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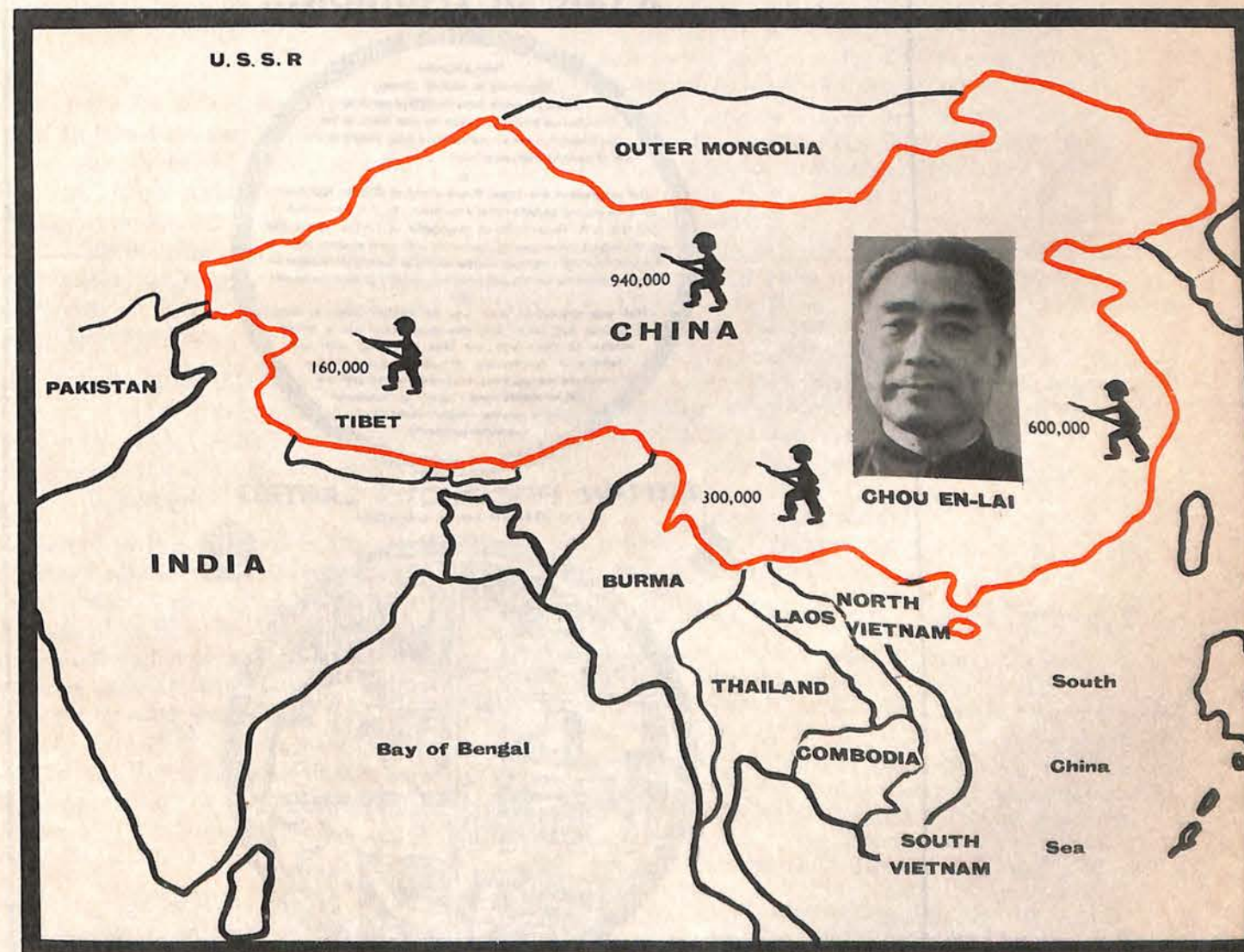
SWARAN SINGH



