# a man-made NEW, WET DOCK

Gone are the sand dunes, railway tracks and with them, the dry dusty land.

As if by magic, the land has given place to the stillness of the blue sea. But there has been no magic. The nation's planners felt the need for a harbour to accommodate more ships, to accelerate our trade and increase our cargo handling capacity. The solution lay in creating a dock by turning land into sea. The engineers entrusted with the task overcame the obstacles one after another.

Here is an indication of the magnitude of the task:

Cement concrete required was about 200,000 yds<sup>3</sup>. Of this 40,000 yds<sup>3</sup> had to be discharged under water. Steel involved was 1685 tons.

Supplying 200,000 tons of stone metal to the site was solved by installing a 30 tons (an hour) crushing and screening unit at Pallavaram quarry, 13 miles away and pressing into round-the-clock service a fleet of 13 tipper vehicles.

Thanks to the engineering skill and the meticulous care with which the field staff executed the work, ECC completed the dock satisfactorily and on time.

P.O. Box 343, Madras-2

### Other outstanding jobs undertaken by ECC:

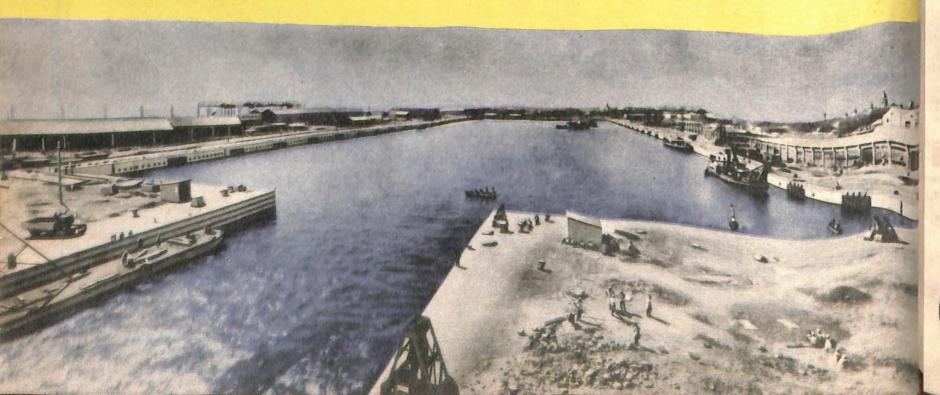
- The 8-storeyed building of the Indian Overseas Bank, Madras
- The 600 metre long Modular Laboratory at Bombay
- Cement factory for Mysore Cements Limited
- SKF's Ball Bearing factory at Chinchwad
- 1.6 million ton Expansion Scheme, Durgapur Steel Project
- Looms Project Building for Madurai Mills, Ambasamudram

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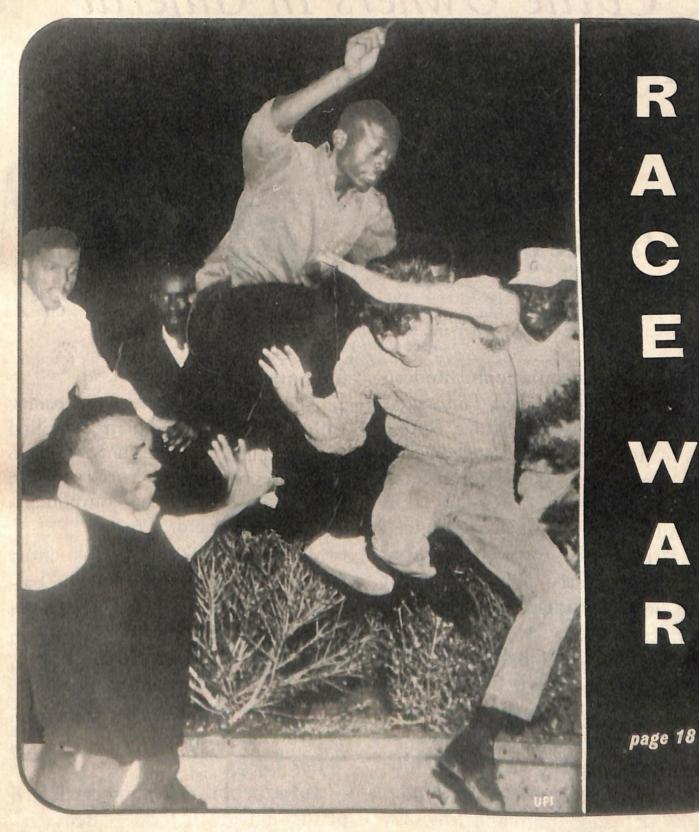


# HIMMAT



Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



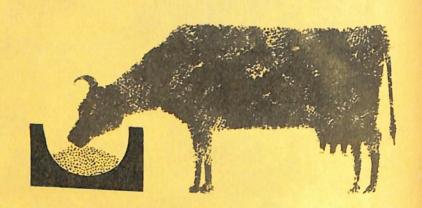
Friday November 20 1964

Pyarelal FREEDOM'S FACE

CLASS-ROOM DICTATORSHIP
a Warning

# Cattle Owners In Gujerat TO SAVE RS. 40 LAKHS

annually in their cattle feed bills



India's first automatic and modern Rs. 41 lakh cattle feed factory at Kanjari, Kaira will produce 60,000 tons of nutritionally balanced cattle feed every year. This is expected to save as much as Rs. 40 lakhs annually in Gujerat's cattle feed bill. What is more, such balanced cattle and poultry feed will result in an amazing yield of milk, eggs and meat!

A wide range of balanced nutritive mixed feeds will be produced in this Buhler automatic cattle feed milling plant. The end product is cheap because large scale feed milling will make use of seasonal purchases, damaged grain and low cost materials. There is no wastage and no drain on food resources needed for human consumption.

This 10 ton per hour capacity Buhler feed milling plant supplied and installed by Larsen & Toubro can now be manufactured locally; only 25 percent of the components need be imported.

A concerted country wide effort to produce such nutritionally balanced cattle feed could result in an immediate 50 per cent increase in yield. Each step forward is a gain to our self sufficiency in food: industry and individual must join together in 'ceaseless striving for a better future'

Information regarding cattlefeed plants and green fodder dehydration plants can be had from Larsen & Toubro P.O. Box 278, Bombay 1.

Bombay

Friday, November 20, 1964

Vol. I No. 3

### Sack Them

THE SITUATION in Orissa is a disgrace to all concerned. Law and order have collapsed. The students have committed senseless loot and arson and allowed themselves to become easy tools of ambitious politicians. The State Government stands condemned. It encouraged the violence, winked at it and failed dismally when at last it tried to curb it. The opposition parties have helped and strengthened the forces of lawlessness.

The students of Orissa are not acting on their own strength. They had the support of strong powers when they ransacked the Legislative Assembly some weeks ago. Is there any other explanation for the Chief Minister's order to the police that the rioting students should not be halted?

When the Congress Parliamentary Board allowed the Orissa Congressmen to overrule Mr. Mitra's resignation as Chief Minister, they, too, condoned the students' violence. Mr. Patnaik, the former Chief Minister, and Mr. Mitra, the present one, against whom the fury of the students is now directed, need to reflect honestly on their own past utterances. It was part of their public-ly expressed philosophy that all issues should be decided by "the masses."

The Central Government has drifted from one stopgap move to another. A way to avoid acting on facts is to send a fresh fact-finding mission. The latest turn is that of the Cabinet Secretary, Mr. Khera, and the head

of the C.B.I., Mr. Verma,

The time has come to act firmly. The State Government should be dismissed and President's rule imposed.

President's rule will not automatically ensure the change for which all Orissa longs. Can the Central Government find a man who will be firm with the crooked and corrupt and restore law and order and good administration? Only a man of toughness and integrity can deal with the situation. Himmat hopes that the Union Government has the will and the ability to find him.

### Nehru's Will, Chagla's Way

"IF I HAVE MY WAY," said Mr. Chagla, the Central Education Minister, "I will prescribe it in every text book, so that all the youth of our country can read it."

Mr. Chagla was talking about the will and testament

of the late Mr. Nehru.

