

HIMMAT

25p.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

While Indian jawans patrol the Kutch border....

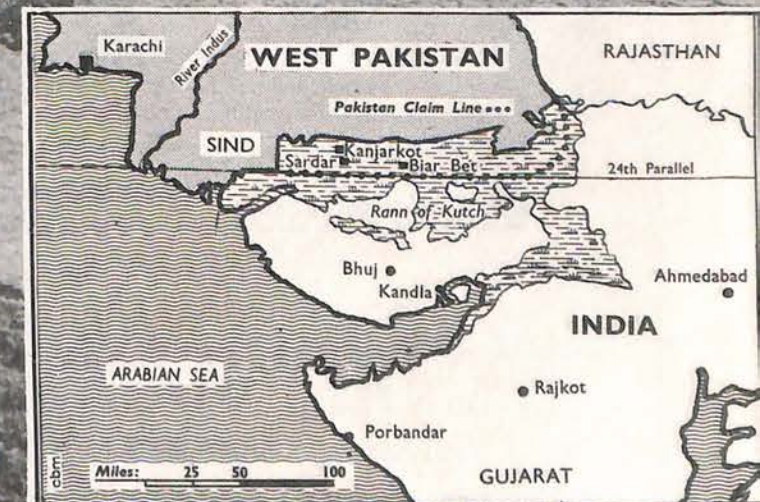


....Pakistan moves in tanks



WHO STANDS TO GAIN?

Page 5



Friday
May 7
1965

DEFENDING INDIA

By Rajmohan Gandhi
Page 18

"What a wonderful instrument the Shehnai is. It is capable of the most exalting music. I have devoted my life to it because I love it. But there is one other instrument which I love— my Philips radio"



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, May 7, 1965

Vol. 1 No. 27

Next 10 Years

It is an interesting sign that we get over-excited on comparatively small issues for some days and then completely forget them.

In the last weeks we had the aircraft carrier incident, dug out of history. The whole nation talked about it for a week or 10 days. Then came the Sheikh Abdulla issue and his liaison with Chou En-lai. It is to Mrs. Pandit's credit that when the whole Parliament was in an uproar, she saw the issue in perspective and advised us not to attach too much importance to his activities. The next was President Johnson's postponement of Mr. Shastri's U.S. visit.

It is also interesting to note that last week most Indian papers carried a small paragraph with a one-column headline that Sheikh Abdullah's passport was extended by eight days and that he would land in Bombay on May 8. Within three weeks, the subject moved from large headlines to an obscure item.

Frenzy and passion one day and indifference the next. We do not fix our eyes steadily on the larger issue confronting us as a nation and the goal we can work towards.

What is the larger issue? It is that Communist China is out to control the whole of Asia and Africa. In the next 10 years or more that will be the central fact of Asian history. India is an early target. If that is so, what must our strategy be?

First, we need to be prepared militarily. We must produce the most we can of weapons, and also try our best to obtain from friends the weapons we cannot produce.

Second, to fight to create in our nation and then in every other Asian nation, a revolutionary society more just, dynamic and interesting than that of China.

Third, to fight for the character of our people, for honesty, hard work and purity in personal and national life so that India is big enough to meet the challenge of China with a united will.

This will require an able force of men and women totally dedicated to this task of making India great and straight, as men were dedicated to the Independence Struggle.

Congo Epilogue

IN THE CONGO's first free elections, Mr. Tshombe's CONACO Party appears to have gained a sure lead. Staggered over six weeks, the nation-wide poll was held in an orderly fashion, to the surprise of many.

Observers who view the Congo with any objectivity at all, agree that President Kasavubu, Prime Minis-

ter Tshombe and Army Commander General Mobutu make up the best Government team the nation has seen at any time in its five turbulent years of freedom.

The fulfilment of his promise to hold free elections has increased Tshombe's stature within the Congo and throughout Africa. He is even winning recognition, albeit reluctant, from those who were accusing him till recently of all manner of "imperialist stogery".

Less than 12 months ago, Christophe Gbenye's rebel "Government" held thrall over half the Congo. A dispirited Congo Army was yielding village by village. The rebels drew strength from widespread resentment throughout the nation for years of ineffective rule and from the regular supply of arms by other African nations who chose to judge and ostracize Mr. Tshombe.

But today the rebels are retreating and falling out among themselves. They had boasted of capturing Stanleyville before voting took place there last week. In the event, 150 rebels appeared out of the nearby jungle and were beaten off by three machine gun crews. In the far North East they have lost control of Watsa, the last rebel-held town. Their strength is now confined to small jungle pockets. In Khartoum and Cairo, authorities admit that arms supplies to the insurgents have been cut off.

Last week, 34 delegates gathered in Cairo for a rebel "summit" and, in the process, widened the split in their own ranks. The formation of a Congolese "Supreme Council for the Revolution" was announced. The President is Mr. Gaston Soumialot, former Defence Minister in Gbenye's "Government". Mr. Gbenye's position in the new Council is not yet clear. His name appears as merely one of 15 members. A Supreme Council spokesman hastened to explain that, while it would be the paramount insurgent organization, it would not supersede Gbenye's "Government". It is doubted in Cairo, however, that Mr. Gbenye and Mr. Pierre Mulele, named as a Vice-President of the new Supreme Council, will be prepared to serve under Soumialot.

It would be foolish for Mr. Tshombe to assume victory is finally his because of division in the rebels' ranks and the conclusion of general elections. Victory cannot be his until he establishes an honest, efficient administration and Army, restores the potentially wealthy economy to full health and welds his multi-tribal state into a purposeful nation.

His neighbours should now lend their understanding to Mr. Tshombe's elected administration.

His enemies, many of whom practise dictatorship in their own domains while accusing Tshombe of undemocratic methods, might learn a few things from him—if they have the grace.

Briefly Speaking...

One of the greatest pains to human nature, is the pain of a new idea.

WALTER BAGEHOT, 1826-1877

Emergency Holidays

WEST GERMANY comes next to the United States as the second-largest exporting country in the world, with 10.6 per cent of the world's exports. That she has reached this after being almost totally destroyed twenty years ago shows what hard work can do.

In India we declared an emergency but there is little sign of it. Our troops now fight to defend our borders in Kutch. In Parliament eight days ago, the Prime Minister gave a clarion call, "Wherever you are and whatever your vocation, you should work with true dedication. Bring out your best and serve the country selflessly".

Three days later Maharashtra State takes a holiday for three consecutive days. Saturday, May 1, is Maharashtra Day, Sunday we always observe, and Monday we take off for Shivaji's birthday. Could the Government of Maharashtra not have set an example for hard work by stating that in view of the emergency the State would work on Monday, and that Monday's celebrations would be held on Saturday or Sunday?

Shivaji, whose birthday we celebrate, was a warrior who took no holidays from the task he set out to do. When our present leaders learn to demand sacrifice from our people for the sake of the country rather than pander to them, we shall rise and advance as a nation.



Our model farm has one cow at present but when we reach our peak expansion we shall be having two.

Peking in London

PEKING'S CHARGE D'AFFAIRES in London, Mr. Hsiang-hui, normally consorts only with selected Communists. The *Sunday Telegraph* says he plays "no active part in London diplomatic life".

Yet this month he is giving a reception for a new Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding. He has managed to get not only well-known "left-wingers" but a whole list of personalities hitherto unconnected with causes of this kind. The list contains 30 professors, including the heads of four Oxford and Cambridge colleges and the Vice-Chancellor of the new Sussex University as well as trade unionists, M.P.s, actors and diplomats.

Among them are Sir Learie Constantine, Lord Boyd-Orr, J. B. Priestley, Professor Owen Lattimore, Canon Collins and actress Vanessa Redgrave.

Canon Collins and Vanessa Redgrave are very active campaigners for nuclear disarmament. Perhaps they would serve a more useful purpose if they campaigned for their cause in Peking rather than for Peking's cause in London.

R.M.L.

The week in India

NEW DELHI—After occupying Biar Bet and Point 84 a Pakistani infantry brigade is reported advancing in a south-westerly direction trying to capture further strategic positions before monsoon tidal waves submerge the low-lying areas of the Rann of Kutch in the next two weeks.

NEW DELHI—British and American diplomats are actively pursuing grounds for negotiations in New Delhi and Rawalpindi.

CALCUTTA—The Centre has asked the Government of West Bengal to take all measures necessary to ensure against the outbreak of any communal violence sparked by the border conflict.

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Shastri informed the Lok Sabha that India would accept a cease-fire only in terms of a withdrawal of Pakistani troops to the status quo ante.

SHILLONG—Heavy Chinese build-up all along the NEFA border is continuing according to official sources. Outposts are being reinforced and roads leading to the Indian border are being widened.

BANGALORE—Rebel Congressmen in Mysore and Kerala will form a new all-India political party aimed at enlisting like-minded politicians from other parties as well. The party's ideology is not yet formulated but one of its aims will be to align India with Western democracy.

NEW DELHI—Two giant cement plants with a capacity of one million tons are proposed in the Fourth Plan.

