form of supranational control. If things go as planned before the crisis, there will be no veto power any more in the ministerial council of the Common Market after the beginning of 1966. France will have to submit to majority rule.

If de Gaulle had wanted to get some assurances before that deadline, his enemies have given him an excellent opportunity to take a stand. He may also be keen to get a man more to his taste into the position of the head of the Executive when the term

Continued on next page

## The week in Asia

**SAIGON** — American Secretary of Defence McNamara is on tour in Vietnam, considering a proposal to seal the entire South Vietnamese land, sea and air borders with Cambodia, Laos and North Vietnam and evacuate the border population to southern areas.

**GANGTOK** — Lhasa Radio from Tibet broadcast that "Tibet militiamen have played a big part in putting down an armed rebellion and protecting the South-west border".

**COLOMBO** — The C.I.D. uncovered an international Communist spy ring operating from Ceylon through a network in South East Asia.

**RANGOON** — General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council, will visit Peking for a week.

**HANOI** — The Soviet Union signed an agreement providing economic and military aid to North Vietnam.

**ISLAMABAD** — President Ayub Khan told America not to expect Pakistan to oppose China or the Soviet Union "without rhyme or reason".

**SAIGON** — The Government ordered a general mobilization of all able-bodied men from 18 to 48 and women between 20 and 25 to act as a civil defence group in rural areas.

**HANOI** — A "shock brigade" of volunteers was officially commissioned to the front in an open admission of continued infiltration from the north by the Hanoi Government.

**PEKING** — China is building a powerful fleet of submarines. Some 30 now patrol off the China coast including missile-launching craft.

**COLOMBO** — Regional commanders of the Ceylonese army are no longer permitted to deploy troops or move them from barracks without written instructions from the army Commander. This order combined with a number of transfers at the highest level of the army are considered to be moves aimed at combatting subversion in the ranks.

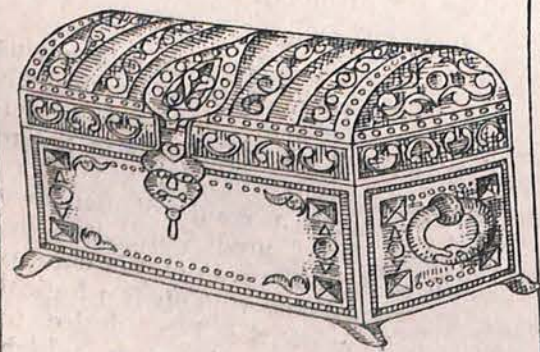
**KARACHI** — President Johnson informed President Ayub that the United States cannot commit itself to economic aid to Pakistan for the current fiscal year. A meeting of the aid-to-Pakistan consortium has been postponed for two months.

**SAIGON** — The South Vietnamese Government officially requested American Defence Secretary McNamara to increase the number of troops committed to fight the Viet Cong. 75,000 American troops are now in the country. The South Vietnamese army will be increased to 100,000.

**COLOMBO** — Ceylon will receive rolling stock from China valued at Rs. 6,271,841 under a credit agreement worth Rs. 20 million signed last October.

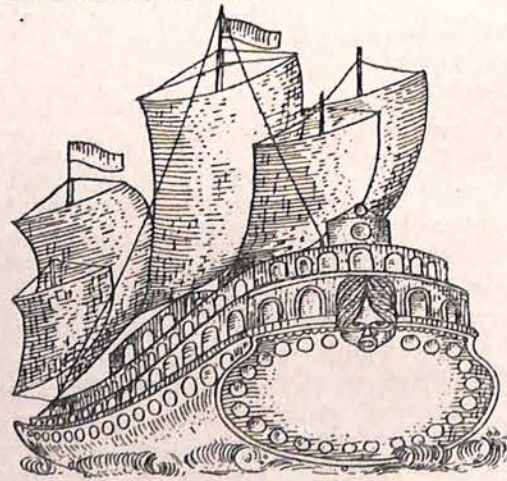
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of that body expires at the end of the year.

Seen from the outside of the Common Market, the present crisis could give some chance to those men who try desperately to bring about some agreement between both economic camps in Europe. While the lights went out in Brussels, President de Gaulle received in Paris the Chancellor of Austria, Dr. Klaus, who although part of the EFTA group is trying to get into the Common Market.

Chancellor Klaus, as well as Prime Minister Wilson and others, look with serious apprehension towards the deadline of 1970 when the tariff walls inside both EFTA and the Common Market will be eliminated and a fierce economic war looks probable.

### Britain Beckoned to Common Market

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

If Britain one day joins the Common Market, she will probably have to thank the man who kept her out—de Gaulle.

By withdrawing his representatives from the E.E.C., he has applied brakes to the speeding economic integration of European countries before this got beyond the point where it was feasible for Britain's entry to be renegotiated.

He has done it on the issue of financing the Market's agricultural policy. For underlying this is the fundamental question, how far should European nations surrender their sovereignty to a central body?

It was proposed that all duty on industrial and agricultural imports should go into a European fund that would be administered from Brussels. About \$2,400 million dollars would be involved. Control of this fund in-

involved considerable supranational authority, even with power ultimately to over-rule national parliaments.

Pressure from other member nations, particularly Germany, is strong and de Gaulle may now want closer ties with the cautious British. Indeed, the French Minister of Information, in a speech understood to have been approved by the President, said last week, "France and Britain, the two great European nations, pushed by reason and sentiment, are gradually moving closer to each other and building a future of co-operation and friendship."