Mr. Nehru was an excellent writer. His will is of

high literary quality. But there are two major reasons why Mr. Chagla should not be allowed to have his way.

First, loved as he was by the Indian people and great as was his sacrifice for the nation, he was also the leader of a political party. Making it compulsory for every Incian child to read—and memorise and recite? -Mr. Nehru's testament will justly be regarded by the other parties as a selfish use of Government machinery.

Some will say that India's children will always dis-

tinguish between Nehru the national figure and Nehru the Congress leader. Others, with more reason on their side, will dispute them.

But even if this distinction is to be assumed, the acceptance of Mr. Chagla's wish will be a serious precedent. Petty but powerful leaders—provincial or national—will always refer back to the Nehru will to justify forcing their way into the minds and hearts of our

youth through compulsory text books.

Mr. Chagla, to be sure, has a precedent to fall back on-the minting of Nehru coins. He might argue that if it is proper to give the Nehru image an indisputable monetary value, nothing can be wrong in giving his opinions an irrefutable educational value. Such an argument does not prove that Mr. Chagla is right. It proves that the idea of a Nehru currency was wrong.

If there was one thing Mr. Nehru did not want it was to be made into a demigod. Does the Government wish to make a Nkrumah, Sukarno or Franco out of Nehru? Feudal nawabs and princes might have wished to impose their memories in this way. It is an insult to Mr. Nehru to suggest he would bless this reactionary

The second reason is that Mr. Nehru's testament is a definite disavowal of faith in religion. His remarkable struggle for a greater India does not call for the compulsory teaching of his personal views on God or religion to every Indian child. It will be a folly to justify the move on the strength of the document's style of language. Such a defence has been made for the propaganda of writers to whom no one who loves Mr.

Nehru will want to compare him.

The Government will create a splendid precedent if they ignore Mr. Chagla's proposal. When, at a later time, tin-pot potentates try to seize a place in every Indian mind, they can be reminded that what was not done for Mr. Nehru's views could certainly not be done

for theirs.

### Who Won in Moscow?

Chou En-Lai, back home from Moscow, claims that the proposed December 15 meeting of the World Communist Parties has been postponed.

Less than 24 hours after his assertion of victory, the Russian authorities say in Moscow that the con-

ference is still on.

The duel between Chou En-lai and the Russian leaders seems to have ended in a draw. The World Communist Conference may take place as scheduled. But it will not do what Khrushchev had convened it for. It will not condemn China.

The Sino-Soviet split was a fact. It may or may

India's danger is that we tend to hear what we hope and believe what we hear. It is a shaky edifice on which to build a foreign policy which must see us through years of storms over the Himalayas.

### Briefly Speaking ...

### Kenya's Future

LAST MONTH MR. MBOYA, Kenya's Minister for Constitutional Affairs, stated that African leaders will not accept invitations to tea from Indian leaders. Now Mr. Gikonyo Kiano, Kenya's Minister for Commerce and Industry, speaks of his Government's determination to eliminate "economic leeches who continue to suck the blood of people". In an obvious re-ference to Indians, he continues that they (the Indians) are "unfortunate and unwanted misfits in the nation."

Tribal animosity is still a real danger in Kenya. Today if some of Kenya's leaders feel that diverting anger against the Asians is going to unite the Africans they are mistaken.

The world needs Africa's help. It has expected a great deal from Kenya's leader Jomo Kenyatta who will shortly be Kenya's first President. His attitude to the white farmers last year as well as his call to Harambi (let us unite) had suggested that Kenya might give Africa a Gandhi.

The test for Kenyatta is to counter the clamours of hate with the voice of a uniting statesmanship.

### Chinese Missiles

Mr. Shastri, when he sees Mr. Wilson, might do well to tell the British Prime Minister of the implications of the series of British trade fairs in Peking. While France and Italy held one fair each, Britain held three this year, one for scientific instruments, another for mining and construction and the third for the whole range of British products.

In a letter to the New York Times, Mr. Martin Summerfield states that China is capable of organising a missile industry for one-hundredth of the budget of the American missile "Contrary to Western reindustry. "Contrary to Western re-ports, China's resources are adequate to produce military, nuclear-tipped rockets. To obtain the supplies it needs. China can buy on the world market every type of instrument, metal, chemical and component needed to build these rockets."

The same correspondent continues, "It is inconceivable for the Chinese to have started a programme of warhead development without having started a simultaneous rocket programme and without having planned to fit the two together at the right time in the time-table."

Will Mr. Shastri and Mr. Wilson and the rest of the world be on the

### Ministers on the Spot

"AIR DASH to the South" was a headline describing a Central Minister's two-day, four-city "on-the-spot examination of the food situation".

We may be short of food, but our daily diet is to read of Ministers and senior officials rushing by jeep, car or aeroplane to the scene of some

A plump State Minister, when told of a nearby tragedy, begrudged making the journey. His colleagues urged. "But the people expect you to put in an appearance. You can just go and come back."

It is sad if we think it noteworthy for a public servant to do what is only his duty. Of course he should be on the scene—unless his arrival takes up the time of local administrators who should be attending to the problem. But if he only goes in order to appear well in the eyes of the people, he would do better to stay at home and save the petrol. Otherwise, come 1967, he will be put "on the spot".

### Strange Warning

ANTARA, Indonesia's Governmentcontrolled news agency, this week announced that Indonesia will detonate its first atomic bomb in 1965. The Institute of Strategic Studies, an international centre for research into defence problems, reports that Indonesia's defence budget has doubled and her armed forces have gone up by 37,000 to 412,000 in the past year.

Strangely, these reports coincided with a lofty warning from Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, that the Australian Government should not carry out a policy of "bullying" or "subjugation" in Asia. He was referring to Canberra's decision to enlarge her small defence force of 28,000 by means of limited conscription. Australia's armed services total less than 7% of Indonesia's combat strength.

Subandrio warned that Prime Minister Menzies should look at the Chinese People's Republic which now had an atom bomb.

"Asia's growth today constitutes," he said, "a symbol and a sign that imperialist and white domination over Asian nations is coming to an

He seems to equate Asia's growth with China's bomb, and imperialist domination with any who disagree with Peking or Djakarta. This means India and Malaysia as well as

### Gift Horses

THERE is the story of the Frenchman, Englishman, Irishman and Scotsman gathering to celebrate V-Day. Each agreed to bring something towards the party when they met the following year. So they did. The Frenchman brought man brought champagne; the Englishman beer; the Irishman a potato pie; and the Scotsman brought his

On Zambia's Independence, Nigeria presented £10,000 for national development; Western Germany of guitar with an accompaniment four Volkswagen ambulances, four Volkswagen cars, ten scholarships and 10 mills and 10 million marks. Sweden presented a glass vase and £10,000 for the liberty services. the library of Zambia's new

And India?

A copy of the Constitution-presumably with all 19 amendments.

R.M.L.

### The Face of Freedom

### by Pyarelal

Mr. Pyarelal was Mahatma Gandhi's secretary and close companion for many years. He is preparing a complete biography of the Mahatma. Two volumes have already been published.

THE GENERATION of Indians who had grown up in the midst of the freedom struggle and had idealised independence are at times hard put to answer critics who do not find the face of freedom so very attractive. It is, of course, nonsense for anyone to say that they were better off under British rule. People who talk like that just do not know what they are talking about. They have either no knowledge of, or shut their eyes to, the humiliations and degradation suffered by India under foreign rule.

Some of the evils that we are suffering from are the legacy of British rule in India. The very partition of India resulting in untold suffering to millions of human beings was the direct result of the British policy of divide and rule. The administrative machine that India inherited from the British was not necessarily the best for the needs of free India.

It is to the credit of India and India's leaders that they have safely steered the ship of state through many a storm. In spite of certain shortcomings there is no gainsaying that India has made tremendous progress. But something is wrong somewhere so that inspite of our goal of a socia-list society, we are still suffering from tremendous disparities.