NEW DELHI—Union Minister of Food and Agriculture C. Subramaniam stated that the country could be self-sufficient in food grains by the end of the Fourth Plan.

ALIGARH—Police opened fire on an unruly crowd of 1,000 students on the Aligarh University campus who had earlier assaulted the Vice-Chancellor and others. Two students were killed. Students hurled bottles and bricks in protest against the University's decision to allow more seats in technical institutes to outside students.

NEW DELHI—The Editor and Publisher of *Time Magazine* with three others have been called to appear before a Delhi Court on May 27 in a libel suit filed by stormy Socialist Party petrel Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, M.P. Dr. Lohia is claiming ten paise (2 cents) damages against the magazine for "malicious, defamatory and vindictive" remarks the magazine attributed to him. The defendants had declined to contradict their remarks because they say they had rechecked their sources and found their story "substantially accurate".

Rann of Kutch War

WHO STANDS TO GAIN?

By R. M. Lala

ON A MARSHY LAND where no trees grow, "a vast expanse of naked tidal mud-flats, a black desolation flaked with saline effervescences", the armies of India and Pakistan face each other. Situated 600 feet below sea-level, the Rann of Kutch will be submerged under the Arabian Sea and the rainwaters, two weeks from now.

India has produced historical evidence to show that the whole area was and is rightly hers. She quotes the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1909) which defines the neighbouring Pakistan province of Sind as bounded on the south by the Rann of Kutch and the Arabian Sea, and so does the *Sind Gazetteer of 1907*. Survey of India maps issued between 1900 and 1947 also support India's contention. Pakistan claims that the border was not demarcated finally and desires 3,500 square miles of the land. The border, she claims, is on the 24th parallel.

Border Coming Alive

Britain has already made two mediation efforts. Prime Minister Wilson suggested a cease-fire if the two countries were agreeable to the restoration of the status quo ante as on January 1, 1965. India accepted the British formula and Pakistan rejected it.

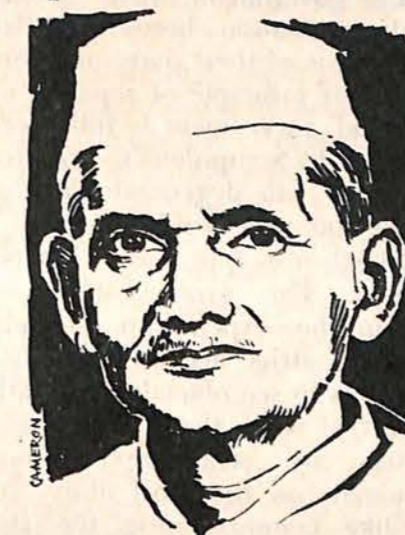
Mr. Wilson's second communication proposed a stoppage of fighting pending a settlement of political details of the cease-fire agreement. India was unable to accept these terms because it would strengthen Pakistan's contention that the Rann of Kutch is "disputed territory". At the time of writing, British mediatory efforts appear to have prevented an escalation of the conflict.

The entire border between India and West Pakistan is coming alive from the Rann of Kutch through Rajasthan right up to Kashmir. And the situation on the East Pakistan-India border is also tense. Troop movements are reported on both sides. As the two armies glare at each other across the hot and sandy waste of Kutch, from the cooler heights of the Himalayas an estimated 13 to 16 divisions of Chinese troops look down on

the plains and valleys of north and eastern India.

India's Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, stated last week that the Chinese have built airfields in Tibet, improved others and constructed fresh landing strips. They are reputed to be much better equipped than before the 1962 invasion.

Coupled with the ever-present Chinese danger is another serious risk. Millions of Muslims within India and Hindus in Pakistan pray anxiously that the conflict between the two nations does not erupt in a communal flare-up within the two nations.



PRIME MINISTER SHASTRI
A statesmanlike approach

When India fully integrated Kashmir into the Indian Union early last month, Pakistan decided to put pressure through other means to re-open the Kashmir dispute. In this move she has received encouragement and support from Communist China. The Rann of Kutch war is a product of her liaison with China. As Mr. Shastri said, "They seem to have joined hands to act in concert against India."

China's strategy appears to be:

- (a) to keep the pot boiling in Asia,
- (b) to take attention away from Vietnam,
- (c) to keep India pre-occupied militarily so that her economic plans fail,
- (d) to create an image of India as a nation always in conflict with her neighbours over borders,
- (e) to be the rulers of India, whether by war, subversion, alliance or other pressure or all these means and thereby

instal a regime favourable to Peking.

The Soviet Union does not benefit from this conflict. The United States does not want it and in fact is deeply embarrassed by Pakistan's use of her arms in the Rann of Kutch. Britain certainly does not benefit from this undeclared war between two Commonwealth countries and indications are that she may be the one power that could put an end to it.

At the same time, it may be well worth America and Britain asking themselves why, in spite of their economic and military aid, Pakistan has moved so far towards Communist China. The Western nations can give weapons, but only ideas can decide in which direction they will point. Is it not time for America and Britain to understand that any plan merely to contain the ideology of Communism is too small? What is needed is for the Western nations also to give an idea more revolutionary than Communism.

Find Out the Facts

Immediate consequences of the present battle in Kutch may be:

- (i) A possible postponement of Mr. Shastri's Moscow visit on May 12 if the situation worsens.
- (ii) The emergence of the Indo-Pakistan dispute as a major concern of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, though by convention, conflict between members is not discussed.
- (iii) Exposure of India as a weak giant before the Afro-Asian nations at the Algiers Conference, which is the design of Peking and Pakistan.

Mr. Shastri's speeches in Parliament have been statesmanlike. He has urged cessation of the conflict before it reaches a point of "no return". Regarding the actual alignment of the border, he has stated it is a question of finding out facts.

There must soon be a cease-fire or the situation will deteriorate. In either case it is not the last we shall hear of this struggle, for more than two nations are now involved. China has assiduously encouraged Indonesia against Malaysia, North Vietnam against South Vietnam, Korea against Japan and now Pakistan against India. The basic struggle for Asia continues.

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Putting Character into Politics

By K. Santhanam

Former Union Cabinet Minister and author of the Santhanam Report on Corruption.

PRINCIPLES ARE TO PUBLIC LIFE what the skeleton is to the human body. A mere skeleton cannot function as the body but without the former, the latter cannot have any shape, beauty or movement. While, therefore, exclusive insistence on abstract principles is not the proper method of conducting or judging public life, the growing habit of scoffing at them and relying exclusively on the expediences of the moment is demoralizing our public life and robbing it of all direction, purpose and dignity.

The first principle which should govern political activities is simple. Every public office and, in particular, elective office should be considered a sacred public trust. A trustee should not misuse his position or exploit it. A breach of trust is punishable by law. But the nature of the trust entrusted to a responsible official or a minister is so general and delicate that only gross breaches can be definitely located and individual responsibility fixed.

Speedy Decisions

In many matters, speedy decision and prompt implementation are of crucial importance. Yet indecision and delay have become so common that it has become a matter of pride for ministers and secretaries to keep heaps of files pending on their tables.

Even those who will not stoop to any obvious misuse of their official position for personal advantage, have no qualms of conscience when they do so for party purposes. The general reluctance of ministers to submit allegations against them to be judged by an impartial tribunal implies that they consider their office is some kind of personal property and not a mere public trust.

The second principle of righteous politics is the recognition that power has an inevitable tendency to corrupt those who exercise it and therefore, exercise of power should be strictly controlled. In the name of planning and social welfare, large discretionary powers are being vested in executive officers without any judicial redress against misuse.

I do not think that either planning or the conception of a welfare state requires such uncontrolled executive

discretion. To limit the possibilities of corruption, it is also necessary to limit the periods of office of ministers and the tenure of office of secretaries and heads of departments.

Suitable tribunals should be set up for scrutinizing the exercise of discretionary powers and no order should be final unless it is unchallenged for a short period, say a fortnight, or if challenged, the concerned tribunal has confirmed it.

In a democracy, in administration, appointments, grants and other activities of government, there should be no discrimination between citizens on the basis of their party affiliations. Unless this principle of separation of party and government is fully recognised and scrupulously enforced, democracy will degenerate into corruption and nepotism.

A fourth principle is rigid financial rectitude. This involves utmost economy in the expenditure of public funds and strict accounting. It is outrageous to see officials ingratiating themselves with their superiors or ministers by arranging elaborate ceremonials on the most flimsy pretexts like commissioning the third unit of a plant already in operation or starting a new workers' canteen.

