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## This time younger men seek power



**George Fernandes**  
SAMYUKTA SOCIALIST



**Madhu Mehta**  
SWATANTRA

**ENTER ELECTION COMPETITION** Page 17





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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday February 10 1967

## Politician's paradise

WE ARE ALWAYS FASCINATED by what other nations say of our country. Mr. Neville Maxwell, in his two articles in the London *Times*, has raised the question, is India's democracy disintegrating?

Indian editor Frank Moraes thinks that "What is really disintegrating is not the country but the Congress (party)". "The politicians," he says, "not the people, have brought democracy into disrepute."

The Indian politician in office is an out-size personality. His battery of servants, his coterie of sychophants, his pompous look often overpower our simple people. India is a politician's paradise.

"Democracy in India," says Mr. Maxwell, "is government of the politicians, by the politicians, for the politicians." The politicians have their faults. But it is cheap to dismiss all of India's ills by laying the full responsibility at their doorstep.

A politician is a reflection of the society he lives in and he emerges as a caricature of it—his features more sharply lighted perhaps than most other people's.

Changing the politicians is everybody's job. The politician will be challenged to change as society changes around him. Men in business, labour, press, all have their part in making this possible. This task transcends the elections. Indian democracy will survive or fail depending on how many people are determined to take up the task.

## World summit on food

HUNGER ANYWHERE is the responsibility of people everywhere. In the affluent nations there is growing concern for the hungry and the starving.

For years the US has nobly carried the major burden of meeting the emergency food needs of the world. So frequent have been the demands on her that her own reserves are down from 16 million tonnes to 10 million tonnes of grain. She has instructed her farmers to take in for wheat cultivation 30 per cent more land.

Last week President Johnson proposed a long-term partnership among all the advanced countries to help India close the widening gap between food production and hungry mouths. The US wants this proposal to be organised through the World Bank and has offered 3 million tonnes of food grain provided it is matched by other rich countries.

The World Bank, at its top level meeting next month, will get the Aid India consortium countries, including Britain, West Germany, Canada, Japan, Italy, France, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands,

to act on the proposal. Those who can't supply the grains can supply the funds to buy from countries that can.

The US is casting a long look at the Russians to play their part and expects Australia and the Scandinavian countries to assist.

The Australian Labor Prime Minister, the late J. B. Chifley, after World War II foresaw the needs of Asia and urged the formation of "an ever-present granary" based in India and supplied by Australia and other grain producing nations. The granary was not to be touched except in an emergency.

Lord Boyd-Orr, first Director-General of the FAO, was intensely interested in this idea but he could not get the world statesmen enthusiastic enough to back it. Today the world is coming to a point when this proposal needs consideration.

Last month another Australian Labor leader, Mr. Kim Beazley, called for a world summit on food. Why should not President Johnson, Mr. Wilson, President de Gaulle, Mr. Kiesinger, Mr. Sato, Mr. Holt and other leaders actually meet, not for a complicated diplomacy but with the desire to see that no one starves and perishes on the face of this globe.

There are the vast spaces of Western Australia where wheat production has been doubled in less than five years and where the feat could be repeated. Nations like Australia want to help but they understandably cannot bear the full burden on their own.

Industrial nations need to take more responsibility for feeding the world. Above all, India needs to take greater responsibility herself and one feels that under the present Food Minister she has decided to.

## Fresh air for AIR

THE GOVERNMENT'S REJECTION of the Chanda Committee's recommendation that All-India Radio and television be placed under autonomous corporations is a backwards, frightened step.

AIR is suffocating under the dead hand of government control and the prospect is that TV will do the same. AIR needs an inhalation of fresh air if it is to fulfil its role of entertaining, informing and inspiring India's millions on their upward struggle towards a better way of life.

Radio and television are two of the greatest blessings science has given man in this century. Soon millions will be able to learn, through fixed space satellites relaying programmes to simplified TV sets, the ABC's of health and sanitation, better ways of farming, as well as how to read and write.

In India, during the Fourth Five Year Plan, sound broadcasting is expected to cover 75 per cent of the population. TV stations should be operating in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta as well as Delhi. There are an estimated three million radio receivers in the country already.

The question is, will sound and TV broadcasting make the most of their opportunity? The answer is no, unless there is considerable change in the present set-up.



# Briefly speaking...

Democracy and her freedoms will be saved by the quality of the men who speak in their name.

ROBERT SCHUMAN, 1886-1963

## After the Test?

THE RECENT WEST INDIES cricket tour was an undisputed victory not only for themselves but for the game. What are the tourists doing now the series is over?

Skipper Gary Sobers and vice captain Conrad Hunte stayed on in India, the former to make a film with his fiancée, Anju Mahendru, the latter to work with Moral Re-Armament. Sobers' next assignment is to lead Barbados in the Shell Shield Competition between the West Indian islands. Most of the West Indies team will be taking part in the series which begins on February 9. Afterwards Sobers goes to England to play

## CHALTA HAI...



"Ah! How refreshing to be back in my old profession for a week or two!"

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TYCOON

in League Cricket with Norton Cricket Club.

Fast bowler Wes Hall returns to his job with the West Indies Tobacco Company, who employ him to "develop sports" in Trinidad. Clive Lloyd, the outstanding find of the Indian tour, is signing on as a professional in a Lancashire League club. Spinner Lance Gibbs is thinking of signing on with Warwickshire County. Rohan Kanhai also goes to UK where he now lives and will be playing in League cricket for Ashington. Basil Butcher returns to Guyana where he is sports director with the Mackenzie Demerara Bauxite Co.

## Ersatz jute

A GERMAN INVENTION may create fresh headaches for Calcutta's jute merchants. A German chemical firm has begun making plastic sacks. They are twice as strong as jute sacks and one fifth the weight, claim the producers. In addition they keep out water and insects. They would also be cheaper, the makers say.

## Familiar ring!

OUT OF SOME 250,000 Indians who now live in Britain, 100,000 are Sikhs—and they have considerably impressed their hosts. "An energetic, bursting-out sort of people" is how *The Observer* newspaper described them. Sikhs rival the Jews as "the most vibrant, energetic and proud minority group in Britain" commented *The Sunday Times*.

A huge rally in London's famed Albert Hall climaxed the Sikhs' celebrations of the Guru Gobind Singh centenary. In words which all minority groups might take to heart, Sardar Kushwant Singh declared: "A minority, to be well accepted, has no alternative but to do better than the people among whom it lives."

A slightly sour note, however, entered resolutions carried at the meeting. "The Sikhs of Britain should be adequately represented on all public bodies," stated one of them. Another warned: "Action is long overdue on the part of all public authorities in Britain to grant to the Punjabi language an equal status with other tongues of the Indian sub-continent."

Does that have a familiar ring? Before long they may be demanding a Sikh homeland in Birmingham or the partition of London on a linguistic basis!

## Happy gardeners

OPINION POLLERS have discovered that one person in three in West Germany considers himself happy and 52 per cent have more hopes than fears in the coming months. The favourite hobby was gardening (40 per cent); only 16 per cent favoured politics.

A similar poll in India would produce rather different—if not exactly opposite results.

## Brother general

THE IMAGE of the stiff, heel-clicking German general is taking a knocking with news that three of them are to join a trade union. A right unheard of in the US, Russian or Chinese armies has recently been sanctioned in West Germany—that of forming or joining associations to protect their work. Count Baudassin, NATO's acting Chief of Staff, is one of the new trade union brothers.

## Good night

MEN WILL BEFORE LONG need only two or three hours sleep a night, says a society professor in Lausanne, Switzerland, Dr. A. Silbermann. They will expect to live to be 100 and work up to the age of 80. The first third of their lives will be spent on education.

## Back to nature

FRANKFURT ZOO sent nine chimpanzees, reared in captivity, back to their ancestral home in central Africa. The chimps soon settled down in their new home—an island in Lake Victoria. Not so the keeper who accompanied them on their journey. He requested transfer back to Germany.

## Watch the tiger

IF POLLING IS LOW in Ahj Marh, blame it on the tigers who infest the jungles of this remote district of Bastar. Last year man-eaters in the area accounted for one person a day on average, reports NAFEN. Two constables with rifles will protect each polling station, but who will protect the voters? Some of the 18,000 Madia tribesmen may understandably prefer to stay at home.

# Now younger men seek power

by our Staff Correspondent

This is a young man's election. Between 30 and 40 per cent of the candidates are fresh young people. Himmata selected two dynamic younger men for interview. They represent the hundreds of young people now coming forward.

George Fernandes is the 36-year-old Trade Union leader who claims to control 500,000 organised workers. Madhu Mehta, 39-year-old businessman, has distinguished himself by taking initiative in many social activities and relief measures in Bombay city.

George and Madhu come from two ends of the political spectrum. George is a Socialist, far to the Left. Madhu is a Swatantra, leaning to the Right. George comes from humble beginnings in Mangalore. He arrived in Bombay at the age of 18, slept on the pavements, roamed unemployed and came up the hard way till he now controls more organised labour in Bombay than anyone else.

Madhu comes from a home of privilege. He studied Trade Union methods in London, returned to India to be an organiser in the Indian National Trade Union Congress but left it to take up political work and business.