### Refreshing

Our plans with their emphasis on heavy industry and big hydro-electric projects have released so much money in the market that inflation has become a deadly menace. Too much money without a sufficient quantity of consumer goods has resulted in spiralling of prices so that it has become difficult for the common man man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has become difficult for the common man that it has been difficult for the common man that it has been difficult for the common man that it has been difficult for the common man that it has been difficult for the common man that it has been difficult for the common man that it has been difficult for the common man that it has been di mon man to meet his basic needs of life-food, clothing and shelter. "Percolation" theory has miserably failed.

It is refreshing to hear from our Prime Minister, Shastriji, appeals to revive the spirit of Swadeshi, to give top priority to agriculture and to use compost for providing fertiliser for increasing agricultural production. Let us hope that vested interests and doctrinaire economists will be put in their right place and not be allowed to queer the pitch.

Democracy is good, but success of democracy presupposes a certain amount of maturity, and a sense of civic responsibility without which democracy can only end in dictator-ship. Our Home Minister's efforts to combat corruption are laudable, but the people too must come forward and play their part in putting an end to corruption. Each individual who remains, hundred per cent honest and clean in his or her own life creates a climate in which corruption can not flourish.

At the same time there is much that the authorities need to do to set their own houses in order. I need not elaborate the point.

### Perquisites

The public is becoming more and more critical of the perquisites and privileges enjoyed exclusively by those who form a part of the administration. The matter needs careful attention. The unassuming, resolute way in which our Prime Minister has set the good example in this respect cannot be too highly commended or too widely copied.

Calling out the military every now and then when there is a breakdown of the machinery of civil administration is an alarming portent. We have to find out the reason for this abnormal phenomenon and how it can be remedied.

The British Government was accused of extravagance. Our democracy has become still more costly. It is necessary to practise austerity at all levels in order to win back the confidence of the people.

The rise of nations does not depend on mere economic prosperity but on the values they adopt and their faith in their ideals. Somehow after independence we seem to have for-gotten the value of simple living and high thinking. In the pursuit of economic progress and secularism we have deified material progress. Without a strongly developed sense of religion-in its true sense of the term

-and moral values the imposing structure of material progress that we are trying to erect may tumble, crushing to death all those beneath it. The emphasis on Sadachar, has come not a moment too soon. But we have very jealously to guard ourselves against infiltration of the organisation by dubious elements.

What the people want is not the promise of "jam tomorrow" but bread today. Let them have it now. Tomorrow it may be too late.

### Overhaul

I know the shortages cannot be removed overnight. If, however, there is an awareness that they are being shared by all, it becomes easier to bear the hardship. The threat posed by our pursuit of a Utopia in the distant future will become very much less if all the various handicaps suffered by the common man are shared by all alike, while these handicaps exist.

The production of consumer goods at least should be organised on the basis of cottage industries exclusively and given effective protection against inroads of big money and power production. It will stem the rising tide of popular discontent, provide em-ployment to millions and remove their frustration by canalising their talent and energy into creative endeavour.

For this we shall need to overhaul thoroughly our educational system.
For people who have no clothes to
wear and no bread to put into their
stomach, education must mean intelligent production of these for themselves. Education in their case will then be co-terminous with national development.

It is time our planners began to reorient their plans in the light of the Prime Minister's recent pronouncements on the subject.

It would be fatal to throw away or forget the three valuable assets that we developed during the freedom struggle.

(a) The capacity for improvisation.

(b) The capacity for making use of available resources to the best

(c) The capacity for utilising infinitesimals of time, talent, manpower and material resources available all over the country which, in a land of teeming millions like ours, when added up, can make a tremendous difference.

This means that we must relearn

Continued on page 12

### A House for Every Family

### By Our Special Correspondent

As you drive at night through beautiful Bombay, you see hundreds of thousands of men and women and children lying huddled on the pavements. That is their home. They have nowhere to go. The fifth largest city in the world, Greater Bombay has a population of 4.5 million. It will rise to 6 million in 1971 and touch 7.5 million in 1981.

Though not a city of sky scrapers, its density of population in certain areas is the world's highest, 1,175 per acre compared to the norm fixed at 170 per acre.

Bombay, which came as a dowry to Charles II from his Portuguese consort, is one of the youngest cities of India, having grown in the last 150 years. Its phenomenal growth dates from the time of the American Civil War when the Lancashire mills, failing to get supplies of raw cotton from the Southern States, had to turn for alternative sources of supply to India. Bombay harbour became the outlet for India's cotton.

### City's Growth

What is called the city of Bombay is shaped like a finger. In the last decade the city has been further extended to form Greater Bombay. Most of the traffic of the city moves north to south. The main business centre being at the southern end, it receives daily a million people, many travelling two hours or more.

A quarter of India's industrial might is, it is estimated, in the Greater Bombay area. It includes everything from textiles to refineries and atomic plants.

Every year it requires 50,000 new tenements to house its growing population. Its present output is a bare 3,000 a year.

Can Bombay show other cities in India and the world how with initiative, dare and planning it can overcome the housing problem?

Housing in Bombay is faced with' considerable odds. The first is shortage of land. The city has been packed out. Even the housing

capacity of the suburbs is becoming saturated. Land prices have touched fantastic heights. The urgent need is for more land.

The second difficulty is of materials. Cement is in such short supply you can see shells of half constructed buildings, abandoned for months because of lack of cement. I understand the State Government is eager to import 5 million tons of cement by barter for commodities like sugar. If any radical change in the situation is to be brought about, our people will have to sacrifice.

The third is shortage of finance. Due to the Rent Act, returns to the landlords are negligible. Responsibility for financing fresh houses, therefore, falls on the co-operatives and the Government. Only the wealthy can afford to join the housing co-operatives, whilst the Government has chosen other priorities.

The Bombay Municipal Corporation has at last drawn up a Bombay Development Plan that will cost Rs. 700 crores (about 1½ billion dollars) in the next twenty years. Some experts hail it. Others condemn it as inadequate. Some claim that even if it is executed the minimum requirement of 30 gallons of water a person a day will not be met. The State Government has referred the Plan to a special officer for expert study. He will report in six months.

### Largest World Bridge

One scheme put forward to relieve the housing shortage is the proposal of a bridge across Bombay Harbour to the mainland at Uran. This scheme for a bridge was first proposed by a city architect, Mr. J. G. Bodhe. As conceived by him, the bridge will be the longest suspension bridge in the world with a main span of 5,240' (compared to 4,200' of the Golden Gate Bridge, San Francisco). The bridge will have three pylons in the Arabian Sea, a mile apart from one another. It will have six to ten lanes of traffic. The entire bridge will now cost Rs. 50 crores, about four times the sum it would have cost had the

bridge been taken up when first proposed over a decade ago.

There is room for a number of satellite cities on the mainland. In the last years every Minister and authority has given lip service to the idea of a bridge.

The bridge by itself will not, of course, solve every problem of housing. It will make a sufficient amount of land available for housing.

To see a project like this through would need an industrialist or a senior administrator of ability who would volunteer to leave his other preoccupations and say that he will see this project through, and that if anything goes wrong he will be held responsible. Otherwise this project will hang fire for another decade.

### Satellite City

On the finance side, international bodies like IDA and the World Bank will favourably consider any plan put forward by the Government.

The third shortage is that of materials. Whilst no doubt international aid will get us the material for the construction of the bridge, if we have got to open up the mainland and create a satellite city or cities we cement and other building materials. built, sanitation planned, pipe lines laid.

To do a successful job of creating privilege of the city is the duty and Could not a way be found to recruit satellite city? Could not the college week on the mainland, free of charge? Would business houses who want to vision to build houses for their Government that does not hesitate Mainland Development Authority scheme suggested and take decisive

This is a chance for the Maharashtra Government and the Central Government to undertake one of the greatest and most necessary projects. Will they have the courage and the decision to undertake it? And will the people respond?

### India's Foreign Policy

THE POWERFUL EVENTS of the past month have shaken India into a fresh awareness of the world. We have begun to calculate the likely effect of the absence of Khrushchev and the entry of Wilson and a nucleararmed Mao on the world scene.

It is unusual for Indians to think of the world. During our freedom struggle, the Congress was only concerned with getting the British out. Jawaharlal Nehru was the single and unique exception. We must "raise the sights of our own struggle to a higher level and lessen somewhat the narrowness which is always a feature of nationalism," he declared as early as 1934. He made India conscious of the world. India saw the world through Nehru's eyes.