I wish some enterprising economist or institute could make a reasonable estimate of the plan expenditure on these ceremonials and the travelling expenditure incurred by the ministers and their staff. If a healthy

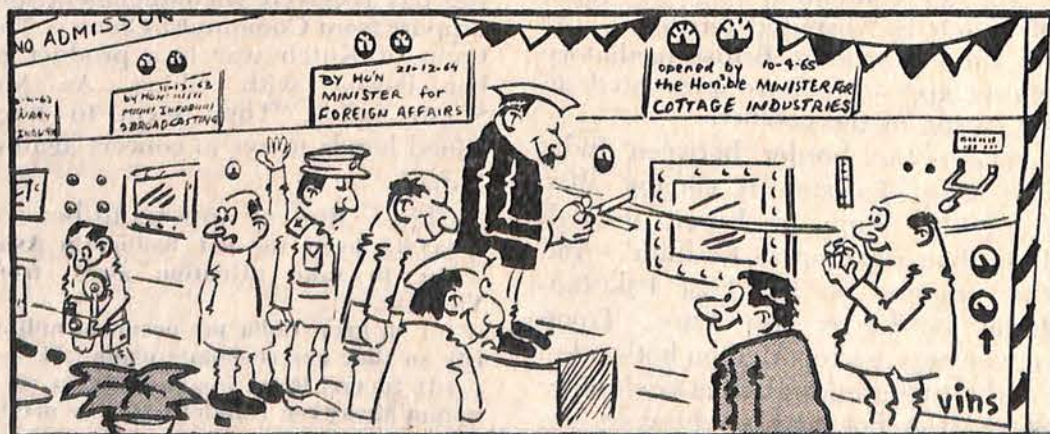
convention could be established that no institution should have more than one celebration in twenty-five years, the saving will amount to crores annually.

We read periodically of demurrage paid to Railways by public departments, the costs of delay in clearing ships and removing goods from port warehouses and it is seldom that we hear of any official having been held responsible. If only our officials had a financial conscience and there was an efficient organization to spot out and estimate the loss to the country through inefficiency, delay and needless extravagance, our plan expenditure might have gone down by 25 per cent.

Use of Influence

The last principle I would suggest is "justice". According to Plato, it is the sole ruling principle of the State. It can be shown that every principle I have formulated is included in Plato's conception of justice. It is painful to note that the belief has become universal that nothing could be done without influential "recommendation". This evil practice has percolated down to admissions to educational institutions. If only the asking, giving or considering of any kind of recommendation can be felt as something inconsistent with human dignity, our national character will be raised to a higher plane.

I hope that these principles will be slowly accepted and our politics will become purified. It is only then we can consider our democracy to be securely established.



"I do not think that either planning or the conception of a welfare state requires such uncontrolled executive declare open the fourth unit of this important plant."

Lessons of the Border War

ONCE AGAIN, as in November 1962, India has suffered humiliation and defeat. She was unprepared for the fresh conflict that broke out on a hitherto peaceful section of our border with Pakistan. Despite the brave fight of our armed forces, we have withdrawn from our positions and may now accept a ceasefire which does not allow full recuperation of lost territory. In the eyes of the world, we have been found wanting.

To blame only the leadership for this debacle would be an easy way out of the national responsibility. The truth is that the assumptions of our Pakistani policy may have been just as wrong as were the illusions of our China policy.

India has always had acute problems with Pakistan. Occasionally the conflict became bitter and tense over Kashmir or the eastern border. But, however acrimonious the debate, it has been our belief that all disputes between India and Pakistan can and must be resolved peacefully.

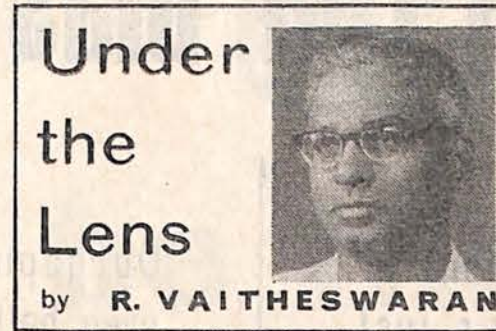
Total Miscalculation

The need for some sort of understanding with Pakistan became paramount for us after the Chinese invasion of October 1962. Both the late Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, and Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri therefore tried for some sort of rapprochement. The importance given to Sheikh Abdullah by the Government of India derived at least partly from his potential significance in finding a Kashmir solution acceptable to both India and Pakistan.

Pakistan interpreted India's need as her opportunity. The Chinese invasion, which we hoped would bring India and Pakistan closer together, actually brought Pakistan and China

nearer each other. Both the Western powers and India had underestimated the extent of this shift. We totally miscalculated the strength of anti-Indian sentiment in the ruling circles of Pakistan.

Though Pakistan's present policy of collaboration with China is likely to do her harm in the long run, it has won her certain advantages.



Under the Lens

by R. VAITHESWARAN

India's strategic position in the Indian Ocean area, already challenged by Indonesia's growing naval strength, is further eroded by Pakistan's bid to displace India as the principal power in the region.

Indian policymakers have to wake up to the fact that we are faced by a formidable axis—China-Indonesia-Pakistan—who act with an increasingly coordinated strategy.

The implications are serious:

1. India faces an emergency far more severe than even her rulers have yet realized.
2. Every vulnerable spot on India's border with Pakistan as well as with China has to be adequately defended and made accessible for defence by a good communications network, supply depots nearby, etc. This means a stupendous increase in the demands for personnel as well as equipment.
3. India is almost defenceless on her scarcely guarded coasts. She cannot

continue to assume that her coastline is safe in the face of the expansionist designs of Indonesia.

4. As we have reached the limit in economic and military aid from other nations, we have to accept a very high measure of sacrifice and hard work to match the tremendous pressure on our resources.

There is no use running away from the fact that the interests of other friendly powers do not coincide with ours in every respect. For example, both the United States and the Soviet Union are engaged in repairing or readjusting their relations with Pakistan. It is therefore unrealistic to expect much help from these quarters in our present difficulties. But the interests of India and the United States do correspond in South East Asia and in the Indian Ocean. Strangely, we are at loggerheads with the U.S.A. in both these regions.

Alliance for Asia

Both the United States and the United Kingdom want the establishment of bases and the patrolling of waters that will prevent a vacuum in the Indian Ocean area which is bound to be filled otherwise by China and Indonesia. The least we can do is to desist from opposing Anglo-American moves.

We should also explore the possibilities of an alliance of Japan, Australia, Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Ceylon and India to counter the growing power of the China-Indonesia-Pakistan axis. If India could spearhead such a move, we will build for ourselves a necessary basis for survival as an Asian power. We will also attract the uncertain, wavering nations who are turning to China because there seems no other alternative.

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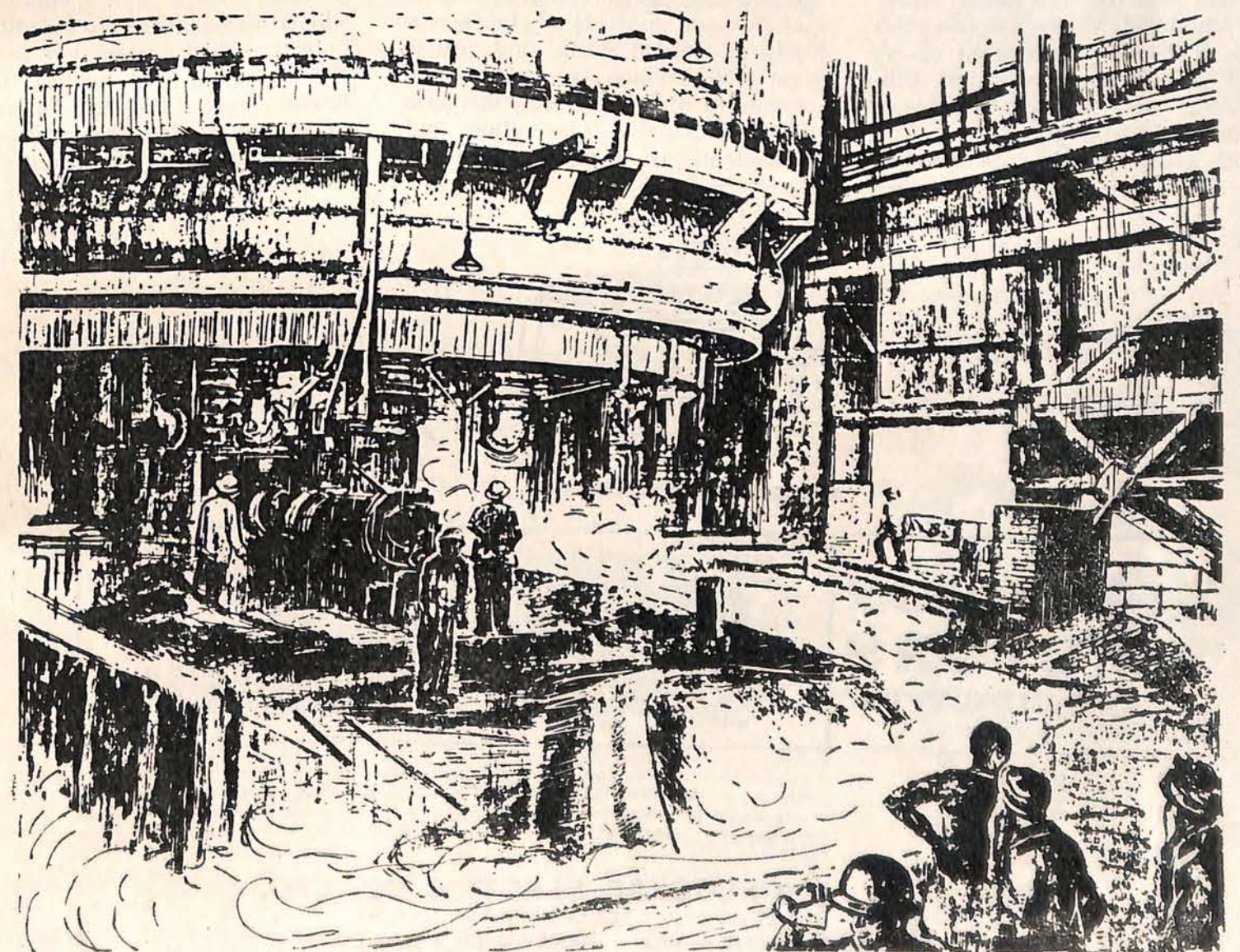
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Japan, Korea End 55 Years' Hostility