George creates more strikes than anyone else in this city (though he claims for every strike he launches he prevents 200). Madhu tries to settle some of the strikes George starts.

George does not think much of the Swatantra Party and the Swatantra Party does not think much of George. Yet both these young men are personal friends. Both in their own way burn with a passion to better the lot of the common man.

## George Fernandes

GEORGE FERNANDES is the originator of the technique of the *bundh* (stoppage) whereby he paralyses all work in the city of Bombay, where he controls the gas and water supply workers, the bus and taxi drivers. He is standing for Parliament against Railways Minister S. K. Patil, who has had an innings of 35 years in Bombay city as Mayor, Legislator and MP. "Patil has earned his rest," quips George.

What makes you think that young men standing for the elections this time will prove more effective than

the older politicians?

George replies, "I believe youth will assert itself and even the older generation, frustrated with the present leadership, will vote for the younger men. Men today in their sixties saw dreams of a bright future at Independence time 20 years ago. Now those dreams have vanished."

But what makes you think that the younger MPs will do any better.

"The frustration of the older people will inspire the younger ones to do better."

What burns you up most about India today?

"A fine country is being wasted by men with no imagination or ideals—men corrupt to the core."

What makes you think that the Samyukta Socialist Party of yours will be less corrupt?

## On your toes

### TODAY'S AND TOMORROW'S FORMER RULERS

Congress is truly worried about the popularity which many ex-Rulers seem to be gaining among the masses. This is clear from the outburst last Sunday of that fabulist of Bengal, Atulya Ghosh.

The Congress Party treasurer has been shaken to discover what inroads have been made into the Congress vote by the Maharani of Jaipur, the Rajmata Scindia of Gwalior and others of the former Ruling families.

He has threatened to abolish their privy purses and other privileges by a Constitutional amendment in the next Parliament—providing, of course, his party and sympathisers win a majority!

This threat followed his lament that 90 per cent of the Princes contesting the election were opposing Congress. Atulya's spleen only reveals how popular some of the former rulers are becoming and how unpopular the present ones are.

He is also finding it difficult to raise the Party funds he needs for the election. Last week he publicly complained that he had only received Rs. 5 lakhs so far this time as against Rs. 80 lakhs in 1962. (The "invisible" donations were not referred to.)

"We want a commission to be set up to inquire into the hidden wealth acquired by politicians, senior officials and Government contractors."

Apart from corruption, what other things would you like to set right?

"I want to instil in the people an ambition for themselves and the country. I want them to have idealism to work for India. Selfishness will have to be removed."

How do you propose to do that?

George paused, thought for a while, and asked the correspondent, "How do you cure selfishness?" "With blazing unselfishness in oneself and care for other people," the correspondent said.

"I accept that," said George.

What would you do if you were elected or if you are not?

"If I am not, I will continue to fight against injustice. People know me as an organiser of *bundhs*, but my basic fight always was and is against injustice, whether it be injustice to an individual or to a section of society. The Lok Sabha will be a most effective forum to carry

Continued on next page

The party treasurer said there was no justification for the privy purses to Princes "without their doing anything, while the people, after hard labour, earned only enough to fill their stomachs".

Like so many of his fellow party "princes" he seems to ignore the realities of 1967: that such an accusation is now being levelled more and more at Congress for having forfeited the opportunity the people have given them during the last 20 years.

Atulya and his comrades fail to read the paradox that they stand to lose most in states where these former Rulers have been appealing direct to the masses—Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

He advises that the princes should "keep aloof from politics", as ordinary citizens could not fight them on an equal footing. Does he deny that the Congress Party gets the biggest "privy purse" of all—the veritable levy on businessmen, film stars, etc. Can the "ordinary citizen" fight the Congress rulers with all their cash and privilege on an equal footing?

Atulya had better not be too harsh on "former rulers" today lest he find himself and his party in that category tomorrow.

Free Press



# VERDICT!

This week **HIMMAT**

**WINCES** at the report that the railways are now losing Rs. 9 crores annually through ticketless travel, compared to Rs. 5 crores five years ago.

★

**NOTES** with interest that seven African nations who severed diplomatic ties with Britain over its handling of the Rhodesian question are to meet in Cairo on February 23 to discuss resumption of relations.

★

**ADMIRE** the courage of former Orissa Chief Minister Biren Mitra who demanded an "impartial" inquiry into properties, declared and undeclared, of all political leaders, though he himself resigned under a cloud of alleged "irregularities".

★

**HAILS** the recommendation of the Chanda Committee that the Press Information Bureau should be overhauled to meet the special requirements of the Press.

★

**WELCOMES** the President's clarification that neither he nor the Indian Government is in any way associated with the so-called international war crimes tribunal of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

★

**QUESTIONS** Congress Party Treasurer Atulya Ghosh's claim that he had received only Rs. 8 lakhs for election expenses when the Associated Cement Companies alone announced a donation of Rs. 5 lakhs.

★

**AGREES** with Mr. Morarji Desai when he says that the results of the forthcoming election would provide many surprises for the Congress as well as the Opposition.

★

**IS PUZZLED** by the various party spokesmen all suddenly recognising a "definite swing" taking place in their own party's favour.

## Younger men—from page 5

on this fight."

*Many people believe that your party is only interested in creating chaos in Parliament. In that case, why should you be elected?*

George warmed up at this question. "I refute the charge. At Bastar 250 people were killed in police firing. The Opposition in Parliament called for a debate. There was an uproar in the Congress benches. It was against the rules, they cried. The Chair ruled that there could be no debate. There is something beyond the rules—that is the dignity of man. I would break all the rules if it meant fighting for bigger principles.

"I have lost my freedom a number of times and I know what it means. If you were wrongfully arrested, I would fight for your civil liberty in Parliament. Rule-breaking is not creating chaos. The real creator of chaos is the dead mass of the Congress members in Parliament who vote mutely as the Whip instructs them and try to still our voice in Parliament."

*You have become a protagonist of the anti-cow slaughter movement. Is it because of conviction or convenience?*

"I won't be an opportunist. The constitution provides for the ban and I don't want to hurt the religious feelings of any section."

### Madhu Mehta

MADHU MEHTA is standing for the North Bombay-West Parliamentary constituency with a population of 1.5 million and a voters' list of 600,000.

Most people from this area come down on suburban trains to work in the city of Bombay and Madhu has a unique platform for campaigning—the railway platform. He stands at the overbridge to meet the commuters. Madhu speaks to each one of them, listens to what they say and tells them what he stands for. In that way he meets many more people than any candidate can visit houses.

*What do people want most?*

"People, especially in the hutments and slums, have very simple needs. 'Please give us water, proper homes and electricity.' In some of the hutments in my area there are many decent people who live there just

because they can't find a home. Even in an emergency when their wives or children need a doctor no doctor is willing to step into their slum."

*Your Swatantra Party believes in private enterprise. What possible interest can the millions of our poor people have in your party?*

"People are fed up with Socialism and Communism, fed up with people who only talk and promise. They want men who can deliver the goods. Many of the voters whom I meet say to me 'Please don't forget us after the elections'."

*What if you are not elected?*

"I will keep on doing what I have been doing. I tell the people that if they think I can serve them better by being six months in the constituency and six months in the Parliament, please elect me. And if they don't I will serve them in any case."

Whenever there is a grievance or crisis in the city Madhu Mehta is available any time of day or night. When five children lost their lives in the drains and cesspools at Borivili a condolence meeting was organised. Madhu Mehta quietly ordered a truck with slabs to be kept in the background of the meeting. When his turn came, he rose and pointed it out to the people. "Come and cover the drains. The slabs are in that truck." Three hundred people came.

*What would you like to see happen here?*

"Intellectuals in this country have gone to sleep and so long as they are not willing to spoil their clothes, dirty their hands, go into the slums and work for people, democracy will not work. We need to break this wall between intellectuals who have—and have much to contribute—and the have-nots."

*Do you think the right type of people are coming forward?*

"It is true that good and honest people are not coming forward as they should. That is why, when people say that it is good to have dictatorship, I ask, 'Have we really tried democracy?'"

*What is your plan for the youth?*

"My campaign and social activities help me to include young people who want to do something for this country. I want to build a cadre of dedicated determined young people prepared to clean up the country and establish good government."

## Indonesia on threshold of new future

All roads in Djakarta on that Monday morning (January 31, 1967) led to the Parliament. From schools and colleges all over Djakarta, by foot and bus and truck, tens of thousands of students of all ages, from seven to twenty-seven, gathered in front of the modest buildings of the university to move out once again in a mammoth procession to Parliament.

Punctually at 9 am the unending stream of shouting and singing students began marching. In huge banners they demanded the trial of President Sukarno for collusion with the "Gestapo PKI", their characterisation of the Indonesian Communist Party.

The banners of KAMI and KAPI fluttered across the long line of marching boys and girls. These were the two organisations of university and high school students which had organised this massive show of force and were spearheading the steady shift of Indonesia from the position of a near-Communist, incendiary satellite of Communist China to a constitutional democracy at peace with the rest of the continent.