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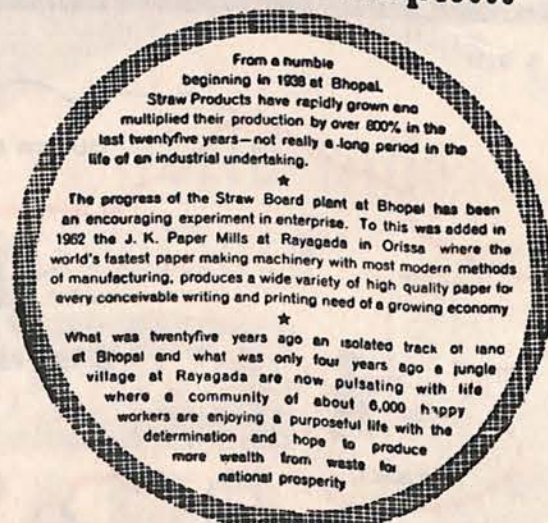
Friday
April 9
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GANDHI ON BRAZIL

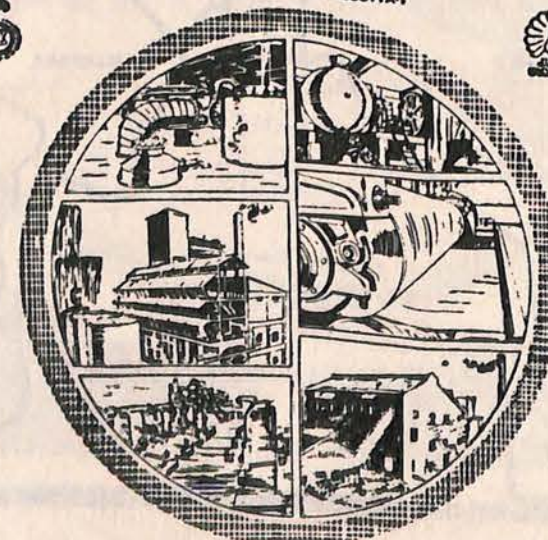
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a tale of triumph...



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, April 9, 1965

Vol. 1 No. 23

Investigate External Affairs

THE DECISION to grant Sheikh Abdullah a passport and to endorse it for so many countries, may be termed a calculated political gamble, permissible within the rules of statesmanship. But the additional facilities granted to him of Rs. 35,000 foreign exchange indicate that the Shastri Government wanted to go out of its way to shower its blessings on the Sheikh's mission.

One might well ask "Why?" "What did the Government seek to attain through this generosity?"

The public of India have the uncomfortable feeling that the whole truth about the Sheikh episode has not been told.

For two or three days the public was entertained to excuses why the Indian Embassy in Algiers was silent. Then we were told that the Foreign Secretary, who was in Algiers, would report shortly. Completely oblivious of the commotion caused in Delhi, the Foreign Secretary was taking his time, breaking his journey in Paris and Beirut, and on arrival in Delhi disclaimed all knowledge of what transpired between the Sheikh and Mr. Chou En-lai.

What is most disturbing in this whole affair is the fumbling, hesitant, confusing performance of the Foreign Minister in the Lok Sabha and the pleas dished out in Parliament and through the press on behalf of India's Foreign Service.

What has happened in this instance is the result of the way the External Affairs Ministry has been run for years. Although some of its officials have shown dedication and a spirit of service, on the whole it has shown itself incompetent, and appears more concerned about its own interests than India's. It was reported last month that when a certain gentleman, not of the Indian Foreign Service, was about to be confirmed as Ambassador to Paris, the Foreign Service raised objection that the best appointments were given to non-Foreign Service personnel! A Foreign Service official was finally chosen for the post.

There is not much point in M.P.s getting agitated about the Algerian Embassy, unless they want to do something to prevent recurrence of incidents like these.

It is time that the Indian Parliament insisted that a Parliamentary Committee be appointed to investigate the workings of the External Affairs Ministry in New Delhi and its missions abroad.