Abler men than Nehru were lesser than him because of their smaller aim. Many around him accused him of talking too much about the world and not enough about India. But India can be thankful that the isolationists did not have their way.

The trouble is not that Nehru thought too much about the world but that few other men did it. Our foreign policy for many years was the creation of one man. It had his strength and suffered from his weakness. Its strength was his concern for India and the world. In one of his earliest broadcasts he said, "I have naturally looked to the interests of India, for that is my first duty. I have always conceived that duty in terms of the larger good of the world." Its weakness was that Nehru never outgrew the Fabianism and Marxism of the 'thirties, the illusions and prejudices of that troubled era.

### Boomerang

China's occupation of Tibet did not undermine his convictions. They survived the events of Hungary. Only the Chinese attack of 1962 shook them deeply enough to upset finally his world view. He died groping for a new philosophy.

India has paid dearly for the fallacies of our policy. It was right to want freedom, as Nehru did, for all of Asia and Africa. It was wrong to think that the exit of Western imperialism by itself would solve anything. And it was foolish to expect that the wave of nationalism and racism against the whites would not boomerang against the browns.

It was proper to reserve our right to judge all issues on merit—by the standards of national interest and world good—without previous commitment to any bloc. It was right to oppose the remnants of old-fashioned imperialism. But it was suicidal to ignore that Communist power, which encourages this anti-imperialism, has its own, and stronger, imperialist ambition.

Our foreign policy must take into account the fresh dangers of nationalism, whether of black Africa or of Communist China. Both are dynamic. Both are hate-filled. Both have united in what may prove to be the most dangerous conflict of our times—the war between have and havenot nations, with racial overtones added to it.

Our unpreparedness in the face of Communist China, the suspicion of black Africa towards us, and our isolation from neighbours is a measure of our failure.

Appeasement is not, and never has been, a solution. The answer to China's campaign of hate in Asia and

### Under the Lens

Africa does not lie in our joining the chorus of violent vituperation.

Today the Africans will welcome the brown man's skill, money and guns against the white man. We cannot blame them if tomorrow they take the yellow man's help against the brown man. India must give to Asia and Africa an ideology bigger than race or class.

Russian friendship, if we have any guarantee of its permanence, is welcome. But is it realistic to expect the Soviet Union to continue the conflict with China in the interests of her friendly relations with India? Friendship wi'h China and peace on her 5,000-mile border with that country is, at least, as important for Russia as her relations with India. If India's policy towards Russia is dictated by considerations of geography and history, the same imperatives would work for a settlement of the Sino-Russian problem.

In his famous 1949 address to the House of Representatives in the United States, the late Prime Minister declared, "Where freedom is men-

aced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral." If India had stood by this pledge to the world in the case of Tibet, Hungary or Malaysia, as she did over Suez, she would have earned the respect of the world, including Africa.

### Not Too Proud

American friendship, economic and military aid is essential to India. India must not be too proud to ask more powerful nations for their protection against the Chinese bomb.

But if Russian friendship, however desirable, is at best unreliable, American protection against the bomb is only a shield. It is a necessary shield which India must obtain.

But we have to be realistic about the difficulty of America's choice. In the nuclear age, it might be a choice between surrender of another nation and total involvement in war and consequent nuclear destruction of her cities. Countries like the United States may not be ready to risk San Francisco or New York for the sake of New Delhi.

The problem boils down to (1) our own economic and military strength; (2) our ability to win friends not only in Asia and Africa but all over the world; and (3) the readiness on the part of powerful nations to risk nuclear war, if need be, on our behalf

Problems (2) and (3) relate to foreign policy.

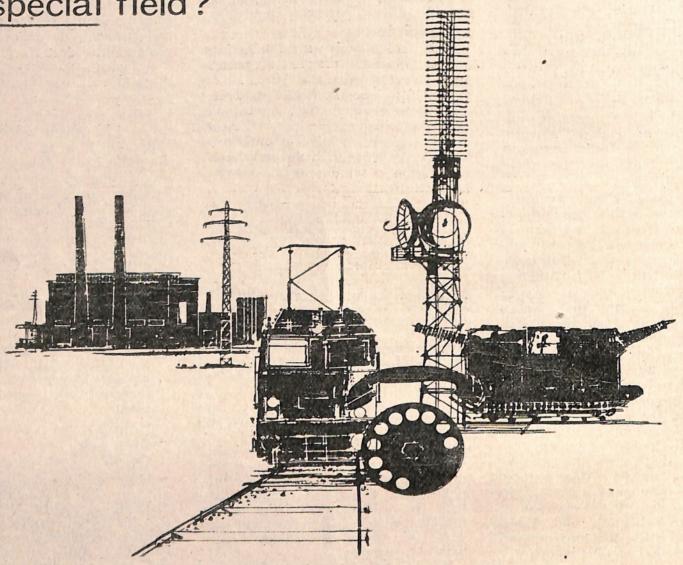
What is it that can unite India, the nations of Asia and Africa, Europe and America, in short the whole non-Communist world? What will unite the U.S.A. with India so firmly that the former will risk everything to defend us? Anti-Communism has not and will not unite these nations. Democratic Socialism cannot unite them. Quite apart from America's adherence to free enterprise, Democratic Socialism has always been more nationalist than international. It is my belief that only Moral Re-Armament offers the basis for unity of the non-Communist world. Further, it represents a force which the Communist world also must, at some time or other, recognise as the way out of its own contradictions.

It is India's only chance to meet the deadly combination of Communism and chauvinism with which China seeks to establish her domination all over the world.

R. VAITHESWARAN

# SIEMENS

What is Siemens special field?



Our special field is the whole spectrum of electrical engineering. For whoever builds a modern power station must also be familiar with instrumentation. Whoever builds electronic computers must have an intimate knowledge of solid-state technology. There are no section barriers in engineering, least of all in electrical engineering. For the Siemens Group it has always been a matter of course to make use of the latest results of research and practical experience acquired on one sector in development work on other sectors as well. The practical implication for customers is that, whether the project on hand is the planning of an electronic computer center, the designing of a special-purpose drive, the construction of a power station, the automation of a steel mill, or the establishment of a communications network: it can always be said to be our special field.

The Siemens Group — your experienced partner in all electrical engineering projects

Should India Develop the Atomic Bomb?

By Our Military Correspondent

THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE last week reaffirmed India's determination not to manufacture the atomic bomb, in spite of some members calling for it.

With the present reactors available for us, it will take a considerable time for us to produce sufficient ingredients (uranium and plutonium derivatives) to build enough stocks to develop a series of atomic bombs. Even then we shall be far behind the technique of thermo-nuclear weapons systems developed in other countries.

Even if we do produce the bombs, the next problem—and from the military viewpoint a more important one —is how to deliver them on the target.

Whilst our own industrial areas are within striking distance of the medium bombers that China can base in Tibet, China's industrial areas are anything up to 2,000 miles from our frontiers. It is not possible for any of our present bombers to cover this distance from bases in India.

If, therefore, India does develop the atomic bomb, the next stage is to develop a delivery system, which would require long distance heavy bombers or rocket systems such as the I.R.B.M.s (Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles) or bomber-rocket combined system. This, of course, would mean an extremely complicated and expensive system of delivery which on our own we are unlikely to develop in the near future. Any long range bombers that we might acquire or develop are, in the present age of ground to air anti-aircraft rockets, no longer safe for such extensive journeys. And of course to obtain these bombers, we will be dependent on other powers anyway.

Nuclear weapons can be used either for strategic bombing of targets well behind the enemy front, like communication and industrial centres, or for tactical use against troops and installations in the battle areas. The latter require small warheads which demand a highly sophisticated system of nuclear technology to produce.

Use of nuclear weapons in war, therefore, involves not only the production of the bomb but side by side with it the development of delivery systems, which must be safe and accurate. Indian economy cannot bear this burden as things stand at present. National self-sufficiency is a myth. Hardly any country in the world is a hundred percent self-sufficient in all her war requirements. To try to achieve it in every field is futile.