The demonstrators were disciplined and ably led. During the three hours I marched with them, there was not a single instance of rowdiness. They were conscious that they had a job to do. The people watch-

### SAY THAT AGAIN...

*We hope that it (General Election) will give us a government with a practical and down to earth approach rather than one living in idealism.*

LAKSHIMPAT SINGHANIA  
Industrialist

*The 700 million Chinese people armed with the great ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung are not to be trifled with.*

PEKING PROTEST NOTE TO MOSCOW

*The Congress has taken the economy to a momentous march, and there is no halting in the way.*

T. CHANGALVAROYAN  
in "General Election in India"

ed the procession with friendly interest. Somewhere in the background lurked the gruesome murder of the six generals by the Communists and the awesome retribution that took the lives of between 300,000 to 500,000 Communists or alleged Communists.

I envied this nation its youth. Organised well, moving determinedly towards its set if limited goal, concerned that the nation had been left behind in the march of post-war modernisation, full of a sense of re-directing their country, they were part of the historic transformation of a continent emerging into its own.

Perhaps the mass of students had only a vague realisation of what they were participating in. But the leaders of KAMI certainly knew what they wanted for Indonesia.

### Support of masses and Army

"We studied the history of Indonesia carefully," one of the ablest of these young men told me, "in order to understand why all our revolutions had failed. The Communists had failed and so did the aggrieved generals who defied Sukarno to set up a rebel government in Sumatra. Our study pointed to two essential conditions for success—the support of the masses and of the Army.

"Foreign observers are mystified at the twists and turns of our demands over the past fifteen months. Yesterday we rallied round the President. Today we demand his trial and punishment. But it is not so strange. For the third lesson we have had to assimilate is never to attack directly. Direct attacks have always failed.

"The evidence of Sukarno's collusion with the Communists is overwhelming," my friend continued, "not only in the abortive coup but over a long period of time."

Suddenly, I realised how false were my pictures of fanatical anti-Communists on the ramapage. The KAMI leader impressed me as a man of depth, conviction and humanity who had pondered deeply the issues facing his country.

"Does President Sukarno have any supporters still?" I asked.

"Oh yes," he replied. "Some sections of the people and of the Armed

## Under the Lens



by **R. VAITHESWARAN**

forces, especially the Marines, are still loyal to Sukarno. That is why we have to move forward slowly, respecting constitutionality. "There has been enough blood let in our country already," he said. "We cannot afford the bitterness of further civil strife.

"The Army is with us. It is not a difficult matter to violently crush the remnants of the Sukarno sympathisers. But it would not help. We want truth and justice and constitutional order. If a Commission of enquiry establishes Sukarno's complicity in the coup he must be punished like any other ordinary citizen."

The Army and the students are working together. This alliance for common objectives was immediately apparent in the scenes in front of and inside Parliament on January 31. Outside Parliament, the thousands of assembled students were singing their demands in the most impressive and deafening chorus I have yet heard. Simultaneously was being enacted a more solemn scene in one of the halls of Parliament. The Presidium members of KAMI and KAPI were there assembled in serious conclave to demand a trial of President Sukarno.

### Charter of demands

When the President of Parliament accompanied by an Army and Air Force General (also MPs) took their seats in front of the student leaders, the secretary of KAMI called up a 14-year-old girl to read their charter of demands. This girl, a cheerful member of the Nasution Brigade, read out these demands in a clear and impassioned voice whereupon the Secretary of KAMI handed the charter to the President of Parliament.

"We will continue with these demonstrations many times every week until we achieve our objective," said

*Continued on page 20*



"BATLIBOI gave me both—  
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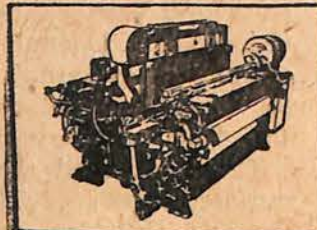
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## The week in Asia

**TOKYO** — Japanese press reports quoting Radio Peking said that Maoists have wrested control from pro-Liu elements in three more provinces: south-western Kweichow, coastal Chekiang and the Heilungkiang province of Manchuria.

★  
**KARACHI** — Five of West Pakistan's top religious leaders were arrested under the Defence of Pakistan Rules. They were said to have made speeches in mosques which amounted to "inciting the people against the Government" over a controversy about citing the Id-ul-Fitr festival after the Ramzan.

★  
**SAIGON** — Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky said he would speed up South Vietnam's presidential elections. He spoke of a plan for a "total reconciliation" of South Vietnam in which members of the Viet Cong would be taken into the Government "provided they renounced their communist bosses".

★  
**KARACHI** — President Ayub Khan alleged that India's heavy arms build-up posed a serious threat to Pakistan's security and peace in the region. He said that India and Pakistan must decide whether to take a path of conciliation or "continue to tread the barren road of polemics and animosity".

★  
**TOKYO** — A nationwide plunder of warehouses, grain stores, banks and arms depots in China was reported in Peking wall newspapers, according to Japanese correspondents. There has been looting almost daily by Chinese not necessarily loyal to Mao Tse-tung's political enemies.

★  
**KARACHI** — Pakistan faces another large food deficit because of the failure of the winter rain in West Pakistan and the existing shortfall of two and a half million tons.

★  
**COLOMBO** — Granaries in Ceylon have sufficient stocks to ensure the issue of the one-measure free weekly ration till the end of February. There is some fear that supplies of rice from China may be delayed because of the unpredictable happenings in that country.

★  
**TOKYO** — The US Ambassador in Japan asked the Japanese Government to make a quick decision on how much aid it could give to avert famine in India. Press reports said that the US wants Japan to extend aid totalling around 20 million US dollars.

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Mary Pankhurst goes marching on

FROM GORDON WISE

London

Mary Pankhurst and her Suffragette Movement seem out of place in the modern world. The old German summary of the women's place as being "Kirche, Kinder und Kuche"—church, children and kitchen—has given way to the situation where in Britain, for example, one in three women goes out to work.

Yet there is still feminine agitation. In Switzerland the women do not yet have the vote. A recent referendum—all-male of course—decided once again that the situation was best left the way it has always been.

A London Bishop of the Anglican Communion says that he sees no reason why there should not be ordained women priests, but that this move would take ten years.

With relevance to the workaday world was the recent decision that women could enter the London Stock Exchange. The men decided that women should probably be allowed to become members of it on condition that they not be permitted on the floor of the Exchange itself.

This seems a case where male preconceptions may militate against their own best interests. The womenfolk, of course, reap the benefits of their men's labours. Indeed, there is many an exotic oriental bazaar being patronised by the globe-trotting widows of hard working stockbrokers.

So, the argument runs, why not let the women have a go at earning the money, and maybe their husbands will live longer so that they can enjoy spending it together.

Women often have a keener sense of business anyway. The Editor of the business section of the London weekly *The Economist* is a woman. Here in Britain an association of women shareholders regularly comes top of the investment table.

Perhaps the exclusion of women from higher echelons of management is not so much due to their lack of aptitude as to husbands or suitors who do not fancy being married to a feminine counterpart of the men with whom they have to work every day. A man wants to come home to a wife who is interested in what he has had to grapple with, but not so knowledgeable that she can think of a thousand ways in which he can do it better.

Moreover, the placid easy-going ways of the City (the image which womenfolk have of these hallowed precincts) might well be disturbed by a flurry of females. They might ask awkward questions—about why the Exchange closes at 3 pm and why that part of the City of London is so liberally supplied with places of refreshment. But then, the women should think up these arguments for themselves.

### Mr. K and Mr. B in Paris

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Geneva

There used to be a travelling pair, called Mr. K. and Mr. B. They were seen in India, in different parts of Europe and all over the Communist world. One was short and bald, the other wore a beard and was always a bit behind. He was also the first to disappear. The names of the two were Khrushchev and Bulganin.

Today there are two new pairs of Mr. K's and Mr. B's. And both are travelling, as seems to be the fate of most heads of government in East and West at present. The Eastern pair, Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Brezhnev, just made an extended tour of the

Eastern Soviet territories. Then they suddenly appeared in Poland, where they had long talks with their party and government colleagues. The main worry of the Eastern pair seems to be how to create a semblance of order in the  
Continued on page 11