Taxing Patience

THE FINANCE MINISTER wasted no time in cancelling the recently-gazetted regulations severely limiting company expenditure on advertising and other legitimate expenses. In the interests of a free press and employment for those lakhs engaged in the industry, the regulations must remain cancelled. The *status quo* prevailing in the past must be retained.

Two vital aspects of this affair have not been appreciated—or admitted—by the Minister.

First, the freedom of the press is deeply involved. No "free" press can operate without normal advertising business. Restrict the amount of advertising available and automatically control of the press is achieved.

Second, this is one more example of Ministers and civil servants acting hastily and without adequate consultation, producing dangerous confusion in the land.

The recent language unrest was greatly inflamed by civil servants issuing circulars without their Ministers' knowledge or approval. Hindi rail tickets were put into circulation on some routes recently and then hastily withdrawn.

Now Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Information Minister, admits that there had been no "formal discussions" with her Ministry on these vital regulations, even though it deals with the press.

Who drafts these circulars and regulations? It is serious when every few weeks Ministers are forced by public opinion to rescind or disown regulations promulgated in their name.

What is the influence behind these happenings which only serve to spread confusion and a lack of confidence in our administration?

Parliament would do well to pursue this trail of evidence and discover where it leads.

Well Done, Mr. Wilson!

THOUGH SMALL in majority, the Wilson Government these last six months has tried to give good government. Harold Wilson has asserted himself tactfully but firmly with the extremes of his party over Vietnam.

Perhaps a more lasting contribution of Mr. Wilson's regime will be in the field of immigration and the colour question in Britain. Britain fears an immigration explosion. Any Government would have had to impose restrictions. But Mr. Wilson's policy is not just to restrict but to uplift those coloured people who are at present in Britain. In his words, "We have to exorcise the evil spirit of racialism and intolerance. We cannot have first and second class citizens in this country."

With this approach, Mr. Wilson's Government can claim the moral support of the Governments and peoples of the Commonwealth for any immigration policy that he may finally evolve.

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for Asia?" I asked a leading Parliamentarian recently. He replied, "We have so many problems at home, we have no time to think of anything else."

Does Chou En-lai have pressing problems at home? Poverty, shortage of steel, food, oil and spare parts for his planes? Does that stop him from having a design for Asia? For Africa? And does that prevent him from living, breathing and thinking every hour how to fulfil his design?

No. Because Chou En-lai has an ideology he wants to put into practice. It is not the right one. It is a deadly one. If he wins, the world will lose freedom. If he loses, he may still destroy part of the world.

If India wants to confront the danger ahead we will have to:

(1) Have a grand design for what India can do in Asia—to offer to the Sheikh Abdullahs of life, the Nagas and the peasants of Vietnam, a programme more attractive than Chou En-lai's.

(2) Put our own house in order—a nation dedicated to an idea finds it

easier to change circumstances than a nation of individuals dedicated to their own advancement.

(3) Forget small issues and immediate plans for self, for business or for party.

(4) Find unity as a fruit of our common purpose.

If Mr. Shastri, Mr. Swaran Singh, Mr. Nanda and others in the Cabinet can formulate such a strategy for Asia, proclaim it fearlessly and execute it boldly, they will inject a new spirit into the Indian nation. Then they will carry the democratic opposition with them. History demands this of India's leadership.

As for the Indian Communist Party, Left and Right, let them give proof of their patriotism by declaring that, in view of the great danger facing India from enemies abroad, they have decided to call off the agitation against President's Rule.

There will also be time to settle our differences of language, of river waters, of inter-state borders.

Danger lies ahead.

Now is the time to unite.

The Future of Communist China

COMMUNIST CHINA is ruled now by 17 million members of its Communist Party, the largest in the world. They constitute 3 per cent of the formidable population of over 700 million, multiplying at the rate of about 20 million a year.