India's immediate security lies in a two point programme.

First, to develop self sufficiency in equipment that is less complex and within our technological and economic capacity (even in this field we have a lot of leeway to make up).

Second, to seek the right alignments which can assure our security in the event of a nuclear attack in the future. The United States, for example, has bases which are within striking range of mainland China.

India is already dependent on arms from foreign friends. To say that we will become subservient to other countries the moment we receive a guarantee of nuclear protection is illogical. It will need more than platitudes to secure our freedom.

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### FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Shifting Arab Sands

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Beirut

Power patterns are shifting as rapidly in the Middle East as on the global scene. The overthrow of the military in the Sudan, the replacement of Saud by his brother, Feisal, as King of Saudi Arabia, the declaration of Kurdish autonomy in Northern Iraq and the announcement of a cease-fire in the Yemen make this an historic fortnight.

In Iraq for over 25 years Mulla Mustafa Barazani has led in the Kurdish demand for recognition. Since the Kurds are not only a minority in Iraq but also in Turkey and Iran where they occupy contiguous areas, the announcement of Kurdish autonomy, limited to Iraq for the moment, has explosive implications for the future.

### Kurds' Demands

Barazani moved over the border into Kurdish Iran at the end of World War II. There he took part in the government of the abortive Azerbijan Soviet Republic. He fled with several hundred warriors to Baku in the Russian Caucasus when the regime collapsed. There they all remained for twelve years. They were sent back to Iraq after Kassim's 1958 Revolution in Baghdad and made their way into their home territory in the northern mountains, from where they have since alternated between fighting and negotiation, un-



King Feisal

remitting in their demand for recogni-

Included for the first time in the latest declaration of autonomy is the statement that "in case of the establishment of unity or federation between the Republic of Iraq and any other Arab country, Iraqi Kurdistan would become a region in itself enjoying the same rights as the other regions forming this unity or federation." This would accord Kurdistan equal footing with the UAR and Iraq in the Union proposed by Presidents Nasser and Aref.

### Khartoum Changes

Aref's already precarious position is considerably weakened by this declaration. If Aref is able to carry through his plan for union with Cairo, it means he will have either to include an autonomous Kurdistan or face mounting revolution in the North.

President Aboud of Sudan bowed to angry demonstrations, first of students and then of the populace, for an end to military government. The Sudanis burst into the streets and squares of Khartoum in angry defiance of police and military measures taken against students. The chain of violence left many dead and wounded. Nearly 80% of Sudan's armed forces are tied down in the supression of revolt in the South. The more primitive Southerners resent the imposition of rule by the Arabic-speaking Muslims of the North. This division is the major domestic issue.

Of critical importance for the whole continent of Africa is whether or not the new civilian cabinet will continue to deny use of Khartoum's airport to UAR and USSR planes carrying supplies to the Congo rebels in Stanleyville. If this had been granted earlier, most authorities agree Tshombe's regime would have fallen by now. The Stanleyville leaders are threatening a scorchedearth policy unless they receive aid.

The Yemen cease-fire comes after two years of fighting between Saudi Arabian-backed Royalists and UAR-supported Republicans. With the new understanding reached between King Feisal and President Nasser at the last Arab Summit Meeting, a satisfactory compromise looks quite possible. Feisal will present a more progressive and internationally minded attitude to affairs of state and will try to divert more and more oil from princely places to public welfare.

### One Party Rule

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

KENYA BECAME 2 one party state last week when KADU was dissolved and joined the Government. Greeted with wild cheers and stamping, equalled only when Kenya achieved independence, the Leader of the Opposition stated the step was taken without grudge or bitterness.

Welcoming the decision, Prime Minister Kenyatta reaffirmed Kenya's independence as a victory for the country and not any one party.

country and not any one party.

The announcement climaxed the growing excitement of the past week as KADU leaders throughout the country pledged to support the Government Bill amending the Constitution and enabling Kenya to become a Republic on December 12.

With legislative difficulties swept away, the question everyone asks now is, "who will Kenyatta appoint as Vice President?"

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### Johnson is Optimistic

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Washington

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE have made their choice and elected Lyndon B. Johnson by an overwhelming majority, unequalled in this century. He is a strong President, sure of himself and confident of the future.

But the world has not been standing still merely because America has been holding an election. It is changing faster than most political leaders change their minds. Nor is President Johnson waiting. He has plunged into a global review of the United States' foreign policy with the amazing energy he showed in the election campaign. It is expected Johnson will soon address a NATO meeting in Europe and talk with French President Charles de Gaulle. He plans to meet the new British Prime Minister Harold Wilson in a few weeks.

Johnson's triumph at the polls was interpreted as a desire by the people to continue with a policy of moderation and to carry out these policies begun by former President Kennedy, that is to improve relations with Russia and reduce the risk of nuclear war.

### Poverty in America

On the domestic front Johnson has plotted a grand design. His two principal concerns will be social legislation to implement his dream of a "Great Society" and a workable means of preserving world peace. Foremost in his social legislation will be the bill to give free medical care to all who need it and economic aid to all those families considered to be living in poverty.

Three months ago the President appointed 11 special academic study groups to work out the details of this programme for the next four years. Their task is to come up with solutions to the persistent problems of automation, out-of-date transportation facilities, farm surpluses, education for all, welfare for everyone, and in the international field to propose what to do about Vietnam, Communism, Atlantic unity and nuclear weapons control. In foreign affairs the President has already proposed a joint Western nations effort to "eliminate hunger and starvation" in the

world. He has promised to go anywhere and talk to anyone in search of reasonable accommodation with Russia that might lead to a more stable peace. He will try to reduce world tension while at the same time maintaining armed strength.

As President Johnson begins his new term of office, at the top of the list for his attention is the war in South Vietnam. Here the decision will have to be whether to go in deeper at greater cost in lives and effort, or to seek a basis for a "deal" with the Communists. There are signs that the decision will be for a harder line of action. A pull-out or even a deal at this point would involve too many dangers of a collapse in the United States position in other important areas of Asia.

In Europe the American President is faced with a French President determined to go his own way in the development of nuclear weapons. De Gaulle is sceptical of United States pledges to come to the defence of Europe with nuclear weapons if a crisis should develop. Britain under a Socialist Government is less likely to go along with the American plan of an Allied nuclear defence force. Both Britain and France are breaking from the United States policy and are starting to make long term loans to help Soviet Russia become stronger. Johnson is faced with the necessity

of arriving at some strong position in America's relations with Europe.

The problems are many, but the President seems to be very optimistic. He will retain most of the Kennedy Cabinet, at least for the present, and will within a few weeks call a special session of Congress to deal with the urgent matters at hand. One thing is clear, that this Administration will be one of the most active Administrations for some time. Johnson won by offering peace and prosperity to the electorate. Now he believes he can win the support of much of the world with the same formula.

### Castro is Worried

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

San Francisco

THE COMMUNISTS continue to win the war in Viet-Nam in spite of all efforts Americans are making. President Johnson has given up the idea of pulling out and is working for a neutralised zone. The basic U.S. policy calls for avoiding actions that might "escalate" into a major war.

Castro of Cuba has the jitters since Khrushchev's fall. The new Soviet leaders may shed the expensive Cuban burden. There is no imminent possibility of improved relations with America. The Cuban economy is so ill that transfusions of Russian rubles is the only thing that keeps the country and the Castro regime alive.

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### Australia Steps Up Defence

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Canberra

Australia has taken a major leap forward in shouldering her own defence responsibilities under a new programme announced in the Federal Parliament by Prime Minister Menzies. The programme of the next three years to increase defence expenditure by almost half, to a record Rs. 12 200 million, contains a strong hint of higher taxes. This will substantially increase Australia's capacity to contribute to the collective defence of South East Asia.

The key feature is the army buildup which provides for twenty year old youths to be conscripted for two years national service training, including overseas duty, from July 1, 1965. Besides increasing the size of the army, the Government will build new warships, modernize existing ships and purchase more aircraft equipment for the three services.

The reorganisation is designed to meet the deterioration in Australia's strategic position due to events in

Vietnam and Malaysia. The Prime Minister warned that Indonesian attacks on Malaysia could create a real risk of war and Australia must be prepared for all eventualities, including defence, if necessary, of the frontier between Indonesian and Australian New Guinea.