FROM TOSHIO HARA

Tokyo

IN SEOUL, capital of the Korean Republic, thousands of university and high school students staged violent demonstrations protesting against their Government's effort to normalize relations with Japan. They clashed with police day after day. Tear gas bombs were thrown. One student died of injury, while nearly a thousand were arrested. Riots were repeated the following day and thousands more joined the demonstration. Troops quelled the disturbance.

The Foreign Ministers of the two countries had signed a draft agreement in Tokyo at the beginning of April. It was a definite step to re-establishing normal diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan for the first time in 55 years. Sources here had said that the formal treaty was scheduled to be signed this month. The draft agreement covers World War II property claims, fishing rights and the legal status of Korean residents of Japan.

South Korea agreed to abandon the

so-called "Rhee Line" which banned Japanese fishermen from South Korean waters up to 200 miles offshore. The Japanese had claimed the "Rhee Line" was unfair and Japanese fishing boats operating inside the "Rhee Line" were often captured and detained by Korean authorities.

Under the new agreement Koreans will retain exclusive fishing rights in South Korean waters but in most cases this will be limited to 12 miles. The Japanese Government agreed to give Korean residents of Japan virtually permanent status, and also to grant \$800 million in payment for reparations and economic assistance.

Korea's Socialist Opposition and the students are strongly against the

agreement and accuse President Park Chung Hee of being a "national traitor". They demand the Government withdraws its "sell-out" policy. They claim that this reparation programme will lead to Japan's domination of South Korea's economy. Japan occupied Korea for 35 years and strong bitterness remains. It takes more than political manoeuvre to establish unity.

Yielding to the pressure of opposition, President Park has cancelled his visit to Japan in May. It is feared that the signing of the final agreements might be delayed. Yet it is vital that the two countries find unity, if peace is to be secured in Asia.

From Autocracy to Democracy

FROM VERE JAMES

Addis Ababa

ETHIOPIA IS struggling to become a modern African state without the colonial economic and administrative framework that Britain left to countries like India and Sudan. This is how a young Ethiopian, Director of a Government department, described the challenge facing his country since

Emperor Haile Selassie returned from exile 24 years ago and set about its reconstruction.

Today the capital, Addis Ababa, is engaged in a vast rebuilding programme. It has the atmosphere of a postwar European city as the hillsides reverberate to the sound of bulldozers, pile-drivers and gantry cranes. The old, corrugated iron roofed buildings with their mud and wattle walls make way for multi-storied hospitals, schools, apartment buildings and government offices.

Flower-lined dual carriage highways carry 30,000 vehicles daily in, out and around the city. A new international airport welcomes the increasing number of tourists who find Ethiopia's scenery, antiquities and history a contrast to their wild-life safaris in other parts of East Africa.

The new buildings, which seem to change the skyline almost daily, are an outward sign of Ethiopia's increased prosperity and its leap forward in the last few years to leadership and responsibility in independent Africa. However, the new Addis Ababa does not reflect conditions in the rest of the country where 90 per cent of the 22 million inhabitants are illiterate and poor.

Out of a Feudal Past

The already famous Africa Hall, in which the conference of 32 African States created the OAU in May 1963, is a symbol of Haile Selassie's determination that Ethiopia will play an influential role in pan-African affairs.

Under his leadership Ethiopia has emerged from its feudal past. It faces an uncertain future.

What form of Government will evolve here when the rest of the African continent is returning to the autocracy that Ethiopia wants to leave behind? Will a two-party, Westminster-style political system develop in the face of its rejection in other African states?

The ultimate question, that inevitably arises in any conversation about the future, is what will happen when the 72-year-old Emperor passes on?

Obviously, economic, political and social development must be increased. The industrial, agricultural and educational advances of the past few years must be maintained and accelerated. But Ethiopia's salvation will be in its continued influence in the affairs of the entire continent.

The Enigmatic Mr. Strauss

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Bonn

"I AM NEITHER a saint nor a demon," said Franz Josef Strauss, leader of the Bavarian Christian Social Union and the most controversial political figure in Germany, last week. Three events pushed the name of Mr. Strauss again into the headlines.

The first was his libel suit against Mr. Augstein, the editor of Germany's political weekly *Der Spiegel*. Augstein has attacked Mr. Strauss in every issue of his paper for the last three years. These attacks started even before Strauss, the Minister of Defence, closed down *Der Spiegel* some years ago and accused its editors of high treason. Augstein won that round and succeeded in having Strauss pushed out of the Government. The treason trial against his paper has still not taken place.



Franz Josef Strauss

In his latest attacks Augstein has gone even further. He has accused Strauss of being absolutely corrupt, a man whose presence in the Government would threaten democracy in Germany.

In court, Augstein has tried to prove this point even by alleging a series of unsavoury affairs which were supposed to have happened during Mr. Strauss's visit to America. This procedure of Mr. Augstein was too much, even for Mr. Strauss's enemies.

The second event which helped Mr. Strauss make headlines all over Germany was the Party Conference of the CSU in Munich which re-elected him, with 85 per cent of the votes, as head of the Party. The Party Congress also gave Strauss an opportunity to speak to the nation. His performance showed that he is without doubt the most brilliant and powerful brain in the political arena of West Germany today.

The third event which made Strauss the subject of headlines was his dismissal as a columnist by *Der Stern*, the most popular illustrated weekly with a circulation of 1.8 million.

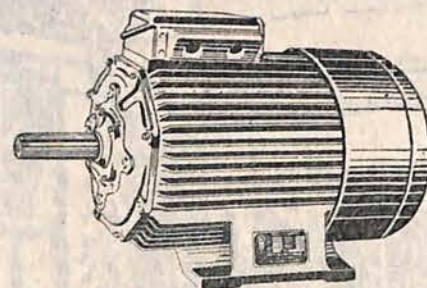
But the real question at stake is not Mr. Strauss. It is the future of Ger-

many basing its foreign policy on its association with the Western nations and using its influence to strengthen freedom everywhere in the world.

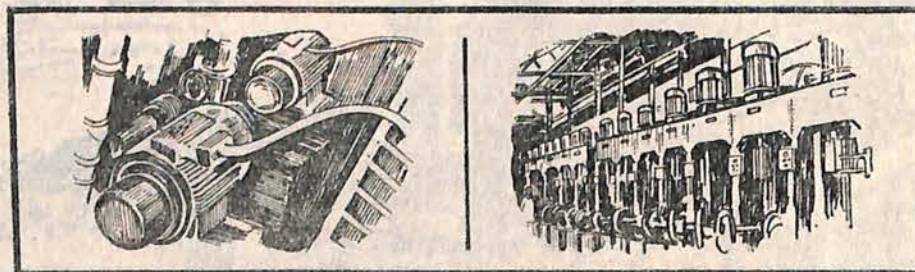
The conception of Strauss's enemies, which is expressed every week in *Der Spiegel* is quite different. They attack everything that has been built up since the war and advocate a weak compromise with the East.

Acting as "spokesman for a part of the German youth", or the "leader of the true opposition", the editor of *Der Spiegel*, Mr. Augstein, is speaking to the German youth in different universities every week now. He attacks fiercely the influence of Christianity in politics and repeats some of the demands of Hitler's ideologist, Alfred Rosenberg. Augstein says, "I see no reason why the Christians should have a special responsibility in parliamentary democracy."

Strauss won his round last week in Munich. Who knows, he may well become a positive force in a future German Government. He has the intelligence and the political know-how necessary.