It is rumoured a bargain may be struck. Five E.E.C. members will modify their stand on supranationality in return for de Gaulle modifying his on British membership.

The three Parties in Britain have accepted the need for closer partnership in Europe. Thus de Gaulle may be fighting Britain's battle. Though it is a battle many British would prefer to remain unfought.

### Cutting UK Defences

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

Britain is seeking ways to reduce her military commitments in the Indian Ocean. Faced with shortages of manpower and money, and pressures from the Left to disarm, the Labour Government is reviewing strategy with a view to cutting Britain's £2,000 million defence bill.

Within ten years all British forces in the Middle East will be withdrawn. The power vacuum will be filled, it is hoped, by an alliance of Saudi Arabia and the oil-rich Persian Gulf Sheikdoms.

Further East, Britain wants her allies to take more share in defending

Malaysia. Mr. Wilson is believed to have raised this at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference with Mr. Menzies and Mr. Holyoake. Australians flying the American-built F-111 might relieve Britain of the need to buy these expensive strike aircraft, as a deterrent to Indonesia.

These defence reductions could weaken India's flank security unless political stability is established in the Arabian Peninsula, and more Commonwealth participation in the confrontation with Indonesia develops.

The Government's decision to continue building Polaris submarines (capable of launching nuclear missiles) was partly due to China's atomic explosion. With these vessels and her aircraft carriers in the Indian Ocean, Britain could, if desired, join America in giving India a protective guarantee.

### ILO — A Hardy Annual

FROM GORDON WISE

Geneva

The International Labour Organization has been meeting in Geneva. It is the only surviving organ of the old League of Nations, but is now being buffeted by strong-running tides of ideology.

Last year, after fierce debate by the placid lakeside, South Africa was expelled. This year, Portugal was peppered. African states waxed hot about her colonies, Angola and Mozambique. But Portugal yet remains.

The ILO meets annually and is chartered to deal with conditions of employment. But politics runs away with many as they mount the speaker's rostrum. This year's President, S. H. Raza, Government delegate from Pakistan, had to intervene constantly to stem the abuse. The Ukrai-

nian employers' delegate was climaxing his speech with an attack on U.S. policy in Vietnam. The President interjected. "My ruling is that speakers are not to refer to theatres of war."

Said the Ukrainian smoothly, "Sir, you have asked us to speak for peace. It is precisely for that reason that I have spoken against war."

But committees do work hard and, during the day at least, resist the other attractions of this city.

Delegates of both sexes, clad in all the costumes under the sun, painstakingly pore over their agendas. The Committee on Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities spent two days discussing it.

The chairman was an Austrian lady, powerful enough to subdue the toughest employer or labour leader who dared to query women's rights.

### SUDAN: Astride Africa and Arabia

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Khartoum

The Sudan's new Prime Minister, Sayed Mohammed Ahmed Mahjoub, has pledged to stand firm by the Charters of the Organization of African Unity and of the United Nations. He has said that his Government will not interfere in the internal affairs of independent African states.

This apparently routine statement marks the end of active government support for rebel movements in neighbouring countries, which in the seven months following the overthrow of Sudan's military regime last October well-nigh shattered African unity in this part of the continent.

Algerian Ilyushins were landing arms in Khartoum for transfer to Congolese rebels. Syrian planes flew in arms for Eritrean rebels in Northern Ethiopia. Most recently, the Chad Government, on Sudan's western border, accused Khartoum of harbouring subversive elements. (Ethiopia is also alleged to be passing Israeli arms to the Southern Sudanese.)

This has set a disastrous precedent for would-be secessionists from Sudan itself, Africa's largest country. Many

And after all, we were reminded, one-third of the world's work force today are women.

Indian workers' delegate Abid Ali, an habitue of the Palais des Nations, is conscientious. He could be seen pounding away on a borrowed secretariat typewriter, in between committees. From the platform, Abid Ali appealed to the Pakistani Conference President, "I pray that complete peace will be restored on the borders of both of our countries." The President solemnly replied, "I join you in your prayer."

From 104 nations, 1,130 representatives spent three verbose weeks in committees on co-operatives, agrarian reform, conditions of young miners.

Most work hard. These sessions do bring to bear on member governments a moral and political pressure to set basic standards which benefit many millions of workers.



Premier Mahjoub

arms intended for Northern Congolese (anti-Tshombe) rebels are now in the hands of Southern Sudanese (anti-Mahjoub) rebels.

When the British closed the negro Southern districts to all but a few selected Arab Northerners for 49 out of the 58 years of their administration, they were thinking of bitter Southern attitudes towards the North's former slave-hunting role.

The British administrators did not think of the strength which could come through a multiracial society, as seems to be happening now in Kenya. It must also be said that since independence in 1956 the Northerners have lacked the imagination to reclaim their separated brothers. The Southerners, for their part, have clouded the justice of their claims by crude violence and personal jealousies among themselves.

The result: Northern security forces engaged in a war without mercy on either side against the Anya Nya guerrilla organization, a massive

Continued on next page

### The week in India

**BANGALORE**—Pressure is mounting in Congress circles to revoke the restriction against a Congress president serving two terms in office, so that Mr. Kamaraj may be re-elected.

**BANGALORE**—Union Health Minister Dr. Nayyar accused the Planning Commission of neglecting the country's health requirements in providing only Rs. 1,090 crores, less than half that asked for by the Health Ministry, for the Fourth Plan.