The new measures were generally welcomed but criticised in some quarters for their failure adequately to increase the striking power of the Navy and Air Force. The Labour opposition also opposed peace-time conscription for service overseas.

The Government is regarded as politically courageous in introducing this new programme of contentious conscription, with the probability of greater material sacrifices, on the eve of the Senate election. On the other hand the Government calculates that the electorate would be sympathetic to a boosted defence effort. Politics aside, Australia is conscious that her ANZUS treaty partner, the United States maintains her forces through a vigorous national service system and her national servicemen are liable for duty anywhere in the world.

### Fog and the Future

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BRITISH FOG threatens the Government's majority of five. (With flights back to London cancelled, eight Labour M.P's were stranded in Scotland). So does appendicitis, influenza and a road accident.

But defeat in Parliament's division lobby-most unlikely-will not deter Harold Wilson. He courts defeat with the confidence that a spring election would return him more firmly to

The Government sets store by plans and technical know-how. They also need to learn how to instil in men the will to work and work well. An estimated £1,000 million is lost each year in bad workmanship. They need the know-how to end class con-

Labour's first aim, he believes, must be to create a united nation. "We need to establish the brotherhood of all men-not just the brotherhood of those who agree with us."

George Brown, Deputy Prime Minister, was asked at a Press conference, if Labour would succeed. His reply: "Britain can."

Not everyone is prepared to "Go with Labour"—but in that spirit they are likely to give Labour a go.

### Face of Freedom

Continued from page 5

the secret of mobilising the masses by going down to their level and identifying ourselves with them. They will then willingly and spontaneously ecoperate with us in the task of nation-building without any coercion or other incentives.

Lastly, the people of India must remember that the power of Satya-graha, which freed them from the foreign yoke, can be used to curb the anti-social elements or abuse of authority within the country also. It is their inalienable right and the one thing that no one can deprive them of. But to be effective, Satyagraha has to be an expression of truth, nonviolence, discipline of the highest order and genuine respect for law in general. Today much that passes for Satyagraha is its opposite which can do only harm to those who use it, and the cause in which it is used, besides bringing into disrepute the priceless

# Pathetic Performance

By Our Special Correspondent

"Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning" is a familiar phrase. Will future historians apply it to the present situation? The festive gaiety and lack of seriousness while discussing important issues like food and the atomic bomb would have been laughable had the situation not been so dangerous. The A.-I.C.C. session seems to have become a tamasha both for the participants and for the eager throngs of spectators and will not be taken more seriously if they continue in this fashion.

"Airlift SOS to the Centre," "Rice Specials for Kerala," "Madras Food Situation Steadily Getting Out of Hand" "Foodgrain Looters Teargassed," "Riots in Many Towns," screamed the headlines on the very days of the Cuntur session. But the mover of the official resolution on the food situation declared in Olympian indifference, "The position is very much improved in recent weeks and there is a bigger crop in every part of the country."

His seconder, who faces a situation described by the Hindustan Times correspondent as "the most critical in the history of the State (Madras) as regards supply of rice," reminisced on the improvement in the situation since he took over as Food Minister of his state fifteen years ago. Mr. Krishnappa, Food Minister of Mysore State, declared grandiloquently, "If there is birth control, there will not be any food control."

### "Satisfaction"

The resolution on food was no improvement on these aphorisms. "There is no cause for any scare or undue anxiety," it consoles. The A.-I.C.C. "notes with satisfaction" the steps taken since it last met in August, such as the fixation of producers' prices for foodgrains and the preparation of a bill for setting up a foodgrains corporation for the next session of Parliament. As if fixing prices or preparing a bill will ensure that food is delivered to the people.

It was a pity that the Prime Minister, who had intervened earlier to good effect on the debate on the atom bomb, kept completely silent on the food issue. Had he not said just a week earlier in Bombay that threefourths of the country's problems would be solved if the food crisis was resolved satisfactorily? If this state-

ment had been made seriously, it was the duty of Mr. Shastri to get action from his party on the issue.

The Congress Working Committee recommended at its last meeting that rationing should be introduced "if the Government considers it desirable." Mr. Shastri seemed to be clear even two weeks ago that there was no alternative to controls and rationing, at least in the bigger cities. "If we want to avert a crisis in the next two or three months," he had declared, "we will have to consider this matter carefully." The manner in which some chief ministers have succeeded in delaying any decision from one conference of food ministers to another, from one A.-I.C.C. meeting to another, has not helped the nation in the least.

### Abdication

It is not a question of whether or not rationing of foodgrains and essential consumer goods, as advocated by the Prime Minister for the major towns and cities, is right or wrong. Certainly rationing will demand efficiency and integrity of a high order. But once Government has decided what needs to be done, it must assert its authority to rule and administer in the interests of the whole nation.

It was pathetic that the Central Food Minister instead of giving leadership at the Guntur meeting pleaded that the A.-I.C.C. should give clear direction on what it wanted the Government to do. The abdication of responsibility by the A.-I.C.C., which has often been only a rubber stamp of the Government, is not surprising. But the abdication of leadership by the New Delhi Government can be a serious threat to the nation's

Mr. Shastri's intervention in the debate on the atom bomb was acclaimed by all for clarity and firmness. Not everyone, however, will understand his caution in seeking Western nuclear protection which seems to be the only possible deterrent to China's bomb.

The present danger to India's free-dom does not arise from Western economic or military aid. It arises from the aggressive and ruthless ambition of China and her friends in this country. It arises from the division, high prices, corruption and moral decay in this nation.

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### FOR WOMEN

# Balanced Diet For 80 Paise a Day

### By Our Staff Correspondent

You can have an adequate, balanced diet for less than one rupee a day, according to the latest research at the Institute of Catering Technology and Applied Nutrition, Andheri, Bombay. Speaking to *Himmat*, the Principal of the Institute, Miss T. E. Philip, described how they have prepared menus for ten sets of meals (breakfast, lunch, tea, dinner) vegetarian and nonvegetarian, at a cost of 80 paise to Re. 1 per day.

Most Indians, she says, need more protein in their diet. These menus consist of day to day dishes incorporated with protein rich foods, such as peanut flour, soya flour and peanut butter. They all contain more than the 2370 calories and 66.6 grams which is the minimum daily nutritional target in India. In one there are as many as 3156 calories; another has 141 grams of protein.

### Ideas into Action

Miss Philip is a lady of ideas which she translates into action. Her 1400 page book of Indian cookery, will be published shortly.

Even in western countries catering as a technology is comparatively new. The Institute at Andheri, first of its kind in S.E. Asia, was established in 1954. Now there are four similar institutes, and it is proposed to esta-

### SALT

Dandi Salt Satyagraha the Forerunner of India's Freedom Struggle blish a series of food craft centres offering catering and nutrition courses in smaller towns.

Miss Philip believes we need more technical training in this country. Students at the Institute are taught a wide range of subjects, including nutrition, food costing, personnel management and restaurant and counter service. They are also given thorough training in cleanliness (including the scrubbing of floors) and the elimination of waste of every sort. "Without discipline," she says with conviction, "we cannot give the training we have to give." Her graduates are in great demand in industrial canteens and hotels, in hospitals as caterer dieticians, and for food demonstration work.

She would like every child in the state schools to be given a meal at school at nominal cost; it has been proved that this produces better results, better concentration and less absenteeism.

### Every Housewife

When she was asked, "What can an ordinary woman do about the food shortage?" Miss Philip was ready with her answer. "Three things," she said. "Don't buy at high prices. Do without it. Use potatoes, tapioca, yams, ragi, other starches instead of rice. They are just as good. Every middle class housewife could decide not to serve more than an ounce of rice per person per meal in their home and yet see that the necessary calories are provided in other ways. Next, in no circumstances should there be any waste. And finally, no hoarding.

"And the ordinary women," she adds, "must speak up about things that are wrong. Some people, when they see something wrong, have the attitude, 'It's not mine, so why should I bother.' But the country is ours. We must bother."

