

HIMMAT

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Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 4 1966

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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.

We of DALMIA ENTERPRISES have been constantly endeavouring to produce more and more of such goods that contribute towards improved living standards of our people. We are doing this not only since Independence but almost for a quarter of a century. The task is not so easy. Yet we are going ahead, undauntedly, in the hope of seeing a brighter tomorrow.... a new dawn.... along the new horizons.



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday November 4 1966

Missiles and Asia

US INTELLIGENCE SOURCES stated that China may well explode an atomic bomb during President Johnson's visit to Asia. And China has—from a missile. The range of the missile is in question and authorities place it as anything between 100 and 1000 miles, but more likely about 400 miles.

According to US sources China is now expected to have 150-200 nuclear weapons by end of next year. Several launchers will be deployed by 1968-69. The ICBM system will probably be functioning in China by 1975 by which time the USA will have its anti-missile defense system.

Meanwhile there is danger not only to India's northern cities and to other lands adjoining China; there is also danger to the rest of India from the seas. US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT States that the Chinese have built one submarine to carry three nuclear-tipped missiles, each missile with the range of 400 miles.

Whatever the details be, the fact that China has developed a missile delivery system introduces a new factor on the Asian scene. President Johnson has readily and firmly repeated in Kuala Lumpur that the United States would grant protection to those countries which might be victims of Chinese nuclear blackmail.

China's neighbours, and especially Japan and India, will welcome the President's forthright assurance. The Chinese development comes at a time when the Western powers, especially Britain, are keen that India should support a simple non-proliferation treaty now being negotiated by the Disarmament Committee in Geneva.

With the Parliament re-opening this week, the demand for India to go in for nuclear weapons will gather strength. However unwise it may be for India to afford economically a nuclear defense programme, the PSP and the Jan Sangh, both of whom favour India having atomic weapons, will find more reason added to their argument.

Threat to Integrity

THE TREASURY BENCHES have presumably recovered from the shaking they got from the Opposition in the last session of Parliament. At a Conference of Presiding Officers of Assemblies and Parliament, last week-end Sardar Hukam Singh, Lok Sabha Speaker,

underlined the responsibility of the Government and the Opposition. He has called on the Government to have a parliamentary strategy and follow the correct procedure. "If the tendency of hurling threats and abuses at each other and creating scenes of angry commotion becomes the order of the day in the legislatures, how can we blame other sections of society when their frustration explodes in periodic outbursts of violence and indiscipline?" he asked, and added, "This is a bigger threat to our integrity and has to be arrested."

Speaking to HIMMAT, Vice-President Dr. Zakir Husain, who presides over the Rajya Sabha, says: "The Opposition are also part of the country and should take responsibility for it. If there were better communication between the Government and the Opposition than I am afraid there is and if the Opposition could be given the feeling that its reasonable suggestions are cheerfully accepted, the Opposition will have much less of a feeling of frustration."

India is fortunate in having as its presiding officers in the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament, two gentlemen of distinction who cherish democratic values. But their patience has been gravely tested by a minority of members who specialize in angry scenes and one might even say, antics. The Indian nation demands that a dignified Parliament set the tone for the whole nation.

So Much to Give

ON NOVEMBER 1, two new States were born—the Punjab and Haryana, the former Punjabi-speaking and the latter Hindi-speaking. They will have a common Governor in Mr. Dharma Vira and a common capital in Chandigarh.

Giani Gurumukh Singh Mussafir, unanimously elected Chief Minister, has a reputation for integrity. In the days to come, dissident factions may well raise their heads again, but if Mr. Mussafir can enlist the co-operation of the honest men in his State and demonstrate soon the ability to act firmly in the common interest, he will advance the State. A proud and energetic people, the Punjabis are fed up with Ministers and legislators who run to Delhi and Mr. Mussafir will do well to govern from Chandigarh.

A common Governor, capital and High Court, will need patience from both states. Irritations are bound to occur, but so long as the two States think for the whole nation, they have nothing to fear.

The Spokesman, organ of Sikh opinion, strikes the right note when it says, "In spite of all handicaps, we are optimistic that the new state can be made a prosperous one if the adventure and initiative of the Punjabis are harnessed to the service of the nation."

This applies no less to Haryana. There is so much in common between the two States. They both have so much to give to the rest of the country.

Briefly Speaking ...

It is with narrow-souled people as with narrow-necked bottles: the less they have in them, the more noise they make in pouring it out.

JONATHAN SWIFT 1667-1745

Fear in Brave Men's Eyes

IN OCTOBER 1951 I toured Gujarat. Then as now the rains had failed. The crops were withering. It did not need wisdom to report that the Congress Government should have concentrated on minor irrigation works rather than major projects.

In the last 15 years, had these minor irrigation works been taken in hand vigorously, Gujarat would have withstood the present drought.

Drought has also hit parts of the UP and Bihar. There has not been a drop of rain for 60 days. "Tears are in the eyes of brave men—a sight

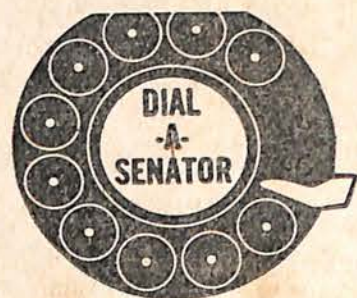
never before witnessed in Sahabad," said an eye-witness.

The tragedy is not only that rains failed but that people have not done the job they were supposed to. *The Hindu* correspondent from Bihar writes: "Though large sums have been sanctioned from year to year in the State budget for minor irrigation, little seems to have been done physically and funds have either been misused or allowed to lapse... the valuable minor irrigation system, formerly managed well by the Zamindars, had been neglected."

"Little seems to have been done."

The cost of the callousness and crookedness in some, is the starvation of millions.

How to Win Elections



THERE IS ALWAYS SCOPE for bright ideas during the elections. A friend in America has sent me the election pamphlet of Senator Whitney N. Seymour, Jr. After stating his impressive record, the "fighting State Senator" says that you can dial any of three numbers to hear a prepared three-minute talk "on current campaign questions".

The three recorded talks you can dial are:

- WA 4-4050 "Campaign Issues"
- WA 4-4051 "Our State Constitution"
- WA 4-4052 "The Seymour Family"

On the last number you, "Hear for yourself the voices of the wonderful

NEXT WEEK

HIMMAT will publish its second anniversary issue of 32 pages with distinguished contributors from India and abroad.

Mr. R. Vaitheswaran who has returned after a tour of the Far East writes the first of his articles on "Understanding China" this week. Next week he poses questions that are vital for all Asia: Is Mao in a minority in the Communist hierarchy? Is that why he is gathering support of the Red Guards?

family that keeps the Senator going: his wife, Catryna, and daughters, Tryntje and Gabriel."

The last line: "—and be sure to cast your vote to re-elect Senator Seymour."

Woolly

INDIAN PAPERS have prominently displayed the news item that the British Council of Churches has approved a controversial report that re-uses a condemn sex outside marriage. The report says, among other things, "Casual sex can be therapeutic." (curative).

I don't think that the wise gentlemen who signed the report have any idea what damage they are doing, not only to their own younger generation, but to the image of Christ in non-Christian countries like India. The average Indian may not know anything of the finer points of Christianity, but thanks to the liberal intention of men like Mahatma Gandhi, he does know the giver of the Sermon on the Mount, was pretty strict on these issues.

It seems that some Christians have pushed Christ away from the front door and permitted Sigmund Freud to enter in by the back window.

Heads You Lose

A REPORT from Madras states that last week a Communist member of the City Council, Mr. G. Kannan, stood on his head for 15 minutes during a meeting of the Council to mark his protest against the proposal to grant a licence to a cinema by the side of a school. Congress members approved of his "stand", whilst the DMK leaders objected to "the gymnastics". On persuasion by the Mayor, Mr. Kannan resumed his normal posture.

Regrettably for him, in spite of all his efforts, the licence was granted to the cinema. It's an upside down world.

R.M.L.

Seshadri Again Says: PRODUCE JANAKI AND USHA

Bangalore, Monday

Mr. R. M. Seshadri, counsel for Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi, made a strong appeal to Judges Narayana Pai and Ahmed Ali Khan of the Mysore High Court to summon Miss Janaki Varadhan to Court to discover if she was really free.

"My point is simple," Seshadri said. "Counsel for Mr. Varadhan has spoken for hours. Neither in his arguments nor in the many affidavits of Mr. Varadhan is any answer or even a suggestion of an answer given to my repeated question, 'Why could not Janaki be brought to the court?'"

Stating that the purported affidavit signed by Janaki contained intrinsic and other weaknesses, Mr. Seshadri asked, "But why present an affidavit at all when the person can be produced? When the best proof is possible by having the girl produced, why offer inferior evidence?"

Mr. Seshadri said that the emphasis in Mr. Varadhan's affidavits as well as in his counsel's arguments was not so much on the alleged freedom of Janaki in her father's house, but on the need and rightness of some control on her. *An adult citizen of free India could not be thought of as a bundle of goods to be transported and despatched from place to place.*

Sacrifice for Freedom

Pointing out that even today there were young men and women keen to sacrifice everything, including promising careers, for the sake of their country, Mr. Seshadri asked, "Would India have been free today if some men and women had not given all their lives for the country's cause against their parents' wishes?"

Citing several inconsistencies in the various affidavits sworn to by Mr. Varadhan and the contrasts between them and the complaint he had filed before the Madras Police Commissioner, Mr. Seshadri said, "Here is a man whose word cannot be trusted. And his producing affidavits or letters from Janaki taints the affidavits and letters."

Emphasising that in all the lengthy arguments no reason had been given for the fact that the stated letter from Janaki to Mr. Gandhi contained no mention of date or place and that

its top had been clipped off, Mr. Seshadri repeated that the most satisfactory way of arriving at the truth would be to hear it from Janaki herself in court.

The hearing on the case about Miss Varadhan is over and orders are expected any day.

Mr. Chandiram, father of Usha, appeared in court on October 27 and has since filed two affidavits. In these he has claimed that "at all relevant times" he and his family were outside the jurisdiction of the Mysore High Court and that for that reason the court should dismiss Mr. Gandhi's petition.