**NEW DELHI**—The Union Government provisionally set aside Rs. 20 million last year for aid to Afro-Asian nations, but foreign exchange difficulties may cut the figure to below Rs. 7,500,000. To date only Rs. 200,000 have been spent. Teams are visiting India from Ghana, Nigeria, Ethiopia and Somalia, recruiting teachers and engineers. India has offered Afghanistan ten teachers.

**JABALPUR**—The Jan Sangh Party called for the creation of a ten-mile belt along the Assam-East Pakistan border to be "cleared of all doubtful elements" and settled by Hindu refugees and retired soldiers.

**NEW DELHI**—The World Bank is considering giving India a maximum loan of Rs. 4,000 million to tide over the foreign exchange crisis if certain proposals are implemented. These are that imports of raw materials, and spares needed to utilize fully machinery already installed, be liberalized; that new industrial licences be suspended for a year to consolidate existing units; that custom duties on capital goods and machinery be stepped up.

**MADRAS** — C. Rajagopalachari, Founder-President of the Swatantra Party, called on the Prime Minister to enter "a solemn pact of mutual assistance" with Japan.

**NEW DELHI**—Prime Minister Shastri endorsed the Goa Chief Minister's suggestion that the future of the Union Territory be decided by election in the near future.

**BANGALORE**—A joint meeting of the Mysore Congress and the Legislature Congress Party supported the Mysore Cabinet's threat to resign if New Delhi did not consider Mysore's claim to Goa. Mysore wants a ten-year ban on changing Goa's status.

**NEW DELHI**—Prime Minister Shastri will visit Yugoslavia at the end of July for talks with President Tito that are likely to centre on Vietnam.

**BANGALORE**—The Chairman of the Food Corporation of India suggested that foreign aid be obtained for fighting rats. "We don't seem to take anything seriously unless there is foreign assistance," he stated.

**NEW DELHI**—Administration of the North East Frontier Agency will be transferred from the Ministry of External Affairs to the Home Ministry.

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refugee problem in neighbouring countries, and a situation which can be exploited by greedy foreign powers.

This is not a pretty picture but it is one that has to be faced by the brave men of all races, who could admit their own share of the blame and from that point begin to rebuild the fortunes of this rugged but potential country.

From the time of the Mahdi the Sudanese have been famed for their courage. What other people in modern history have, unarmed, overthrown a military regime, as happened in Khartoum last October? Earlier this year a Northerner, Daud Abdel Latif, earned the respect of the whole country by going alone to the self-exiled Southern leaders in Kampala and persuading them to attend a round-table conference inside Sudan.

A man to watch in the new Government is Ahmed el Mahdi, grandson of the Sudan's national hero. As Minister of Interior, at 29, he carries much of the burden of security in the South. Under his elder brother the Imam, he is also commander of the Ansar (Mahdi followers) who number some four million.

His nephew Sadik, also aged 29 and of equal dynamism, controls the Umma Party, political projection of the Ansar and senior partner in the Government coalition with the National Unionist Party.

### Sahara and the Nile

Though Southerners boycotted the recent elections, holding out for complete self-determination, they have been given three seats in the Cabinet. One of their Ministers, the veteran Buth Dui, has declared that the unity of the Sudan is part and parcel of the unity of Africa.

Yet these men and their associates, like Ismail El Azhari (President of the National Unionist Party and President of the Supreme Council), start from a disadvantage. They are traditionalists. The prestige they won from heroic causes championed in the forties and fifties is not enough to capture the restless intelligentsia of the middle sixties.

In the elections 11 Communists and fellow-travellers (one of them the Sudan's first woman M.P.) were vot-

ed into 15 Graduate seats. On the militant right wing the Muslim Brothers call for uncompromising Islamic measures. Meanwhile regional groups of the arid East and West demand from the central "people of the river" a larger share of the cotton revenues.

For traditionalists the challenge seems to be: Can the devotion to tribe, sect and party be expanded into a balanced care for the needs of every community in the land?

Among the independent countries of black Africa, the Sudan has an unequalled reserve of trained men. One of them is the first Chairman of the African Bank. Many respect her tolerance and common sense.

With one foot in Africa and one in Arabia she has what can be either a liability or an opportunity. "The Sahara divides Africa," noted Professor Arnold Toynbee, "but the Nile unites it."

### "Uneasy Lies The Head"

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

The line from "Hamlet"—"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown"—provided a remarkably apt title for the recently published autobiography of Jordan's King Husain. The sudden disappearance of Ahmed Ben Bella on June 19 is one more reminder of the thin margin of power by which much of the Arab world is governed.

Meanwhile another ruler was deposed in the Arabian Gulf where the ruling family of the Emirate of Sharjah replaced Sheikh Saqr by his cousin, Sheikh Khalid al-Qassimi. Sharjah is one of the 7 Trucial States, so called because in 1853 they agreed on a truce to stop the piracy then rampant. The accord was policed by the British, and in 1892 Britain negotiated an "exclusive" treaty with these States.

The British Political Agent in Sharjah stated that Her Majesty's Government were ready to deal with the new Sheikh. Baghdad Radio, however, voiced Arab nationalist opinion when it claimed that the replacement had been arranged by "imperialism" because of Sheikh Saqr's "enthusiasm for the Arab cause" and because he had been the

first Emir to welcome the Arab League aid programme.

It is easy to forget that most of the Arab states never achieved full independence until after World War II. Since then the Arab League has grown to 13 member nations. In this period these lands have seen 14 Heads of State assassinated, stripped of power or killed, and 6 Prime Ministers killed. Here in Lebanon, only one of the three Presidents holding office since independence has completed his term in peace and order.