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VANASPATI

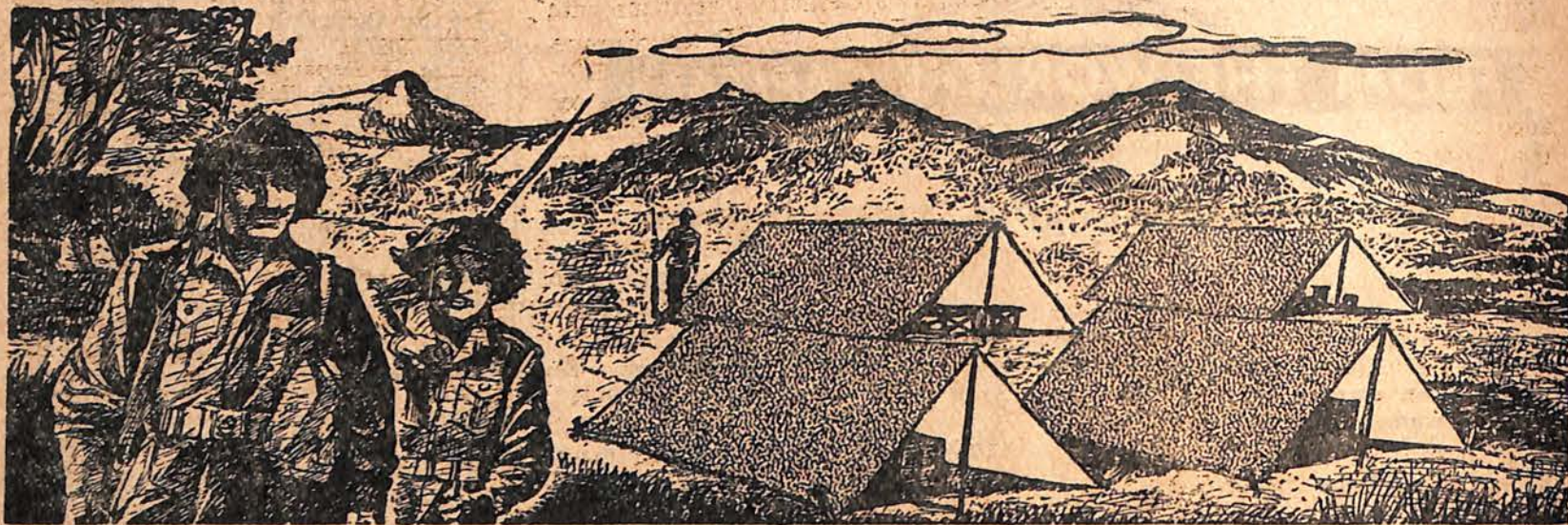


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### FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

from page 9

ance of unity in the Western part of the Communist world, which will allow Soviet Russia to take advantage of the chaos into which her former friends in Peking have fallen.

But in Western Europe the rising stars are another pair of Mr. K and Mr. B: Chancellor Kiesinger and Foreign Minister Willy Brandt of the German Federal Republic. Their first state visit after the creation of the Christian-Democratic Socialist coalition was the one to Paris.

Already Dr. Kiesinger had made it clear that he would seek immediately an amelioration of French-German relations by calling on the French President as soon as it could be arranged. As de Gaulle obviously enjoyed the fact that the German Chancellor came to see him first, the visit stood, from its inception, under good auspices.

Both President de Gaulle and the German leaders had not much room though for diplomatic manoeuvring. So they were both determined that at least an improvement of atmosphere should be clearly demonstrated. And this was done during all the official dinners and unofficial talks.

It was also clear from the beginning that not much progress was to be expected on two points: On the French desire to loosen up the tight relations between Bonn and Washington and on the German desire to soften up French resistance against Britain's joining the Common Market.



Brandt

The situation on both points was also rendered more difficult by the fact that immediately after the departure of the Germans, President de Gaulle was to receive Prime Minister Harold Wilson and only a day later also the Polish Foreign Minister, Adam Rapacki.

On one issue, however, some progress was made: Chancellor Kiesinger and Foreign Minister Brandt

asked for and got a promise of help to improve Germany's relations with her neighbours in Eastern Europe. President de Gaulle graciously offered his services to try to remove any misunderstandings which might still exist. To prove that they were serious in their desire to put their relations on a new



Brandt

basis, the German leaders immediately sent emissaries to Bucharest, Budapest and other capitals. The Rumanian Government has already answered positively to the advances made by Bonn and is sending Foreign Minister Manescu to the German capital to negotiate the exchange of ambassadors.

Nobody has the illusion in the German or French capital that the improvement of atmosphere or the exchange of ambassadors between Bonn and some Eastern European countries means in itself a new day for Europe. The real points of disagreement and division are still untouched, like the recognition of the Oder-Neisse-Line and the question of reunification of Germany, not to speak of the future of NATO and the re-organisation of the Common Market. But the days when all positions were absolutely static are over.

### Ceylon Subversion

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
*Colombo*

The latest report of the special branch of the CID (Criminal Investigation Department) has brought out some startling facts about the activities of certain foreign diplomats.

Under the guise of diplomacy, some foreign representatives are engaging in political activities. Recently, a high official from an eastern Communist country was seen participating in a procession and encouraging them. The CID also reports that some diplomats have had direct dealings with political parties and trade unions hostile to the Senanayake Government.

Continued on page 17

### The week in India

**NEW DELHI**—Increased ex-factory prices of sugar were announced by the Union Government. The revised prices take into account the shorter crushing season expected because of drought in Bihar and U.P.

★

**PATNA**—About 2,56,521 kutchas wells have already been constructed in the drought-stricken areas of Bihar. About 10,340 pumping sets have been energised by the State Electricity Board in the last nine months, against a total of 10,556 during the first three Five-Year Plans.

★

**NEW DELHI**—The Pakistan High Commissioner, Arshad Hussain, and the Indian External Affairs Minister, M. C. Chagla, had meetings last week at the request of the former, and some hope is held for the normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan as a result of the talks.

★

**SHILLONG**—Although Assam's last harvest of jute was the finest quality in India after partition, it was only about four-fifths of the 1961-62 harvest.

★

**NEW DELHI**—The Union Government decided to continue Goa, Daman and Diu as a Union Territory after taking into consideration the result of the opinion poll held last month.

★

**NEW DELHI**—A Pakistani aircraft which entered Indian territory in a suspicious manner near Ferozepore was shot down by an Indian Air Force aircraft after all attempts to force it to land failed.

★

**BOMBAY**—Four hundred workers of Indian Oxygen who had been on strike for two weeks resumed work after an agreement was reached with the management. Bombay hospitals could only provide oxygen and nitrous oxide for emergency operations during most of the duration of the strike.

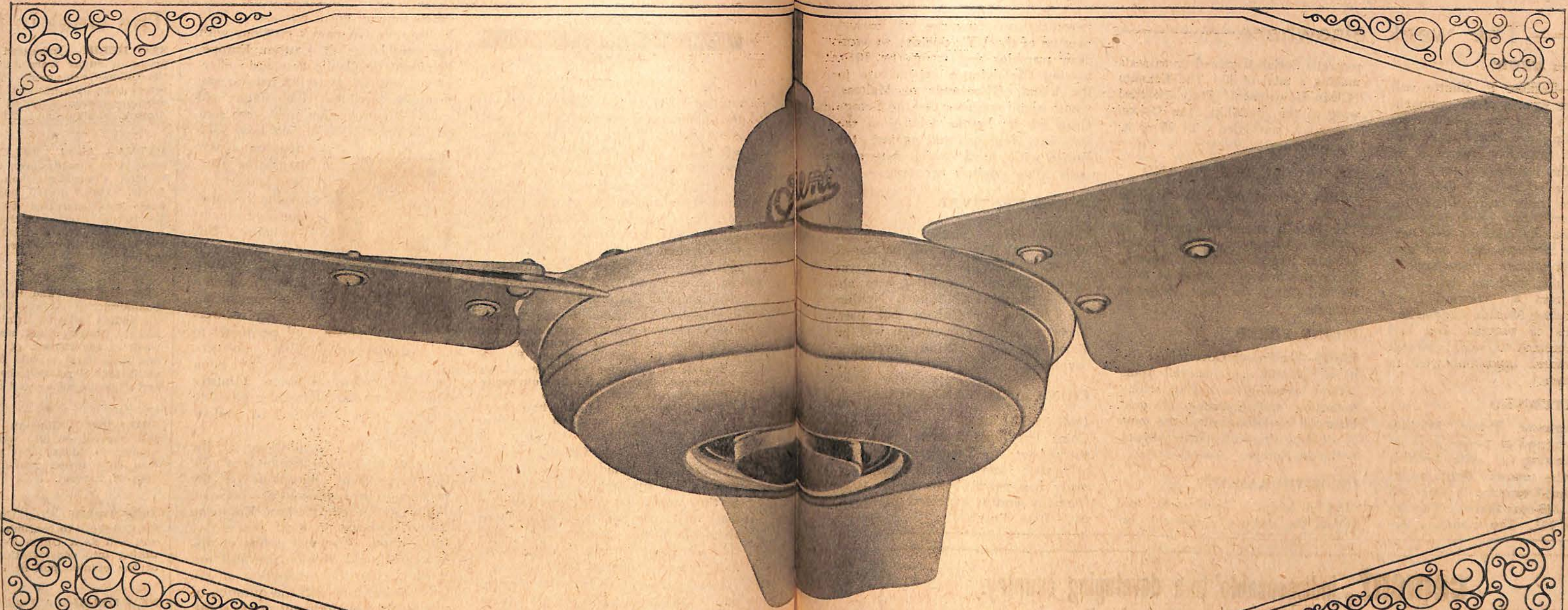
★

**NEW DELHI**—The Planning Commission told States in a communication that the annual budgets should be balanced and that there should be no recourse to deficit financing in 1967-68.

★

**MADRAS**—The Andhra Pradesh Government has offered to give Madras another 5000 tons of rice to meet the requirements of statutory rationing in Madras City.





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## The week elsewhere

### BHUTTO vs AYUB?

**BANGKOK**—Zulfikar F. Bhutto will be President Ayub's main opponent in Pakistan's 1970 presidential election, according to a *Far East Economic Review* correspondent who interviewed the former Pakistani Foreign Minister while on a visit here. In the next three years, stated the correspondent, Bhutto would "try to mobilise what he likes to call Pakistan's 'new frontiers men' and give his country's politics a 'new style'". Bhutto, he said, had realised his attempts to form a "forward bloc" within the ruling Muslim League had little chance of success, and had therefore decided to work towards leading a united opposition front to Ayub's regime.