Mr. Chandiram said that on October 4 he took his wife and daughter to a place of pilgrimage near Bangalore where they had remained since then. Mr. Gandhi's affidavit alleging the wrongful detention of Usha by her father was filed on October 3 and was admitted on October 4. Orders

were issued directing Mr. Chandiram to produce his daughter and finally directing the police to locate Usha and have her produced in court.

On October 31 Mr. Seshadri read out before the court the letter written between September 20 and 24 by Usha to the three ladies working with MRA. The court directed him to file the original of the letter as well as of a letter written by Usha on July 3 in which she had expressed her apprehension that there could be an attempt by her relatives to force her to give up working with Moral Re-Armament.

In her letter to the three ladies, Usha had stated, "If the only way to get my freedom is through the court, I want to fight it that way. I have taken on a job for life and if it means spending part of it in prison it's damned hard, but fine... I want to be free. I want to be free. Frankly there is not the slightest chance of their letting me go voluntarily... I want to use everything to save this country's freedom."

On your toes

WHO PLANNED BLAKE'S ESCAPE?

The frenzy of speculation over the sudden escape of Britain's top spy, ex-diplomat George Blake, from Wormwood Scrubs prison near London sets one thinking.

Lord Mountbatten was immediately appointed to head an inquiry into the increasing prison breaks in Britain. The next day two more prisoners got away. Of course, cartoonists are having fun. The "Daily Mail" shows Home Secretary Roy Jenkins knocking on a prison door and calling out, "Anyone in?"

However, the speed of Mountbatten's appointment and the publicity given to the search for Blake suggest that it was all a carefully planned stunt.

British author Philip Deane, a Korean war correspondent for the London "Observer", has published a novel called "Time for Treason". Deane has based his fictional character on Blake with whom he shared a cell for 23 months in a North Korean prison camp. Deane says that he was with Blake every hour and while beaten he was never brainwashed by the Communists.

Deane believes Blake was in fact a double-double-agent and that Blake was tried and sentenced to 42 years imprisonment in order to delude the Russians into believing that he was a

loyal Communist spy. But all the time, argues Deane, Blake was loyal to Britain. He says that Blake was still in the pay of British Intelligence even after he was sentenced.

Deane concludes that Blake's recent "escape" was in fact staged by British Intelligence. Certainly the Hollywood-style accounts of Blake using ten pairs of knitting needles to reinforce the rungs of a nylon ladders and of a pot of chrysanthemums thought to have marked the place where Blake was to rendezvous with his accomplices outside the 20-foot high wall, sounds like the work of a public relations officer acting on behalf of somebody.

Was Blake's escape, on the other hand, part of an undercover deal between British and Russian spy chiefs? Stranger international deals have been made. If Blake was really responsible for the death of 40 British agents and a lot more treasonous mayhem, the British may have found his release—even in exchange for a British spy held by the Russians—rather hard to justify before the public. But his sudden "escape"—not difficult to arrange—could result in little more than embarrassment for the Home Office.

Perhaps we shall soon learn of the remarkable "escape" from behind the iron curtain of some university lecturer or businessmen whom the Government had appeared to disown for so long.

FREEBOOTER

CHALTA HAI...



"No, no, Sir, not that switch. It is for the official closing in case the need arises."

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



NABOB

Indian Capitalist and Czech Communists on MRA Platform

Jaipur

IN THE LAST three days "India Arise" has become the talk of the town of Jaipur. On the opening night in this historic city, the Maharani of Jaipur, and the entire family of the Chief Minister and families of others of the State Cabinet, attended. Leading members of the audience, including industrialist Shri Ramnath Podar, joined in the final song on stage. "I came to the stage to express that I am fully with you," he said. Also amongst those who followed him on stage were twenty of a visiting cultural delegation from Czechoslovakia. Those who were singing in their seats applauded and cheered as India's leading capitalist and the Communist delegation from Czechoslovakia joined in the finale "Badhe Chalo".

Great Hope

The man in charge of the Czechoslovak delegation said, "This is inspired, infectious and revolutionary. This is a new type of theatre. You've got very clear ideas and clean thinking. Since we've been in India we've seen many things which have given us pain. Now we go back with great hope having seen this force of young men and women in action."

An educationalist said afterwards, "I was a revolutionary once. After Independence I thought everything was over. I was simply taking it

easy. Now I see there's a bigger task to do."

The Director of Tourism of the whole State, Mr. Narain Sinha, said, "What conference speeches, seminars and debates have not been able to express in twenty years, you have said in two hours. Now it is in the hands of the people of India. I leave deeply stirred with a lot to think about."

An Army Major said, "India will never become great if people are slaves to money and therefore are not prepared to risk. They do nothing for the country. We must bring about the revolution you demonstrate with speed."

Many are wanting to join in action and a large number of students on vacation will get more training.

A Malaysian student wants to ask his Government to invite this show to his country.

The Principal of one of the leading girls' public schools in India, the M.G.D., Miss Lutter, in a letter to parents of students, said, "I consider 'India Arise' one of the finest productions I have seen during my lifetime, from the Far East in Tokyo, Japan, to the West in Berlin. I want you to go and see what our boys and girls here, with interstate and international understanding and with interstate and international living together can accomplish."

Liberation Fund Approaching Rs. 11,000

HIMMAT's Liberation Fund for the freeing of Janaki Varadhan and Usha Chandiram is approaching Rs. 11,000. Further contributions have been received from:

PREVIOUS TOTAL	Rs.	10,017
A Friend from Bombay	Rs.	20
Mr. George Mathew, Kerala	Rs.	10
Anonymous, Madras	Rs.	15
Miss Rohini de Mel, Colombo	Rs.	10
Mr. Will Chapin Jr. & Partners, California, USA	Rs.	875
Dr. W. M. Wilson, Scotland	Rs.	104
Mr. Peter Everington, England	Rs.	40
Mr. K. Vedamurthy, Bangalore	Rs.	5
Mr. Sridhara Murthy, Bangalore	Rs.	2

Mr. Manu, Bangalore	Rs.	15
Mr. Gupta, Bangalore	Rs.	30
Mr. T. M. Ganeshan, Visabankottai	Rs.	5
Miss Alice Tooker, California, USA	Rs.	187
Mr. Kim Beazley, Jr., Bombay 26	Rs.	20
Mr. and Mrs. L. Cartwright, Hyderabad	Rs.	10
Dr. and Mrs. C. Lancaster, Australia	Rs.	100
TOTAL	Rs.	10,965

Contributions can be sent to HIMMAT Publications Trust, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay 1. Cheques should be crossed and marked "Payee's Account" in the name of Himmat Publications Trust.

Election Winds

By ANTENNA

Masani's Chances

In a whirlwind bye-election campaign, Swatantra General-Secretary M. R. Masani snatched the Rajkot seat in Gujarat from Congress hands in 1963. He had promised his electorate that if sent to Parliament he would visit them every month. He has kept his word and has nursed his constituency well. The Congress had chosen to pit against him a man with the name of Vallabhbhai Patel, only a namesake of the great Sardar. Masani was still confident. But a new threat has appeared to his re-election in Mr. Ratilal Tanna, a dissident Congressman.

Mr. Tanna, who wants a separate Saurashtra state, is, I believe, receiving strong support from the Saurashtra merchants in Bombay. Why has he chosen Rajkot? The answer: he hails from there. He will no doubt siphon off a lot of protest and opposition votes which normally would have gone to Masani for the latter's sustained and vigorous campaign against the Congress. Mr. Tanna was a Congressman till last month.

Maharani for State Assembly

The Swatantra Party however is greatly encouraged by its mass public meeting in Ahmedabad last Sunday where a crowd of 100,000 turned up.

The Maharani of Jaipur, I understand, has decided to stand for both the State Assembly and the Parliament. She has presented herself as the alternative Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

Selection of Kripalani Opposed

Mr. Pashabhai Patel, an industrialist from Baroda, has reacted sharply to the Baroda City North constituency seat being offered to Acharya J. B. Kripalani by the Swatantra Party. Mr. Pashabhai Patel, a Swatantra Party member, has threatened to stand as an independent candidate from Baroda City.

Swatantra quarters believe that the stature and the tact of Mr. Bhailalbai Patel should be able to sort out this minor storm in the Swatantra tea-cup.

Understanding China— 1

The President of a Chinese college was speaking about a leading personality of Taiwan. Reference was made to his great influence. He had power without any obvious high rank but he used it with great flexibility. "He is a Taoist", remarked the Chinese educationalist about the Taiwanese personality. It summed up all he wanted to say. To a non-Chinese, however, it did not convey too much.

This illustrates the difficulty of understanding China, for the influences on the Chinese mind are so different from those existing anywhere else. The Chinese are an ancient people nurtured in greatness for millenia, who created in the lofty isolation of their "Middle Kingdom" a culture, a script, language, art and religion as great as any conceived by the mind of man. The profound influence of ways of thought and life such as the Confucian or Taoist on the Chinese, their attitudes generated by the longest surviving civilization, their character moulded by a history-conscious nation that considered itself (and was in fact for many centuries) the leading centre of human progress, can only be vaguely understood by the outsider.

This lack of understanding has persisted since the beginning of Western contact with China. In its early approach to China the West identified its technological power with cultural and religious superiority. Though it could not help admiring the supreme excellence of Chinese

mind and art, there was a tendency to dismiss the whole vast history of this great nation as an unimportant distraction from the glory of Greco-Roman civilization.

Western historians mistook the decay of a dynasty for the decline of a people. Even while cruelly enforcing the right to degenerate a weak nation with the hated opium, it flaunted the superiority of its "Christian" ways on a proud people.

The Chinese rebelled and retaliated, weak as they were, but were brutally suppressed. Understandably they retired into hurt silence waiting for the day of revenge. Misunderstood before, they became inscrutable. Self-sufficient in their insularity, they prepared for the day of greatness when China would prove herself again to the world.

Only One China

During the few weeks I spent in contact with the Chinese and Far Eastern peoples, I realised how poorly we understand them even in "oriental" India. We have no conception of the greatness and vast influence of Chinese culture.