An honest diagnosis and suggested cure are given by Dr. Hassan Saab in a front page editorial in Beirut's daily *L'Orient*: "Ends and means are completely confused. Instead of being revered as supreme goals in themselves, the individual, public welfare and the people themselves have become mere means of achieving power. In such a situation it is not always easy to distinguish heroes from traitors."

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## LETTERS

### FIRM FOREIGN POLICIES

SIR: It was surprising to learn that the biggest democratic country in the world had to explain its foreign policies and economic conditions through paid advertisements in the Canadian newspapers (HIMMAT, July 2). It is a shame on our part to try to win and captivate foreign peoples and Governments through advertisements instead of our own firm foreign policies. I wonder how the Finance Ministry afforded to spend huge amounts on these accounts, when it could not manage to find foreign exchange even for the abridged cricket tour, which would have probably done better to strengthen our foreign relations.

N. VASUDEVAN\*

Madras 8

\* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

### HONEST AND IMPARTIAL

SIR: I am a regular reader of HIMMAT and frequently I sell it to my friends. I also have a great respect for HIMMAT, but I'd like one point to be clarified.

As I was going through the back copies of HIMMAT, I was rather surprised, and shocked too, to note that every time the prize-winning "best" letter happened to be one which agreed with HIMMAT's views, or commended MRA.

HIMMAT means a lot to me and to many others I know, because it is so honest and so impartial. And I hope it will be so in this matter, too. In fact I am sure it will remain so forever.

DILEEP TALWALKAR

Bombay 7

Four prizes have been awarded. One was critical of HIMMAT. The prize winner in the last Viewpoint competition also opposed HIMMAT's policy on the A-Bomb.—Ed.

### LEGAL ABORTION

SIR: Awarding of legal recognition to abortion will only lead to immorality and further constant abortion would result in deterioration of health. Morality and health of the person are most important for the nation. In our anxiety to solve the growing population, nothing should be done which will impair the tradition and culture of the country.

SEELAN

Madras 4

HIMMAT announces a prize of Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be received by Friday. They should be brief and exclusive to HIMMAT. Carbon copies will not be considered.

—EDITOR

### "IAC AND VIPs"

SIR: I have read with interest the letter of Mr. K. B. Nair. I agree that an Ex-Minister in the Union Cabinet has brought pressure on the IAC officials to satisfy his own interests. Of course, as Mr. K. B. Nair is aware, under the Warrant of Precedence in the matter of air transport, a serving Union Cabinet Minister can claim priority over other passengers.

IAC should accord priority to only serving and top VIPs and as far as possible should avoid discrimination between them and the rest of the passengers in order to ensure a smooth flow of traffic.

K. L. VARAHAN

New Delhi 16

### ON THE SPOT

SIR: HIMMAT deserves hearty congratulations for introducing its new feature: "On the Spot—HIMMAT Meets the People". By bringing in the portrait of the common man in the street, HIMMAT has rightly succeeded in projecting the views and aspirations of the average citizen. This helps to bring the people closer and understand one another.

I have been regularly reading HIMMAT right from its inception in November, 1964. The latest feature will no doubt go to enhance its prestige among the different journals circulating in the country. I sincerely wish many more journals like HIMMAT to grow in the country.

V. RAGHURAMAN

Bombay 22

### GOA'S CHOICE

SIR: I have found in HIMMAT a quality of national spirit that could not be found in any other journal.

While one was developing the impression that your weekly reflects the views of the different categories of people all over the country and judges things in the right perspective, it is with extreme regret I have to draw your notice to a grave mistake. In the selection of the

subject for the Viewpoint competition, "Should Goa be merged with Maharashtra?", I take objection to the phrase "with Maharashtra". There is no issue to that effect. If there is any, it is whether Goa should remain a separate territory or be merged with Mysore or Maharashtra.

V. RAGHAVENDRA

Bangalore 3

The subject of Viewpoint is framed to excite strong viewpoints for and against and has nothing to do with the editorial policy of the paper.—Ed.



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## VIEWPOINT

# Should Goa be Merged with Maharashtra?

## GIVE MORE TIME

Says Prizewinner R. Murali Mohan of Madras

Let me make clear in the beginning that I am neither a Maharashtraian, nor a Mysorian nor a Goan. I am an Indian coming from entirely a different part of the country.

As a young Indian interested in the welfare and unity of my motherland, I am pained to hear slogans such as "Goa ever—Merger never", "Maharashtra flag will be planted in Goa". (I do not know whether they have a separate flag.)

The ruling Maharashtra Gomantak Party which won the elections is for merger of Goa with Maharashtra immediately whereas the United Goan Party takes the opposite view.

### Young Generation

The language of Goa is Konkani and not Marathi. Goans have a high standard of living and rather a different way of life and they do not wish to lose these through an enforced union with Maharashtra. Besides this, there is an unfortunate and undesirable issue of religion. Rightly or wrongly the Catholics do anticipate danger from being reduced to a minority. The main point of mergerists is that by electing Maharashtra Gomantak Party Goans have opted for merger with Maharashtra. They also allege that it is the Catholics who stand in the way of merger and all those who oppose merger are anti-national.

This is far from true. The recent anti-merger convention (little known to outsiders) organized by United Goan Party and the local Congress at Margao proves this. There was no sign of hate or ill-will against India nor love of Portugal. Many spokesmen were Hindus and let it be known that many anti-mergerists represent the younger generation who are passionately Indian but at the same time

as passionately hostile against the arranged merger.