Economically, she is still weak as her construction and heavy industry are still in the developmental stage. Her communications network needs a lot of improvement and the number of motor vehicles she has is much less than that of India. She has very little oil.

Her military strength in terms of her standing army is formidable. She has a huge standing army of about 2.5 million. The ground forces consist of 30 armies, falling into 120 infantry, 6 armoured, 2 air-borne divisions and a number of independent artillery anti-aircraft units.

The air force has 50 fighter and 20 tactical bomber squadrons, with some 3,000 planes of which fewer than 2,000 are front line combat planes, including more than 1,000 jets. The navy has one light cruiser, 4 destroyers, 30 submarines, about 170 torpedo boats and gunboats, a few frigates and thousands of junks. It has no aircraft carrier and no battleship. It is essentially a coastal navy.

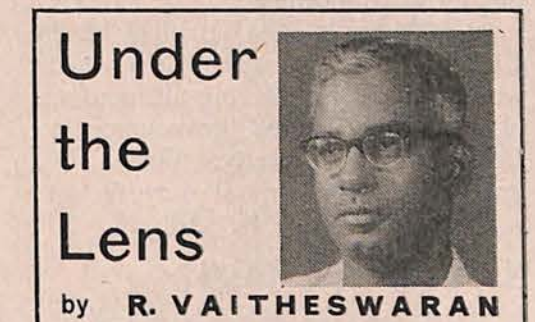
Brush-Fire Wars

Fears of Chinese invincibility are not justified. Though the "human wave tactics" of her army overwhelmed the Americans in Korea and Indians on the Himalayan border, her long term capacity to fight a sustained war against a forceful enemy like the United States is very limited. She is at her best in brush-fire wars, as in S.E. Asia. Her fear of intervening in North Vietnam and her withdrawal from the north east of India when she foresaw massive U.S. intervention suggest that she is aware of her limitations.

To the outside world, Communist China appears monolithic and formidable. The atom bomb she exploded some months ago is a fresh sign of the strength and determination of her Communist rulers. Their continued defiance of the will of

Moscow, despite the placatory humility of the post-Khrushchev rulers of the Soviet Union, is another assertion of her self-righteous ideological indignation at the "revisionist betrayers." Her diplomatic success with President Ayub Khan and most recently Sheikh Abdullah are those of a nation very much on the offensive.

Yet, the whole edifice of Communist self-confidence is built on shaky



foundations, according to Mr. Valentin Chu in his new book *The Inside Story of Communist China*.

Mr. Chu compares Maoist China to the tyranny of the Great First Emperor of China, Chin Shih Huang Ti, who in 221 BC vanquished all his rivals, unified China, built the colossal Great Wall and built the first monolithic, totalitarian state of the world. Yet his reign of terror which was expected to last "for thousands and ten thousands of generations, for generations without end" lasted less than 15 years.

"It is an irony that Shih Huang Ti, in constructing the Great Wall to repel outside enemies created a far more powerful enemy inside—the people," comments Mr. Chu.

There is no doubt that the optimism and enthusiasm of the Chinese people during the early years of the Communist regime disappeared long ago and has now given place to sullen and silent resentment and opposition. All experts on Chinese affairs are agreed that Mao Tse-tung was shocked by the extent of the opposition to his regime revealed during the "Let the hundred flowers bloom" period.

Mao's aim in his famous declaration "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools contend" had

* Allen & Unwin, 30 shillings.

not been liberalization such as in post-Stalin Russia. It was to have been "a temporary and controlled opening of safety valves to relax the pent-up emotions of the intellectuals". But soon, it was to release a flood-tide of opposition that challenged the very foundations of the Peking regime.

Led by students of Peking University, joined by students from all over China, peasants tired of being driven to achieve ever higher targets and even Communists of long standing who were disillusioned with the Maoist reality, Mao Tse-tung's leadership, his regime, his party and his dogmas were publicly and violently attacked everywhere.

