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HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

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Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY DECEMBER 2 1966

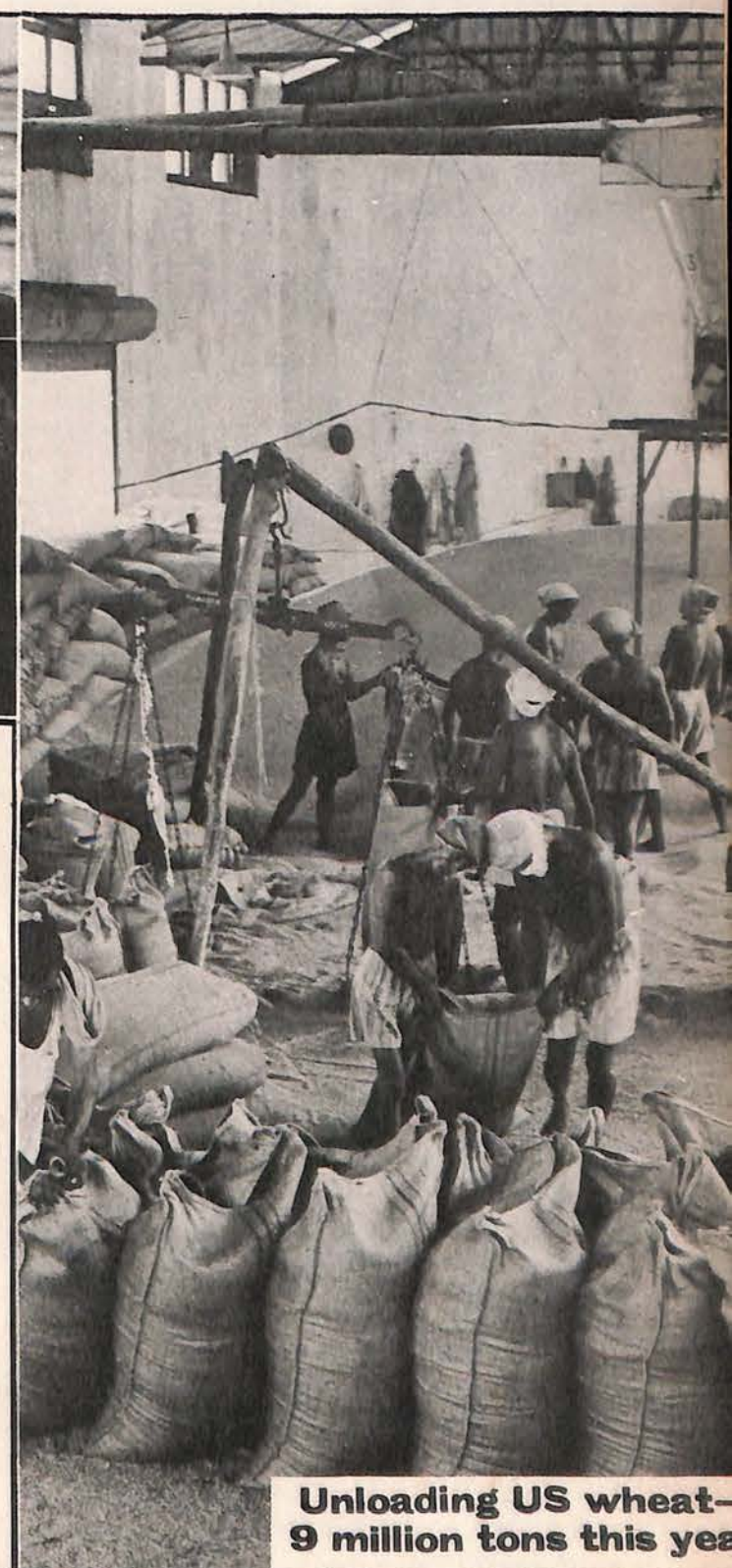


USA provides one out of every three chappatis



WHY DOES USA STALL ON FOOD AID ?

page 7



Unloading US wheat—9 million tons this year

SOVIET INFLUENCE IN INDIA

page 5

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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday December 2 1966

Double Standards?

THE PEKING-ORIENTATED Palestine Liberation Front, based in Cairo, is fishing in the troubled waters of Jordan. It is this organization which, by frequent attacks from Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, provoked Israel into launching its biggest attack in several years when it demolished the Jordanian village of Samu with a brigade-strength force.

The Security Council has strongly condemned Israel and even Britain and the United States have joined the other nations in this condemnation.

King Hussein has called for a general mobilization in his own country. The Palestine Liberation Organization now wants to induct its 10,000 "volunteers" into Jordan on the plea of fighting Israel. King Hussein is well aware that their real motive is to de-throne him. He wisely refused the offer of volunteers. Latest reports say that he has accepted the offer of Saudi Arabia for troops and they have been deployed in three areas.

President Nasser has minced no words in India when he spoke of the Islamic Pact. He is against it. He is welcome to his opinion. But he will lose what sympathy he has within this country if, after talking of non-alignment at the New Delhi Conference, he returns home to interfere in the affairs of his neighbouring countries.

Free From Bondage

THE WORLD is in a flux. Pacts no longer hold firm. Friendship of the years built between nations is weakened by one thoughtless or false step. More essential than ever is the need for men and statesmen who are not wafted by the prevailing winds but pursue resolutely objectives that will bring unity and sanity to nations.

A miracle of post-war statesmanship was the reconciliation between Germany and France. There were three major wars between them in 70 years. Millions killed, millions bereaved, yet, due to the statesmanship of men like Dr. Frank Buchman, Chancellor Adenauer, M. Robert Schuman and others, the torn fabric of European society was knit again. If post-war Europe advanced materially it has done so on the foundation laid by men many of whom were convinced about the Moral Re-Armament of the world.

Rich and resurgent Europe was bound to seek new ways and new expressions. President de Gaulle took major steps in de-freezing the cold war. Bonn, insecure, turned more to the United States. President

Johnson declined to make nuclear weapons available to West Germany. He took a further bold step when he said on October 7 that Russia and the West must be reconciled before Germany has the hope of being united. The threat of China may, it is hoped, make Russia come closer to the United States. Johnson too, is willing to sign a non-proliferation treaty that will ensure that West Germany will have no nuclear hardware. He is keen to thin out the armies on both sides of the German border. He perhaps hopes that in return for this concession the Soviets will seriously make a bid to get the North Vietnamese leaders to the negotiating table with the Americans.

There is every likelihood that as new moves take place to ease the tension in Asia, the so-called "liberal wing" in the United States may start again its campaign to sovietize Asia, to "let nationalism deal with Communism" and advise the United States to withdraw from Asia. Peace will not come by United States withdrawal. Nor will it come if the two most powerful nations, USA and USSR, decide how to run the rest of the world, armed with the immense power bestowed by science and industry.

"Miracles of science," said Dr. Buchman, "have been the wonder of the age—but they have not brought peace and happiness to the nations. A miracle of the spirit is what we need. There must come a spiritual dynamic which will change human nature and remake men and nations. If this miracle is to come into the world some nation must give a lead. Some nation must find God's will as her destiny and God-guided men as her representatives at home and abroad. Some nation must produce a new leadership free from the bondage of fear, rising above ambition and flexible to the direction of God's holy spirit."

Will it be America?

Will it be Russia?

Or will it be some other nation?

The Real Capital

WE WELCOME the inauguration of the Asian Development Bank in Tokyo. Its capital of \$1,100,000,000 should prove a much-needed fillip to the determination of Asian nations to overcome their economic problems. The Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Sato, at the inaugural meeting said that the Bank represented "the crystallisation of Asia's spirit of self-help and solidarity." The region will advance much further and faster if we will accept the fact that it is up to us to be responsible for our own growth.

India has much to gain from and to give to the Bank. Our \$93,000,000 of subscribed capital has given us—with the US, Japan and Australia—the right to be a permanent Director. But new schemes of aid will never in themselves solve the economic problems in a nation like India. The effect of the assistance that the Bank can give us will depend wholly on a new initiative in the attitude of our planners and leadership. Asia's development depends on efficiency and hard work as much as on the loans drawn from a Bank.

Briefly speaking...

What I call a good patient is one who, having found a good physician, sticks to him till he dies.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

They Thought Of It

THE BEGINNINGS of the Suez Canal were laid in 2000 BC by an Egyptian Pharaoh who built the canal to Lake Timsah, then the northern end of the Red Sea. When the Red Sea receded, the canal was extended by the Persian Emperor, Xerxes I. In the 8th century AD it was closed and fell into disrepair. The modern canal was built in 1859-69 by the French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps.

I read the other day in a speech by the late Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar that the Mettur Irrigation Scheme was conceived in the 11th century AD

by a Chola Emperor. The Cholas had chosen the very site where the present Mettur Dam was constructed. The scheme was revived in 1870 by the English engineer, Mr. Cotton, who raised the subject and in 1924 Sir C.P. saw it through as a major hydro-electric and irrigation project of South India.

Cardinal On Voting

CARDINAL GRACIAS has struck a key note on how to vote in the coming elections. "The citizen", he said, "cannot in conscience vote for a party whose policies and programmes deny in effect the rights of God and the freedom of the human person. Any ideology which disregards God and degrades man to a mere tool of the State stands self-condemned."

Try And Stop Him

GEORGES PAILLOT "lost his leg in a tram accident when he was six years old, but not his courage". He has been on a trekking tour around the world and has clocked 80,000 kilometres around Europe and north Africa. Paillot, who was recently in Madras, is now on his way to Australia. He is 62 years old and walks with a right wooden leg and a stick in his left hand.

C-r-a-c-k-e-d

It is good to see that some of the distinguished sponsors of Lord Bertrand Russell's Peace Foundation are beginning to wake up to the blatantly political ends that the Foundation is pursuing. After Earl Russell had set up his "international war crimes tribunal", by which he aims to "try" President Johnson for war crimes in Vietnam, one leading supporter after another has withdrawn his name. President Leopold Senghor of Senegal has asked that his resignation be accepted; Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia withdrew his patronage—he had apparently never been consulted about being associated with the tribunal; and it is said that President Nyerere of Tanzania has also withdrawn his name. Now the tribunal

may be running into further trouble because the French are unlikely to allow it to be held in Paris.

The London *Observer* notes that the North Vietnamese, who it is understood have provided money for the tribunal's costs, "naturally are collaborating wholeheartedly" in the preparation. It asks, "Any bets on the verdict?"

A Woman's World

OVERHEARD IN a bus in Bombay:

Two ladies complaining to the conductor, "This bus has standing room and very few seats. How do you expect ladies to travel standing all the way?"

Conductor, "Your complaint will be heard by our Prime Minister Indira and nobody else".

One Way

NEWS ITEM: "An automatic money lending machine has been manufactured in Japan."

There is no report yet of an automatic collection machine.