Thus to-day's climate in Goa is far from being congenial for the healthy development of the province. Slogans are shouted and charges and counter charges are hurled like artillery fire by both parties. Much hate and ill-will is generated over this. An atmosphere of ill-will, suspicion and hatred prevails.

But many a thinking anti-mergerist knows that Goa cannot live for long either as a separate state or as Union territory. They do not want to be hustled into the merger. All that they want is to go slow and give time for the people to think. Once passions are cooled people will be in a position to take sound decisions regarding their future.

The original decision taken by the Congress to wait for 10 years regarding this issue is sound. Mr. Nehru himself has assured the Goans to this effect. If the leaders of today are going to re-open this issue and take a different decision, they will be only bowing down before political pressure and be sowing seeds of disintegration.

If 10 years is too long a period of waiting, it can be, say, 8 years. The fact that Goans residing in Bombay themselves have not come out openly in support of the merger shows that the time is not ripe for merger.

### Best Points: Rs. 5 A SEPARATE STATE

by Capt. R. L. Rau (Retd.) Poona 1.

The answer is a categorical NO. Reasons: 1. Maharashtra State has enough burdens, commitments and an unwieldy geographical territory by the inclusion of Marathwada and Vidharba in it.

2. It has not so far given much serious thought to the pros and cons of administering fresh territory and bearing the responsibility thereof.

## COMPETITION

\*What I like least and what I like most about my town.

Closing date: July 30

\*\*India is heading towards a dictatorship?

Closing date: August 6

First Prize: Rs. 20

Excerpts published: Rs. 5 each

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Send entries to The Editor, HIMMAT, 13 Advent, Foreshore Road, Bombay-1.

3. While it looks to a small majority of Marathi-speaking people in Goa to join it, it has not simply bothered about a large minority of people who do not want to come into the Maharashtra state.

4. The argument that three centuries ago, Goa was under Maharashtra influence is none too good since Goa parted company with Maharashtra three centuries ago.

All the same, it seems to me, a wise plan would be to keep the present territory of Goa intact; if necessary, enlarge it by the addition to it of a district or two contiguous to it, where the Konkani language is spoken and build the new territory into a small unit or state.

This should satisfy all concerned since the establishment of this small state will help draw out the composite culture in Goa, help maintain its traditions and way of life and make a good political contribution to the well being and solidarity of the Indian Union.

### MAHARASHTRA CAN OFFER MORE

by Vijay N. Shanker, New Delhi 3.

Both Mysore and Maharashtra cast covetous glances at Goa. Of the two, Maharashtra has the better claim to affinity of social complexion. In the past Goa has had more contacts with Maharashtra and a large number of Goans are settled in Bombay.

Merger is a touchy issue with most Goans. Many of them feel that the States and the Centre have thrown Goa around like a football with no

Continued on page 16

## ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

# "There Is Always a Remedy"

## SAYS 88-YEAR-OLD ADMINISTRATOR

The year was 1908. The only Indian student then at Pennsylvania University stood up for the third time determined to get his professor to answer his question: "But, Sir, in India we are all fatalists. If we have no rains would not our people die?"

"Young man," the American professor thundered, "remember one thing. Where there is misery, God has a remedy for it. Our job is to find the remedy. If you don't find it, it is your fault."

The pupil, a Baroda State scholar, never forgot these words. Throughout his life he has tried to find a remedy for India's rural problems and at 88 he is writing on foolscap pages the final chapters of his studies on "Rural Problems of India".

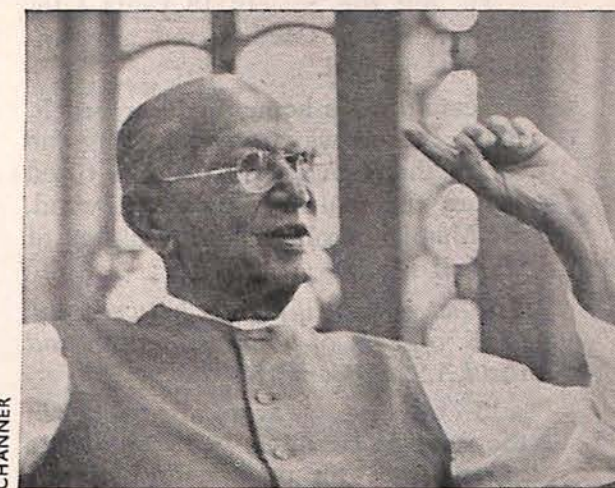
Sir Manilal Nanavati in 1936 became the second Indian Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank.

"I was lucky—extraordinarily lucky—to work under good people. The two persons who influenced my life most have been my father and Maharaja Sayajirao of Baroda.

"Father," he recalls, "did not talk to us much or advise us. His life was a sermon. Sayajirao was a great ruler. Much misunderstood. He made me what I am."

Sir Manilal's mind flashed back to 1904 when after he had just passed his Law, the Maharaja, to whom his father was physician, invited Manilal to come into Baroda service. "Apart from my regular duties, the Maharaja asked me to write various reports on social and economic affairs. He assigned me six such reports, ranging from caste among the Jains, to rural problems in India.

"In the year 1900 I saw people dying in front of my eyes in Pattan in Baroda State. We lost 600,000 people



Sir Manilal Nanavati

in our State alone. I can never forget it and so the Maharaja ordered me to inquire into rural indebtedness. The whole state machinery was geared to help this task. Village by village the survey was made. Later on, I had to compile the report on the subject."

As he spoke, one could see in his understanding and alert eyes a burning desire never to see people suffer again through famine. This passion has directed his 60 years of research. It was he, in fact, who set up the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank.