### SATO RETURNED

**TOKYO**—Japanese Prime Minister Sato was returned to power after an election showing a shift towards parties of the centre. Sato's right-wing Liberal-Democrats won 285 seats in the 486-seat House. The Socialists won 141. The moderate De-

mocratic Socialists gained seven seats making a total of 30. The Komeito (Clean Government) Party, political wing of the Buddhist Saka Gakkai movement, succeeded with 25 of its 32 candidates.

### DE GAULLE FOR POLAND

**PARIS**—General de Gaulle is likely to visit Poland some time this year. The French President accepted an invitation brought by Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki. This is expected to be the first of a series of visits by de Gaulle to East European countries.

### FRANC FREED

**PARIS**—The French Government abolished controls on financial transactions including the buying, selling, importing and exporting of gold. Financial circles described the move as a bid by France for financial leadership in Europe.

### UK WITHDRAWALS

**MALTA**—Malta's Government told Britain the defence agreement be-

tween the two countries was broken because of the UK's decision to withdraw warships and troops by 1970, halving the defence expenditure in the island. Thousands of Maltese, whose island was awarded the George Cross for its heroic defence in the last war, demonstrated against the British withdrawal, which may seriously affect Malta's economy.

### YOUTH FESTIVAL

**VIENNA**—The ninth Communist World Youth Festival will be staged in 1968 in Sofia, Bulgaria. This was decided at a secret meeting here, according to a NAFEN report. Neither the Chinese nor Cubans took part. Their propaganda campaign will be aimed at the youth of developing countries.

### CHINA AIDS TANZANIA

**DAR-ES-SALAAM** — Communist China has handed over three fast patrol boats to Tanzania, according to reports from here. Tanzania already has patrol boats from West Germany and is expected to obtain more from Russia.

## IS DICTATORSHIP MORE SUITED TO INDIA THAN DEMOCRACY?

*Yes, says Arun Chintopanath of Bangalore 4 — first prize winner*

"DEMOCRACY SUBSTITUTES ELECTIONS by the incompetent many for the appointment of the corrupt few" said George Bernard Shaw. This has proved itself to be true in India. Indian administration, at present, is in a stage of chaos, confusion and inefficiency. All this because democracy has failed to click in India.

If we look around the world where parliamentary democracy has been undermined, the people, disgusted with corrupt and inefficient politicians, have preferred military dictatorship.

Parliamentary democracy in India has been subjected to terrific pressures like:—

1. External aggression.
2. Subversion by International Communism.
3. Internal disintegration.
4. Ruling class retaining the monopoly of power.

When there are such pressures imposed on a country, the normal functioning of a parliamentary government becomes inadequate.

Democracy in India has provided wrong and faulty education. Facts are exaggerated and often distorted. The people have been misguided through election campaigns. An original thinker is, today, either ridiculed or ignored.

When such is the condition of democracy in India, where a large number of people remain in abject poverty, where the mass of humanity remains steeped in ignorance and error, there can be no hope for democracy to succeed.

Party-ridden democracy, like that of India, does not belong to all people, even to the extent monarchies and dictatorships do. Professional politicians in India have tried to exploit the political ignorance of the people. Until such time as all voters become literate, at least enough to read the names of candidates, democracy becomes futile. But a dictator can carry on the administration with honesty and competence and secure for all people justice, liberty, equality and fraternity.

For a democracy to succeed, there

should necessarily be a stiff opposition and the ruling party should change frequently. Since both these are absent in Indian democracy, it is obvious that democracy in India has failed.

It is now time for a dictator to take over the reins, educate the masses, improve the economic and food situations, make tighter defence securities, equip the defence forces well, shun the bogus policy of non-alignment, align ourselves with some power block to safeguard the security of the people, dissolve all the linguistic states and promote national integration.

Military dictatorship everywhere has an organic unity and has come to the rescue of several countries when politicians have brought them

*No, says M. B. Pranesh of Bangalore 19 — second prize winner*

BENEVOLENT DICTATORSHIP is among the best things that can happen to a country. But the sad fact is that benevolent dictators are as rare as white tigers. History is full of dictators whose careers justify the saying "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

The first concern of any dictator in India would be his own security. Holding his position in a land of diverse people with diverse ambitions is bound to take up all of his time. India is just too big for a single dictator to rule and yet rule benevolently. A dictatorship in India would very soon give rise to rivalry, instability and possible civil war.

Many people believe that a strong-armed dictatorship can put an end to corruption that is dogging the country. The belief, however, is unfounded. Corruption cannot be removed by anybody's order. It can be eradicated only through a change in the people themselves.

India is essentially a land of spiritualists. Time and again, great thinkers have arisen out of her soil and taught people to seek happiness through introspection. Here are liberty and individual freedom

## viewpoint

### COMPETITION

\* My remedy for AIR's dull and tedious programmes.

Closing date: February 17

\*\* "Vote for the individual and not for the party"—do you agree?

Closing date: March 3

Prizes: Rs. 25, Rs. 15

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

to the brink of destruction. It is my sincere hope that the soil of our country will give courage to one man who will take over the administration and lead the country to prosperity and freedom in the true sense of the word.

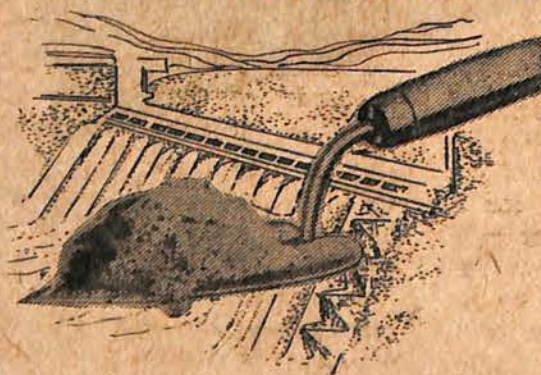
valued high. Dictatorship, on the other hand, functions through brainwashing and intellectual persecution. How can the two suit each other?

The variety that makes up India, cannot be held together easily. The demands of different regions are different. The views on solutions to common problems vary. Unity can be retained only through the flexible methods of democracy which attempts to rule by consensus.

True democracy is yet to develop in India. Lack of wide education has made many people doubt if democracy will ever succeed in India. But "the ills of democracy can be cured only by more democracy". Widening of education is most probable only in a democracy. No dictator will try to educate his subjects, for dictators believe in "shepherding" their subjects and educated people cannot be shepherded easily.

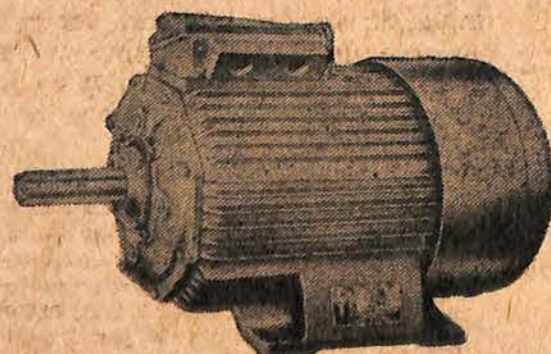
Democracy, at worst, can be government by the mediocre. But dictatorship can often be government by the maniacal. Democracy may keep India poor. But dictatorship may make us murderous. There is no doubt which is more suitable to the land of Buddha and Gandhi.

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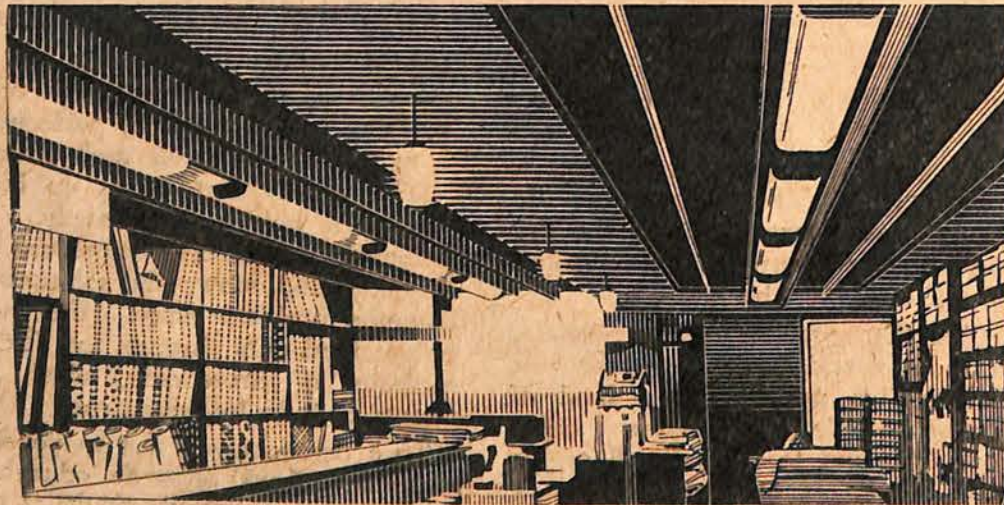
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## Election Winds by ANTENNA

### Feminine courage

It is a moot point if the Prime Minister could win against the Maharani of Jaipur in the pink city itself. Antenna is inclined to think not. At any rate, all the arguments forwarded by the PM in her fighting speech at Jaipur two weeks ago can be used as an argument for the Maharani! Mrs. Gandhi, furious at the hecklers in her audience, referred to Rajasthan's tradition of feminine courage and asserted that she was not the one to be cowed by strong-manship. Feminine courage, however, is also something the Maharani has been talking of and demonstrating in her election campaigns for her party in the State against the Sukhadia team. The PM talked also of deceptions in the monarchic system and the dishonesty in princes claiming public support on the basis of unverifiable past services by ancestors. The confident daughter of an illustrious father did not perhaps know that half the crowds that came to hear her in Jaipur would have stayed at home but for certain facts of heredity and ancestry.