I realised, too, that there is only one China—whether it be the Chinese on the mainland, in Taiwan or in the vast reaches of the Far East and South East Asia. For China is not only a nation and a country. For all Chinese, China represents an idea.

Any discussion about China must, therefore, reject the prejudices that have accumulated about the Chinese people, such as the Fu Manchu conception of a weird, cunning, cruel, mysterious people who dream of world empire, or of a concubine-keeping, opium-smoking dissolute nation that worshipped dragons and repeated endlessly the strange teachings of an odd personality named Confucius.

The Chinese have their roots in faith and morality as well as culture and tradition. They are hard-working, pragmatic, more so perhaps than any other Eastern peoples. Over the centuries they accumulated an impressive body of knowledge tested by experiment and practice. At the time the industrial revolution established European technological supremacy, the Chinese had perhaps as much scientific knowledge as any other nation. It was an accident of history that those in the governing

Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

elite of China who would have undertaken modernization in the 19th century (just as the Japanese did after the Meiji Revolution) were too few to carry the day against the influential power groups round the backward-looking Manchu ruling dynasty.

These are facts about the Chinese familiar to all students of China. They need repetition only because immediate events of the Sino-Indian or Sino-Soviet conflict and the tempo of recent happenings in mainland China itself have tended to deepen the confusion about China.

For most of us, China is the bad boy who does everything wrong. The Soviets are against China, the Americans are against China too (though less than usually thought). Present events on the mainland appear strange. Mao Tse-tung seems to be acting quite irrationally. But appearances as always are deceptive.

Unaided Recovery

The fact is that after the disaster of the Great Leap Forward and the crop failures of the late '50s, China has recovered economically to an astonishing degree. An Indian Consular official who stayed for a few days in Canton last year, Japanese who have been in Peking recently, and businessmen who have seen something of China, all testify to the fact that the Chinese people are better fed and clothed than they were ten years ago. The recovery is the more remarkable in that it was achieved despite total withdrawal of all Soviet aid and China has had to pay in gold for the six million tons of wheat she imports each year from Canada.

The Chinese are now so confident, about their economy that Mr. Yung Lung Kwei, in charge of the Five Year Plan, in Canton Province, recently told Mr. Zentaro Kosaka former Foreign Minister and official re-

Continued on next page

VERDICT!

This week **HIMMAT**

APPLAUDS Mr. J. R. D. Tata on his forthright criticism of our "Plan performance" and RECOMMENDS that his recent Delhi speech be compulsory reading for all students of economics—and planners.

★

MARVELS at the authority of the Municipality of Evaux-les-Bains, central France, which has decreed that "cocks in the city should not crow at night", and WONDERS what are the "proceedings in conformity with the law" to which cocks will be exposed for the "breach of peace".

★

IS SHOCKED that India, to produce her own Dictionary of National Biography, has to plead for foreign funds whilst its present leaders are happy to waste up to a million rupees on their birthday celebrations—arches and elephants included.

★

SALUTES Delhi Councillor S. L. Kapoor who, instead of blaming the police, like his fellow councillors, thundered forth that it is the politicians who often interfere with the working of the police and help the criminals.

★

URGES the Andhra Chief Minister to refrain from putting pressure on the Centre for the fifth Steel plant in order to promote his election prospects.

★

NOTES with interest the report that the Union Government has decided to declare the RSS a "political" and not just a "cultural" organization, and SEEKS enlightenment on the nature of the enquiry which took it 18 years to reach this conclusion.

UNDER THE LENS—from page 7

representative of the Japanese Government that Chinese food production is now 200 million tons. As far as is known, this is the first official figure given out by Communist China since 1957, when the official figure of food production was 185 million tons.

Observers of China also point out that apart from the concentration on development of sophisticated as well as nuclear weaponry, the present emphases of the economic development plan are on agriculture and heavy industry ancillary to agriculture and means of transport and communication.

Striving for Unity

An English businessman who speaks both Mandarin and Cantonese fluently and occasionally visits the mainland pointed out to me that the unification of China, three times the size of India, is no mean achievement either. He found a conscious and planned attempt to bring about a psychological revolution of national identity. Civil servants from one part of the country have to serve in other parts of China. Students are transferred from one place to another. Mandarin has become the common language all over the country.

With this background it is possible to attempt an analysis of the present "cultural revolution", without any of the hysterical phobia that has characterized reports about it and without the tendency to consider as fact what one wishes might be true.

Certain aspects about the "cultural revolution" are easy to understand. One is Mao's desire to endow the youth of China brought up without any of the hardships, struggle or sacrifice of those who made the long trek to Yenan with some revolutionary experience that would steel them in the fire of struggle.

A second is the deep-rooted hatred in China of all things and ideas alien. China has many times during the past century been overtaken by a wave of anti-foreign sentiment. Accumulation of circumstances such as the refusal of Khrushchev to share nuclear know-how with an Asian power (even though Communist), abrupt withdrawal of Soviet aid, the growing seriousness of the Vietnam war with its implied threat of an attack on the mainland (which may well be a serious fear of the Chinese), may all have contributed to growing bitterness and frustration in Mao Tse-tung and his immediate colleagues.

But most important of all seems to have been the seriousness of the ideological rift over policy in the higher echelons of the Communist Party of China. It has now been confirmed that there was a very major discussion over policy during the whole of last year within the Party.

These discussions revealed two factions on every front. In the military realm there was the division between what the Communists themselves call "the Expert versus the Red". Mao Tse-tung and a handful of others including Lin Piao stuck to the traditional and orthodox belief in the tactics and strategy of guerrilla warfare. Others including Lo Jui Ching, then Army Chief of Staff and former Minister of Public Security, argued strongly for what is called "counter offensive warfare"—a modern army well equipped with modern weapons, with discipline based on ranks replacing the guerrilla fighters of the revolutionary period.

This military controversy had its counterpart in the diplomatic, economic and educational fields.

To be continued

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Ceylon Government Loses Bye-elections

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

The National Government's loss to Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party of the three bye-elections in Balangoda, Bandarawela and Bentara-Elpitiya is a serious setback to them.

True, two of the seats were held by the SLFP at the last general election and only one by Dudley Senanayake's UNP. True also, that the



Mrs. Bandaranaike: "Tribalism... paid off."

majorities in the two previously-held SLFP seats were greatly reduced and in one case was as little as 148. But none the less the results will be widely taken to mean that the Government have not yet got the upper hand of the country's problems.

Senior government representatives say their failure was due to not keeping down the cost of living. This was undoubtedly one vital factor. And it

would be unfair to blame the Government for the collapse of the tea market which must have affected the voters in these three tea-growing areas. But if articles of staple diet like dried fish have not been readily available, this can only be due to inefficiency, and strong measures to remedy this are expected, possibly even Cabinet changes.

The strong communalist line of the Opposition, pro-Sinhalese and anti-Tamil, will also have contributed. Communal feelings have run high, as can be seen from ultra-emotional statements like Mrs. Bandaranaike's that the Government were plotting to set up a "Tamil kingdom in the North". "Tribalism...paid off in the rural electorates as it paid off in 1956," commented the *Times of Ceylon*.

Many are calling for a cleaning of house by the Government. The Prime Minister and those closest to him are held in high regard. But some of those he has appointed have been less than straight. One UNP parliamentarian faces a murder charge and the chairman of one government corporation cannot explain some irregular payments. The people expect a "purge", democratically carried out.

Australia's Nagging Conscience

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Canberra

Australia has a nagging conscience about its relations with the countries of Asia and responsibility to them.

This conscience is at work at present with members of Parliament, churchmen, newspapers and others proclaiming their views.

The argument, which centres mainly on Australia's civil aid contribution to the area, has received fresh impetus following the end of confrontation between Indonesia and Malay-

sia, a recent visit by Senator Manglapus, a former Philippines Foreign Minister, and now the Asian and Pacific tour of President Johnson of the United States.

Australia has sent aid to the region through the Colombo Plan and through a series of direct grants to

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

SAIGON—Fire raced through five decks of the huge American aircraft carrier *Ogiskany* killing 45 officers and men.

CAMRANH BAY—President Johnson made a top-secret flight to this Vietnam war zone to visit US troops.

HANOI—North Vietnam indicated that it will scorn the Manila conference proposals for peace.

PEKING—The Peking regime has moved four divisions into North Vietnam during the last two months bringing Chinese forces there up to seven divisions totalling 90,000 men, reports the *China Post*.

LAOS—Rightist and neutralist factions in the Laotian defence forces fought one another in a bid for power. The inter-forces squabble was soon brought to an end and the Government is now reported to be in full control.

DJAKARTA—Former Foreign Minister Subandrio of Indonesia was sentenced to death for involvement in the abortive pro-Communist coup of last year.

COLOMBO—Premier Senanayake discussed re-allocation of ministerial posts with senior Cabinet members after the Government lost three bye-elections. The Tamil Federal Party has reaffirmed its support of the Senanayake Government, dispelling rumours that it would quit the Government over the Tamil-Sinhalese language issue.

PEKING—China claimed to have fired a live nuclear guided missile in a further step to becoming a major nuclear power.

RANGOON—U Nu, former Premier of Burma, has been released after over four years in custody.

TOKYO—Japan's Foreign Ministry announced it may restrict the export to China of items useful in missile production.

KUALA LUMPUR—President Johnson pledged protection to nations who might be victims of Chinese nuclear blackmail during a state visit.

meet emergency situations such as its wheat shipments to offset Indian food shortages and the defence supplies it contributed following the border incursions of Communist China.

Main Effort Military

But civil aid has been largely overshadowed by Australia's response to military needs in the Malay Peninsula, Korea, the Malaysian Borneo Territories and Vietnam, where the major effort is now concentrated.

Now pressure is mounting for

Australia to make a more significant contribution to civil aid throughout South-east Asia. This has been gathering momentum since the 1966-67 Budget, brought down in August, provided for only a slight boost in external aid.

Critics of the Government's effort are by no means satisfied with the decision to lift overseas aid by only \$ A7,700,000 from \$ A95,600,000 last year to \$ A103,300,000 in the current financial year.

Per capita, Australia is not in the "big league" of foreign aid gives and the Government insists on inflating its generosity by including the

amount—two-thirds of the total—that goes to Papua-New Guinea.