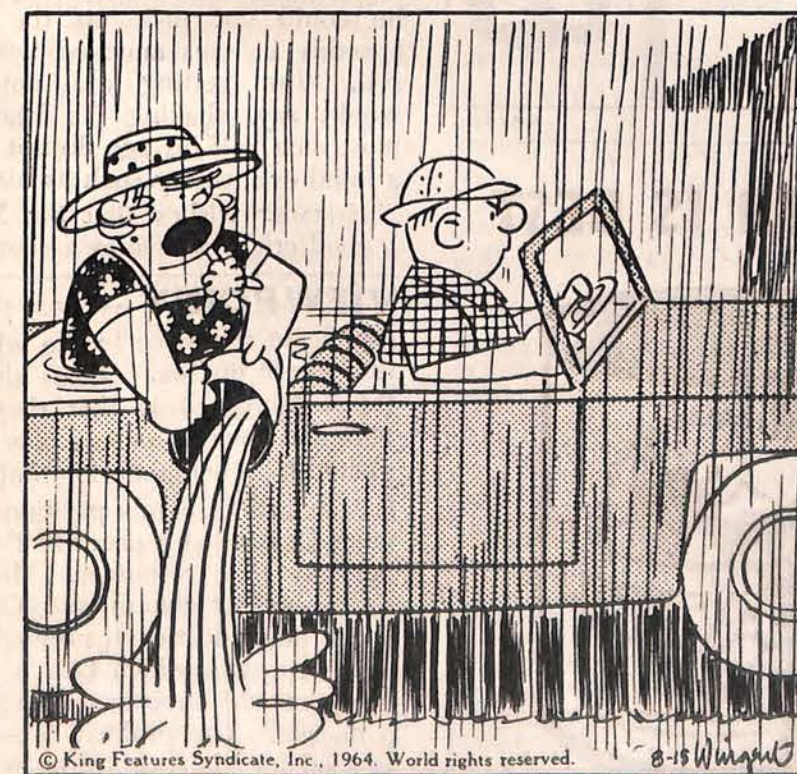
### Energy and Ideas

Soon after his retirement from the Reserve Bank in 1941, he extended his field of research. Dr. J. J. Anjaria, head of the Economics Division of the Planning Commission, recalls how Sir Manilal one afternoon walked into the Bombay School of Economics, and his encounter with him:

"Our first meeting with Sir Manilal was a surprise. This retiring Deputy Governor was far from looking tired or exhausted; he was beaming with energy and was full of ideas on what could—and should—be done to promote the study of and research into problems of agricultural economics in India. Within a few minutes he had converted us to his cause and had succeeded in enlisting the support of Professor Vakil and the Bombay School of Economics to his ideas. This accomplished, Sir Manilal kept up a continuous pressure on his new collaborators... I do not know what Sir Manilal felt about us—the 'academic' ones—but we, on our part, enjoyed and benefited immensely by his narrations of what problems he had encountered in the various phases of his rural reconstruction work and how he had overcome them."

Continued on next page

## HUBERT



"I'll bet you got the top stuck on purpose!"



He left the Society 18 years later with thirty-five studies and an established journal.

Seated at his home on Juhu beach, when furious waves were lashing the sandy shores and coconut trees tilted before the whizzing monsoon wind, Sir Manilal recalled the highlights of his full life.

*What is the difference between the I.C.S. officers of your generation and the I.A.S. officers of today?*

"In my time we were always out in the villages camping 10 to 15 days a month, meeting people, and getting to know their problems. When at the end of my career I met the younger civil servants, I was surprised to see

there was such little will to work. One officer told me, 'I am waiting for a transfer.' Another, 'I don't like this job.'"

Sir Manilal feels keenly that the zest for life and work is missing. "Of course, there has been a general deterioration, but you cannot always blame the civil service. They are dependent on the ministers who deal with them. If the minister is weak, his staff is lazy. I know of instances where ministers cannot even understand the files that go up to them."

But Sir Manilal is not disheartened.

"I went back to a village which I had surveyed 40 years ago, called Kodinar. The progress there is unbelievable. The present age is an era

of fermentation. All the froth which is not good is coming to the top, but the froth will clear."

*But do you think we shall solve the food problem?*

"Oh, yes, certainly, in seven years or so, if we follow the right lines. The trouble is T.T.K. keeps tinkering with the budget every year."

*What do you think of the present administration?*

"Shastri is a good fellow. Though they say he is weak, as an administrator I see Shastri's point. In administration we cannot always do all that we want to do. We have got to wait and each time we want to be right."

*What is the secret of your being so fit and walking so erect at 88?*

"At 13 my father established a gymnasium in our house. At 6 a.m. the games instructor of the Maharaja came and taught us wrestling and exercises. I captained my school cricket team and was doubles champion in college tennis. When the Maharaja asked for volunteers for three months' military training from his civil officers, I was the first to volunteer. I spent the morning with the cavalry and the evening with the infantry."

Sir Manilal's mind at 88 is crystal clear. He remembered each date and incident. Once or twice when the conversation was interrupted and he could not pick up the thread speedily he was annoyed with himself. "I'm getting old now," he would say, shaking his head. Yet most men half his age do not possess a mind or memory such as his.

HIMMAT wishes that Sir Manilal, a good cricketer, scores a century.

**VIEWPOINT**—From page 14 significant reference to the wishes of the people in Goa. Goans also have the legitimate fear that they, their port and their resources may be exploited by a neighbouring State.