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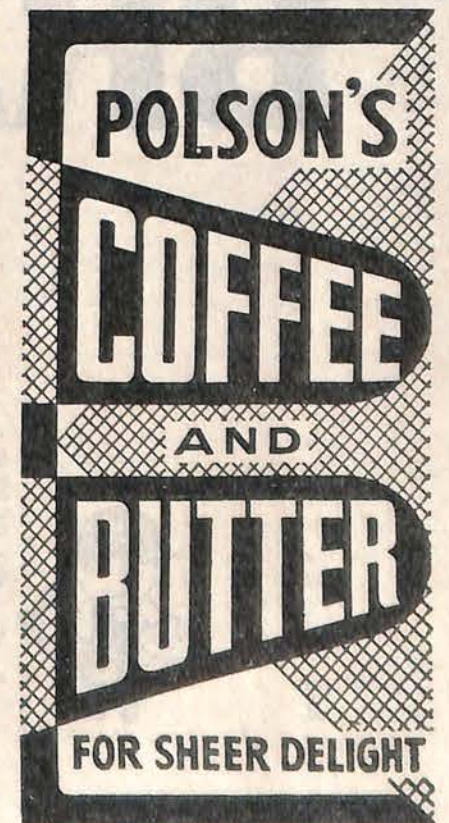
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Pigs In Piccadilly

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

THE BRITISH FARMERS are angry. Some are making plans to release pigs in Piccadilly. Others say that they will block the highways with tractors driven at a snail's pace.

The reason for this excitement is the recent statement on agricultural prices. This was made public in the Government White Paper, disguised in Civil Service jargon under the title of "Annual Review and Determination of Guarantees 1965".

Five hundred irate Suffolk farmers descended on Westminster recently to protest to any M.P. within earshot. At Question Time in the House of Commons, the Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Peart, stood his ground.

The National Farmers' Union is taking full and expensive pages in the daily press to tell their story.

Figures are hurled like artillery fire from both sides of the trenches. Statistics seem to be adaptable to support whichever view is held. The figures on which all are agreed are: farmers' costs have risen to the extent of £29 million, the Government has

offered £10.5 million towards this, leaving the farming industry to bear the remaining £18.5 million by "increasing productivity", to quote the White Paper.

That the British farms are efficient and their productivity probably the best in Europe, few people will deny. For example, the farmers produce figures to show that one British farmer feeds 23 people, whereas one in Denmark feeds 17 and in Italy only 7.

British farmers today do not get large incomes. In 1964-65, 450,000 holdings are expected to net £572 million, that is an average of a little over £1,000 per holding. Many of these are of small acreage. Half of the total holdings produce only ten per cent of the industry's output.

The Government seems to have a computer approach to some of the major issues. "What will it cost" and "What will it save" have become important criteria when considering the claims of the aircraft industry, the doctors and now the farmers.

For a nation of shopkeepers, goodwill should have a certain value as well as the goods on the shelves. The Government is not so well entrenched at Westminster that they can do without the goodwill of the nation.

Britain's Steel Debate

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

STEEL NATIONALIZATION, being debated in Parliament this week, may precipitate a General Election.

In pushing the measure, Mr. Wilson risks defeat as some of his own Party, as well as Liberals and Conservatives, oppose it.

Two Labour M.P.'s have come out openly against nationalization—enough to defeat the Government should they carry their conviction to the vote.

Yet the Prime Minister aims to push through this measure which

many feel owes more to Socialist theory than political or economic sense.

He may hope thus to sweeten his Left-wingers soured by his firm stand on Vietnam; and offer a sop to trade unions who are being asked to restrain demands for more pay.

The general public are bored with the issue. Not all are sure nationalization will much improve the industry's efficiency. Some fear it will shake still more the fragile web of confidence on which industry and finance depend.

U.S. Non-Involvement

FROM DAVID CAREY

New York

PRESIDENT JOHNSON, having taken a firm stand on Vietnam, is now finding himself faced with an extreme pacifist reaction in many parts of the country, notably university campuses.

A battery of State Department speakers, including Secretary of State Dean Rusk, has been deployed throughout the nation to explain the situation. The point they make, and it is a good one, is that appeasement has never settled anything. It did not with Hitler. It will not now.

Much more disturbing, however, is the fact that Washington has felt it necessary to take this reaction seriously and send obviously busy men off to answer it.

A year ago, when he was speaking in the major forums of this nation, Peter Howard, the late leader of Moral Re-Armament, warned his audiences that America "is rapidly

becoming a nation of non-involvement".

But the weakness of Washington is while they attempt to explain the situation they have no concept or plan or even determination to deal with the roots of this non-involvement.

Today this is a national disease. It is evident in the crowd that stand and watch and refuse to be involved when women are beaten up and raped in the streets, and old men are attacked in subway trains.

This kind of non-involvement stretches its tentacles into every area of national life creating a "me first, peace-at-any-price, neutrality".

The hopeful factor is that the action Peter Howard launched in the universities of America six months ago to raise up young men and women of character and stamina has had a marked response.

Last week 2,400 cadets at the Air Force Academy gave Olympic Gold Medalist John Sayre a standing ovation when he challenged them to take on the moral re-arming of this nation.

Sayre and his Gold Medalist colleague Rusty Wailes, after a tour of 60 universities comprising audiences of more than 30,000, report that young America is fed up with the noisy element making the headlines.

They say that the men and women they have contacted have decided to clean up the cheating and immorality and enlist the young Americans who will show a new way to go for Washington, Moscow and Peking.

Next stop: a summer Demonstration for 10,000 at Mackinac Island, Michigan, beginning June 14.

The week in Asia

RANGOON—The Burmese Government arrested 92 Buddhist monks for allegedly engaging in politics and "acting as stooges of capitalistic, economic insurgents". The monks charge that the Government is against religion. In some demonstrations they have hauled down Union flags, hoisting yellow robes in their place.

SINGAPORE—A state of danger was imposed here following disturbances during May Day celebrations. Police and Army units used tear gas to quell mob demonstrations and 270 were arrested.

KUALA LUMPUR—Indonesia's fiercest attack in Borneo since last July was repulsed by British paratroops. Four Indonesians were killed. British casualties were one dead and six injured.

SAIGON—Australia is sending a combat battalion of 800 troops to support South Vietnam. It will join 32,000 U.S. troops, 3,000 non-combat South Korean troops, Philippine medical units as well as 100 Australian advisers and a Royal Australian Air Force detachment already serving here. New Zealand Premier Keith Holyoake has said N.Z. troops could be sent in a combatant role at any time.

PEKING—Premier Chou En-lai said that only the National Liberation Front—the Viet Cong's political arm—could represent South Vietnam at any conference on Indochina.

DJAKARTA—Chou En-lai before leaving here said that China would no longer insist on being a member of the U.N. "now that Indonesia had quit the organization". He indicated that China and Indonesia might attempt to set up a rival world organization "progressive and revolutionary in nature".

SAIGON—The United States has plans for strategic missile attacks on government, military and industrial targets in China should China enter the Vietnamese conflict.

PEKING—It is reported that China has postponed its second nuclear test explosion to a more appropriate time for propaganda effect on the Vietnam situation.

TOKYO—Japan led the world in shipbuilding for the first three months of 1965 with twice as much tonnage as second-place Britain. Japan's 3,168,537 tons under construction was 729,962 tons more than for the last quarter of 1964.

DJAKARTA—The Indonesian Government announced plans to take over all foreign commercial enterprises in a move seen here as marking the end of all foreign investment.

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VIEWPOINT

Tub-Thumping Wont Build a New India

by D. Venkatesan

IN THIRTY FIVE YEARS from now most of us will be witnessing the birth of another century.

History must hold us morally responsible, if at the dawn of the 21st century, a greater part of human affairs continues to be embroiled with the forces of reaction and perpetrators of Communist dogmas.

People the world over are seeking a new kind of leadership, a change from the prevailing disorder and something that would promise them real security—not merely against turbulent Nature, but against the riotous hate in men's minds.

India has the making in her to give the lead. But will she do it?

Before India begins to preach, she must set her house right. If conditions now prevailing in the country should persist interminably, India's voice will not be heeded.

India's attitude to her neighbouring countries and her relationship with them require to undergo a thorough reorganization. She can no longer afford to remain indifferent to

the changes which are taking place around her.

She had refused to take a firm stand in regard to Tibet and had to fight shy of worldwide criticism. In the eyes of the world India stands condemned. Her present approach to the problems of Nepal, Sikkim and Malaysia does not justify the moral position she holds.

Freedom won has no meaning in the midst of fear and hate. In India there is so much fear and so much hate, the outcome of the misuse and aggrandisement of political power.

It is not realized in this country that the highest function of the State is to help develop the individuality of the individual. Democracy is not merely political or economic well-being. It is something of the human mind, man's dignity and the making of the spiritual and moral fibre of people everywhere.

The ultimate goal is not to be reached by dissipating our energies in decrying the affluent society, in the indiscriminate witch hunt of the

wealthy and the wholesale condemnation of the merchant community.

The hope of tomorrow lies in the youth. Young people are to be roused to a new and dynamic purpose, away from a stealthy, indisciplined and deceitful life, to engage themselves in the remaking of men.

This cannot be done by tub-thumping or shouting from house tops.

Let us then bend our energies towards the building of a new world wherein the techniques of science are diverted not to the making of evil and dreadful weapons of strife but for healing the wounds of poverty, pestilence, hunger and the diseases that corrupt men's minds.