### Age versus youth

Crabbed age and youth are at it in the Outer Delhi parliamentary constituency. A veteran of Gandhian days, C. K. Nair had been earlier refused a ticket from the area he had represented in the Lok Sabha for ten years. Indignant at the high-handedness of city Congress boss Brahm Prakash who took the seat for himself, Nair decided to show insolent youth a lesson. His argument is: which would you trust, the Old Congress block of which I am a tell-tale chip, or the new party caucus which did little or nothing to win the power it now uses against the old guard? Nair is going about the campaign austerely. He walks from house to house seeking new votes for old times' sake. Unfortunately there are not many to work for him.

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

from page 11

The most startling fact is that Ceylon has now become a base of subversive activities and also for fostering leftist activities in neighbouring

countries. Last year, Ceylon stamps were used by thousands to post Communist literature to Kerala state in India.

The report recommends that all foreign diplomats should inform the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs of all their movements outside Colombo.

Clip along line

### WIN Rs. 100 in Election Eve Contest

Test your political insight by answering the following questions and mailing to "Election Contest", HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street Bombay 1. Each entry must be made on the form below and must reach HIMMAT office by noon, Saturday, February 18, 1967.

Rs. 100 will be awarded to the reader with the most accurate predictions. The winner's name will be published in the first issue of HIMMAT following the announcement of all results. The Editor's decision is final and no correspondence will be entered into about the results.

- (1) How many seats will the Congress Party win in the Lok Sabha?.....

(50 points, minus 10 points for each seat less or more than the final result)

- (2) In the Cabinet to be formed after the elections who will be
- (a) Prime Minister .....

- (b) Home Minister .....

- (c) External Affairs Minister....

- (d) Defence Minister.....

- (e) Finance Minister.....

(5 points for each)

- (3) Will the Congress Party win or lose in

- |                 |           |
|-----------------|-----------|
| (a) Kerala      | win lose* |
| (b) Orissa      | win lose* |
| (c) Rajasthan   | win lose* |
| (d) Gujarat     | win lose* |
| (e) West Bengal | win lose* |

\* Delete one or other

(5 points for each)

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

I agree to abide by the rules as outlined above.

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# ELECTION POLICIES OF

PARTIES	POLL GOALS	ECONOMIC AIMS	DEFENCE
<b>CONGRESS</b>	Democratic Socialist society. Concept of secularism to be strengthened.	Self-reliant progressive economy. "Social control" of banks.	No slackening of vigilance. Against A-bomb.
<b>JAN SANGH</b>	Political, social, economic democracy based on Bharatiya Sanskriti ideals and to assure equality of opportunity and freedom to live one's own way of life.	Scrap present plan. No bank nationalisation.	For A-bomb. Pledge to free territory lost to China, Pakistan. Strengthening of armed forces, vast territorial army. Compulsory military training for students above 20.
<b>SWATANTRA</b>	Free competitive economy to end "distorted Socialism". Property-owning democracy. End Congress monopoly by seizing 100 Lok Sabha seats.	For private enterprise. Dissolve Planning Commission. Replace it by expert advisory bodies; scrap 4th Plan. Productive investment through lower taxes. Scrap controls, licences, permits.	For nuclear umbrella guaranteed by US and Britain. Equip army adequately with conventional arms.  Interdependence in defence vital; build mutual security arrangements.
<b>PRAJA SOCIALIST</b>	Defeat Congress; no poll adjustments except at local levels; "will go it alone."	Nationalisation where necessary. Efficient deployment of resources between private and public sector. Capital levy on property.	For A-bomb. Chain of defence links from Japan to Afghanistan.
<b>SAMYUKTA SOCIALIST</b>	National poll alliance to defeat Congress. Radical new programme of Socialism through people's Government.	Nationalisation of textile industry. For a strong public sector and an end to disparities of income.	Radical changes in armed forces including wartime conscription. Will regain frontiers as on Aug. 15, 1947.
<b>COMMUNIST PARTY-RIGHT (Pro-Moscow)</b>	Overthrow Congress but not replace it with "more reactionary parties".	Expansion of Public Sector. Take-over of urban land, banks, foreign oil companies.	India must resume talks with China.
<b>COMMUNIST PARTY-LEFT (Pro-Peking)</b>	Isolate and defeat Congress Party. Formation of united front of political parties opposed to Congress.	Take-over of foreign trade, foreign capital in mining, refineries, shipping, plantations. Nationalise banks. Profit curbs in private sector.	Reduction in defence expenditure.

# MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

FOREIGN POLICY	FOREIGN AID	AGRICULTURE	MISCELLANEOUS
Strong support to UN. Peaceful coexistence, non-alignment	Reduce it by stepping up exports, cutting imports.	Strong co-operative movement. Crop, cattle insurance.	Administrative reforms. Ceiling on urban income, property. Family planning, prohibition to be maintained.
Independent foreign policy; bilateral alliances on basis of mutual interests. Full diplomatic ties with Israel; recognition of Tibet, Sinkiang as independent States.	Minimise foreign capital.	Incentives to growers. Land reforms providing for peasant proprietorship.	Decentralisation of power. Prohibition, family planning need rethinking. Uniform pattern of education.
Will correct pro-Red bias in present policy. Supports S. Vietnam; stands for freeing Tibet, recognising Dalai Lama as head of exile Government; diplomatic ties with Israel, Taiwan. Pakistan has no locus standi in Kashmir. Regional pacts to contain China to be underwritten by West.	Encourage flow of foreign private capital. Government to Government loans only to strengthen infrastructure.	Incentives; crop insurance; end land revenue, other compulsory levies. Respect proprietary right of peasants.	Will look outside party for best available talent for most capable Government.
Independent, vigorous policy not limited to reacting to situations. Close link with Asian countries against Chinese expansionism; friendly ties with Arabs are compatible with ties with Israel.	(Party manifesto makes no reference).	Abolish land revenue, replace it with agricultural income tax. Mobilise land army. Crop, cattle insurance.	Statutory anti-graft tribunal. Scrap prohibition, replace it with some form of temperance.
Firm independent base; Policy of non-preference between powerful countries.	Stop borrowing money.	End land revenue and have income tax levy.	Permanent probe board for wealth acquisition through misuse of Government office. Close down all expensive primary schools. Uniform primary study.
No-war pact with China. Quit Commonwealth. Resumption of non-alignment policies of Nehru.	Long-term moratorium on interest charges; Scale down alien debts, cancellation of joint deals harmful to us. Rupee payment of debts and interest.	Land to tiller. Minimum wage for labour.	More powers to the States.
Peaceful accord with China, Pakistan. Independent foreign policy based on opposition to imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism. Break with Commonwealth. Solidarity with Afro-Asians.	Moratorium on all foreign payments. Stop US aid.	Promise to distribute land confiscated from landlords and cancellation of debts.	Wider autonomy to States.



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## Party position in Lok Sabha

520 seats (513 being contested, 5 already returned unopposed)

PARTIES	1952	1957	1962	Contesting 1967
CONGRESS	364	371	358	511
JAN SANGH	3	4	14	248
SWATANTRA	—	—	18	171
PRAJA SOCIALIST	—	19	12	107
SAMYUKTA SOCIALIST	—	—	—	119
COMMUNIST	16	27	29	—
Right	—	—	—	105
Left	—	—	—	65
OTHERS and independents	106	73	60	1008
TOTAL CANDIDATES	—	—	—	2334

## Party position in State Assemblies

3563 seats (3421 being contested, 32 already returned unopposed)

PARTIES	1952	1957	1962	Contesting 1967
CONGRESS	2246	1893	1759	3414
JAN SANGH	35	46	116	1598
SWATANTRA	—	—	166	966
PRAJA SOCIALIST	—	195	149	775
SAMYUKTA SOCIALIST	—	—	—	824
COMMUNIST	106	161	153	—
Right	—	—	—	623
Left	—	—	—	509
OTHERS and independents	893	611	499	7506
TOTAL CANDIDATES	—	—	—	16,215

## Under the Lens—from page 7

the KAMI leader to me. The same evening, the world heard that General Suharto had cordoned off the President's Palace in an attempt to isolate him.

"What is your objective beyond the immediate one," I asked.

"The modernisation of Indonesia. A 'New Order' based on 'Truth and justice'. These are the words you will hear everywhere in my country these days. We want the resources of our country to be exploited for the benefit of the people and not squandered."