Think Big

THERE IS A RASH of statues of Shivaji springing up all over Maharashtra. I like to think of Shivaji as a national hero, not a tribal one. Would it not be more intelligent for people in Calcutta to raise statues of Shivaji and those in Bombay to put up those of distinguished Bengali leaders like Surendranath Banerji? It would be so much more interesting and courteous to do so.

R. M. L.

WHO IS RUNNING INDIA?—2

• The Civil Service • • Soviet Influence

by R. M. Lala

Is the Civil Service running the country?

The British ruled India with a "steel frame" of one thousand ICS officers, about half of whom were British. They were highly trained to question and criticize the files that came to them for decisions. Basically their job was the maintenance of law and order and the raising of revenue resources. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari says that "in emancipated India it was the hope that politicians who were born in a revolution and civil disturbances would become administrators. But this process has been slow. Instead, administrators are perhaps tending to become politicians..."

Army of Civil Servants

The Indian administrative service is given the additional task of development activities and today an IAS or an ICS officer is expected to run a steel mill in Bihar, manage the State Trading Corporation in Bombay or Indian Oil in Delhi.

The last Union Home Minister, Mr. Nanda, who controlled "half a million police and one of the largest armies of civil servants in the world", claimed: "I was not getting adequate Secretarial assistance." He said his ICS Secretary, Mr. L. P. Singh, did not properly furnish him information and, worst of all, the Prime Minister refused to transfer him in spite of repeated requests. The Minister is out. The Secretary remains in office. Acharya Kripalani, with his puckish humour, now questions Cabinet Ministers in the Central Hall of Parliament, "And when is your Secretary removing you?"

Enquiries reveal that the Prime Minister was not keen at all on shifting Mr. L. P. Singh because she trusted him and his oral reports to her from the Home Ministry.

Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya MP, former Chief Minister of Mysore, now a member of the Administrative Reforms Commission, was questioned by HIMMAT as to whether the civil servants are in a stronger position than before. He replied, "It is not the civil servants that are stronger

but the Cabinet is not functioning as it should on the basis of joint responsibility."

Senior Congress MP Mr. H. C. Mathur, who was once himself Chief Secretary of Jodhpur State, says of the civil servants: "They have always been powerful. They are a sophisticated lot who surround you and make you feel you are making the decisions when actually they do, in the way they present their files. Even Nehru used to depend on them." He added that it also depends a lot on the Minister concerned. Certain Ministers do exactly what they themselves want. They know their job and they know their mind. Labour Minister Jagjivan Ram and Commerce Minister Manubhai Shah are examples of it.

At the apex of the civil service is the Prime Minister's Secretariat that has been greatly strengthened since Mr. Shastri came to power. It is this Secretariat that puts the papers

before the Prime Minister for final decision. Its head is Mr. L. K. Jha, ICS, Secretary to the Prime Minister. Another is Mr. C. S. Jha of the External Affairs Ministry. A third, Mr. L. P. Singh, is the Home Secretary, and a fourth, Mr. T. N. Singh, ICS, is Finance Secretary. It so happens that today this seniormost cadre of the Civil Service hails from Bihar State. They are by and large an able, well-read group. They have a certain affinity to each other and keep each other well informed. They do bring a certain amount of cohesiveness within the administration, though they will be the first to admit that there is scope for more.

It will be unfair to blame the civil servants for overstepping their limits. They are on occasion stepping into a

Continued on next page

On your toes

A BETTER BOMB

The atomic bomb is not likely to be the decisive factor in keeping our nation strong and free. But this was not the consensus of opinion reached at the seminar on "Nuclear Energy and Foreign Policy" held recently in New Delhi. The case for and against was argued strongly by two veteran patriots.

Vice President Zakir Hussain put the Government view when he pointed out that the decision not to build the bomb was an independent policy based on India's own consideration of political, economic and strategic merits. It was not an international treaty commitment.

Dr. Hussain was not unaware of China's nuclear threat and India's nuclear capacity. But, he said, successive Prime Ministers had renounced making the bomb.

Dr. H. N. Kunzru, on the other hand, protested with a strong plea for India adopting a nuclear defence in view of China's increasing threats. Dr. Kunzru is President of the Board of Governors of the Indian School of International Studies which conducted the seminar.

The economic cost would be immense, Dr. Kunzru admitted, but "when the nation's freedom was at stake no cost should be deemed too high to save it".

Most would agree with the price which Dr. Kunzru puts upon freedom. But even possession of the bomb

would not automatically guarantee freedom.

If we rush around furiously making the bomb are we not doing exactly what China wants?

Dr. Kunzru feels that the emergence of China as a nuclear power has "demoralised" Asian nations and that President Johnson's offer of an umbrella over non-nuclear nations would not hold good for India. Is not this what China wants us to think?

The US is putting a total of 475,000 men into Vietnam. Would she ignore any future Indian request for military aid against an aggressive China?

With 510 million people sharing a national income approximately that shared by 12 million Australians, India cannot afford to make the bomb. She can hardly pay for grain imports to feed her people. Nor is it likely that America and Russia will allow India to spend vast sums on building the bomb while their aid virtually subsidizes it.

There is a better reply to China.

What if India could—


- * Feed, house and clothe her people?
- * Elect to power men who really put their country before their careers?
- * Shape a society in which every person felt needed and honoured?
- * Sacrifice communal, regional and party hate for greater goals?

India would then have a "bomb" with a far greater penetrating power than China's home-made A-bomb.

It would cost a lot less in rupees but a lot more in sweat, imagination and bold enterprise.


FREEBOOTER

CHALTA HAI...



"At last I have found the old election manifesto. It was in the heap of old newspapers here!"

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VERDICT!

This week **HIMMAT**

AGREES WITH Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia that students are sensitive to the atmosphere of arbitrariness and injustice that they notice.

★
SYMPATHIZES with the 200 families made homeless by the fire in a Bombay hutment area last Friday morning and **ENQUIRES** who is intending to deal with the housing situation so that the tens of millions of people condemned to live under these conditions can have a decent roof over their heads.

★
HOPES that the Board of Trade is right when it says that the Rs. 70 crores decline in exports in the first four months after devaluation is a "temporary phenomenon" and **IS DISTURBED** that our total foreign reserves have fallen by Rs. 13 crores in the 7½ months of the current financial year.

★
IS DISMAYED that only enough foreign exchange was made available to send a team of 81 to the Asian Games in Bangkok but **WONDERS** why the Olympic Federation decided that if 105 could not go, none could, and **ASKS** whether the quality of our athletes would not have shown up even if there was not such a quantity of them.

★
WELCOMES with great anticipation the West Indies cricket team and **PREDICTS** that at least a small percentage of our population may find the news of their tour more interesting than our political wranglings.

★
HOPES that the Prime Minister's and Home Minister's call not to use famine and student unrest for political purposes is not a move to restrict genuine inquiry into the government's performance and **ASKS** will this moratorium itself produce an adequate plan for the solving of these problems.

★
IS DISTRESSED that the millowners have found it necessary to close all cotton-mills for two weeks, because of the drop in production and the loss of pay to hundreds of thousands of workers.

Who Is Running India?

Continued from page 5

vacuum created by division within the Cabinet ranks and because of the indecision of an effete political leadership which is often more interested sitting in the seats of power than in exercising adequately its authority to rule.

The Civil Service has lost some of its former confidence after the episode where one of its senior members, former Steel Secretary Mr. Boothalingam, ICS, was mauled by the Parliament on the issue of licences. Civil servants feel that the Ministers did not adequately defend him and instead offered his head to the Opposition who were crying out for it.

In Delhi this week some senior civil servants say that they have no intention of recommending any major decisions until the elections are over. The inept way Mrs. Gandhi recently tried to re-shuffle her Cabinet and the political uncertainty prevailing in the capital has dealt a further blow to the Civil Service and civil servants are awaiting the formation of a new Cabinet after the elections. Political stability is essential in order to take courageous decisions.

Soviet Influence

We profess a policy of non-alignment but get pushed about by America and the Soviet Union. When Mrs. Gandhi went to the United States last March she said that she understood the reasons for President Johnson's policy in Vietnam. The President, elated at Mrs. Gandhi's "understanding", ordered one of the largest armadas in history to rush food aid to India.

The Soviet Union saw this as an indication that India was slipping into the "American camp" and lost no time in whipping up within India, through its organs of public opinion the idea that India was departing from her policy of non-alignment and should rectify the balance. At short notice the Prime Minister was strongly advised to make her trip to Moscow in June where she consented to sign the communique which, without naming the United States, branded her as the aggressor in Vietnam. We are now witnessing the turn of the full circle when President Johnson in response to our latest request for aid is tardy in making up his mind. It is obvious

he is offended by the volte face of Mrs. Gandhi in Moscow.

In spite of our professions of non-alignment, India can little afford the luxury of being really so, unless there are men of conviction and character at the top. We depend on the Soviet Union for our military hardware and heavy industry. On the United States we depend for economic aid and grain shipments. In trying to balance the two we seldom succeed in pleasing them both though there have been instances of our succeeding in offending both.

Our Defence equipment was mostly of British origin till the Chinese invasion. Since the Indo-Pakistan war last year, Britain has been most reluctant to supply us with weapons. The Soviet Union has been willing to. Though it is claimed these purchases are against rupee payments, they calculate the gold value of the rupee.

The United States, which in the past gave limited arms aid to India, in connection with mountain warfare against China, has furnished no aid since the Pakistan war, and what little may be permitted for purchase in the States is against hard currency.

The Soviet Union has agreed to put-up MiG plants which are already well on the way. MiG fighters will provide the major source of air protection in the event of a future conflict of India with either of her

continued on page 17



"In view of the elections, in order to show that the Party leader has full backing we have accordingly arranged the seating for the banquet."

Why does Johnson stall on food aid?

Of the 11 million tonnes of grain imported this year 9 million came from US against rupee payments. Four months ago India requested further aid. President Johnson's decision is pending. Indian officials say that if the President does not decide favourably by Dec. 15, it will be too late to avert famine.—Ed.

No Indian will rejoice at the summary freezing of food aid to India by President Johnson at this critical moment when mass starvation threatens tens of millions of people in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar.

The irritation of Indian public opinion with the United States Government is understandable. But criticism of President Johnson's action which almost holds the United States responsible for the famine conditions is certainly unbalanced. Once again it seems as though official authority and the Congress Party are trying to make a scapegoat of the United States for their own inefficiency. Public opinion as voiced through the press has, as on other occasions, taken its cue from the Government.

Certain elementary truths must be faced by us during the present crisis. There is no obligation on the part of any foreign state or people to come to our aid. If they assist us on the large scale in which they have done in past years it is something to be grateful for.

American generosity in past years, especially in the matter of food aid, has been great and instantaneous. It has, in fact, been so much taken for granted that the genuinely humanitarian aspect of it has been overlooked.

SAY THAT AGAIN...

A revolutionary situation exists in the country today as it has never before.

S. A. DANCE

The better brains in the country are not to be found today among our white-capped brethren.