Nuclear energy is God's gift to transform wealth out of emptiness, to provide the wherewithal for the development in the fields of agriculture, medicine and industry.

India's role in the peaceful uses of the atom is clear.

Herein lies India's answer to Peking's horror-packed challenge to convert the entire world to Communism.

Contributions to Viewpoint, representing the views of readers on important topics, should not exceed 500 words. A fee will be paid for those accepted.—Ed.

FOR WOMEN

MY GRANDMOTHER

By Jini Taleyarkhan

MY GRANDMOTHER lived for 81 years. She was married when she was just five years old. Grandfather was a few years older. Her parents sent her to her husband's home when she was 14.

I have never known a more devoted, caring and obedient wife and a more unselfish mother and grandmother.

She had never been to school, but had learnt to read and write and count. She was very, very intelligent and, as the years went by and her husband started a factory, she worked alongside him and kept the accounts as well. As they started to build a fortune, grandmother started to invest it in stocks and shares. She had their rates and all else that went with it at the tip of her fingers.

Grandmother's standards were very high. Her home was spotlessly clean and in simple good taste. Her cooking was superb. At table her main concern was that everyone ate

well and had enough. Grandfather was, of course, always served first.

The servants were treated with real care—as if they were members of the family. Never was a harsh word uttered to them. At the same time, there was authority and firmness. Once they came into her household they seldom left. They worked hard because she worked hard with them.

Grandmother seldom went out, but the whole world was her concern and in her heart. She never gave advice, but somehow the things she said always had a simple, down-to-earth meaning. She always rang true. Judging by the hours spent in prayer, she could not be called a religious woman, but God was a very real factor in her life because she truly lived her religion.

Once a year, at the time of our summer holidays, our grandparents would rent a large house in the hills and take the whole family for a holiday—about 18 to 20 of us! This was

a time of real fun and enjoyment, and the person who enjoyed it the most was grandmother. Our holiday meant hard work for her, but in spite of the work she would find the time to play games with us in the afternoons. We loved these times. She never organized us but played as our equal. From her spirit of fair play we children, who were often inclined to cheat, learnt much. We realized that the important thing about the game was to play it well, not win it.

When I was about 8 years old, we went for a picnic, to the Botanical Gardens. My eye fell on a large, attractive fruit. I looked around, picked it, hid it and took it home. Triumphantly I presented it to grandmother. She asked me if I had bought it. I said, "I plucked it off a tree while no one was watching." She did not scold me. "It is not ripe. Let us keep it a while," she said and put it away. The fruit would not ripen. Every day I would examine it and complain. Finally one day grandmother quietly said, "You see, you stole the fruit and so it does not ripen. We had better get rid of it." This was the best lesson in honesty that I have learnt.

No One Turned Away

No one ever went to grandmother for help and was turned away. She always had the time to listen, and along with material help she would pour out her heart and be a real friend.

Grandmother never possessed any jewels although she was a wealthy woman. Her clothes were of a good quality, but very simple. At home we treated her like a queen, but she never gave orders or tried to dominate. She was quite unspoilt. She always felt that her's was the privilege to serve, which she did most graciously. I cannot ever remember her grumbling or being irritable. She was the first to admit her faults.

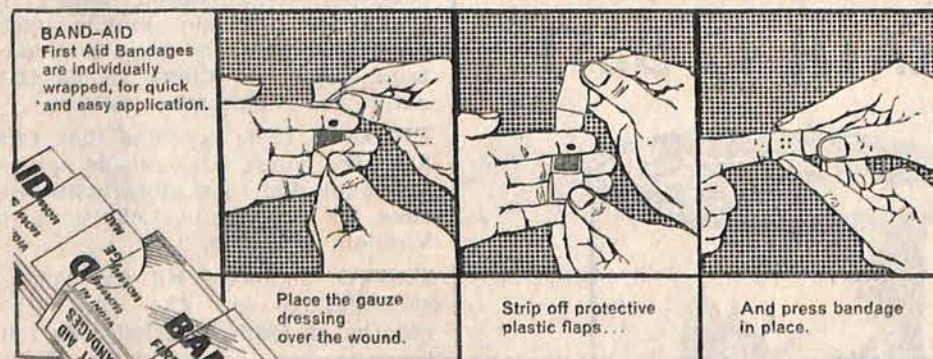
Grandmother was a courageous woman. Again, her courage was not of the spectacular kind. Her's was a basic courage which never failed. She was a pillar of strength to the whole family, always there and completely dependable.

Although she has been dead for nearly 20 years, many, many are the times that we talk about her.

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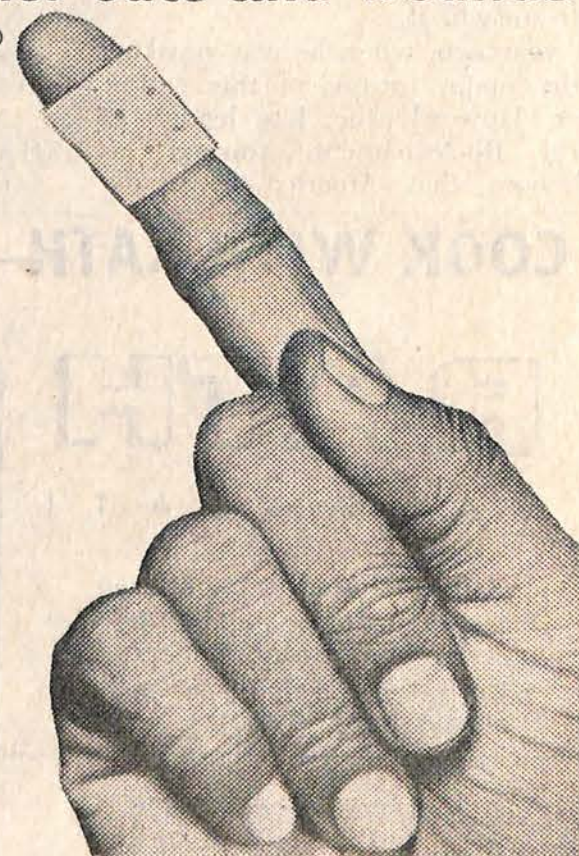


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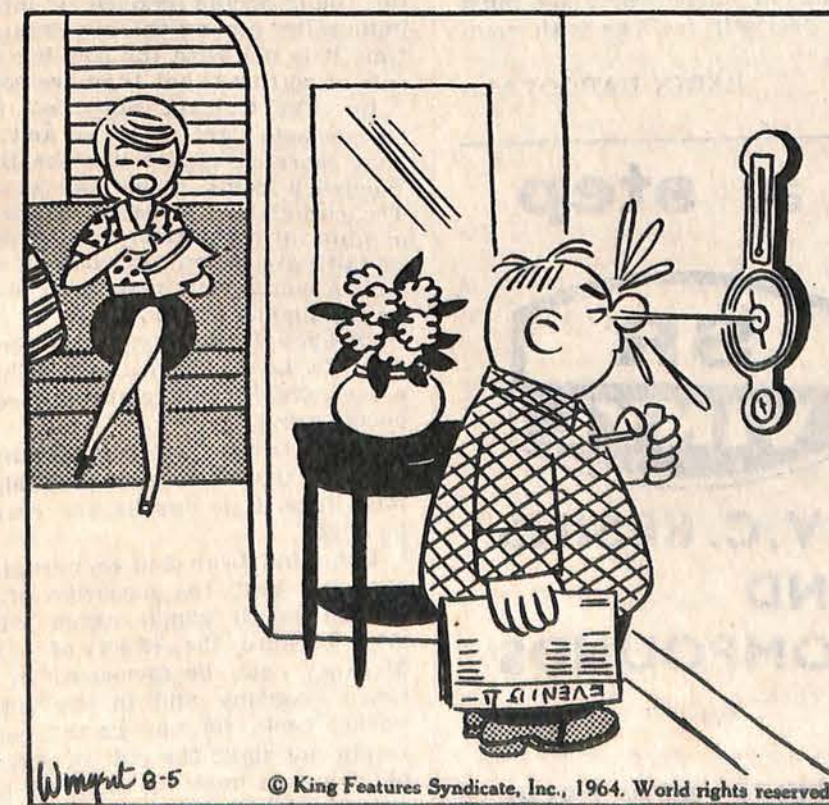
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HUBERT



"What does the barometer say, Hubert?"

LETTERS

YOUNG AND OLD

SIR: I sense a new class war arising out of HIMMAT's effort to improve the politics of India. I am sure it is not intended. It is a temptation, if it is intended, which should be avoided.

It is true in every nation youth is most sensitive to what is going wrong. This is a healthy natural sensitivity and a source of hope. Grown-ups have tried it out in many ways and, having failed, are in a mood to tolerate or even to surrender to wrong. Youth being yet undefeated are apt to consider themselves as separate from the hardened grown-ups who fight among one another but do not fight against evil. This however should not lead to a kind of new class war. We have enough of these class wars based on caste, religion, property, language, occupation, etc. Let us not add one more. Rather, let us make class-war itself a target for attack.