"Our political leaders had lost touch with the masses," he continued. He was enthusiastic about the ability and leadership of General Suharto. "Ours is an Army that has vital links with the population." KAMI leaders are conscious of the need to build an appropriate democratic framework.

The Indonesian crisis has all the signs of the rebirth of a dynamic people embarking on a new course. They may be fortunate, in that, as events render an older leadership out of date, a new crop of dynamic, thoughtful, forward looking younger men are emerging to take over.

## This was a Life

### WALT DISNEY 1901—1966

"I was stupid and naive enough never to know when I was licked." This is the story behind the man who discovered the child in us all and exposed the eternal child in himself.

Born Walt Elias Disney, he was an ambulance driver at 17 in the war. Later, in Kansas City, he began making animated cartoon commentaries, selling them at 30 cents a foot. In 1923, with \$40 in his pocket, he arrived in Hollywood, accompanied by his brother Roy. He started in the wrong end of Hollywood, setting up base in a rented garage.

When his first cartoon series, "Alice in Cartoonland" ran into financial difficulties, Disney dreamt up Mickey Mouse. Two silent films were produced in 1927 but it was "Steamboat Willie" (sound) in 1928 that astounded the critics. This was the foundation for what is probably one of the largest fortunes in Hollywood today. All his famous but simple characters, Donald Duck, etc. were modelled after real people.

In 1938, ambitious Disney produced the first full length cartoon colour film, "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs", which was a remarkable success.

Shortly after the war, Disney decided to expand to live action production. The first major Hollywood film, made to embrace television, paid off.

In 1955 he opened the giant fun fair, Disneyland, outside Los Angeles. In 1966 he was voted Showman of the Year. He produced over 600 films and won over 30 American awards. The Disney organisation today employs thousands of artists, draughtsmen, etc. and in 1965 had a phenomenal profit of Rs. 900 million.

He was a peddler of dreams and took the pain out of fairy tales. "A sort of uncle" to everybody, he never let down the millions of children who learnt to grow up with him. He was a millionaire, a tycoon and a giant in world entertainment.

"I love people and like to see them enjoy the better side of humanity, and I make films with this aim," he said, describing his successful career. He died of cancer in December 1966. The creator of Mickey Mouse, he will be remembered as the voice of humanity.

V.Y.

## MORE RESTRICTIONS

I am saddened to see that since my last visit to India even more rules and restrictions have been placed on individuals and on industry and commerce. The situation is similar (I am ashamed to say) at home in the UK.

Yet when I was in Yugoslavia in October, I was told that many of their controls, especially on industrial and commercial management, had been removed, because they hampered industry and commerce from making their full contribution to the common good.

It makes one wonder if in India and Britain those in power and those who put them there really do believe in freedom and democracy.

N. F. LEDWITH

Bombay 1

## NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL

Recently India has been chided and branded in the Western press as rather stubborn for our stand on a nuclear treaty.

Though an undertaking by non-nuclear nations not to go nuclear and a collective guarantee by USA, Russia and Britain to non-nuclear nations against nuclear blackmail sounds right and fitting, one wonders how are these three nuclear powers going to police and bring Paris and Peking within international discipline, not to talk about other potential nuclear powers in the wing.

India, however, has reiterated the policy of restricting development of nuclear energy to peaceful purposes. India has no desire to be a nuclear power and channel all resources to the production of nuclear weapons. But no Western power should expect India to be a silent spectator, watching her powerful neighbour building nuclear weapons, and being submitted to nuclear blackmail.

Let USA, Russia and Britain create a climate in favour of non-proliferation by undertaking not to produce fissile material or to add to their nuclear arsenal, by expediting the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty on banning tests and clear our fears and convince us that China has stopped producing nuclear weapons and that these Western powers can police effectively.

DR. I. S. MENON

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK

## NOT 1708

I would like to attract your attention to a small mistake by "ADF" in his article on Guru Gobind Singh (HIMMAT, January 20). He has stated that Aurangzeb died in 1708. Actually he died in 1707.

ANJAN GHOSH

Calcutta 29

# Letters

## A PAPER INVASION?

In China, Communist teachers were so sure of the penetration of literature that they staged parades carrying banners with pictures of printing presses and the slogan: "With this we shall conquer!" Their presses are never idle. In 1967 they plan a 300 per cent increase in their literature programme.

These seeds of ideas fall on fertile ground, and every 24 hours Communism spends 1½ million dollars on literature.

A paper invasion can be the forerunner of revolution.

Peter Howard, late leader of Moral Re-Armament, knew the power of the printed page. His books have changed the lives and motives of many across the world, as it did my own in 1942—and remade our home life.

Is there any valid reason why any non-Communist government should not subsidise a few million Moral Re-Armament pamphlets to build character and faith into their nations?

WALTER HOWLAND

Mitcham, England

## Listen, comrade—from page 22

Willi Benedens in Germany, Angelo Pasetto, Remo Biotello and Luigi Rossi in Italy and Jose Veras and Eudocio Ravines in Latin America.

Moral Re-Armament demands equal change from Communists and anti-Communists. Capitalists and neutralist societies are as much in need of a radical transformation as the Communist world.

The combination of unorganised selfishness on the part of millions of people who call themselves democrats or men of faith or anti-Communist does not offer the remotest hope of an answer for Communist contradictions.

"We will live as we like and be as complacent and as self-absorbed as we please," is not a philosophy likely to hearten the floundering leaders and millions of China. They say they want a new type of man, an unselfish servant of society. They are failing completely in finding him and are going about it the wrong way. But the last thing that will win them is the philosophy of easy and cheap materialism.

It will be interesting to see which nation it is that takes a lead in offering the revolutionary alternative of Moral Re-Armament in Moscow and Peking.





# Listen, Comrade

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THE SINO-SOVIET BATTLE intensifies daily. Tass says that Russian men and women in Peking were insulted, spat on and kept captive by Chinese crowds. The *New China News Agency* says, "Soviet hooligans wildly raided the Chinese Embassy in Moscow" and Premier Chou En-lai and Foreign Minister Chen Yi have sent messages to the Embassy staff praising them as "heroic fighters".

It appears that almost all members of the Chinese table tennis team, including thrice world champion Chuan Tse-tung, have been arrested for opposing Mao's policies.

In Eastern Europe, Rumania and East Germany are clashing vigorously. Reuter reports that Rumania bluntly told East Germany to mind its own business when the East German Communist Party criticised Rumania's desire to open diplomatic relations with Bonn. The party paper in East Berlin described Rumania's decision as "deplorable" and the Rumanian Government countered by stating that they "have an account to give only to their own people".

Meanwhile the bitter division between the Left and Right wings of the Indian Communist Party continues and deepens.

## Dead end

Communism has reached a dead end. Its contradictions have been highlighted for all the world to see. Its high priests are tearing each other down. The people in Communist countries must surely be among the most bewildered masses of humanity in all history. Not only have the gods failed but their failure is being shouted about within Communist countries.

But Communism's failure does not prove the West's triumph. China's chaos does not prove that India is marching on the right road.

If Russia and China are divided, America and France do not quite provide an example in comradeship. If Rumania and East Germany are at loggerheads, what about Greece and Turkey?

What the West now needs to demonstrate is a convincing way of

life that works. Sincere Communists have now known for a long time that Communism lacks something basic.

"Communism is wrong but what is it that works?" is the cry they are raising after years of disillusionment, shattered hopes and suffering.

Moral Re-Armament is what must now be offered to the questing, questioning, agonised Communist world. Their rulers and peoples may be readier for it than some may think.

## Revolutionary role

The Communists have heard of Moral Re-Armament's revolutionary role in building friendship between France and Germany after World War II, in building bridges between Japan and the Asian nations after the Pacific war; in healing the hates between black and black and among black, white and brown on the African continent; in tackling corruption in the ports of Latin America; in raising productivity by removing bitterness between labour and management in British and European industries and shipyards; and in giving the youth the world over, including India, purpose and the discipline to achieve it.

They have also heard of reconciliations through Moral Re-Armament among feuding politicians in Cyprus, Japan, Kerala, Morocco, Tunisia and Brazil. These reconciliations may not have been followed up and not all of them have lasted. But they were news when they happened and affected the history of nations.

The urgent need now is to apply Moral Re-Armament assiduously in specific countries and situations, to broadcast the results to the Communist world and let the Communists study them.

In one way Moral Re-Armament is the precise opposite of Marxism. Marxism says that the world has two classes, the exploited and the exploiting, and the former has to neutralise or liquidate the latter and take over. All misery is a result of the selfishness of the exploiting class. The end of that class is the end of misery.

Moral Re-Armament says that

the world's troubles are caused by all who live in it, that all men can be and are selfish and that all of them need to change. It says that the most reactionary man in the world is he who wants society to change but does not see or deal with his own greed, selfishness or bitterness.

"I am all right. You are wrong," is the Marxist belief.

"Left to myself and my nature I am perhaps the world's most selfish man," is the conviction of a man who fights for Moral Re-Armament. He believes that others need profoundly to change as well and that society is full of tyranny, evil and greed. But, while he fights passionately and unceasingly against tyranny and evil, he also takes care and time to measure his life against the standards of absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love.