FRANK MORAES

I have been described as an uncommon Communist.

PROFESSOR HIREN MUKERJI

ed by most of us. It is as if India was doing a service to the US by accepting aid.

If gratitude does not come naturally to the Indian people and Government, it may not be such a bad thing for us to be forced by events and policies to be made aware of the value of all foreign assistance, from whichever source, and the sacrifice in it, whatever the motivation.

The freezing of American food aid, however tragic at the moment, can at least highlight the amazing sacrifice of many nations in giving assistance. It should also open our eyes to the narrow-minded selfishness that enables a surplus State like Andhra to enjoy a surfeit of foodgrains when no food is available in some neighbouring states that are part of our country. It should expose the callousness of some Congressmen, like the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister who publicly flaunts this kind of selfishness as an achievement.

Cushion for inefficiency

Is it not legitimate to ask the Indian Government and ruling Congress Party whether it has done its maximum to enlist the entire Indian nation and equalize its burdens before blaming a foreign Government for delaying the process of a request for more aid? Is it not also legitimate to ask how long the United States should be called upon to act as a cushion for our inefficiency?

There is no doubt that factionalism, inefficiency and corruption in the Congress Party of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are at least as responsible for the present state of stark famine as lack of rainfall. What steps has the Congress Party taken to put its own house in order or restore efficiency or administration in these States?

The sad truth is that while millions are starving, the politicians of UP and Bihar are playing power politics and the Congress High Command can do nothing to stop it. In any other civilized country they would be con-

Under the Lens



by **R. VAITHESWARAN**

demned as enemies of the people at the bar of public opinion if not in a court of law.

Congress bosses with their corruption and power politics are responsible for the present situation. Let the Indian public demand an explanation from them as well as evidence of action that they intend seriously to restore good, incorruptible government to the people of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

The Indian Prime Minister along with her non-aligned friends, Messrs. Nasser and Tito, has made much of the threat of loss of independence posed by large-scale aid from unspecified big powers. One suspects that this emphasis on neo-colonialism of Mrs. Gandhi is itself a result of Indian dependence on a certain big power. There is no doubt that any large aid-giving power, whether it be democratic or Communist, has a means of power over the recipient nation and will employ it in furtherance of vital interest.

The existence of Soviet and US pressure on India is a fact. India's non-alignment is a balancing act between the pressures of these countries.

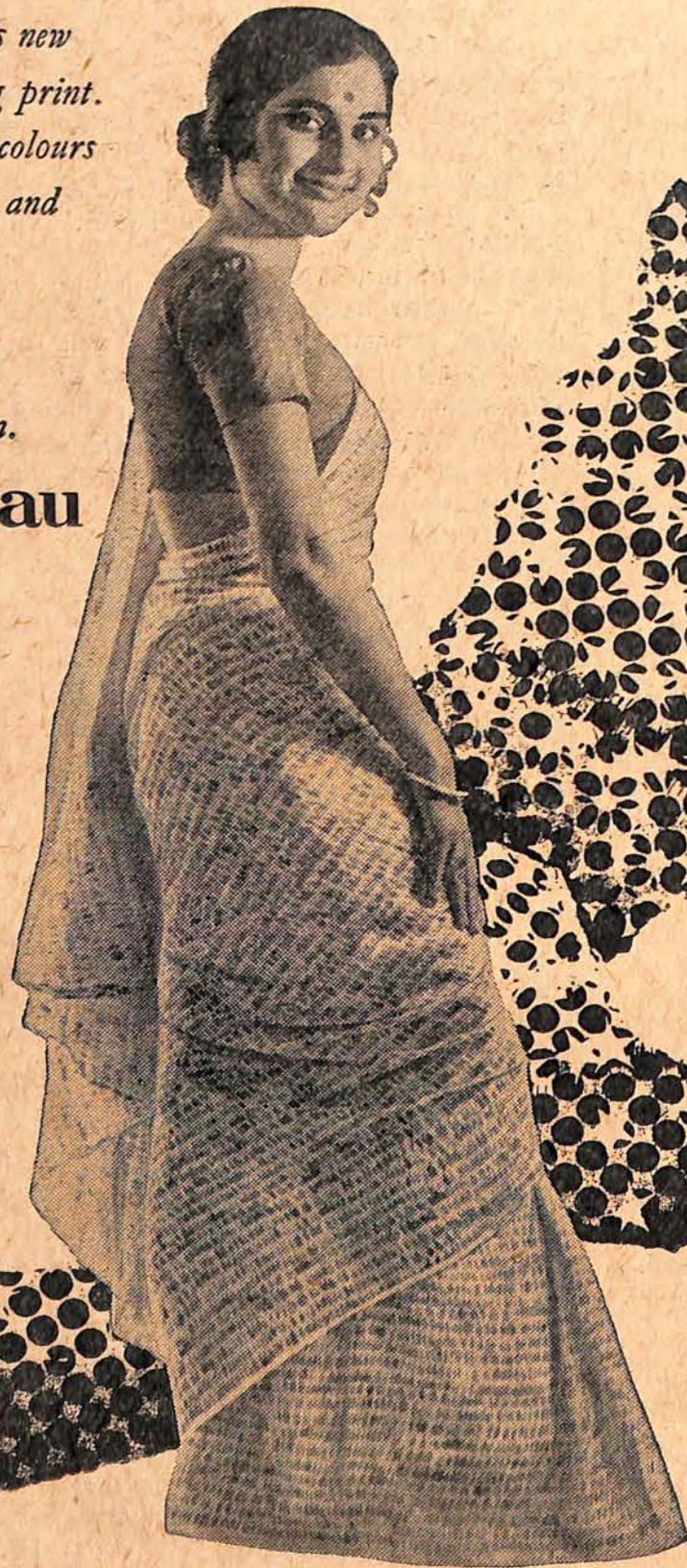
Obviously we cannot have the cake and eat it, too. As long as we are in

Continued on page 17



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Whither Germany?

FROM PETER HINTZEN

The Hague

As this issue goes to press, the question of who will be Germany's next Chancellor is still unanswered. The new leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Kurt-Georg Kiesinger, failed at his first attempts to form a basis of coalition with the Free Democrats. Current possibilities for the position may be Interior Minister Paul Lucke or even Socialist Leader Willi Brandt. In this article, Peter Hintzen describes the background to the government crisis.—Ed

There is no reason to cheer Germany's Chancellor Ludwig Erhard's downfall. As a direct result of Bonn's present confusion, the Neonazi Party, the NDP, rose from zero to eight per cent at recent state elections in Hesse. Observers fear that current tensions within the Christian Democratic Party (CDU) may lead to fragmentation of the party that has been the main pillar of democracy since the Hitlerite nightmare.

Former Chancellor Adenauer often rightly warned that Erhard, though a great economist, lacked gifts for supreme political responsibility. This is one reason for Erhard's downfall. That the whole of Western Europe suffers at present from economic instability is of course none of his fault. But his indecisiveness in the face of this has destroyed his erstwhile popularity as architect of Germany's economic miracle.

Another reason is—according to *The New York Times*—Washington's fading interest in German affairs as a result of its Vietnam involvement. Erhard who, in the face of fierce "Gaullist" opposition within his own party, clearly opted for America at the expense of ties with France, was left in the lurch. President Johnson's desire to reduce his troops in Germany and his new attitude towards Moscow, in which Germans see a Gaullism without de Gaulle, have aroused suspicion in Bonn, where isolation is traditionally the biggest fear.

But above all, Erhard was stabbed in the back by his own backbenchers. His Free Democrat coalition partners walked out of the cabinet and destroyed his majority in the

Bundestag, refusing to help cover the current budget deficit of £ 350 million through increased taxation. Then CDU Parliamentary President Rainer Barzel, keen to succeed Erhard, had his MPs vote on a new Chancellor (to safeguard against instability, Germany's constitution rules that a Chancellor—i.e. Prime Minister—can only be unseated if the majority of Parliament agrees on a new one). After three votes Kurt-Georg Kiesinger, head of the State of Baden-Wurttemberg, was elected. Since the CDU has less than half of the Bundestag seats, he will have to



Ex-Chancellor
Erhard

form a new coalition to become Chancellor. It will be a race with time, as the Free Democrats and Socialists are already talking about an alternative Government. Kiesinger's election may mean a major shift in foreign affairs. Barzel was rejected though he was said to favour a coalition with the Socialists. Equally Foreign Minister Schroeder, who stands for continuation of Erhard's pro-American policy, was rejected. Kiesinger is considered to be more an exponent of former Defence Minister Franz Josef Strauss, an ambitious, young, highly-intelligent Bavarian leader who favours reorientation towards de Gaulle's France. Some see in Kiesinger only a temporary forerunner of Strauss himself.

The week in Asia

SAIGON— Viet Cong guerrillas kidnapped 109 villagers from a hamlet in the Mekong Delta, according to South Vietnamese military sources. This was the second time in two weeks that the Viet Cong had kidnapped over 100 people in the same district.

KUALA LUMPUR— The Malaysian Government has rushed troops to Sarawak to deal with the actions of 800 Communists who are preparing for armed insurrection in the State, said Malaysian Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman.

MANILA— Filipino security forces clashed with Communist Huk guerrillas near here in the second skirmish in one week.

SINGAPORE— Police used tear gas to flush out 131 students in a Chinese college who rioted because the college had not been made a university. Sixty-seven of the students were Malaysians who had been expelled from Nan Yang University and had been prohibited from entering Singapore again.

PEKING— Red Guard posters have demanded the dismissal of Chinese Head of State Liu Shao-chi and Communist Party Secretary General Teng Hsiao-ping because they opposed Chairman Mao Tse-tung over a long period.

TOKYO— The New China News Agency has attacked the idea of both Chinas being represented in the UN, which it claims is "manipulated and controlled" by the USA.

RANGOON— Former Burmese Premier U Nu began a series of meditations in preparation for becoming a Buddhist monk.

TOKYO— Japan has granted Malaysia loans up to approximately 50 million dollars for purchasing equipment and services from Japan for the development of telecommunications and railways.

SYDNEY— Australian Prime Minister Holt and his Liberal-Country Party coalition were returned to power with an increased majority in the House of Representatives at the recent elections.

WELLINGTON— The National Party of Prime Minister Holyoake was re-elected in the recent New Zealand elections.

Brazilian Political Manoeuvrings

FROM PETER ORGLMEISTER

Sao Paulo

In the recent Brazilian Presidential elections, the candidate of the military-backed Arena group, General Arthur da Costa e Silva, won a comfortable victory. Our South American correspondent in this dispatch gives background news of how some of the country's politicians are trying to get back in the national ring.—Ed.

Carlos Lacerda has been the eternal trouble-maker of Brazil's political life. His brilliant mind and his powerful language have been put to valiant use during his time as newspaper editor, parliamentarian, Governor and finally as ordinary businessman. He had a major part in the downfall of President Getulio Vargas, he was the declared enemy of President Juscelino Kubitschek, his TV attacks triggered the resignation of President Janio Quadros, and he crossed swords so much with President Joao Goulart that he expected an armed attack by the President's

troops on his Governor's palace in Rio in 1964. It did not happen because the Army turned against Goulart and the President had to flee the country.