Since the announcement of President Johnson's visit, the issue was forcefully restated by *The Age*, the influential morning daily of Melbourne.

Key to Stability

The Age said in an editorial, "In Vietnam our responsibility has been basically military. But when the fighting ends the need to help the people of Vietnam and other countries of Asia will not end with it... We cannot expect stability in our part of the world while want and misery are allowed to flourish."

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Economic Crisis Threatens Wilson

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

Members of Parliament are back to work at Westminster. They face a stock pile of Bills that will make the next twelve months a legislative marathon. It seems that the Prime Minister is determined to deal with most of the disputatious business within the next eighteen months. By the end of that time half the life of this present Parliament will have been completed.

During these winter months interest is likely to centre on three main issues: Britain and the Common Market; the Rhodesian crisis; the economic situation in Great Britain.

Scope for any action on the Common Market is going to be rather limited. On Rhodesia, the crisis may well come to flashpoint in the next few weeks if the attempt is made to impose mandatory sanctions. A hard winter will greatly aggravate the economic situation. October's figures show a rise in unemployment of 97,000. The total unemployment figure is 437,229.

By summer next year it will be clear to all the world whether this country is mastering her economic and labour difficulties. Failure here will threaten the future of the Wilson Government and might transform politics.

At the Labour Party Conference four prospective successors to Mr. Harold Wilson emerged. Mr. Callaghan (Chancellor of the Exchequer); Mr. George Brown (Foreign Minister); Mr. Richard Crossman (Leader of the House of Commons); Mr. Ray Gunter (Minister of Labour).

As Leader of the House of Commons, Mr. Crossman is known to concur with those MPs who are



Wilson — four possible successors

urging modernization of procedure in this Mother of Parliaments. *The innovations include a longer Question Time with Ministers; morning sittings, and the televising of some proceedings.*

This last proposal has its humorous aspect. A blue shirt on television shows up whiter than a white shirt. Blue, however, is a Tory colour. Will members of the Government agree to change colours for the benefit of the camera?

For Mr. Heath as Leader of the Opposition the hard task still remains of forming a convincing alternative government.

Holland's Strange Instability

FROM PETER HINTZEN

The Hague

After an all-night session Holland's Catholic-Socialist Coalition Government under Prime Minister Josef Cals has resigned. It is the second crisis within the current electoral period. This typifies the country's present strange instability.

The Times says Holland is undergoing a sort of "social revolution" because of affluence and over-crowdedness. Rebellion seems a more appropriate word. In March, long-haired youth, calling themselves "provos", threw smoke-bombs at the

Royal wedding coach. In June, building workers, angry over a false rumour, forced the police to fire rifles in order to control the riot for the first time since the war. In recent local elections completely irresponsible,

Continued on next page

The week in India

VISAKHAPATNAM — The Union Government is believed to have taken a decision to locate the next steel plant here.

BOMBAY — Mr. Justice K. K. Desai of Bombay High Court ordered attachment of Dr. Teja's shipping shares of Jayanti Shipping Co. with the face value of Rs. 21,247,200.

HYDERABAD — Students of Osmania University "kidnapped" their registrar and put the vice-chancellor under "house arrest" to prevent the new vice-chancellor appointed by the Governor from taking over.

NEW DELHI — The size of the Fourth Plan may be cut by at least Rs. 2,000 crores because of economic stresses.

PATNA — Nearly 20 million people of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are believed to have been affected by the drought, "worst in 200 years". The Centre has planned all-out aid to Bihar.

NEW DELHI — US Ambassador Bowles has denied the report of a "political deal" between the United States and India in regard to food shipments.

BHOPAL — Mass-migration from many drought-hit areas in Madhya Pradesh is designed to cope with the extreme paucity of drinking water.

NEW DELHI — The Sindhi language, spoken by nearly a million people, is to be recognized as one of the Indian languages.

AHMEDABAD — Work on Kandla port was paralysed following a strike by 1000 workers demanding advance payment.

NEW DELHI — The SSP and Jan Sangh groups sponsored no-confidence motions against the Government on the opening day of the winter session of Parliament.

BOMBAY — The Communist-controlled Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union cancelled a one-day strike of 200,000 Bombay textile workers on October 31 to back bonus claims.

NEW DELHI — Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi began her fourth series of talks with Naga underground leaders.

anti-democratic demagogues have snatched many votes from the sedate political establishment. The Pope is said to be concerned about the rebellious forms the Church's attempts to update Christian worship and practice take in Holland.

After the first post-war years of a remarkable will to sacrifice for national reconstruction, Dutch politicians have increasingly fallen into the habit of buying public favour by making untenable promises. As a result people are dissatisfied though they never have been so universally well off.

However densely populated, Holland's problem is less over-crowdedness than over-indulgence. If the country could again find a big overriding purpose and if the leaders would venture to appeal to people's wills instead of their stomachs, soon many groans would cease.

Catholic parliamentary leader Norbert Schmelzer will need a while to glue together the fragments which his no-confidence motion has caused. Negotiations to form a new coalition are usually long-drawn as a result of the proliferation of minority parties, even though often the same ministers return to their posts. In this case it is likely a new Government will send Parliament home even before the present term has expired



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Parle's MONACO — INDIA'S LARGEST-SELLING SAVOURY CRACKERS

ea/331/pp

and call for general elections.

The Labour Party is furious about what it calls Catholic right-wing treason of the progressive policies the Government wanted to pursue—unjustly, for the cabinet did not stumble so much over opposition to its progressiveness as over its inability to find the necessary means to make it possible. Last year inflation exceeded four per cent.

Meanwhile the present unsettled state of all major parties is a golden opportunity for inexperienced theoreticians. Their temptation is to try to revive pre-war class notions, which then had mass appeal because of social injustices but now might wreck the constitutional monarchy which has always been a pillar of national unity. They might also jeopardize the productive system on which prosperity depends.

Cold War "Thaw" in Europe

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The Hague

The Powers concerned are meeting in Bonn to discuss to what degree Germany will relieve, by ordering goods in those countries, America and Britain from the foreign exchange cost of their troops stationed in Germany to protect the West. Bonn itself has economic troubles and cannot fully meet its defenders' demands.

Monetary matters serve as an opportunity for reappraisal to those who feel East-West relations have changed. President Johnson's and Chancellor Erhard's recent talks were chilly. The President, concerned over Vietnam's claim on American money and men, clearly felt Germany should foot more of her own defence bill.

He also seems to consider the Soviets as potential allies against Chinese aggression. He feels he can make a deal with Moscow and for that purpose he appears ready to reduce troops in Europe and sacrifice some German interests.

"We must improve the East-West environment in order to achieve German reunification," he said recently and this means a reversal of previous policy which hoped to bargain for reunification from "a position of strength" and put free all-German elections first, not last. The present

presidential conception is not unlike General de Gaulle's.

Britain's eager new Foreign Secretary, George Brown, is keen to use the Bonn talks to overhaul NATO's strategy. He, too, wants to reduce troops as a preliminary to more cordiality with Russia.

In the German Federal Republic thinking is in ferment as well. Bonn has reproved West Berlin's Mayor Willy Brandt for going to see the Soviet Ambassador in East Germany. Socialist strategist Herbert Wehner has horrified friends and foes by suggesting an economic union between the two halves of the former Reich. He thinks this would improve relations, but also it would mean some recognition of East Germany's repressive regime.

Is all this a positive trend? It is probable that people who say, like *The Economist*, that "the cold war is over" are victims of wishful thinking. As long as philosophies of coercion and freedom face each other, there will be a clash between them, even if disguised.

NYERERE'S PAY CUT

DAR ES SALAAM—Members of Tanzania's Cabinet voluntarily cut their salaries by 20 per cent. Their decision was made after President Nyerere announced a similar cut in his own salary. The cuts followed agitations against high government salaries.

SPY FLEES

LONDON—Soviet spy George Blake escaped from a London prison. Earl Mountbatten, former Chief of the Defence Staff, is to head an enquiry into the security of Britain's prisons.

CHINESE AID NKURUMAH

ACCRA—A rift between China and Ghana is imminent after reports reached Ghana's Government of continued Chinese aid to ex-President Nkrumah. Nkrumah is said to have received £750,000 in American and British currency from China and Russia recently.

GIBRALTAR CRISIS

GIBRALTAR—Spanish officials closed the gates on the road connecting Gibraltar with the Spanish mainland.

Spain is demanding Gibraltar from the British. Gibraltar's Governor, Sir Gerald Lathbury, said the Colony was "likely to face an indefinite period of savage restrictions".

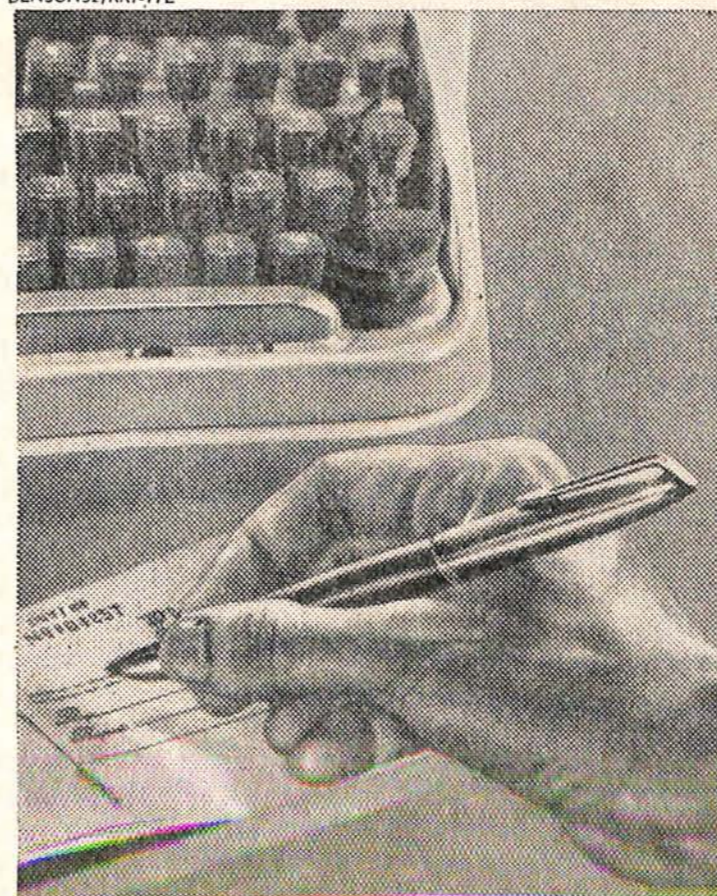
ERHARD'S DEFEAT

BONN—West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard may be forced to resign after the Free Democratic Party quit the governing coalition with Erhard's Christian Democratic Union and joined the Opposition. This has resulted in the defeat of Erhard's budget in the Upper House. The Chancellor is reported to be determined to remain in power. Under the German Constitution, the Government does not have to resign after a defeat.