## Good and evil

Communism says that the world struggle is between class and class, rich and poor, workers and capitalists, black and white. Moral Re-Armament says that the world's battle is between good and evil, fought in every human heart. It holds that none is so virtuous as not to need change and that there is none who cannot change if he wants to.

Looked at from another angle, Moral Re-Armament is the logical next step for every sincere Communist. Like Communism, it condemns and rebels against man's inhumanity to man. It battles for the rights and dignity of every man, woman and child in the world. By dealing with the pride and selfishness in those who want to change society it supplies the essential factor Communism has missed.

For years now some men, whose dedication to the Communist cause was unquestioned, have been proclaiming Moral Re-Armament as the next forward step all Communists are meant to take.

Among them have been Hans Bjerkholt, one of the founders of the Norwegian Communist Party. Men like Jack Manning, Joe Hancock and Tom Keep in Britain, Max Bladeck, Paul Kurowski and

Continued on page 21



FIND THE BALL

FIND THE BALL COMPETITION NO: 8



How to play: The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o Himmat, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay 1., by noon on Monday Feb 20. There is no limit to the number of entries you can make, but only one cross may be marked on any one picture. The staff of HIMMAT and their relatives are not eligible for the competition. The Editor's decision is final and no correspondence will be entered into about the results.

Competition No: 8 showing the ball will be published in the February 24th issue.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_ I agree by the rules of the competition as outlined above



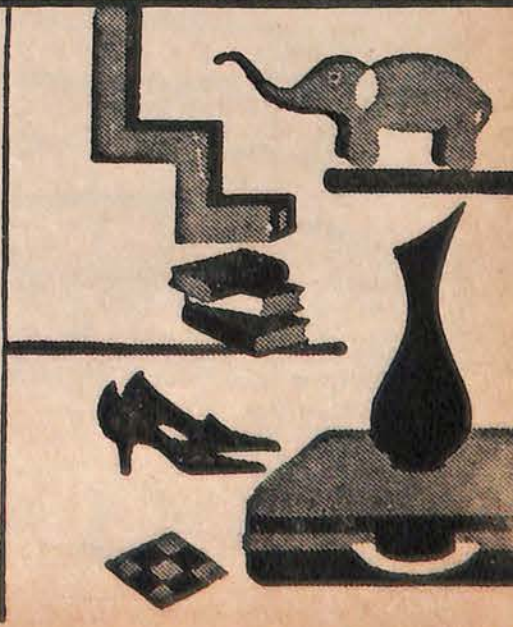
The winner of competition No. 7 is K. R. Nagesh, c/o N. R. Rao 20 B. V. Naidu Street, Madras-5

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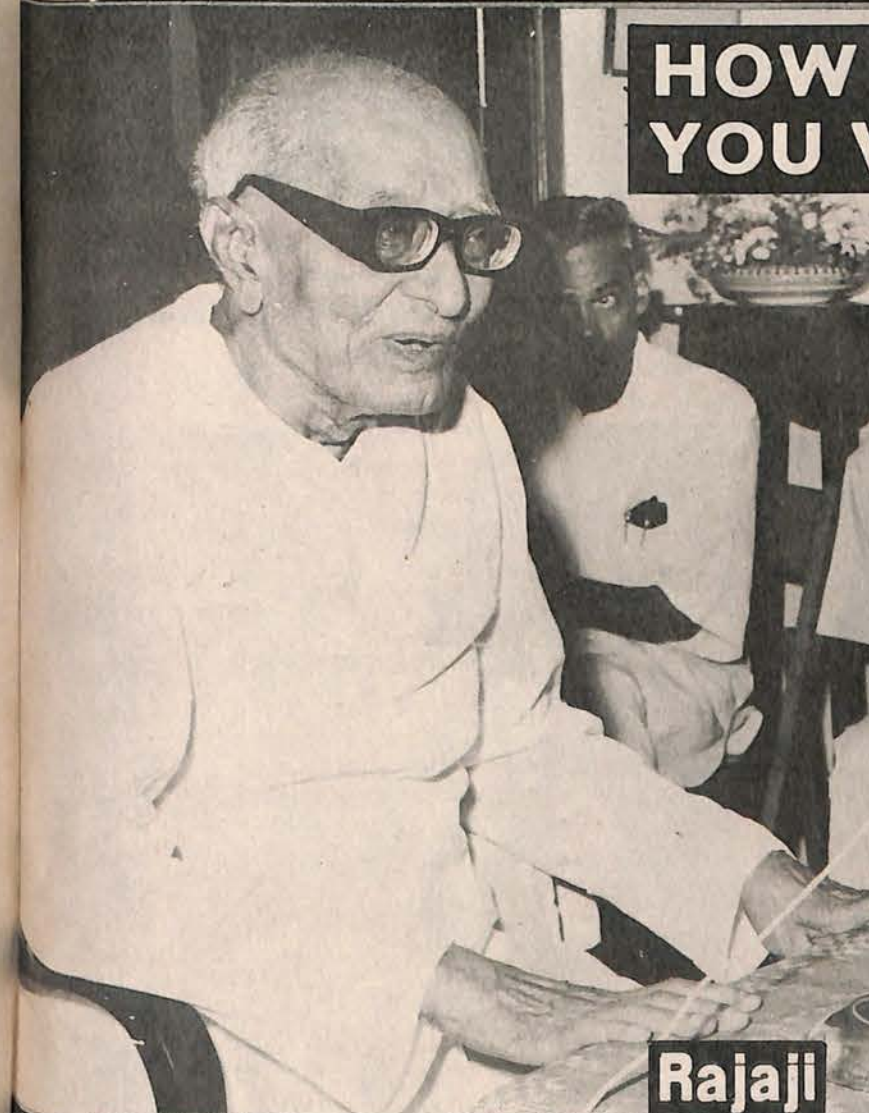
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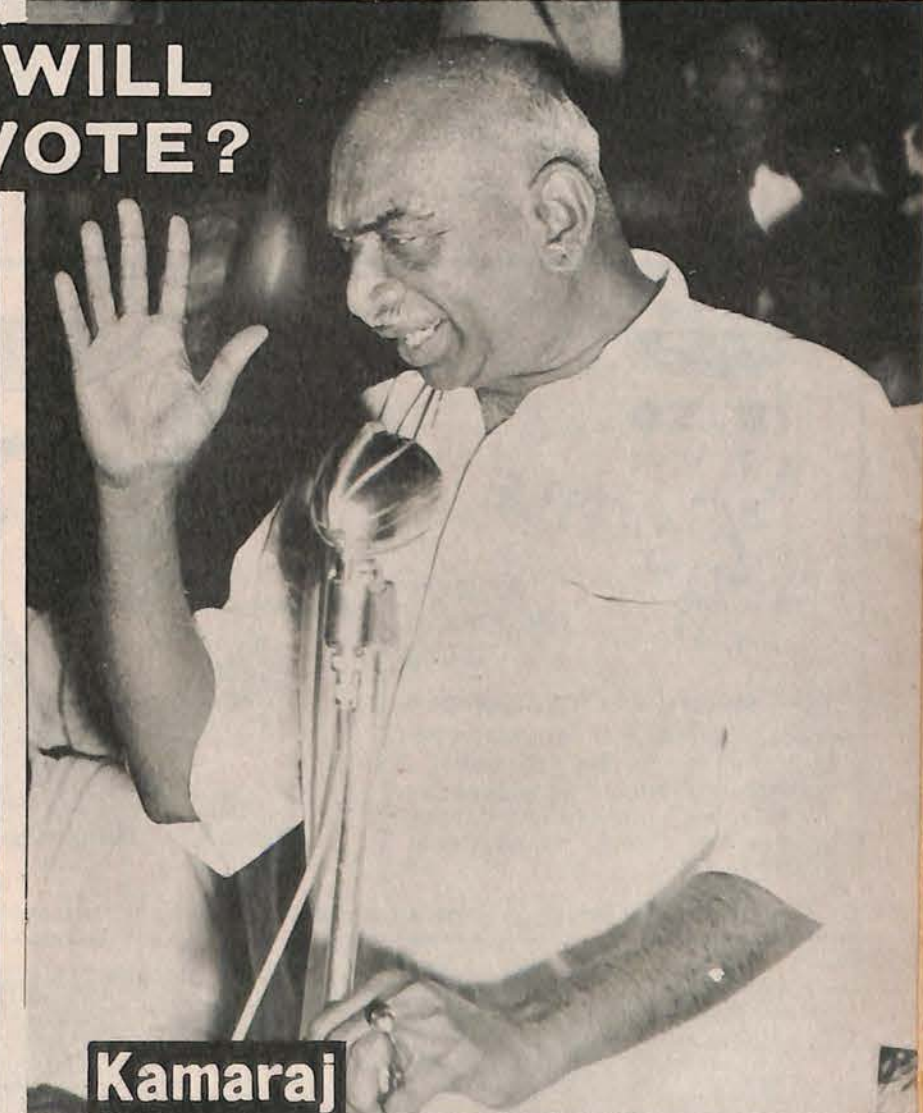
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## HOW WILL YOU VOTE?

Rajaji



Kamaraj

*"Congress stability a myth"*

*"Stability only with Congress"*

# INDIA ARISE leaves for Europe