Maharashtra is in a position to convince Goans that it needs neither their port nor their resources. Maharashtra can in fact give more to Goa than it can take and that is precisely what any State with which Goa is merged finally would have to do for at least a decade. The problem is not what is good for Maharashtra or any other State, but what is good for Goa.

## This was a life NIKLAUS VON DER FLUE

1417—1487

"Freedom has a price," said Niklaus von der Flue who lived at a time when enemies without and division within both threatened his country, Switzerland.

His people, the Swiss, differ in race, language and religion—yet for centuries they have remained one nation. Niklaus was one of the architects of this unity.

He was born a peasant and farmed his land well. He became a soldier and a magistrate. When he was fifty, oppressed by the problems of a war-ridden world, he decided to follow the guidance of God in a radical way. He left his farm, withdrew to a mountain valley and lived in a hut he built there.

But his public work was far from over. Men knew he could not be bought or bullied. His inspired good sense, knowledge of men and singleness of heart commanded respect. His fame spread across Europe. He became the most sought-after arbiter in affairs of state.

When civil war threatened Switzerland, Niklaus' God-given solution set the country on the road to unity. The Swiss in 1481 had successfully defended their country against attack from without, when bitter quarrels broke out between the Cantons.

Poor country areas envied the powerful towns. There was disagreement on how to share the spoils of war. The soldiers armed again—to fight each other. Conference after conference between the Cantons broke down amid angry recriminations.

At Stans, near Niklaus' mountain valley, the delegates made one mere effort to agree, but session after session ended in failure. Civil war drew hourly closer.

That night the priest of Stans climbed the mountain to see Niklaus. He told him some delegates were preparing to leave as war seemed inevitable. Niklaus, with his deep insight into his country's problems, passed on to the priest a solution that had been given him during his hours of prayer.

Next day the priest reassembled the delegates and gave them the message. Its effect was astonishing. Greed and resentment melted. Unity was reached within an hour and the great federal agreement of Stans concluded.

Years after his death Niklaus' influence continued. Faith in the Swiss Confederation became a political programme inspired by him. In the centuries following his memory helped unite the nation in times of danger.

## Q and A

*Readers are invited to send questions about our land or the world*

**Q**—What measures do you suggest for the removal of favouritism and corruption at Ministerial level?

N. Ch. VEERACHARI, Hyderabad

**A**—We get the Government we deserve. It is true some ministers have set bad precedents. But we need to recognize that they are not only the leaders of society but also the products of a society that has accepted favouritism and corruption as normal. Administrative checks and methods are necessary. For too long has the Government delayed in implementing the suggestions of the Santhanam Committee on Corruption. They are getting wise to it now and a Presidential panel of 24 to 30 members is being planned as recommended by the Santhanam Committee. Any cases of favouritism and corruption will be referred by the Prime Minister to selected members of the panel. The chances of political pressure on such a panel will be less than that on the Cabinet panel which wilted when the question of Orissa corruption came up.

However, few are impressed by people who keep harping on the corruption of the ministers and demand from them a different code of conduct than what they are willing to accept in their own lives. We need less finger-pointing and more action—beginning with ourselves and our own circle.

**Q**—What is the aim of art? What is a good artist?

JANAKI VARADHAN, Bangalore

**A**—There are many schools of thought. One believes in "art for art's sake". The question then arises, "What is art?" Some artists draw, paint or sculpture for their own satisfaction, whilst others use their pen, brush or chisel to propagate their message, ideal or way of thinking.

Lenin said, "Art is a form of social consciousness." Art was to be geared to his Marxist revolution. When Khrushchev found that young Soviet artists were slipping from this conception, he lashed out after a visit to an art exhibition, "This is not painted by a man but by a donkey's tail."

The French savant, Andre Gide, believed that "Art is a collaboration between God and the artist," and added, "The less the artist does, the better."

Man's worship of creation or his Creator is recognized as the origin of many great works of art—from cave drawings of ancient man to the Madonnas of a renaissance Europe. "Art for art's sake," says the well-known Negro

singer Muriel Smith, "is out of date. Art for a moral revolution will remake the world." Miss Smith like many other good artists uses her talent to bring faith, hope and inspiration to millions.

**Q**—What would happen if Pakistan chooses a Chinese diplomat as a member of the tribunal for Kutch?

R. V. PUROHIT, Poona 2

**A**—It is hoped that Pakistan will not take such a step. If she does, world opinion will construe that she is not sincere about the Kutch agreement. Let us hope good sense prevails on both sides.

**Q**—Will not Pakistan insist on having a similar tribunal for Kashmir?

R. V. PUROHIT, Poona 2

**A**—Prime Minister Shastri has already stated India will not agree to extending arbitration to other outstanding disputes. He has made that position quite clear. Even while the cease-fire was being negotiated, India refused to lump other outstanding problems with the Kutch issue. It takes two to agree to a tribunal. India is not likely to oblige in her present mood.

**Q**—What is the meaning of "status quo ante"?

V. SATHIAH, Hyderabad 27

**A**—The Oxford Dictionary defines "status quo ante" as "the previous position". India's Prime Minister frequently used the expression that the "status quo ante" be restored in Kutch as on January 1, 1965. It is on that basis that Pakistan had to withdraw from all areas she did not patrol on January 1, 1965.

**Q**—Parliament is ridiculed nowadays as a talking shop. Comment.

T. P. SATHYANARAYANA, Hyderabad

**A**—Parliament is the sovereign body of this nation. It is regrettable but true that some members of Parliament, either to get more publicity or out of sheer bitterness and frustration, behave in Parliament in a way not in keeping with the dignity of the House.