At that point Carlos Lacerda had hoped to be finally on the threshold of his ultimate ambition—the Presidency of Brazil. But the military government of Castello Branco did not like the idea of letting the power return into the hands of a civilian so soon and least of all to Carlos Lacerda. When he realized that, he suddenly retired into private life and kept quiet for nearly a year.

But then he started again to use his tongue to tell the military government what was wrong in the country and what needed to change. And he, who had been one of the leaders of the revolution against Goulart in 1964, declared that this revolution now had been betrayed by the military. He used the strong argument that democracy was dying in Brazil, that the Government was suspending the political rights of parliamentarians it did not like, and that people like him were forbidden to speak on TV to the nation.

And then he started one of his most daring political manoeuvres. He contacted Kubitschek, who is in Portugal, Goulart, who is in Uruguay, and Quadros, who—deprived of his political rights—is in Brazil, for the formation of a "Wide Front" in favour of the democratization of the country. Some of his old friends could not believe their eyes when they saw him sending and receiving messages from those who had been his greatest enemies. His answer was simple: "I don't agree with them politically at all. But Brazil needs to return to de-

mocracy and only if all the popular leaders of the nation at home or in exile would throw their weight behind this issue will we preserve freedom in the nation. Once we have democracy we can compete amongst each other in a democratic election."

But his "Wide Front" was not formed as easily as he had hoped. Kubitschek was for it right from the beginning. Quadros being in Brazil, was less willing to do something so openly against the military in power. Goulart in Uruguay also lacked confidence in this initiative. Some of his followers sent a message that only a violent revolution could liberate Brazil. Finally Goulart refused to sign the prepared common statement. This left Kubitschek and Lacerda alone. Then the military started to put pressure on Kubitschek's friends

who were still in Brazil and at the last minute Kubitschek too withheld his signature to the declaration which he had helped to formulate. So Lacerda went alone in front of the press and the public.

President Castello Branco continued with the tactic he had used until then—he ignored Lacerda and what he had to say. For a man who liked to fight others this seemed the hardest blow—not to be answered. In his manifesto Lacerda has certainly given an outline of how a common denominator of all anti-military, anti-government forces could be achieved. But it will still take time to make it a reality and many observers ask if a democracy with Lacerda, Kubitschek, Goulart and Quadros in the ring would give more stability and progress to Brazil than it has now.

Doctors Despair at Australian Road Toll

FROM CHRISTOPHER MAYOR

Melbourne

A nationwide symposium on motor car safety and the startling statistics of road accidents reported there competed fiercely with a lively election campaign for headline honours last week.

Conducted by the Australian Automobile Association, which claims 1,700,000 member-drivers, the symposium has shocked the world's third most highly motorized nation. Australia, with one car for every three people, shares third place with New Zealand after USA and Canada.

A Brisbane neurosurgeon, Dr. K. G. Jamieson, voiced the despair of medical men when he said that the situation was out of hand. He believed that the traffic accident injuries were now so severe that doctors were becoming almost powerless to save lives or repair the major injuries of those involved. There were 8.8 deaths and 211 injured per 10,000 vehicles in 1965. Hospitals are finding it difficult to cope with serious illness, so occupied are they with critical road accident cases.

Some blame the Government for poor roads. Others blame the manufacturers for not adopting more safety features in their cars. Very few come out clearly with a bad chit for the driver.

A recent survey in the Australian Capital Territory revealed that alcohol figured prominently in over 60 per cent of fatalities recorded. Some

estimates have put the social cost of Australia's traffic accidents at well over \$200 million (Rs. 167 crores) per year—apart from the cost of death and tragedy which cannot be calculated in cash.

Sir William Hudson, Commissioner of the giant Snowy Mountains Authority, says that the compulsory wearing of seat belts could reduce road fatalities by 70 per cent. In five years the seat belt-equipped fleet of 600 vehicles belonging to his organization had travelled 30 million miles without serious injury to driver or passenger, he reported.

Though Australia is now exporting over 28,000 cars per year (more than India's entire annual production) Japanese manufacturers are making a solid impact on the local market with vehicles tailor-made and priced for the fastidious Australian buyer.

As yet no manufacturer, insurance company or hospital authority seems to have found the clue to producing sane road behaviour. In the long run, this depends on the man behind the wheel and his attitude to what has become the most dangerous machine in modern society.

The week in India

NEW DELHI—India will probably buy two million tons of wheat from Canada and Australia due to America's delay in deciding on India's request for two million tons of wheat to meet the drought situations in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

BANGALORE—About 1600 engineers in the Mysore Government service resigned because the Government failed to meet demands relating to service conditions and scales of pay.

NEW DELHI—Soviet Premier Kosygin has postponed his visit to India by three months.

GAUHATI—Three people were killed when police fired on a mob of villagers who protested against a party of officials carrying out an eviction order.

BOMBAY—Textile mill owners have threatened to close down 800 mills for 15 days in December because of the shortage of cotton. Labour leaders claim that the shortage is not serious enough to warrant a closure of the mills.

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi confirmed during a parliamentary debate that China has built a road joining Tibet and Nepal.

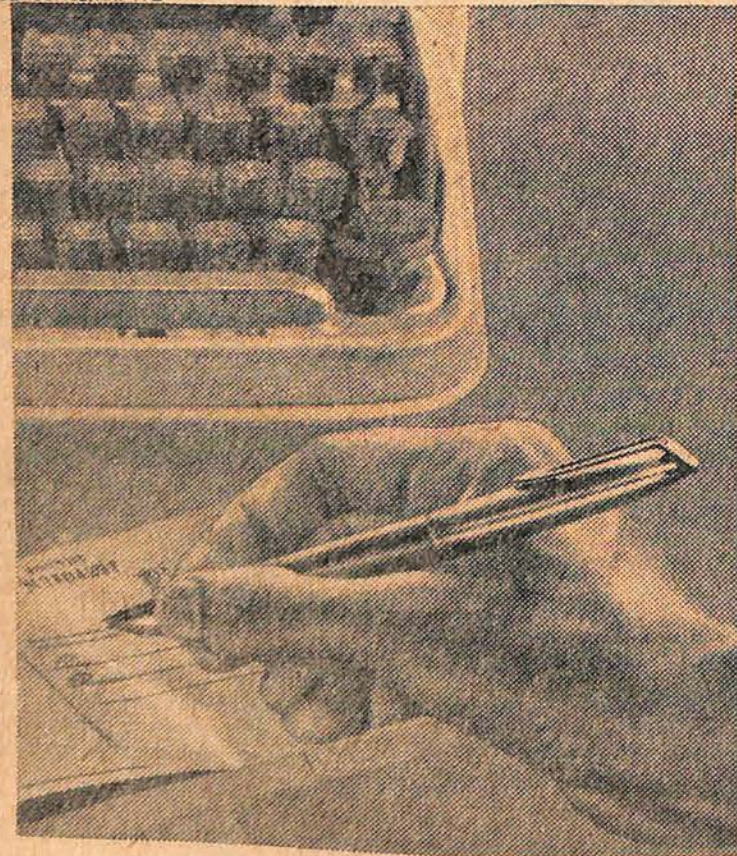
NEW DELHI—Ex-Congressmen Humayan Kabir and Dr. Mahatab have called for a meeting of Congress dissidents to form a national party out of such state organizations as the Kerala Congress, the Bangla Congress and the Jana Congress.

BHUBANESWAR—The Orissa Government has decided to increase the price of rice by Rs. 4.50 per quintal in order to give producers extra incentive.

NEW DELHI—The Congress General Election Committee is reported to have decided not to give former defence minister Krishna Menon a seat from his previous constituency of North Bombay. The final decision has been left with Congress President Kamraj.

BOMBAY—About 7000 Life Insurance Corporation employees observed a token strike organized by the All-India Insurance Employees' Association in protest against automation.

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British Action for European Unity

By OLIVER CORDEROY

London

Mr. Kosygin, the Soviet Prime Minister, is coming to London in February. But the frequency of British Cabinet Ministers' visits to Moscow hardly excites comment nowadays. In September last year Mr. Michael Stewart went. Mr. Harold Wilson, the Prime Minister, has been twice to Moscow this year. Now it is Mr. George Brown's turn. If he succeeds in getting greater clarification on either the Soviet conditions for a settlement in Vietnam or for a halt to the nuclear arms race, he can justify his claim to have given a new impulse to British foreign policy.

Before leaving for Moscow Mr. George Brown made an imaginative move toward solving the economic problems of a divided Europe. The Prime Minister has given a declaration of intent that Britain wishes to join Europe. But in the public mind so far this issue has been unduly narrowed to exchange of opinion between the countries of Western Europe only—The Six and The Seven.

What is needed is to consider Europe as a whole and dare to think about the economic development and the keeping of the peace in the countries of both Western and Eastern Europe. A divided continent will never be truly prosperous.

With this long-range aim in mind a forum has been created where men who take part in shaping public opinion in East and West Europe can meet in frank debate with each other and with responsible personalities of this country.

The International Publishing Corporation has arranged a two-day

East-West Conference this week for just this purpose. Leading editors from Czechoslovakia, Poland, The Netherlands are flying to London. And before flying to Moscow Mr. George Brown opens the first session of this forum.

Indians to Train on Australian Farms

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT
Canberra

A practical aid plan for India has been adopted by the Australian Primary Producers' Union (APPU), one of the country's major farm industry organizations.

At its annual conference here the APPU, as it is usually known, decided to ask the Federal Government to bring Indians to Australia to learn farming techniques.

Under the proposal, which it says is an attempt to relieve the food problem of India, the APPU will sug-

The week elsewhere

ASIAN BANK OPENS

TOKYO—The 30-member Asian Development Bank was formally inaugurated here on November 24. The member nations have already subscribed 965 million US dollars as capital. Japan's Takeshi Watanabe has been elected President for the first five years. The Bank's headquarters will be in Manila. Japanese Prime Minister Sato said at the inaugural meeting that the bank could be described as "the crystallisation of Asia's spirit of self-help and solidarity".

EUROPE WANTS MORE TEXTILES

BRUSSELS—The European Economic Community is discussing whether to import more cotton textiles from developing countries like India. Both Holland and Germany are said

gest that the Government brings "intelligent young men" from India to work for nine months on farms to supplement the Australians sent to teach Indians modern agricultural methods.

The APPU president, Mr. J. P. Hefferman of Victoria, told the conference that two of his neighbours were sons of Indian hawkers. They were excellent farmers and were educating their sons in modern farming methods to return to India and show their relatives and friends a "more enlightened way of life".

It is not known yet what the Government's attitude to the proposal will be. With Parliament in recess a decision cannot be expected until next year.