### LETTERS

### BLACK MONEY

Sir,

I appreciate your editorial captioned "Incentive to Spy" and believe that the Government scheme of paying the 'spies' will further demoralise the normally bankrupt society and the law-breakers will continue, as in the past, to find out the ways of escaping legal clutches. Years of experience show that force alone cannot set the things right!

What is needed most is to cultivate a sense of humanity in our people so that morals may be valued higher than

SULTAN A. PATEL

Bassein

### "DOG-EAT-DOG"

Sir

We all share Rajaji's concern (article on "Dog-Eat-Dog") to develop the individual's 'potentiality to the fullest' but the big question remains how to do it? Mere absence of controls and restrictions would not do it. No society can exist without some order. Even in the United States of America there are restrictions and controls to avoid cut throat competition and free-for-all society.

Moreover, Indian Socialism does not wipe out private business. In a mixed economy both sectors have their roles to play.

DHIRENDRA K. VAJPEYI

New Delhi

### INDIANS IN AFRICA

Sir,

All the Indians in East Africa are not the "economic leeches" that Mr. Kiano, Kenya's Commerce and Industry Minister, makes them out to be. If Africa can deem it right to demand civil and political liberties for the Negroes in America, it cannot justifiably deny the same liberties to the settlers of Indian origin in Africa. India must remember this point when and if negotiations are conducted with different African government on Indians in Africa.

G. GOPAL

New Delhi

The Editor welcomes letters for publication from HIMMAT readers. Articles will also be considered. They should not exceed 900 words. Address: 13, Advent, Foreshore Road, Bombay-1.

### Dictatorship in Class-Rooms

By The Editor

The Union Education Minister, Mr. M. C. Chagla, is reported to have stated in Ahmedabad that the Government of Gujarat should meet the demands of the parents who wanted their children to be taught English from Standard 5th onwards. The Union Minister based his argument on the grounds of the U.N. Charter of Human Rights—which India has fought for and had incorporated in her Constitution—which gives the parents the right to decide what education their children should receive.

It is incomprehensible how Mr. Chagla can reconcile the right of the parents to decide their children's education with his recently declared policy to nationalise school text books. It appears the Central Government has already such a list of books ready.

There are two aspects to the problem of nationalisation of text books. The first is the ability of the state to plan, write and produce in time a decent text book. The second, and even more important, aspect of nationalisation is the danger of the thinking of millions of our young minds being controlled by a central source.

Huge Waste

On the ability of the state to produce text books there is grave doubt in Indian minds. State governments who have attempted nationalisation have been recipients of strictures from the press, the public and the bench. The geography text book scandal in the state of Maharashtra is the latest. After a huge public outcry, the two text books were scrapped at a total cost of over seven lakes to the state treasury and students missed geography classes for one

Court against a S.S.L.C. text book published by the Education Department. The learned judge said of the text book, "It is badly written and badly printed. The author and the printer alike disdained the use of punctuation marks. In the matter of bad spelling they had original views of their own and recognise allegiance to nobody. The book is an example of what a good text book should not be." The author who suffered from this abridgement was none other than Sir Walter Scott. The book: Quentin Durward.

The same learned judge mentioned the other aspect of nationalisation of text books when he said, "Attempts to create monopolies in the channels of learning are liable to be even more harmful than in purely economic fields."

The move to nationalise text books is part of a consistent programme of some people in the Government to increase state power and curtail individual freedom.

### At Whose Mercy?

It is important to remember that one of the first acts of the Communist Government in Kerala was to nationalise text books. One text book contained a brief reference to Mahatma Gandhi and considerable write-ups for Mao Tse-tung and Joseph Stalin. Even if the Central Government may be fair and selective today, we do take the risk of putting our children in future at the mercy of godless men who only worship the human brain and want to indoctrinate our children with their half-baked foreign ideas.

The Mudaliar Commission on Secondary Education stated that, for subjects other than languages, "the text book committee should approve a number of suitable books in each subject and leave the choice to the institution concerned. Single text books should not be prescribed in every subject of study, but a reasonable number of books which satisfy the standards laid down should be recommended, leaving the choice to the schools."

The Secondary Education Committee, appointed by the Government of India to study the Mudaliar Commission's recommendations, stated, "We do not consider it desirable that state governments and education authorities should take up the production of text books."

It is the duty of the education authorities to prescribe the syllabus along the lines on which examination papers will be set, to release this in advance and let those who know about text books produce them. Leave the teachers free to pick their choice of a classroom text. In any other form there shall be thought-control in India. It is the duty of every patriotic citizen and the Parliament to tackle firmly the Education Minister on this issue.

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# This was a life DADABHAI NAOROJI

IN 1825, when Dadabhai Naoroji was born, India lay prostrate before the might of the British Empire. 93 years later, seven weeks after his passing, the first major reform of self-government was announced. During all his life, Dadabhai fought steadfastly for the rights of his country.

1825-1917

"We do not ask for favours," he called, "we want only justice." For more than 50 years he spent most of his days in London, arguing, lecturing, writing, above all dreaming of the greatness and the freedom of his captive country. His battle was to rouse the conscience of the British nation.

Feeling keenly the poverty of his people, he gathered facts and wrote his monumental work Poverty and un-British Rule in India. Undaunted by difficulties, he found a constituency and got himself elected to the House of Commons to continue his fight in the heart of the Empire.

In the 1850s he began with supplications, petitions, memorials to the British but he moved with the times that he helped to shape. His views grew stronger as the years matured. "He has shown nothought for himself," wrote a contemporary, "all his thoughts have been of his life's work which seems ever before him, as not knowing a past or a future, but only an abiding present."

And yet in his battle for the present he never forsook eternal values which were the bedrock of his life. He was faithful to his life partner, and honest in business. He stood for pure thought, pure words, pure deeds. He urged non-violence when some used terrorism.

In 1907 he returned from England and spent his last days at his home in Versova near Bombay. He kept up his correspondence from there and many went on pilgrimage to see the Grand Old Man of India. When the end came, Sir N. Chandavarkar said, "The sun that rose just 93 years ago over India is set. But I say, it is set to rise again in the form of a regenerated India."

## Q and A

Readers are invited to send me questions about our land or the world and I shall answer them as truthfully and intelligently as I can.—R.G.

Q — Is it not absolutely necessary for India to produce an atom bomb more powerful than China's?

S. G. THALI, Bombay.

A—The way we are making our roads, dams and factories, it is unlikely that we can make an efficient atomic bomb on schedule and at less than a prohibitive cost. A promise from America that she will retaliate if China drops her bomb on us will be our best safeguard.

We can counter China's bomb with America's bomb, but we cannot answer China's land armies with America's land armies. America will not send lakhs of her soldiers to risk their lives in the Himalayas. And China may now, because of her bomb, attack with land armies with greater impunity. India must make her army, airforce and navy as strong as possible Most important are the unity and dedication of our people—phrases we often utter and hear but which we don't make real.

Q—What should be Goa's future? Should it not remain an autonomous state?

S. G. THALI, Bombay.

A—If, as it appears, a majority of Goa's citizens have voted for Goa to join Maharashtra, democracy would mean that Goa should. Yet it is important to realise that a substantial number in Goa—even if they are a

minority—do .not favour this course. Clearly it is the majority's task to win over the minority.

More important than whether and when Goa should join Maharashtra is what the people—and leaders—of Goa and of Maharashtra will now do for India and Asia. Peking's rulers must have a hearty laugh at the spectacle of Indians spending more energy and heat on issues that divide than in uniting India.

Q — Most of India's politicians who had a close association with Mahatma Gandhi have become the victims of corruption? How then can integrity be expected of ordinary folk?

S. S. INDEY, Hyderabad.

A—There is a conscience in every human heart which is a better friend and guide than the world's greatest man. Today's "ordinary folk" did not have a close association with Mahatma Gandhi, but if they obey fearlessly the inner voice that speaks to everyone, there is nothing they can't do. They will lead India better than anyone who may have lived alongside a great man but who refused to alter his life's aim.

Q — The present Government has failed. It has created problems which will take others decades to solve. But, in the absence of any worthy opposition party, what would you advise the electorate?