BRAZIL CONGRESS RECESSED

BRAZIL—President Castelo Branco of Brazil ordered Congress into recess after a dispute with its leadership. Elections are due on November 15. The crisis began when the President deprived six opposition deputies of their political rights.

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ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

Into the jungle with a suitcase

This is my life, exempt from public haunts,

*finds tongues in trees,
books in the running brooks,
sermons in stones
and good in everything,
I would not change.*

"THUS DID I THINK of Shakespeare's lines when my mother wanted me to give up my determination to go into the jungle and start farms," said Mr. L. E. A. Fonseka, who runs the State Animal Husbandry farms in Peradeniya, Ceylon. He has been in government service for the last 25 years and had just concluded a visit to the sub-continent to purchase buffaloes on behalf of the Ceylon Government."

What impressed you most on your visit?

"Jungiribad, in Pakistan, about 160 miles from Lahore. I found a 6000-acre farm run by very enterprising people. They get only five inches of rain per year but had the best cattle I had seen in my whole life, and also fields of cotton and wheat."

What is their secret?

"Tube wells. They are becoming very popular in Pakistan."

Against odds

What about your early life?

"During the malaria epidemic in Ceylon people immigrated from villages into the towns. The jungle crept over rich land. People shuddered when anyone spoke of going back. Three-fourths of Ceylon was then jungle. I was asked by the Government to open a farm and initiate an irrigation scheme near a village where six families had decided to stick on against all odds.

"I had a feeling for my country and decided to take this on. There were no roads and I walked 14 miles into the jungle infested with elephants, leopards and bears, with only a suitcase and a gun. On the very first day a mosquito bit me and two weeks later shivering began—this was malaria.

"My mother pleaded with me to return as there were many other jobs

available. But the call of agriculture was stronger. I lost 25 pounds and was a physical wreck. At last my mother sent a final letter and my reply was a quotation from the Bible. 'He that puts his hand to the plough and looks back is not fit for the Kingdom of God.'"



Mr. Fonseka

Did you enjoy your experience in the jungle?

"It was fun working there. I opened three farms. Many times my *cadjan* hut was destroyed by wild elephants."

Why is Ceylon not self-sufficient in food?

"Ceylon imports nearly 50 per cent of her food. The Government pays Rs. 12 per bushel of rice as an incentive to the farmer to produce more while the world rate is only Rs. 6. Yet many a farmer produces only what he wants to lead a comfortable life. Our average yield is about 38 bushels per acre while in Japan it exceeds 100. Also, one third of Ceylon is yet jungle.

"The majority of our youth are not interested in farming and want soft desk jobs, preferably in government service."

Do you think Ceylon can be self-sufficient in food?

"Easily. Our problems are small when compared with those I found in the sub-continent. The minimum rainfall in any part of Ceylon is 40 inches. I want to introduce the system of tube wells and use all the water to increase our crops. Ceylon

is a very fertile land and can produce enough food even for export. The farmers must realize that food is universally wanted and take it on fully.

What are your most memorable experiences?

"First, the spirit with which the people of Ceylon took on the campaign against malaria when one third of the population was stricken by it. They conducted a house-to-house campaign and today the total eradication of this disease from Ceylon is an example of what a determined nation can do.

Rise for agriculture

"The second is the deep litter system, which I introduced four years ago after studying it in Canada. People did not like to try something new but I got two school farms interested in it and the remarkable results began a revolution. The department imported huge incubators and sold chicks at 50 cents each. Ceylon, which imported 30 million eggs four years ago, is now self-sufficient in them."

Do you have any message for the youth of Ceylon?

"I will quote the song of the School of Agriculture composed by the late Earle Mendis.

*The fields that fed our fathers,
obscure in fallow lies.*

*For straight and noble furrows,
in pain the spirit cries.*

*Rise youth who hear the calling,
for Lanka needs your hand*

*Rise for agriculture,
the heritage of our land."*

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TIME-BOMB IN THE ASSAM HILLS

From Ajit Das in Shillong

IT WAS THE DAWN after the Dusserah. For the Assam State administration it was also a day of revelation; for the hillsfolk a day of resolution.

After a four-day holiday for the Durga Puja festivals this should have been one of the busiest days of the month. Instead it turned out to be the day of a frighteningly total inactivity, with life even in this chilly hill town of the pinewoods frozen to near frigidity.

It was on this day that the hillsfolk of Assam gave their signal for a programme of state-wide peaceful "indirect action" to boost their claims for an autonomous hills state separate from the plains of Assam State.

According to news reports, not a man, woman or child could step into the street without a "passport" that the volunteers of the All Parties Hill Leaders' Conference were issuing to those on essential duty and thus exempted from the general strike call. Newsmen who refused to oblige were imprisoned for hours by the volunteers.

Deserted Capital

For twelve hours, from 3 am to 3 pm, Shillong was a deserted capital till, in the afternoon, the APHLC procession of Khasi, Garo and other tribals started its mile-long parade protesting against being permanently bracketed with the plains under a government dominated by the plainsfolk.

It would be wrong to think that the APHLC demands for a separate autonomous hill state comprising the hills region of north-eastern India is the same as the demands by the rebel Nagas for a sovereign independent Nagaland or by the Mizos for an independent sovereign Mizoland outside the Indian Union.

The APHLC repeatedly assert their allegiance to India demanding, they say, nothing more than what people in other regions of India enjoy, organized, in recognition of their distinctive group claims, in separate states. If the demand for a Punjabi Suba can be accepted, why not the demand

for a separate hills state of Assam, they argue.

In fact, it is the indulgence to some sections, indifference to others, and the inherent faith of New Delhi in everything that the Shillong state administration recommended, that has allowed the movement of the hillsfolk to snowball into its present disturbing dimensions.

The APHLC has called for a sustained, state-wide, direct action of mass peaceful disobedience, to start before the last week of December, to shake the administration in Shillong and New Delhi into action.

Trust in PM

Fortunately, the autonomy-seeking hillsfolk of Assam have still some faith in the sincerity of the "daughter of the mountains" who now happens to be the Prime Minister of India. They were immensely pleased that Mrs. Gandhi's first journey out of New Delhi within a week of her selection as Prime Minister, was to inaugurate an annual conference of the Mishmi tribals in far-off North-East Assam. In Darjeeling Mrs. Gandhi promised a special study of the needs of the hills areas and specially allotted funds for their development.

But the hillsfolk feel that this is getting too little too late. They argue that the Shillong State Government manned mostly by men from the plains of Assam and ruled by a party that non-tribals dominate, has never treated the cause of the tribals with understanding.

Highly Literate

The hillsfolk of Assam are not at all primitive illiterate tribals. They are highly literate, modern and progressive. They have a pride that neither patronising nor pampering can satisfy. That pride is now breeding impatience.

Statistics prove that the frustration of the hills people is not just sentimental nonsense. The hillsfolk, organized under the banner of the APHLC, won 11 out of the 15 seats they contested for the State Assembly in the last election.

In March this year Mr. Tarlok Singh, a member of the Planning

Commission who made a study of the development needs of the Assam hills said he thought it would be doing "no injustice either to the Centre or to the (Assam) State to admit that so far even the surface of the problem of development has not been scratched". The little development that took place, he admitted, was on lines blissfully indifferent to the real and diverse needs of the tribal people.

When it is known that this indifferent process of development covered India's most strategic areas, the indifference appears unpardonable.

The majority of the hillsfolk now agitating for an autonomous hill state are Christians and instinctively opposed to Communism. They are more immune to wooing from the Chinese along the border than many now inhabiting the plains of India.

It will be a pity if pride, prejudice and administrative procrastination prevent those in power from tackling in time, with apology where it is due. It is even now late, but not too late.

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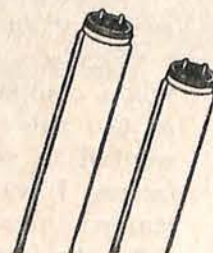
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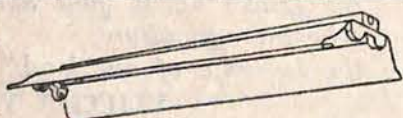
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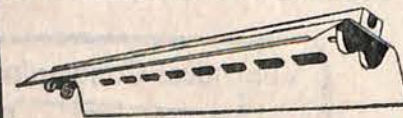
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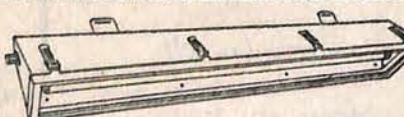


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VIEWPOINT

First Prize

Should Banks be Nationalized?

by Varkey Mathew, Bangalore 27

TODAY A THIRD of commercial banking in the country is in the hands of the Government through the State Bank of India and its subsidiaries. There are also the Postal savings bank, the Unit Trust, the LIC and various Industrial and Agricultural Finance Corporations. It is obvious that the Government's share in banking is much larger than is generally realised.

The Reserve Bank has extensive control over all the activities of banks in India. To list a few of the powers it has:

—It can remove chairmen, directors and chief executives and can appoint its nominees.

—It can dictate terms and service conditions of chief executives.

—Its permission is necessary for large loans, for opening new branches and for amalgamations.

—It regulates the rates of interest on deposits and loans and also the percentage of deposits that can be loaned.

It is a fallacy to assume that private banks make huge profits. The existing controls restrict the scope for profits. Wages to employees are a major and rising item of expenditure. A lion's share of the profits is taken away as taxes. Of the balance 20

per cent has to be earmarked, by law, for strengthening reserves. Thus any gain to the state by nationalization will be negligible.