But even so, a substantial number of parliamentarians today do take their duties seriously. Their work often lies in many of the committees on which they sit frequently and for long hours unknown to the public.

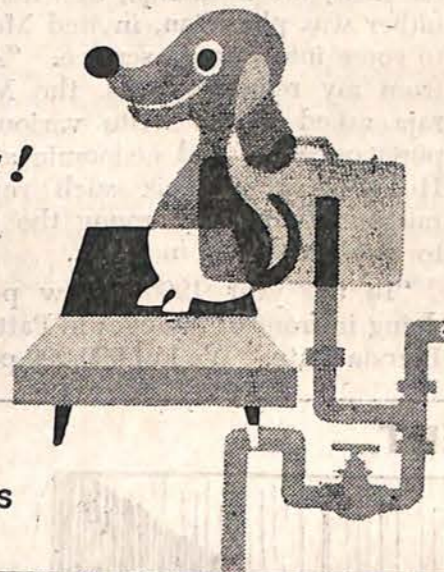
It is cheap to criticize our Parliament as a talking shop. If one really feels and cares for the nation, one can make sure that one's views are known to those M.P.s who make it "a talking shop" and ask them to attend to the more serious business of the nation. The Indian Parliament is a reflection of the Indian people. As we are, so shall be the men who represent us.



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# Outwitting Peking

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Is THE Peking-Moscow feud good for the world?

The fight, it is clear, is still on. At the Communist-sponsored World Peace Congress in Helsinki the Albanian delegate, Foto Gami, took Peking's side, charged that the Soviet Union was "co-operating with the United States for world hegemony" and forced a Soviet walkout.

Khrushchev would have replied sharply to such an attack. But Moscow's new leadership is employing all its patience and skill to keep temperatures low.

Indeed, as Mr. Shastri reported on his return from Russia, the Kremlin treats the division strictly as a family affair and is provoked when others want to discuss it.

It is a family quarrel whose outcome is bound to affect all the families of the world.

## Name-Calling

The Sino-Soviet name-calling pleases many Indian ears. We hate China's ambition, and fear the military strength and drive backing it. We interpret Soviet annoyance with Peking as an advantage to us.

My own belief is that it will be disastrously short-sighted to rely on the intra-Communist breach for our safety. Nor am I certain that, in the long run, it benefits India, Asia or the world for Moscow and Peking to wave nuclear weapons at each other.

A nuclear clash between the two Communist giants will not leave other nations unhurt. A country going down to the depths of atomic annihilation is quite likely to try deliberately to take others with it.

## Inner Struggle

Those who hope for a way out of their dangers through the Peking-Moscow gulf are escapists. They exist not only in India but in Europe and America. Having failed to develop an adequate cure for Communism and, more import-

ant, for the causes of it, they cast a hopeful and encouraging eye at Communism's inner struggle.

An important related question is, is appeasement the only alternative to escalation?

In Vietnam, for instance, should the U.S. pull out and permit the setting up of a Communist regime (with all the consequent dangers to Thailand, Malaysia and India), if escalation is dangerous? Should China be invited to the U.N. and presented with opportunities to extend her influence with Asian and African nations, or should she be isolated, contained and rebuked?

## Paid in Blood

Neither accommodation nor isolation worked with Nazi Germany or militarist Japan. Every cry in the democracies for peace with Hitler had to be paid for later in blood. Equally, there is no doubt that harsh and crude attitudes of anti-Germany and anti-Japan during the twenties inflamed the hate and the desire for revenge in the Axis powers that finally had nations burning.

We can't appease Peking or blast her out of existence. We can—and must—out-revolutionize her. We can launch history's most dynamic programme for revolution and offer Peking an important place in it.

## Rout Greed and Hate

Supposing we said something like this to Peking, and meant what we said:

"We respect your passion against Asia's poverty. But we think your revolution is too small and out of date. Your methods are, in fact, reactionary. Come with us and together let us feed, clothe and house every man, woman and child in Asia and on this planet. Let us unitedly rout the greed, hate and fear that have kept Asia backward all these centuries, that have produced feudalism, colonialism and imperialism, that have brought about the failure of the hardest efforts of your sincerest Communists. Neither you nor we have

produced a system where men and families are able to live as they should. If you are brave enough, lend your partnership in the battle for a world where all classes, races and nations live as one family."

## Military Force

If India and other Asian nations, and Europe and America too, speak with this voice to Peking, the response should be most interesting. Of course we would have to add in unmistakable terms: "If you use force to spread your ideology or control, we shall meet it with all the force and military might at our command."

Now is the time for us in Asia to install in the nations that border China a conquering, indestructible spirit. Korea, Japan, Hongkong, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, Burma, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal, and Afghanistan—all are vitally, immediately important. Each can be equipped with a determination that would force Peking to think again—and give her the chance to play her greatest role.

## Plan for Peking

Indians must take a lead in linking these ancient Asian lands behind this modern, relevant, revolutionary aim. More important than what America or Russia will do for India is what India will do for and with Asia. Serious and responsible Indians need now to apply their minds and hearts to raising thousands of men and women who will make it their life aim to unite Asia, and out-think, out-pace and enlist Peking in doing it.

Today China's leadership, old and new, has a plan for every Asian capital, and also for Washington and Moscow. Asians trained in Moral Re-Armament have a superior and more satisfying plan for all these capitals, and also for Peking.

It is too early yet to go to Peking with it. But the moment has come for putting it to work in all the other Asian capitals. Otherwise it will be too late to capture Peking.

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