The Government is bound to consider it sympathetically, but will also seek the views of the Indian Government and consider the cost involved.

to be in favour of higher quotas. Negotiations are also under way for greater imports of Indian textiles by the United States. India is the only major textile-producing country that has not yet made a bilateral agreement with America.

MIDDLE EAST VIOLENCE

AMMAN—Violence between Israel and her neighbours has dramatically increased in the last fortnight. After incursions into Israeli territory from Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, the Israelis retaliated by demolishing the Jordanian village of Samu. This incident, coupled with outbreaks of violent demonstrations within Jordan itself, have made King Hussein's position dangerous. His Arab Legion last week was repelling attacks from the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Japanese MP Meets Chinese Leaders

By Fujiko Hara

Tokyo

MAO TSE-TUNG will be 73 this December.

Half a year ago the world heard rumours of his ill health and even of his death. Today he stands in the middle of a whirlwind of change that is taking place in Red China. It seems that the Captain has ordered the crews to be changed and the cabins to be repainted while the ship is on the high seas. How much longer will he be able to steer the ship with 700 million people aboard to be fed and clothed? Is the future being placed on the shoulders of the Red Guards, almost all of whom are in their teens? What really goes on? These are questions frequently asked and debated.

Eager to Build

Since August 15 several groups of Japanese MPs and authors as well as cultural delegations have been visiting Red China to see for themselves what really goes on. Mr. Zentaro Kosaka MP (53), former Minister of Foreign Affairs, has just returned from a four-week tour of Red China as a member of the eight-man delegation from the Liberal Democratic Party. They were the only ones who had the opportunity of conferring with Chou En-lai and Chen Yi. Mr. Kosaka will be on his way to the US to confer with the leaders there and no doubt the Chinese situation may well be discussed.

What was your general impression? "China has had a long-suffering past and it is the first time after many years of foreign rule that they are on their own. They were aware of this and seemed to me eager to build for themselves and endure what hardships there are."

What is the significance of present events? And what next?

"In China the old saying is that man's natural span of life is 73 or 84. And Mao is 73 this year. This factor may have had a lot to do with the timing of events."



Zentaro Kosaka

"Eighty per cent of China's population are peasants, but the differences between them and the industrial workers grew greater in recent years and the need for intellectualizing the workers and turning the intellectuals into workers arose. Of course the latter is a more difficult job to assume."

"Honestly speaking, things will not be easy when Mao ceases to be in power. When I asked who would be the successor when Mao dies, the reply was that they will hold a democratic council to decide and named those from no. 2 to no. 8 as decision makers. This, however, is not the answer at the cabinet level."

ON THE Spot

What were the Red Guards like? "Everywhere there were fresh paintings and readymade answers. The paintings on the walls had Mao's name and doctrines with, in a few cases, Lin Piao's. No other name was apparent."

"The schools are closed for six months and the youth are faithfully studying Mao's doctrines, each carrying with him a copy of the 'Collection of Mao's Speeches'. Even the bicycles which in most cases were the main means of transportation had Mao's pictures."

Follow Orders

"I asked a girl in Shanghai a few questions. She was a ninth grader. Will you go on to high school? Answer: 'I will follow what the party orders.' What will you become? Answer: 'What the nation demands.' The answers were always prompt and fast in coming."

We were eager to get the news of your interview with the leaders.

"Chou En-lai spent most of the time asking each one of us what year we were born and from what school we graduated. He was probably curious and did not want much time spent on discussion. Chen Yi explained that the purpose of the cultural

Continued on page 21

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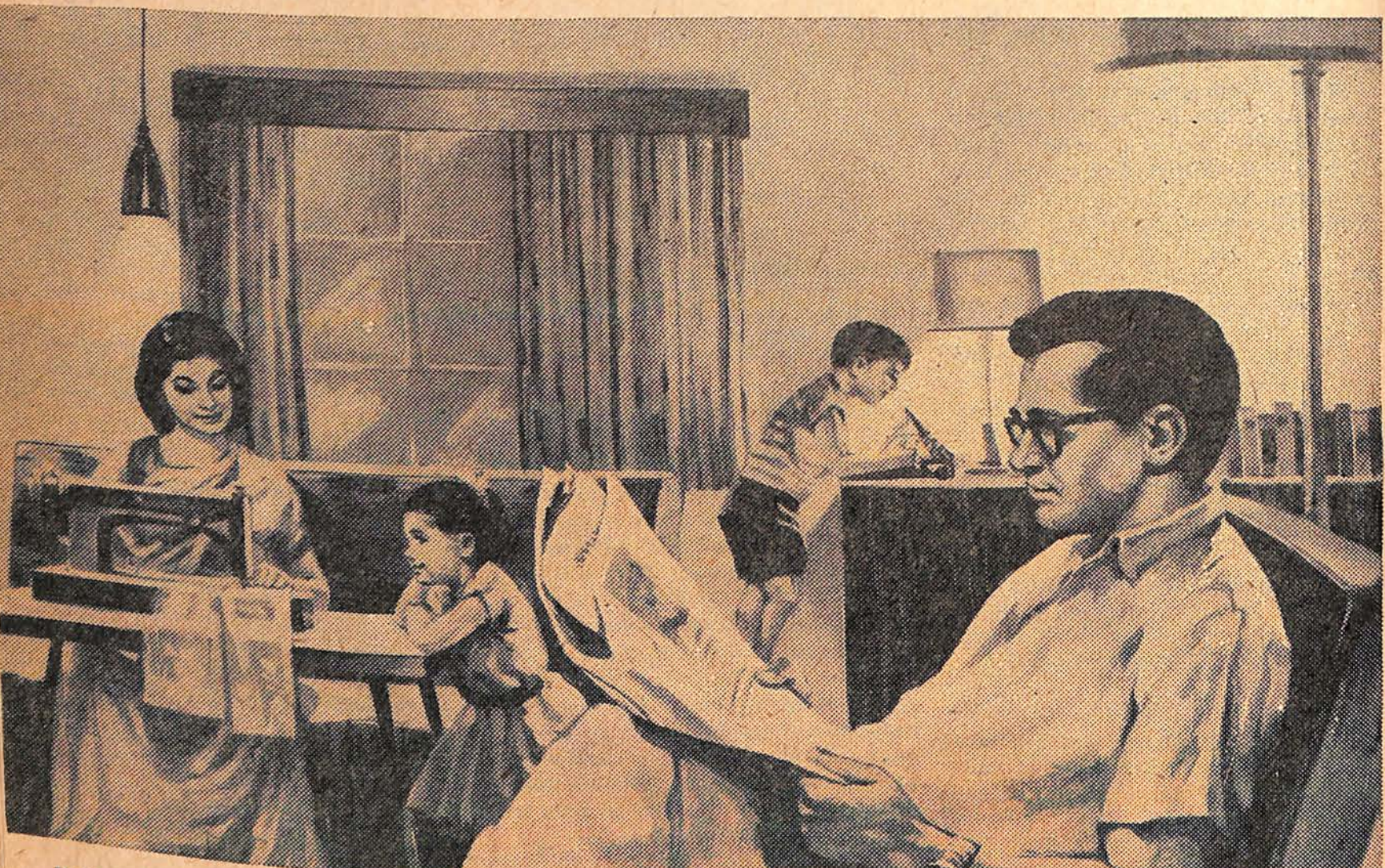
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"India Wades Towards Famine with Casual Indifference"

India is heading towards a famine in five years' time. Although enough warnings have already been issued by the FAO we continue to wade towards this famine with the casual indifference of the Titanic towards the iceberg. Grain reserves of the developed countries, particularly of the USA, are fast shrinking. Who can we turn to in our hour of need?

Unfortunately the attempts to provide the farmer with financial aid remain futile as most of the money dwindles before it reaches him; if it at all reaches him. It is clear that if India wants her food production increased, she first needs her morals strengthened.

LOY SALDANHA
Bangalore 27

UNDEMOCRATIC ATTACK

It is really unbecoming of a Prime Minister of the largest Democratic State in the world to suggest that the Press blackout the necessary news.

Curtailed freedom of the Press is tantamount to destroying the Democratic character and its very existence. The Press has its legitimate duty and responsibility to serve the public. Unnecessary intervention in the smooth functioning of the Press by the high-ups will make India look still smaller before the eyes of the world.

P. V. V. RAJAN
Calcutta 1

COURAGE FOR ALL

Being a father and also a grandfather, I fervently wish that every daughter of our country possessed the same kind of persevering and ebullient enthusiasm for such noble causes as Usha Chandiram has exhibited and which has culminated in the success of righteousness. May the Lord the Almighty also grant to every man that courage of conviction evinced by Rajmohan Gandhi which guided him through the episode.

SYED MUHAMMAD IBRAHEEM
Madras 5

INTELLIGENTSIA'S TASK

Our democracy is in peril, because a void has been created in the leadership of the country. In the pre-independence days, public life attracted the finest talent in the country and people from various walks of life, like lawyers, doctors and businessmen, participated in the national movement with great vigour and enthusiasm. During those days, there was a sense of personal involvement and identification with national affairs. But unfortunately, things have changed since independence. The intelligentsia has developed a sense of aloofness and detachment towards national affairs, and therefore, a vacuum has been created in the leadership of the

country. There is a danger that this vacuum is being increasingly filled by unworthy people.

The time has come for the intelligentsia to shed this apathy and to take purposeful interest in national affairs, if we are to survive as a democracy.

ASHOK L. SAMPAT
Bombay 9

AFRICAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Much is being said about the Wilson Government's ineffectiveness in Rhodesia. The fact seems to be forgotten that if he uses force it will be the African majority who will suffer. New problems would be created and the Africans would only be further weakened.

Like Indians two decades ago, Africans have to fight for their own freedom. What is needed is a consciousness and an inspiration in them to form their own Government in Rhodesia. The bail lies in the African court.

Thus I appreciate Wilson's policy of not taking any forcible action against the white minority of Rhodesia and leaving Rhodesians alone to make their own choice.

U. SUDHAKAR
Hyderabad 12

UTILIZING HOLIDAYS

Recently, in one of his comments in HIMMAT, RML laments over the highest number of holidays Indians enjoy over others.

It would be dangerous, in the present circumstances, to apply a cut in the paid holidays which are normally 30 days, Privilege Leave and 15 days, Casual Leave.

With a view to ensuring maximum attendance and increasing production and also reducing absenteeism, I suggest that employees and workers be allowed to convert these holidays into money: for each unutilized casual (or sick) leave half a day's pay be given and for each unutilized Privilege Leave day, a full day's salary be paid. This, I feel, will give a fillip to earn additional money and at the same time help achieving our above objectives.

Of course, they should have some rest and change: for that, the managements may exempt this concession for 10 days' Privilege Leave, which must be compulsorily enjoyed by all.