If nationalization is effected the highly decentralised banking industry will become centralised, resulting in a concentration of economic power which could lead to dictatorship. For the common man nationalization will result in the loss of efficient service and he will definitely find it more difficult to get loans. Today if any bank refuses to lend money, the fact that one can always try another is reassuring. In a nationalized system once a person is turned down there is no possibility of trying elsewhere.

State Banks No Better

One of the objects of nationalization, ostensibly, is to provide credit easily to the farmer and the small industrialist. The problem in loans to this class is that it cannot provide proper security. Banks have to follow safe policies while lending money for they have their obligations to the depositors. It is revealing to note that the State banks are no better than private banks in this field.

It is obvious from these facts that a mere change in the ownership of banks will not help us in any way.

COMPETITION

* Where should cure for student unrest begin—with students or authorities?

Closing date: November 11

** What should India do for South-East Asia?

Closing date: November 25

Prizes: Rs. 25, Rs. 15

Send entries of 500 words or less to: Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1.

Second Prize

The Last Straw

By R. NARAYANAN, Calcutta

NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS will be the last straw to reduce our already crippled economy to shambles. The demand for nationalization has been made so vociferously by a certain section of the ruling party mainly on two grounds; Firstly, nationalization will help mobilisation of resources easily for the treasury and secondly, banking has served as a tool of big business to indulge in undesirable practices. These claims are incoherent and their validity questionable.

Firstly, it would be dangerous to allow the Government to control the resources of banks in the present circumstances. For them, development means constructing white elephant projects like Bokaro Steel and DVC when the very basic needs are not cared for. If the objective is to find resources for the impracticable Fourth Plan, you would have then killed the only goose that was laying eggs.

Secondly, the Reserve Bank of India exercises so many controls that scope for unfair practices in banks is almost non-existent.

In view of the existence of many banks, people will feel their money is safe. Schemes such as Deposit Insurance may be expanded to keep the morale of the people up.

Wherever nationalization has entered, it has brought red-tapeism, nepotism and inefficiency and consequent failures.

Nationalization of Banks will take us nearer to Communism and a day would not be far off when the roots of Democracy, which are shaken now, will be destroyed.

LETTERS

NOT ALONE

During the last days of the British regime when there was the Great Famine in Bengal we blamed our erstwhile rulers. Now that we have our own men ruling over us, whom should we blame?

The time has come for our leaders to stop calling summit conferences and sending cultural delegations abroad and instead concentrate upon eradication of the cancer of poverty, increase of agricultural output and creating a healthy atmosphere in our schools and colleges.

Oh, for a Gandhi to be born once again in our country to create a climate of self-help and moral rejuvenation. We have had enough of political leaders. Let us have a single stalwart who will open a new vista for creative opportunities in our country. He will be alone first, as all world statesmen have been alone first, but the masses will follow him.

G. M. JAGTIANI*

Bombay 1

* This weeks Rs. 10 winner.

LEAD ASIA

India must build strong ties with Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, Japan, Ghana and such other nations and emerge as their leader instead of being a satellite of Socialist countries in the name of non-alignment—which policy we have not only not followed very honestly, but which has become out of date.

The orations at Delhi during this last week will not catch the world's imagination. Our leaders do not seem to know their job and duty.

P. S. SRIDHARA MURTHY

Bangalore 4

"ANSWER TO ANARCHY"

Rajmohan Gandhi's article, "Answer to Anarchy" must be an eye-opener to the rulers of our land. The need to get wise decisions on problems confronting them is a reality. At least they must admit they went wrong, tackling this unrest by means of force.

I ask the educational authorities: why do they allow the periods allocated for moral instruction and citizenship

training to be leisure hours for both the teachers and students in the secondary schools?

It is no use blaming the student community as indisciplined when the fault lies elsewhere.

I think that I am right when I say that Moral Re-Armament is the answer to anarchy.

M. A. TILAK

Coimbatore 1

STUDENT INDISCIPLINE

Here are my reasons for the present student indiscipline:

1. Our fooling with an alien, anti-religious dogma, socialism, which has killed all the noble facets of our Hindu way of life.
2. Our cheap, vulgar and indecent films.
3. The behaviour of us adults with scant respect for the rule of law as evidenced in the numerous bandhs.
4. Our once fine education completely ruined by too much government interference.
5. Our complete apathy to the totalitarian type of government we have now.
6. The corruption, nepotism and bribery in high places which goes unpunished.

JINNI CHARI

Madras 14

HIMMAT awards Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be brief and exclusive.—Ed.

DEADLY DELAY

A friend has just received a reply from the Commissioner of Police for Bombay. He had written complaining about the delay in removing a dead body which he had passed lying on the road. That was last April.

The Commissioner's reply, dated October 26, states, "The delay... was due to non availability of a hearse. The staff has been instructed to be more prompt in future."

And what about the Police Commissioner's correspondence...?

KIM BEAZLEY JR.

Bombay 1

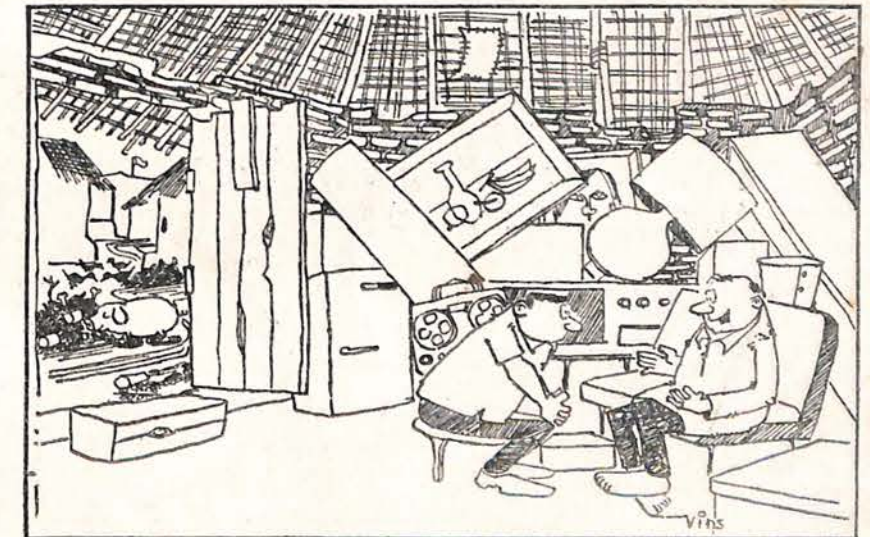
CURE DETERIORATION

Congratulations to the HIMMAT Publications Trust for bringing out the booklet, I Am In Revolt by Shri Rajmohan Gandhi.

I much appreciate Mr. Gandhi's views about our country and how we all can change it.

B. P. NAGARAJ

Bangalore 4



"I've moved into this hutment. It's the only way to get an allotment of a flat by the Maharashtra Housing Board."

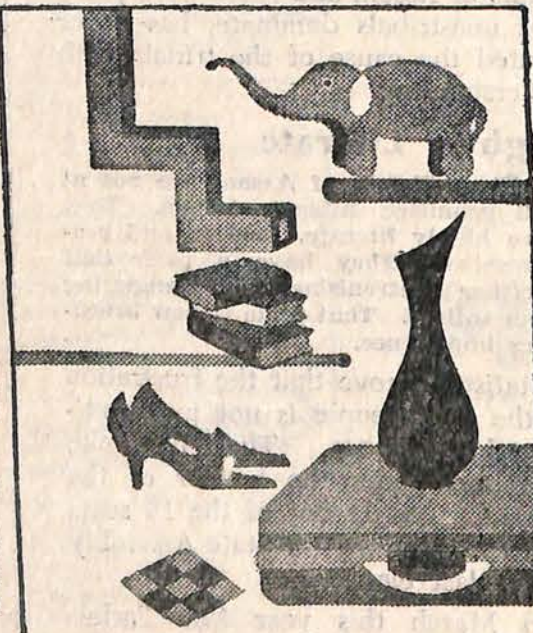
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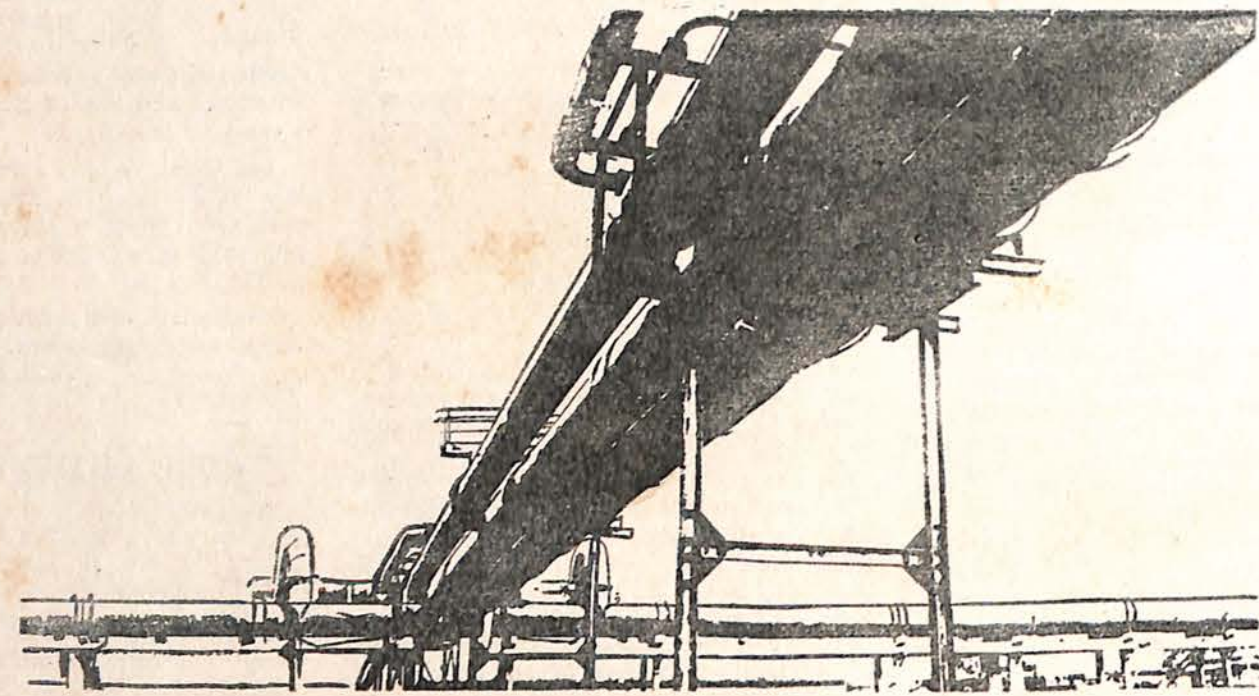
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This was a life

JOHN F. KENNEDY

1917—1963

JOHN KENNEDY was the second son in a family of nine children born to the millionaire-diplomat, Joseph Kennedy, who brought up his children on the principle: When the going gets tough, the tough get going.