N. M. RAJANI, Bombay.

A—The elector can give his vote to the candidate with the best character. If all candidates are crooks he can, of course, choose the least crooked and challenge him to change. There are many good men in the land. But there is a shortage of men who risk losing their friendships, career and comfort for the sake of a new India. If the people can't find straight leaders, they will have to become leaders and straight themselves.

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### THE RACE WAR

### by Rajmohan Gandhi

KARL MARX, in his grave, must be confused. He thought the twentieth century would see a war to the finish between the industrial workers and the capitalists of Europe and America. He was wrong.

The world's dominant war today is the colour war or race war. China and the rest of Asia with Africa, South America and the American Negroes ranged against. Europe, including Russia, and America—this is the shape this war can take. In any case this is Peking's grand strategy. The slogan is no longer "Workers of the world unite." It is "Non-whites of the world unite."

The Chinese are not, of course, the creators of anti-white feelings in the world, any more than Karl Marx was the inventor of the anti-rich spirit. Racial war is as old as man. What is new is its global coordination.

China is convinced that mobilising the world's non-whites and inflaming anti-white hatred among them is the quickest way of achieving global Communism. China also believes that this is the most effective way of ensuring China's leadership of the world Communist movement.

### Indians and Colour

It is not difficult for Peking to present herself to Africa as more militant and revolutionary than Russia. Because Russians are white and because Moscow has adopted a policy of spreading Communism by peaceful coexistence, they cannot be as vehemently anti-white as the Chinese. China's money, weapons, ammunition and agents are thus more in evidence in Africa than Russian influence.

Most Indians feel deeply about colour. Yet our attitude is inconsistent. We rightly get infuriated at South Africa's racial policies. Brutality in Angola and suppression of African rights in Rhodesia justly anger us. Injustice against the American Negro by American whites provokes us. But the strange truth is that Africans visiting India

find us more indifferent and aloof than the whites.

We Indians are, among ourselves, fond of a light skin. "Dark
or fair?" is frequently our first
question when we are told of
someone's new bride or child.
Matrimonial enquiries displayed
in Indian newspapers, advertising
a light skin and forbidding a dark
one, make a mockery of our public
exhortations.

Apart from these private attitudes, however, India has tried to be a member of the non-white club. Not wholeheartedly because, after all, Mahatma Gandhi spent so many years urging us not to hate the white man. Nevertheless, we have joined the anti-white campaign believing that this would bring us Afro-Asian support over Kashmir and China.

### Dangerous

It is a fatal game we are playing. It is an immoral game, too. The white man has certainly been selfish and greedy in the past in our land and in our neighbour lands. Nor is he today a completely changed product. Yet it is patently dishonest to say that India's or Asia's present sickness is due entirely or mainly to the white man's folly.

If we sow the wind of racial hate in Africa, can we avoid the whirlwind of class hate, caste war and communal violence in our own country? Those who raise hatred's sword cannot control where it will fall, and God's justice seems to ensure that it falls on those who raise it and on their loved ones.

It will be a betrayal of Mahatma Gandhi, of our past, of our culture and above all of truth if we continue singing this Afro-Asian hate song. The alternative to this song is not a love song about the white man. Nothing is so repugnant—or insincere—as the attempt by some Indians to play up to Western acquaintances by denigrating "those Africans and Asians" or by reviving the memories of "those good old days".

India's destined role is to be the conquering reconciler of races, nations and colours. Her rightful

slogan is not "The world's nonwhites unite," but "All races, all colours, unite the world."

If India truly wants Africa's greatness, she must not delude the African people into the belief that their salvation lies in the expulsion of the white man. Liberation from the white man is insufficient for Africa's needs and is too small an aim for her people. Why should Africa be condemned to limit her experiments to ideas which have failed Europe, the Americas and Asia? Not freedom alone but a global moral and spiritual renaissance is Africa's birthright—and duty.

And also India's. India can challenge black, brown, yellow and white to unite in giving a richer life to every family on this planet.

### **Phoney Patrons**

There are, in the West, alleged befrienders of the coloured people who outdo the black and the brown man in hating the white man-not themselves, of course, but the white man in South Africa or some such place. While admiring their audacity, Indians, Asians and Africans will do well to understand their motives. They are like the old-style imperialists who used the coloured man's sweat for their profit. These progressive befrienders use the coloured man's suffering for their power and ambition and for their ideology of hate.

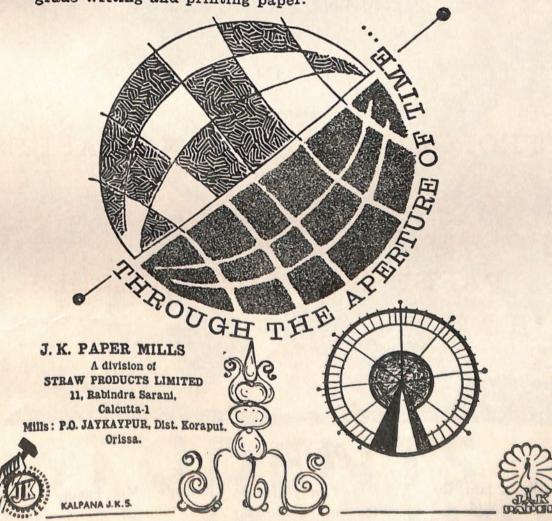
It is accurately said that blood is red whether you cut a black, white, yellow or brown skin. But the truth is deeper. The character of each one of us, whatever our race, is the same. Without God and without a decision to live for others, we are all dishonest, impure, and selfish. And in a nuclear age, it is not only foolish but suicidal to indulge in the luxury of race war.

Mao Tse-tung may believe that a nuclear war will still leave hundreds of millions of Chinese to inherit a devastated earth. But if India cares for humanity, for China and even for herself, she cannot afford to have any part in this insanity.

Sir Issac Newton held that gravity is a force, whereas Einstein regarded it as a property of space, which he believed was curved. But they had one thing in common. Both the Law of Gravitation and the Theory of Relativity were put down on papers for the consumption of knowledge-hungry world.

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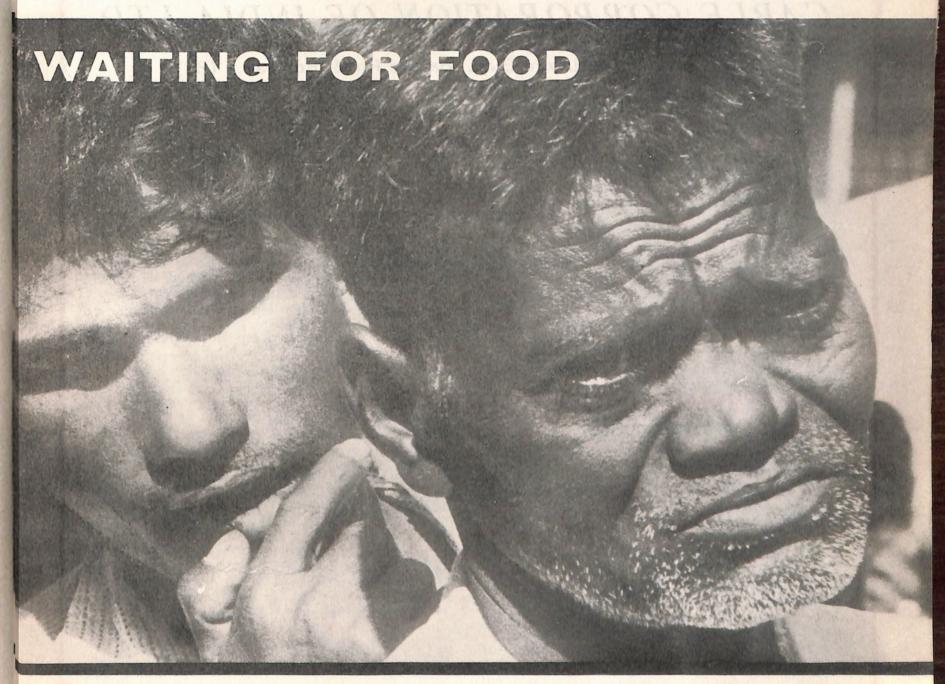
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