MISS R. VIJAYA LAKSHMI
Madras 33

"HARIJAN", NOW "HIMMAT"

I always read HIMMAT with greatest interest. I travelled in India in 1938

and met Mahatma Gandhi, whom I never shall forget. I subscribed to his paper HARIJAN.

As regards HIMMAT, please write more about your problem with the holy cows. I know it is a very delicate question, but it would be of importance for us abroad to get facts about this question whether it is a major or perhaps only a minor problem.

There is in Europe growing interest and also responsibility for India and the other countries of Asia and Africa. HIMMAT is promoting this. That is why I read it and want others to.

BARON ERNST VON SCHILLING
Aarhus, Denmark.

DANGEROUS AGITATION

The agitation for a total ban on cow-slaughter is based on the religious scruples of a clamant minority of one community and must be resisted on the following grounds—

1. It is unconstitutional of democracy and secularism (Art. 48 of the Constitution authorises a ban on the slaughter of milk and draught cattle only).
2. It would interfere with the right of large segments of the population to consume beef and aggravate an already grave food shortage by compelling them to consume other food in short supply like cereals.
3. If the slaughter of dry cows is banned, millions of them will be consuming huge quantities of fodder which is already frightfully inadequate for the existing bovine population. Milk-giving cows, already underfed, will therefore have even less to eat and the present low milk production will be further lowered.
4. The prolongation of the life of useless cows would mean for them a neglected and semi-starved existence. The best way of protecting these gentle animals is to look after them well while they give milk and thereafter consign them to modern abattoirs for slaughter in a humane and comparatively painless manner.
5. Finally, a total ban on cow-slaughter would create unemployment among butchers and seriously affect the hides and skins trade.

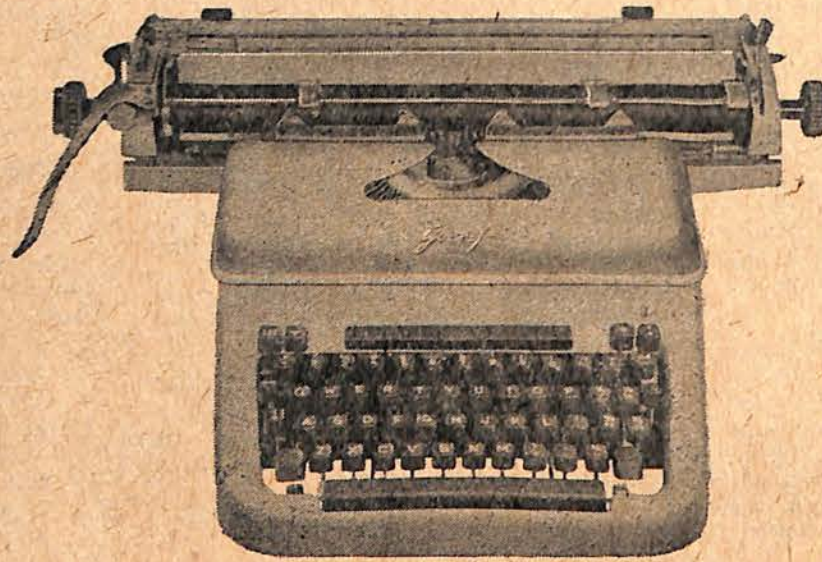
ALEX FRANCIS
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Who Is Running India?

Continued from page 6

neighbours. The fact that the Kashmir issue remains unsolved and the relations with Pakistan are no better makes our dependence on the Soviet Union all the greater.

Soviet influence has steadily gained ground in India since the visit of Khrushchev and Bulganin in 1955. When Mr. Krishna Menon had to leave the Nehru Cabinet after the Chinese invasion, and later Mr. K. D. Malaviya for other reasons, "Pravda" openly espoused their case and felt that the Rightists were taking over the Nehru Government. Soon after this the Kamaraj Plan was conceived and Rightists Morarji Desai and S. K. Patil were axed. The Soviet Union was satisfied that it had got its pound of flesh.

This week in Delhi there are reports that Moscow has urged and is strongly urging that Mr. Menon should be given the North Bombay seat for Parliament. There is no "non-alignment" where Soviet interests in Indian affairs is concerned.

The Soviet Union has influenced Indian events through the Communist Party (Right), led by Mr. S. A. Dange, and through the pro-Moscow group within the Congress Party led by Mr. Krishna Menon. Last year the Soviet leaders were reported to have instructed Mr. P. Sunderayya, a Communist leader recovering in a Moscow hospital, to bring about unity between the two Communist parties of India—pro-Moscow and pro-Peking. These efforts have failed and Soviet leaders now seem disillusioned by the prospects of the Communist Party within India.

Soviet Confidence

One of the Opposition leaders who went to Moscow this year was told, "Forget everything and join the Congress Party". That Soviet friends of the leader should tell him so is an indication of the confidence with which the Soviet Union can and does operate within the Republic of India.

In Delhi on September 1, the pro-Moscow Communist Party staged a demonstration estimated at about 75,000 persons for which Rupees 50 lakhs were spent. This figure was publicly disclosed by Mr. Nanda, then Home Minister. But has the Government of India investigated how such a large sum came into the hands of the organizers, from where, and has this Government the strength to prevent such an inflow of foreign money used to affect Indian affairs?

The Democratic Research Services of India, on the basis of research by a Swiss agency, charged that the facilities of the Soviet Embassy in Delhi, including its typewriter, were used by the Communist Party of India for purposes of its Party press releases. External Affairs Minister M. C. Chagla, when questioned in Parliament, replied that the Soviet Embassy had described the allegations as groundless. "It is not proposed to make any probe in this matter."

Too many one-eyed Nelsons are in positions of power in this country, who for reasons best known to themselves, shrink from action even when national interests demand it. This weakness encourages the extension of Soviet influence in India.

To be continued

FOOD AID—Continued from page 7

need of large-scale assistance from other nations, we are limited in our independence and will be subject to pressures. This is the reality we have to live with. Making the best of the inevitable, our aim should be the pursuit of an independent course as far as is feasible. We need to take a firm stand only where our own vital interest is involved.

The joint communique with the UAR and Yugoslavia on the dangers of big power hegemony through aid was a provocation we could ill afford. Similarly, no vital interest of India is jeopardized if we maintain strict equidistance between the USA and the USSR on Vietnam. If Soviet pressure to condemn American bombing of the North is great, US pressure to be silent on the subject is equally persuasive. We need not upset the equanimity of either by leaning too much towards one side.

On the present occasion, India would be justified in reacting to the US action in freezing food aid only if we had not given unnecessary cause for provocation where no vital interest of Indian security was involved.

The ultimate salvation for our land is if we will undertake the difficult task of building our own self-reliance by sacrifice and hard work. At the present stage even the best of governments cannot do without considerable foreign aid. But we have added to our troubles by an incompetent leadership which is unable to deal with its own selfish partymen and is unable to inspire the nation.

Election Winds

by **ANTENNA**

Jivaraj to Return

Dr. Jivaraj Mehta, Indian High Commissioner in London is returning to India, "to take part in the elections", reports the "Daily Telegraph", London. The former Chief Minister of Gujarat resigned his office when there was a split in the Gujarat Congress in 1963 between his group and that of Mr. Morarji Desai.

The final list of the Gujarat PCC does not contain the name of Dr. Mehta. He will either stand outside the state for a Lok Sabha seat, or he may prefer to wait and be sent to the Rajya Sabha from Gujarat.

Congress Nonplussed

Bikaner's popular Maharaja, Dr. Karni Singh, will stand as an Independent from his former state and the Congress will put up no candidate against him. As the Maharani of Jaipur plans also to stand for the Parliament seat from Jaipur, the Congress has deferred for the second time the decision to put up a candidate against her. Could it be that no candidate wants to forfeit his deposit?

Menon Battle

A battle royal was fought at the Central Election Committee on whether Mr. Krishna Menon should be allotted a ticket for the North Bombay (East) seat of which he is the sitting member. The Central Election Committee was divided along these lines: For Mr. Menon—Mr. Kamaraj, Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Chavan. Against—Mr. S. K. Patil, Mr. Morarji Desai, Mr. Atulya Ghosh. It is not accidental that the division shows the emerging power pattern mentioned in HIMMAT last week.

The issue is back in the hands of Congress President Kamaraj for final disposal.

Rich Pastures

In drought-stricken Bihar many of the local people have no-one to turn to because all the Congress big-wigs in its towns and villages have disappeared to fight for election tickets in Delhi rather than bother about their brethren in need in Bihar.

"An Oasis of Artistic Expression" Westminster Arts Centre Opened

London

Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi opened the Westminster Theatre Arts Centre before guests from 33 nations. As he unveiled a memorial stone to Peter Howard, in whose memory the Centre has been built, he said, "Being asked to open the Westminster Arts Centre is easily the greatest honour I have received. I am aware that this is also an honour conferred on my countrymen."

Present on the occasion were Mrs. Peter Howard, her two sons and her daughter, who is the wife of Scottish MP Mr. Patrick Wolrige-Gordon. The Indian actress Surya Kumari recited poems by Peter Howard.

Prime Minister Keith Holyoake of New Zealand sent a message of good wishes which was read at the opening ceremony by Mr. Kenneth Belden, Chairman of the Westminster Memorial Trust. He described the Arts Centre as "an oasis of artistic expression for many generations to come".

Gift From Sudan

Messages of greeting came from all parts of Britain and the Commonwealth, from the Chairman of the Arts Council, the General Secretary of Actors' Equity, and stars of stage and screen in Britain and America. President Makarios of Cyprus cabled his best wishes. The Speaker of the Ceylon House of Representatives wrote, "The Westminster Theatre has a high tradition of creating great plays and films, which encourage a growth in character in Britain and the Commonwealth."

As the guests moved through the entrance foyer of the Centre, the Hon. Buth Diu, President of the Sudanese Liberal Party and formerly Minister of Animal Resources, unveiled a panel embossed in leather which is a gift from the Sudan Government Tannery. He said, "This memorial to that wise man is meant to be a pumping station—like those which irrigate our cotton fields—for God's answer to the thirsty world."

Guests present at the opening ceremony included Prince Richard of

Hesse, Robert Carmichael, President of the French Jute Industry, Frederick Philips, President of Philips Elec-

trical Industries, James Dickson, senior Swedish MP and Chamberlain to the King of Sweden, J. Blanton Belk, Executive Director of Moral Re-Armament in the United States, Dr. Erich Peyer, President of the Caux Foundation, Sir Felix Aylmer, President of British Actors' Equity, and representatives of the High Commissions and Embassies of Ceylon, Cyprus, Lebanon, Congo, Greece and Germany.

For Mr. Gandhi's Speech at the opening, see page 22

Combatting World Hunger—I

by Reginald Holme

WORLD POPULATION rose by 70 million in the past year, but there was no increase in food to feed the extra stomachs.

This means there was an average of two per cent less food for everyone.

These facts were given by the Indian Director-General of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) in a report that has been trumpeted to the corners of the earth.