John was born on the May 29, 1917. After a brilliant academic career, he joined the Navy and nearly lost his life when a Japanese destroyer cut his torpedo boat in two. With incredible courage and endurance he brought the survivors of his crew back to base, though badly wounded.

After the war he embarked on his political career. At 29 he was elected to the House of Representatives and was a Senator at 35.

These successes spurred him on to run for the Presidency. Eating at wayside cafes and talking to countless people he got the wave-length of a generation born, like him, in the 20th Century and veterans of the war. He wasted no time in polemics against opponents. In 1960 he became the youngest President ever to enter the White House.

In his Inaugural Address he said: "Let the word go forth... to friend and foe alike that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans... Let every nation know... that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend or oppose any foe in order to assure the survival and success of liberty." To the youth he said: "Don't ask, What can my country do for me, but what can I do for my country?"

Aided by a brilliant set of advisors he fought a Trade Expansion Bill through Congress, which reduced taxation and unemployment and transformed the economy. His Civil Rights Bill gave equal opportunity of education and work to all races. He saw the first astronauts launched into space and instituted the Peace Corps.

He was a keen supporter of the United Nations. He halted Russia in Cuba while making it easy for Khrushchev to withdraw. He formed with South American States an "Alliance for Progress" to help their development.

His visits to South America and Europe were pageants of triumph. No words can describe the shock the world felt at his unexpected assassination on November 22, 1963.

H.B.

ASIA NEEDS U NU

As Gandhi's name brought lustre to India, U. Nu's added lustre to Burma's. That he has been released from detention after four years is a cause for rejoicing. In detention he wrote six books. He said that the whole episode of his arrest by General Ne Win was result of a misunderstanding. Ne Win has offered U. Nu freedom to go on pilgrimage, and it is expected that U. Nu will visit Bodh Gaya, in Bihar, in the near future.

U. Nu is a man of many parts. When young he translated Dale Carnegie's "How To Win Friends and Influence People" into Burmese. With General Aung San he founded the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League. Not long after Burma became independent on January 1, 1947, Aung San and most of the Burmese Cabinet were assassinated. U. Nu was among the few who survived, and it is he who led the infant state torn by armed intestine conflict. Throughout those troubled years, he kept Burma one. On October 28, 1958, he voluntarily left his office as Prime Minister and invited General Ne Win to rule for six months, to enable the General to deal firmly with the security situation while he tried to clean-up his AFPFL. On eve of his handing over power, U. Nu said: "Democracy took hold in the West after many painful years. It will take time here."

An Honest Statesman

U. Nu returned to power when his party won an overwhelming victory in the February 1960 elections. Two years later in a military coup General Ne Win arrested him.

The secret of U. Nu's popularity has been his transparent honesty of thought and action. Speaking to 50,000 people one day, he related how as a young boy he had stolen from his mother's shop and how the shop had to shut down. If we treat the nation the same way, he concluded, even a nation could perish. He spoke how after he had been Prime Minister for a considerable time "the dreaded disease of conceit got hold of me", how the 'I' became important and how he shed it.

A deeply committed Buddhist, it was under his rule that Buddhism

became the State religion.

He believes that human nature could change as his own has and sees in Moral Re-Armament "an ideology above race and class, because it seeks to answer the needs of the heart. It remains for men of good will and vision to see that the MRA principles are spread wide enough and deep enough... particularly in those entrusted with leadership."

U. Nu has been released at a time when Asia desperately needs men of his courage and conviction. An American professor, Leonard B. Kenworthy, wrote in 1958, "No matter what happens to him politically in the future, in his first ten years as leader of the new Burma, U. Nu has already left a legacy to his nation, to South-east Asia, and to the world." Burma has a great deal to give to the rest of Asia. Whether he is Prime Minister or a private citizen, U. Nu's statesmanship is needed more than ever. He can fight for Asia as he has fought for Burma and bring to this continent the unity and moral fibre which it must have to survive.

K.C.B.

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Nkrumah, Kamaraj, U Nu

By Rajmohan Gandhi

It is obvious that nations like India need strong rulers. But it is important to know the kind of strength we want in our leaders and the points for and against which we want strength to be used.

Kwame Nkrumah was described as strong, great and all powerful while he presided over Ghana. Without a doubt Nkrumah once possessed strength, but this strength was wrongfully used. It was employed not to deal with the corruption in the Ghana cabinet or administration. It was not used to challenge the self-seeking or important Ghanaians. It was not pitted against the hates and rivalries among different Ghanaian individuals or tribes.

It was deployed to perpetuate his own power. The future of Nkrumah became more important than the future of Ghana.

India does not need a Nkrumah. Nor does she need the Nkrumahism of a one-party state. Nkrumah measured Ghana's progress by the decline and death of opposition to him and his party. Suppression became consolidation. Imprisonment of opposition leaders became proof of national solidarity.

When economic facts crossed the critical level and confronted every Ghanaian family, he sought to blame the few remaining opposition groups and individuals for them. The "remnants of materialism and reaction" were made by him responsible for the unrest in Ghana.

More Than Theory

Are we going to see a similar situation in India? Fortunately freedom and democracy have more than a theoretical meaning to a good number of Indians. They cherish liberty and will fight and die for it. Yet it is important to study the trend in the thinking and expression of senior Congress leaders.

Last week Mr. Kamaraj again took the Opposition to task. It was the Opposition's irresponsibility, he maintained, which was causing India's instability.

Most thinking men will agree that the country's different opposition parties are divided within and from one another. They will agree that none of them is likely

to win the coming elections or form the next government. They will concede that there is a lot of rivalry and jealousy among them and a desire for power and position. They will grant that opposition leaders need to do more to convince the country that their integrity and freedom from self-seeking will be a sharp contrast to today's picture.

Yet few will be prepared to go along with Mr. Kamaraj's implication that Congress was responsible for all the good things that have happened in free India and the Opposition for all the bad. In fact they will want to remind Mr. Kamaraj of statements by Congress leaders themselves which convey the precise opposite.

Instant Government

They will refer to the assessment of an independent man like S. Mulgaokar, Editor in Chief of *The Hindustan Times*, who decried the "faction-ridden ruling party bereft of moral authority" and said that it was resorting to "instant government which is to react to situations as they arise with solutions based on expediency unanchored to considerations of long-term policy or national mood".

Does Mr. Kamaraj really believe himself on this point? If he does, it is a serious situation about which all freedom-loving men should be immediately concerned. If he does not, then he should refrain from making statements of this kind.

Mr. Kamaraj's rise to national prominence and power has been a remarkable feat. His qualities are considerable. He is patient, shrewd and confident. If he does not mind being curt with some people, he can pour unusual care into large numbers of those he is interested in.

There was widespread protest when some months ago in Russia he made the unfortunate statement that Lenin had inspired India's freedom struggle. Nobody had made such a claim on Lenin's behalf earlier.

If Lenin did not initiate India's liberation fight, could it still be possible that India might help inspire the Soviet Union in her next course of progress? I submit that this is the kind of challenge

which a man of Mr. Kamaraj's calibre should accept. *If his main passion became the creation of an India which could offer Russia (and why not America and the West?) lessons in freedom, unity and co-operation, he might, who knows, go down as one of history's truly great figures.*

To be able to do this Mr. Kamaraj would need a much bigger and bolder philosophy than the out of date one of class war, caste war and party war.

Everyone wants to see the other fellow change. Every class and caste wants to see the other class and caste change. Every party wishes the other party to improve. Every country longs for the other country to reform itself. Each is waiting for the other to begin. A change far more radical than anything Communism has ever attempted comes when a man or a party has the bigness to admit he or his party needs to change.