The energy and honesty of young men and women are an undoubted national asset. Let it flow into national health, not become a new party based on age. May the undefeated spirit of youth engage itself in spiritualizing all politics. The young men and women now engaged in the movement will in a few years be no more young but become grown-ups. They should continue the work and not get disqualified by reason of age.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Madras 17

CHECK WITH HIMMAT

SIR: I must write and tell you how much I anticipate and appreciate your weekly HIMMAT. I find myself checking news in other newspapers by it. I find the honest appraisal of conditions and events refreshing to read, and what must be unique, not only the recogni-

tion of basic issues, but pointers towards bringing unity where there is division, most stimulating and indicating hope for the world.

LILIAS M. BRUNT

Porthcawl, South Wales

SCOT PROTESTS

SIR: As a Scot in India, I should like to come to the defence of the Edinburgh Festival, in case your readers are misled by this week's criticism.

I am lucky enough to live close to Edinburgh, and so have been able to attend many Festival items over the years. True enough, a fractional percentage of what is produced is obscene, though many would try to call it artistic, but the Festival, in its drama section, attempts to display a cross-section of modern theatre. Modern theatre is becoming freer and baser play by play, so I think the Festival is to be congratulated for keeping the low level so high.

I would be glad if you let your other readers hear what I have to say, though I fear I have been very critical of your extremely fine and valuable publication.

ANGUS OGILVY

Ootacamund

PARLIAMENT SITTINGS

SIR: The Speaker was correct in reminding Parliament that Members of the Opposition Party are meant to oppose the Government, not the country.

When the nation was faced with Pakistan's aggression the Prime Minister and the Speaker indicated that a private Parliamentary session would be advisable in view of national security being involved. Yet, the Opposition insisted on a public debate—and got it.

Mr. Editor, how can our Government be expected to give confidential facts in public sessions of Parliament? We must temper our patriotic feelings with common sense.

PARIN DAROOVALA

Bombay 7

BOOKS

THE CULT OF SOFTNESS

"O, TO BE IN ENGLAND now that April's here," wrote Browning. But a look at the newspapers for April 1965 reveals a dreary catalogue: a Field Marshal cited in a divorce action, a former Chairman of the Liberal Party arrested on a vice charge in Piccadilly Circus, a former Prime Minister's grandson dead and drugs suspected.

Is everything really as black as all that? Of course not. But, it remains a fact, as the *Daily Mirror* pointed out last week, that "there isn't enough sand in the world to bury the heads of the ostriches who pretend all is well".

R. F. Mackenzie writes in *The Scotsman*, "You don't need to be a prophet to foresee that round the next corner, or the one after, there will be a violent explosion of juvenile delinquency." The Minister of Health is expected to receive shortly a shock report on the gravity of drug addiction in Britain. There are 400,000 alcoholics and more than 5,000 suicides annually.

Is "affluence" the sole explanation for the nose-dive in standards and the general floundering? Or is it partly, as two men believe, the product of a deliberate policy. They are Sir Arnold Lunn and Mr. Garth Lean, who this week publish *The Cult of Softness* (Blandford, Six shillings). Meticulously documented, this book strips the covers from the dealers of decadence and is likely to cause even more controversy than "The New Morality" by the same authors.

Then their target was not so much the increase of sexual immorality among the young as the increase of intellectual immorality among the middle-aged. This time it is not with the soft but with the cult of softness that they are concerned.

In "The Cult of Softness" the new "iconoclasts" are dissected and exposed. New moralist clerics like the Bishop of Woolwich come under the microscope. The cumulative evidence of the inroads of militant secularism is startling. Men of faith are called for who can offer not only a courageous resistance but mount an intelligent attack.

"Seldom in history," says Sir Arnold and Mr. Lean, "have the possibilities of a successful counter-attack been more encouraging."

C. S. Lewis wrote, "Really great moral teachers never do introduce new moralities. It is quacks and cranks who do that."

Lunn and Lean find encouraging evidence too that the majority of modern British youth would agree with this. And because the effect of "the New Morality" can be measured in the nation's economy and in the individual's pocket book, "it may be that some who would not fight the cult of softness out of principle may be induced to do so out of necessity".

—Michael Henderson

This was a life

THOMAS EDISON

1847-1931

THOMAS ALVA EDISON was a man who dreamed, dreams and translated them into reality. He refused to assume the impossible could not be done.

Regarded by many as the most versatile inventor of all time, Edison reached his goals largely by trial and error. He once said that "through all the years of experimenting and research I never once made a discovery. I start where the last man left off."

Where others left off, content that their theories had been proved, Edison took his theories and with test tube, lathe and assembly line transformed them into electric light, energy, recorded sound and moving film.

He was born into a comfortable and untroubled home in Milan, Ohio. Though a voracious reader and possessed of a remarkable memory—he could master a page of print as quickly as most could master a line—Edison was hopeless at mathematics.

Barely twelve years old, the restless young Edison set off to make his living. He sold newspapers and sweetmeats on the railways. He bought an old printing press and started selling his own news sheet.

In New York young Edison perfected a new "ticker tape" system. When asked what price he wanted, Edison hesitated. Was \$5,000 too much to ask? Before he could answer, the purchaser said, "Would \$40,000 satisfy you?" Still only 21, Edison had the capital needed to put his inventions into production.

He believed in hard work, and short sleep. Most people, he would say, slept too much of their lives away. To his credit goes the famous saying that genius is "one per cent inspiration and 99 per cent perspiration".

Edison was a champion of exhaustive research. He filled 40,000 pages with notes and sketches, and experimented with 16,000 specimens of bamboo, in his search for a fibre filament for his famous electric bulb.

However, it was ultimately a loop of carbonized cotton thread which glowed in a glass vacuum for nearly two days which in 1879 brought world fame to the Ohio inventor. He was only 32.

By the time he died at the age of 84, Edison had taken out 1,098 separate patents relating to the phonograph, electric light, the movie camera, the typewriter, mimeograph machines, cement production, storage batteries, telegraphy and a thousand other inventions.

Q and A

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

Q—The morale and discipline among our industrial workers is deteriorating daily. What is the remedy?

K. PARTHASARATHY, Bangalore.

A—I am not sure I agree with you. It is true that some workers, and some of their leaders, want more and more wages in return for less and less work. To condemn the majority because of them is totally unfair.

I am convinced that our workers in their millions will show a spirit of sacrifice and productive work, on two conditions. (1) That our national leadership sets before itself and the nation a revolutionary goal. The workers want to know why they should sacrifice or work harder. (2) That the richer and the more prominent citizens of our land, and this includes politicians as well as industrialists and traders, show that they, too, are prepared to sacrifice and that some of them are prepared to be more revolutionary than any Communist.

Those intellectuals and industrialists who deplore what they call the deterioration in labour discipline should also ask themselves if they have ever spent enough time with a worker and his family to discover what exactly are their hopes, fears and longings. Discussions across the bargaining table are important, and they succeed more when they are carried on in a spirit of partnership and care, but I do not see why a worker should be inclined to give his very best in return for the minimum unless he feels he belongs to a nation where all live as members of a family.

Q—What do you expect from a teacher today?

HARINAKSHI, Hyderabad.

A—New men and new women. I can think of no one whose job is more important than a teacher's. Each day he has the chance to meet scores, some-

times hundreds, of young men and women who will make or mar India. A classroom and a school could become a factory for turning out men and women who will reshape history.

Teachers who not only fill the brain with the right knowledge but also revolutionize the character and will of the student is what the nation needs.

The vast majority of our teachers are, I believe, good and decent people. Yet decency alone is inadequate in this ruthless age. When decent teachers also become determined fighters for a new India and when they plan, day after day, to make patriots out of their students, they will command a dominant position in India's life.

It is astonishing to me how little students know about their teacher and his family and how little the teacher seems to know about the students he looks after and their families. Without a better and closer relationship, I do not see how the teacher can generate in his students the spirit now needed.

To raise a network of revolutionary teachers all over India is an aim for which some of India's best men and women should give their lives.

Q—Every time India is attacked, she sends protest notes to the U.N. What action does the U.N. take?

V. S. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, Bangalore.

Men unable to solve problems inside their own nations are not likely to solve international problems.

Hasn't the time come to end this search for some outside agency to come to our rescue? We cry that America does not aid us, that Russia does not aid us, that Britain does not aid us, or that the U.N. does not aid us. Nations are primarily out for their self-interest. India is no exception. America, Russia and Britain want India's friendship, but they are not prepared to give up Pakistan's friendship. Looking after India is, frankly, our own affair. And here we have failed tragically by producing hates and divisions inside our land at a time when India needs the best effort of each person and the united effort of all.

—R. G.

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Defending India is Job of All

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THE AMERICANS will not side with India or with Pakistan. The British will not support one or the other. The Russians, according to *Izvestia*, regard the Indo-Pakistan conflict as senseless and will not come out on one side.