Dr. Sen warned that the gap between population and production

FRONTIERS OF science

might increase steadily. Mankind could be swept by a cyclonic crisis—the worst hunger situation in history.

He added that huge grain imports by the Soviet Union and mainland China had reduced the once-vast grain surpluses of North America "to their lowest level in well over a decade". Production per person throughout the world during the 1965-66 season dropped by two per cent. In the food-short lands the production drop was worst—four to five per cent in developing regions of Africa, Latin America and Asia.

What is being done to deal with this?

High-ranking plant scientists from Harvard and other US universities are girding themselves to grapple with the task. They form a panel of the

US National Academy of Sciences. In a book entitled "The Plant Sciences, Now and in the Coming Decade" they recommend that the US Government spend 1500 million dollars on plant research in the next 10 years.

One significant suggestion is that scientists be trained for developing countries to do their own research in raising farm yields.

The plant scientists foresee a tapping of "plant power" corresponding to the tapping of nuclear power. Research on nitrogen-fixation from the air "may open the way to vast new nitrogen fertilizer resources".

Among important botanical breakthroughs is a greater understanding of the use of small amounts of metals and other elements in plant growth. For example, say the scientists, "the addition of molybdenum to some Australian soils—at one ounce per acre—has increased plant production 10 to 20 times".

Special attention will be given to broadening the understanding of the 15 major food crops that now stand between mankind and starvation. Despite their vast economic and social importance the biological characteristics of these crops are still not properly known.

For conducting plant studies 8500 "controlled-environment chambers" would be set up at universities. A large one has already been in use since 1949 at the California Institute of Technology. Further large units are being constructed.

viewpoint First Prize

What Should India Do For South-East Asia?

By Ratna Sen, Calcutta 19

Most people will laugh at the very suggestion. India is a large country with gigantic problems. Right now it is in an almost hopeless paroxysm of violence and factional hatreds. How could such an India with such economic, social and political troubles do anything for another country?

But to say this is to say that India is well on her way down the drain and there will be no recovery for her from this ridiculous muddle that she is in. And this is what I just cannot allow. It is not physically possible for nearly 500 million people to lose their heads and never get back to sanity.

Regain Commonsense

When India does regain her commonsense, and that will have to be soon, she cannot only do something for South-East Asia but also with South-East Asia.

Geographically and internationally India though a separate nation belongs more to South-East Asia than elsewhere. Her policy of non-alignment keeps her free from Russia though right next to her. The Middle East is in a complex two-way pull. For her own self as much as for others India needs to and can do something for South-East Asia.

The most needful is a fellow-feeling, a friendship born of common

aims and desires. For the majority in India and South-East Asia is still in a very poor and deprived state. Exchange of know-how, exchange of plans for progress could be of great help to both India and her South-East Asian neighbours.

Grabbed at by power blocks, exploited for centuries for spice, rubber and other things, these South-East Asian countries need friendship more than a supply of arms from the nations of the world.

I do not mean that the bond should be a brotherhood of beggars. It should rather be a common realization of their needs and a sincere common striving to improve the lot of their masses.

All this India can do for and with South-East Asia. In a disintegrating world it is necessary for a healthy and warm friendship between nations, a friendship free from strains and

continued on next page

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obligations, free from aid and military pacts, a friendship based on human understanding and mutual respect.

* * *

Second Prize

Help Preserve Freedom

By B. N. RAO, Hyderabad 5

"In defeating China in war, the imperialist powers have taken away many Chinese dependent states and a part of its territories. Japan took Korea, Taiwan and the Ryuka Islands, the Pescadores Island and Port Arthur; England seized Burma, Bhutan, Nepal and Hong Kong; France occupied Annam and even an insignificant country like Portugal took Macao." Taking the hint contained in this sentence from Mao Tse-tung's work "Chinese Revolution

and The Chinese Communist Party," India should reorient her policy towards the countries of South-East Asia which she has neglected too long to her peril.

It is surprising that we have been cultivating close relations with the countries of west Asia with whom we have less geographical, historical, religious and cultural affinities than with the countries of South-East Asia.

In the event of Chinese aggression, we expect the USA to come to our rescue. Is therefore anything wrong if we extend a helping hand to these countries which have been obliged to join SEATO for mutual defence? At present, their independence is underwritten by the USA but India should gradually take over the job of helping these countries to preserve their freedom. It would not

be any sort of imperialism but an instance of co-operative defence.

India should take the initiative in promoting close economic ties with them for mutual benefit. We want rice badly and should enter into a long-term agreement with Burma and Thailand for the import of rice in exchange for our export of machines, railway rolling stock and consumer goods now imported by them from other countries. We should help them with our technical know-how. Earnest efforts should be made for the establishment of a South-East Asian Economic Community, no less than a Defence Community. Passports and visas should be abolished by and by. To begin with, visas may be eliminated.

In fine, we should all hang together or we shall be hung separately.

This was a Life

William Shakespeare
1564—1616

"He was a man, take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again".

Hamlet said this of his father and so says the world about William Shakespeare. For no one in the history of English literature, before or after him, has approached the grandeur and the greatness of Shakespeare's poetry. The master genius of the English Renaissance, Shakespeare is the ageless and unchallenged king of the literature of his language.

Born the son of a prosperous middle-class trader in the town of Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare received his early education at the local Grammar School.

When he was 18 he married Anne Hathaway who was eight years his senior. About three years later Shakespeare went to London and probably made his first important contact with the theatre. By 1593, when he published his poem "Venus and Adonis", he had gained a reputation as a poet and a year later he was an actor, shareholder and playwright in a London theatrical firm. It was at this time that he began to write his plays, commencing with "Love's Labour Lost" and followed by his other early exuberant comedies, studded with word-play and wit. As his genius developed he turned to historical plays about the past glory and honour of England, articulating the spirit of patriotism that had overtaken Elizabethan England.

In the first decade of the next century Shakespeare wrote his tragedies, developing from the experimental "Richard II" and "Richard III" into the sublime tragedies of "Hamlet", "King Lear", "Othello" and "Macbeth". In 1611, two years after finishing his tragedies, he wrote his final four plays ending with the beautiful and philosophical "Tempest".

As well as a magnificent command over the English language, Shakespeare had an amazing insight into human nature and the emotions and feelings of men and women. His dramatic genius presented this insight with an incredible power through the characters of his plays.

Shakespeare's plays were financially successful and in 1612 he retired to Stratford-on-Avon where he died four years later, leaving behind him the greatest contribution to English literature made by one man. Today, his dramas are the heritage of mankind.

R.T.U.

Japanese MP

Continued from page 13

revolution was a fight against Russian revisionism. In Russia it came after Stalin's death but in China the danger arose while Mao is still alive. He said also that the recent cultural revolution is aimed at unifying the leadership in the event of war with America. They are tightening control within the country under the proposition that the escalation of war in Vietnam will involve China, though the present economic situation does not enable them to go to war. But they are determined to crush the foreign troops when they invade their country.

"The Red Guards' activities may be trimmed in the future but they will most likely continue to be at the helm of this cultural revolution. As one of them pointed out they aim (1) to fight, (2) to criticize, and (3) to reform.

"The fact remains that a vast land of 700 million people lies next door and we cannot hope to solve the problem by containing them or meeting them head-on. We need a new factor and this is where Japan must help."

What do you see for the future of Red China and Asia, and Japan's part in it?

"Whether it is Marxist-Leninism or Maoism in China, their political principle is based on a 'hate policy' rather than a 'love policy'. It may be understandable for China which has been under foreign imperialism from the Opium War in 1840 right up till 1949.

'Isms' Irrelevant

"But today the nations in Asia are independent and there is no country under foreign rule. It is so the world over and a policy based on imperialism or anti-imperialism is irrelevant. A new 'ism', shall I say, a new world 'ism' for the second half of the 20th century—one world and one family and welfare for all' is being born and realized more and more.

"I hope that the leaders of Red China will open up their 'closed society, and begin to think in terms of walking the path of prosperity as a member nation of the world family and applying a policy based on love as their guiding principle,

nationally and internationally. I believe some nations in Asia have already gone this way, and others are going through the pains of birth. With this understanding Japan can play her part with Red China and the whole of Asia."

A Battleground

By Rajmohan Gandhi

Continued from page 22

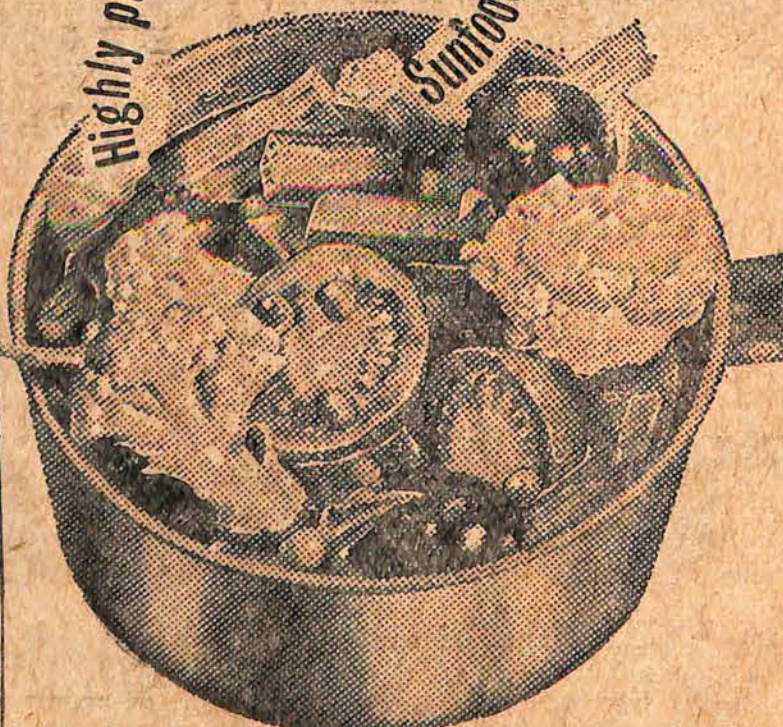
Democratic nations that what Asia needs is more of Soviet influence. I am not against Russia. I believe the Russian people have gifts and qualities which under God are meant to be used in a way and on a scale not yet thought of for the benefit of mankind. But I am not sure that to sovietize all Asia is the answer to Chinese Communism.

The Moral Re-Armament of Asia, bringing about a revolution which dwarfs the changes brought by Communism and which goes beyond the dangers of class war and race war, is the answer. I am convinced that this revolution cannot come on the scale on which it is now needed and with the speed now required without Britain playing substantial part.

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A BATTLEGROUND

By Rajmohan Gandhi

Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi was invited to open the Westminster Arts Centre in London on November 26. The Arts Centre is a memorial to the late Mr. Peter Howard who was world leader of Moral Re-Armament till February 1965. Addressing the distinguished gathering from 33 nations, Mr. Gandhi said:

PETER HOWARD genuinely believed that the combined efforts of a great army of men and women of all nations, races and classes, united in their resolve to live unselfishly and as God directs, could create a brand new world for humanity. He was convinced that modern man, if he shed the primitive passions of hate, fear and greed, could provide food for the hungry, clothes for the naked and homes for the homeless. He saw a world where care for one another became so normal that men and women no longer moved about with their hates and hurts unhealed.