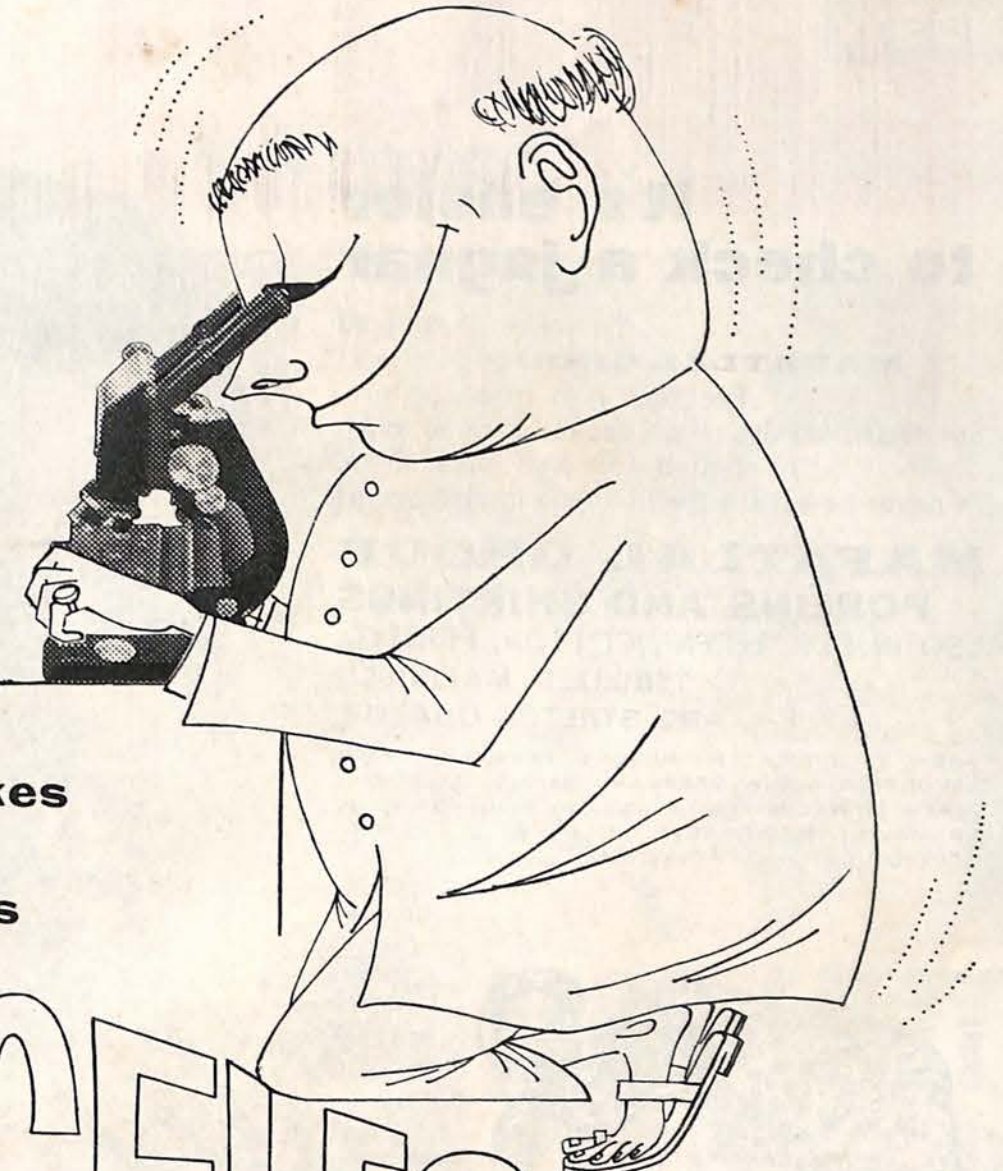
Interest Mao

His long years of hard work entitle Mr. Kamaraj to make himself an expert in this greater revolution. Then with India's millions behind him he could inspire Kosygin and Johnson. Even Mao would be interested.

The coming months and years will reveal whether Mr. Kamaraj will accept this role. Meanwhile it is the duty of every man and woman who yearns for a free and progressive country to resolve to oppose and attack every advance of the one-party state philosophy.

I started with Nkrumah. I would like to end with a political figure who, in many ways, is the opposite—U Nu of Burma. The news of his release after four years of detention by his own countrymen whom he loved so much and served so unselfishly, will rejoice ordinary men and women everywhere. What freedom he will have to express or spread his political views remains to be seen.

However, his much hoped for liberation can only help Burma and all of Asia. Here is a man who has put country before self and party. Indians await with eagerness his visit to this country which has been indicated in the brief announcement of his release.



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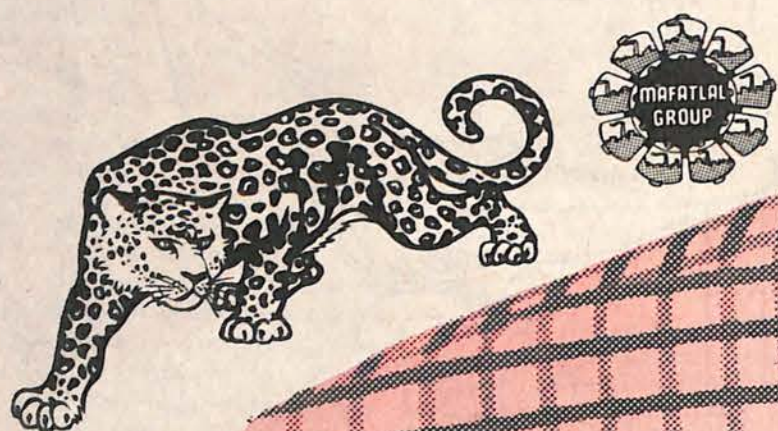
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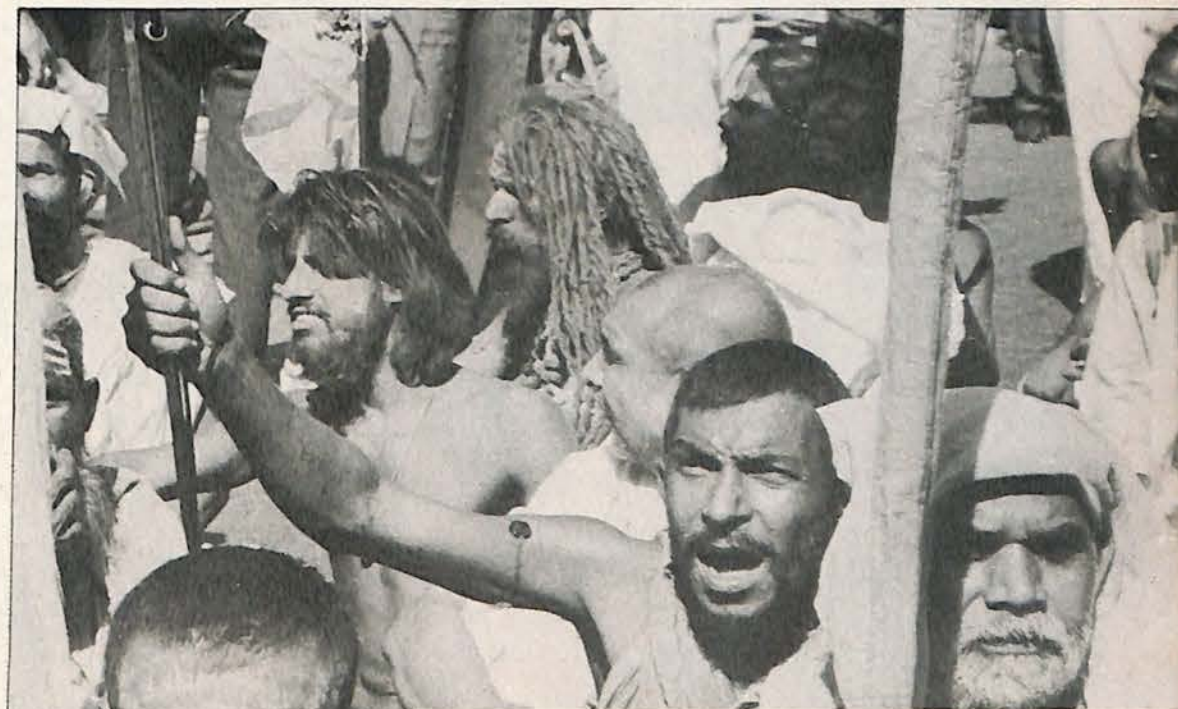


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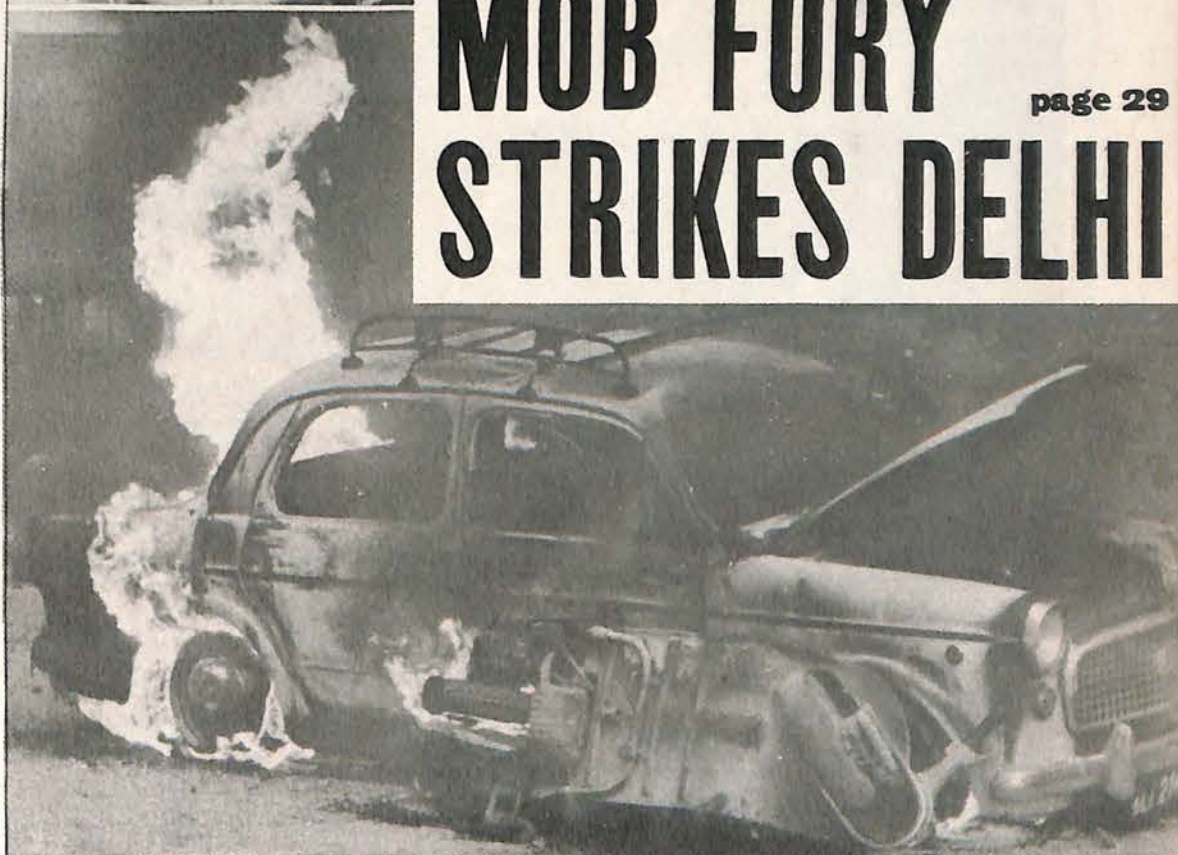
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