We rightly wish that these nations see the fairness of our viewpoint and curb Pakistan, but getting agitated over it will not induce them to change their attitude of neutrality. Each of these nations—U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and U.K.—is keen to maintain some sort of link with Rawalpindi and is not in a mood, at this stage, to write off Pakistan to Peking. Likewise, none of these nations is going to back Pakistan's version because, in spite of insults, misunderstandings and foolishness, none of them wants permanently to antagonize India.

India's task is to cultivate, under these objective conditions, the best possible relationship with these nations and to realize that *India will be defended, kept free and rebuilt entirely as a result of the sweat and sacrifice of Indians.*

Parliament's demonstration of unity to meet the Pakistani challenge is something to be thankful for. We can be grateful also for the obvious determination of the Prime Minister and of the Defence Minister, Mr. Chavan, not to yield to violation of our territory.

But national defence is, or should be, everybody's job.

Backing the Army

Guns, ammunition, tanks, planes, bombs and ships are necessary. As far as is possible to make out, our Government has done its best to secure these from friendly nations and to increase their production at home. Soldiers, airmen, sailors and officers are also necessary, and we are proud of the ones we have.

Yet even more important is the partnership that the civilian population offers the military.

We pay taxes, of course (some more honestly than others), and out of that money soldiers are paid and armaments bought. We also express our solidarity through meetings, processions, slogans and pledges, all of which play a part.

However, I am convinced that our military today is one-tenth as effective as it could be if it had the backing of a united and

disciplined civilian population.

Today our army not only has fronts in Kutch, Rajasthan, Kashmir, Ladakh, NEFA, Nagaland and Assam to guard. It also has to quell civilian disturbances anywhere inside our large land.

Fights between caste and caste, language and language, north and south, religion and religion, labour and management, students and professors, and the spiralling increase in crime make it impossible for our police force to think of strengthening our army. Our internal clashes have, in fact, often required the intervention of some of our best army units.

Correcting Defects

From Peking's point of view, it is far better and cheaper for Pakistan to attack India than for its own armies to do so. And even better, from Peking's angle, for Indians to be entangled in a constant series of blood-spilling, economy-destroying hates, feuds and wars.

The truth is that India's internal situation is today Peking's and Rawalpindi's greatest asset. *Far more dangerous than the Peking-Rawalpindi axis is the lack of partnership and unity inside our country.* More serious than Pakistani intruders using American tanks is the fact that many Indians still place caste or language above their country.

Patriotism lies in recognising defects and correcting them. To pretend that all our 480 millions are surging forward with one heart, mind and goal may be good rhetoric but is dangerously untrue.

Citizens who wish to march shoulder to shoulder with their soldiers do not march to Vice Chancellors and, with stones and bottles, almost murder them.

The reality is that anger and hate over local caste, language and religious issues and, equally, over rising prices are often more deeply felt and more forcefully expressed than the urge to help our soldiers defend our national borders.

This explains why the people of Kerala gave so many votes to the Left Communist Party in spite of the fact that at every single Congress Party meeting the Left Communists were called traitors and agents of Peking.

An effective answer to China and

Pakistan requires, at the very minimum, that our Prime Minister, Defence Minister, Home Minister and others in the Cabinet are freed from their seemingly endless and multiplying responsibilities of sorting out—or trying to sort out—spite and division and charges of corruption in the Congress Party. Not only are our leaders saddled with these loads, each day they also receive a stream of visitors and friends who plead for their interference or recommendation to get foreign exchange, a cement permit and the like. A senior member of our Government told me the other day that personal and political pressures had paralysed the Government.

The easiest folly would be for the leaders to blame their followers, and for the people to hold the leaders exclusively responsible.

It is all of us who have made the India of 1965 the kind of nation she is. Dishonesty and cheating in business should not exist, but it does. Feelings of superiority or hate based on caste, language and religion should not exist, but they do. Corruption among politicians should not be there, but it is.

Shocking Our Enemies

Students should equip themselves to attack national problems of ignorance and disease with minimum rewards for themselves, but they don't. The productivity of a worker should increase more than his wage, but it doesn't.

All these are realities that need to be faced and cured.

There is a cure. It is being applied by large numbers of people already. Thousands of men and women have seen that if they want Indian society to improve they must themselves pay the price of change; that if they want corruption, laziness and division in India to end, they must end the simple dishonesties, fears, sloth, hates and jealousies in their own lives; and, further, that individually and unitedly they must take a new spirit of responsible patriotism to every section of our country.

This development gives hope to all who want to see an India strong and united. It will confound and frighten our enemies; it will shock and stun and deter them as nothing else can.

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.

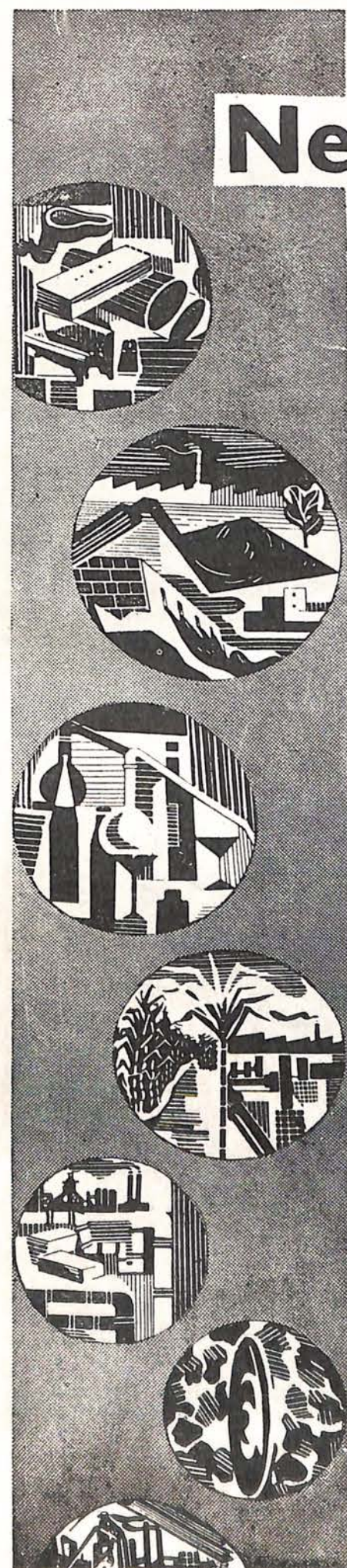


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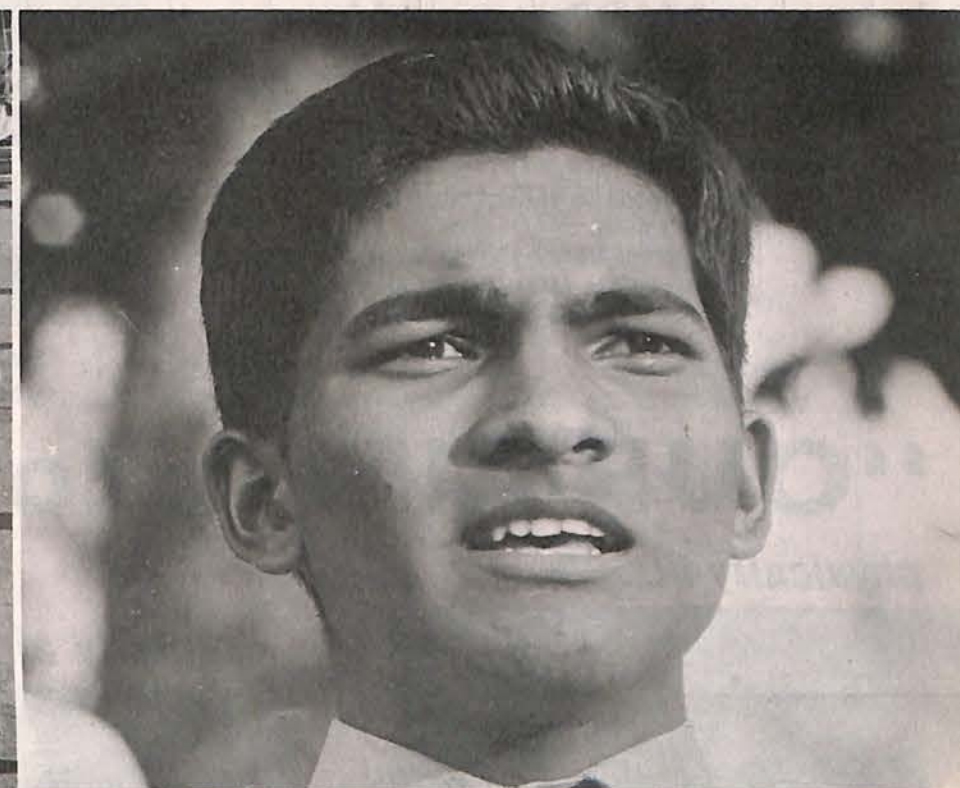
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pages 2 & 5



Friday
May 14
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INDIA: FACING EAST & WEST