With an astonishing and unceasing commitment, Peter Howard lived, fought and died to bring about the new world in which he believed. God, the king of every home and nation. This was his steady target.

Violent Reality

One of the most remarkable men of all time called the world a stage. I hope I shall be permitted in this Centre of the Arts to suggest that the world is more a battleground than a stage.

On November 7, from my third-floor flat in the heart of New Delhi, I saw six smoke clouds rising up, heard gun shots and felt tear gas in my eyes. Hundreds of thousands demonstrated that day in New Delhi against the Government. A good proportion of them had surrounded the house of our Parliament. Lives were lost in the firing that had to be resorted to. The violence of that day was not imagination but reality.

Tyranny is reality, too. Less than three months ago two young women colleagues of ours, first

inspired to work with Moral Re-Armament through one of Peter Howard's plays, "Space Is So Startling", were arbitrarily, with physical force and against their will, seized by the police in Madras. The young women were deprived of their liberty and their freedom of occupation. The force of Moral Re-Armament was deprived of two of its workers.

One of them, Usha Chandiram, is now back with us. She won her freedom after seventy days of non-stop battle. In an amazing manner the battle of this young girl has made Moral Re-Armament real, alive and vivid before millions of our countrymen and women.

God's Battleline

A force of men and women who decide that the power in a country and in the world should now be decisively transferred from man to God will cut deeply and unavoidably into the wills of those who run nations. Men who want the best from their countries and humanity will say yes. Men who want position and its perquisites for themselves will say no. Moral Re-Armament has been raised up at this hour to draw God's battleline across nations and to sift out the hearts and motives of men before God's judgment seat.

Human nature, in spite of what we are sometimes advised, has not suddenly become entirely decent and noble. The age of selfishness, in fact the age of spiritual wickedness in high places, is not over. To believe otherwise is to believe in Marxism which says that environment improves man. "In the world and yet not of it" is a phrase that still describes the quality needed in those who, like Peter Howard, would want to change world conditions.

Patriotism is necessary but not enough. You cannot love the world if you don't love your country. For those of us who have loved ourselves for so long, loving our countrymen and country is certainly a step forward. But I don't see how the splintering process which will ruin the prospects of our race and encourage tyranny everywhere can be averted with-

out a decision to think and live for the world.

Peter Howard succeeded in presenting a great image of Britain. But that was not his paramount aim. This was to bring a new day in the life of every nation.

The Westminster Arts Centre is going to be the great voice of Britain. It will invite the millions everywhere to listen to the voice of God.

Complete obedience to this voice was Peter Howard's decision and life. I don't think that obedience to God can be proved by references to Him or by invoking His blessings on my plans. "I am a very ordinary man but my life is not my own," said and meant Howard. It also meant the willingness to disagree with and stand up to any man or power for the sake of God.

Howard could never understand the philosophy that urges appeasement of evil and calls appeasement fact. He knew, too, that opposition to Moral Re-Armament was not always due to misunderstanding or lack of information. Often it arose because certain men preferred godlessness to obedience to God and wanted to assert their will over the will of others and over the will of God.

High Destiny

India is between anarchy and tyranny. Making freedom our God was folly. Freedom obtains in a society where God is God and where a great number of men and women live unselfishly for one another. Without a massive and immediate expansion of the revolution of Moral Re-Armament, tyranny in India, already around the corner, will be in the saddle.

Yet I believe, in spite of the present situation and of all that I know is wrong in India, in the high destiny of our nation and I don't rule out the possibility that our country will move towards it.

India needs Britain. The world needs you. Asia urgently requires the secrets of honesty, unselfishness and teamwork which you can teach. It is often suggested these days and by men in power in

Continued on page 21

New Horizons



In pre-Independence era, India had plans and programmes for social and economic betterment of the people. But there was a fundamental weakness - the weakness of their belonging more to the Government than to the people.

Independence came, and with it a new awakening, and people's plans, for the people, by the people. The results were tangible - more and more of better and cheaper things; a better way of life for more and yet more people of our land.

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Jimmy Mehta

page 17

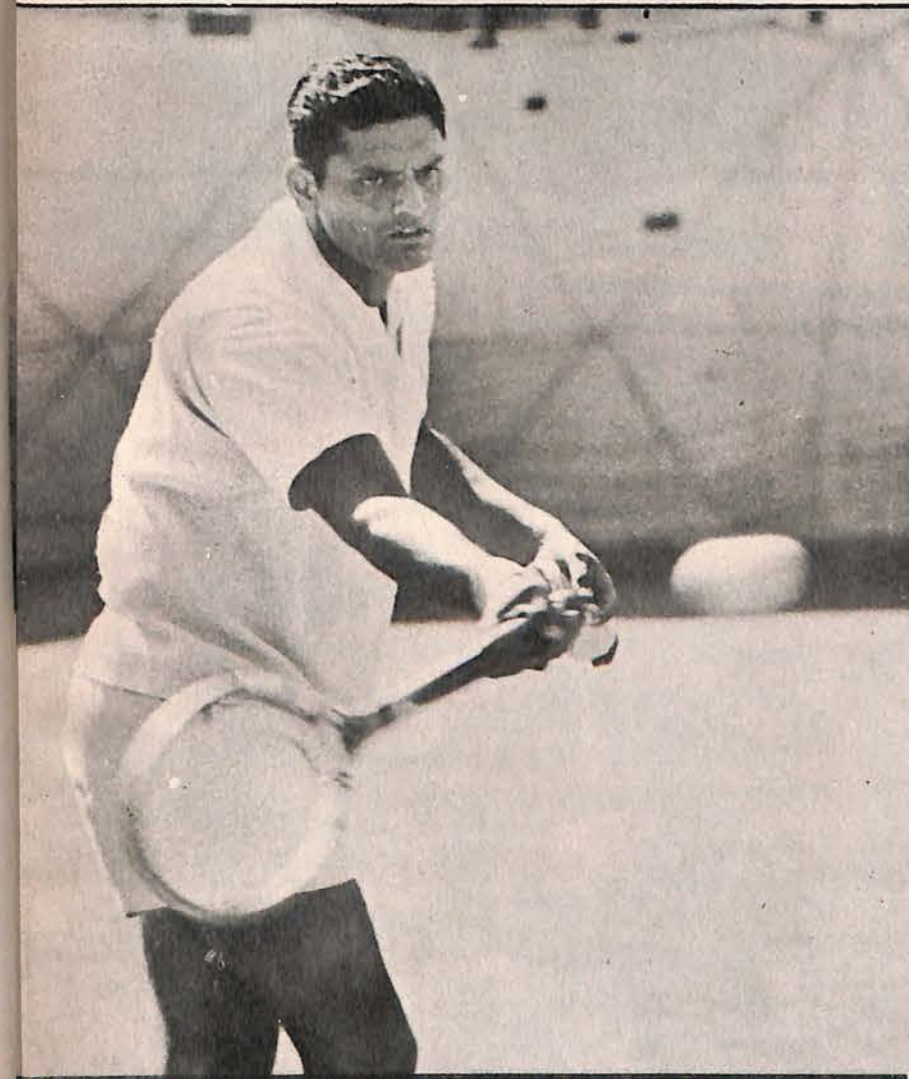
Covers the Davis Cup



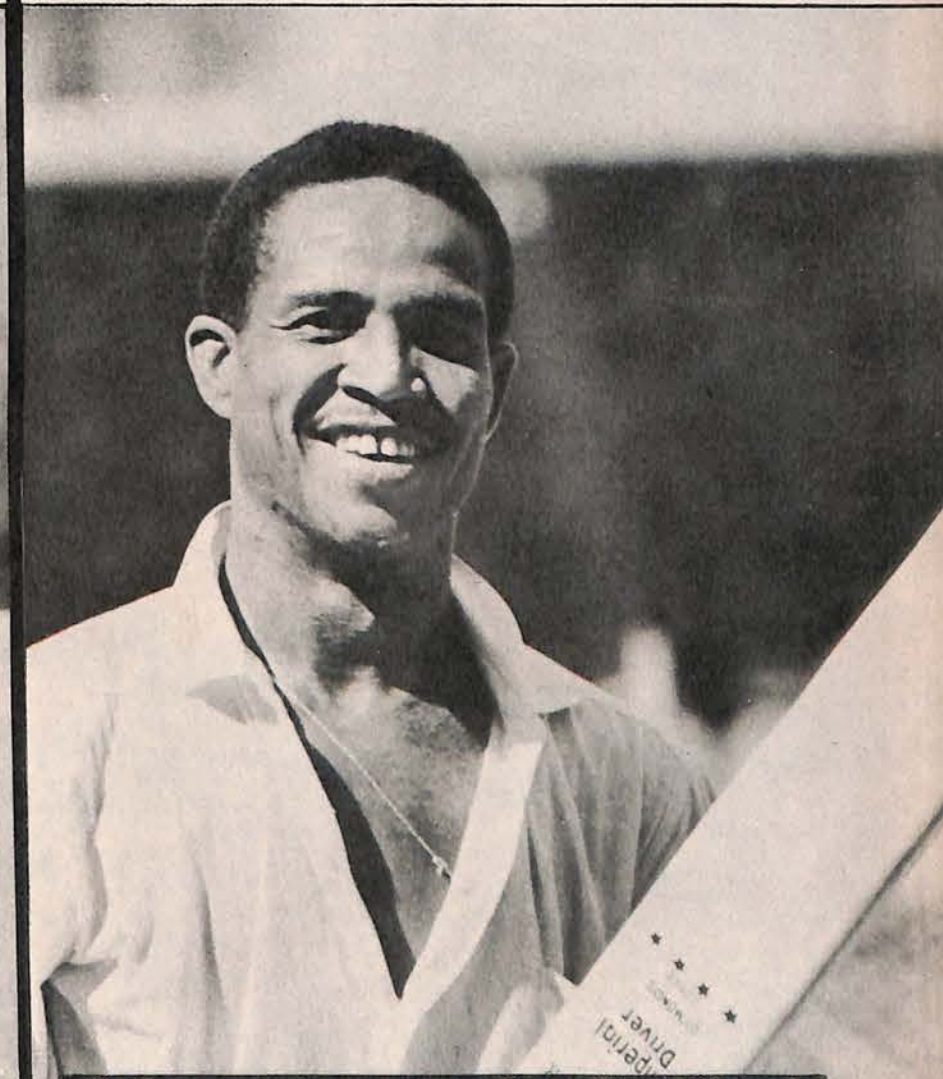
Vijay Merchant

page 5

Sizes up the West Indies



Krishnan our undisputed champion



Sobers prepares for first test

Exclusive Report
page 15

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