"Marxism is outmoded.... The proletarian dictatorship is a resurrection and variation of monarchism, an absolute feudalistic concept, a political system to fool the people," declared the *Democratic Wall*, wall newspaper of Peking University.

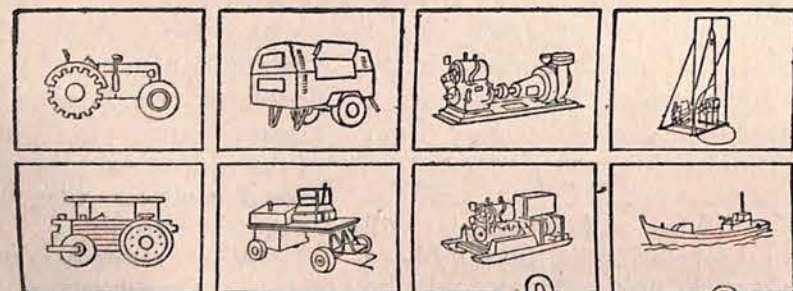
Never Again the Same

"Human rights have been trodden down; human dignity has been humiliated," said Liu Pin-yan, author and editor of *China Youth Press*. Wang Jo-wang, editor-in-chief of *Literary Monthly* and a twenty year Party member, said the Communist rule had made "black and white, right and wrong indistinguishable, so that evil air rises and benevolent air falls".

As Mr. Chu puts it, "Instead of the fragrant flowers he worked so hard to cultivate. Mao had coaxed out thousands of monster cacti with millions of barbs." A Chinese version of the Hungarian rebellion was on and was as brutally put down. Mao reverted to the naked terror reminiscent of Stalin's worst period. But China would never be the same again.

The silenced Chinese knew now that others of their fellow countrymen nourished the same secret thoughts as they did. The world knew that the "remoulding of human nature" of which the Chinese Communists are so proud, can alter the external behaviour but does not affect

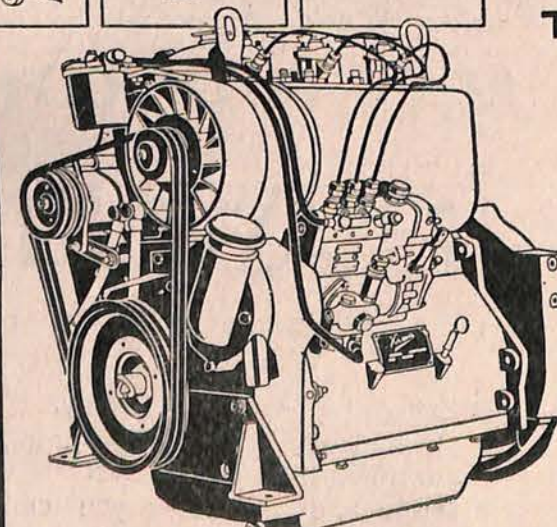
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Will Congo Become Another Vietnam?

by Dr. William T. Close

Former Surgeon-General of the Congolese Army

THE CONGO is a very large country, right in the middle of the continent. From the north to the south is about 1,300 miles, the distance from Bombay to Calcutta. From east to west is the same. It is a country with 14 million inhabitants who speak three major languages and over 200 dialects.

The Congo is exceedingly wealthy. Its gross national product in 1960 was the third biggest in Africa south of the Sahara. South Africa came first, Nigeria second and then the Congo. Sixty per cent of the world's industrial diamonds come from the Kasai province. About eighty per cent of the world's cobalt comes from South Katanga. There are large uranium deposits. For these reasons, the Congo has been the target of many different forces.

Its history during the past four years is complex. It became independent in July of 1960. Almost immediately there was a mutiny and a massive exodus of administrative and technical personnel. The machinery of Government underwent great difficulties. Parts of it came to a halt. The Government of Patrice Lumumba brought in the United Nations, and a certain amount of law and order was restored. The political battles between various factions continued, ending with the tragic assassination of Lumumba and

the escape of many of the men who had worked with him to North Africa.

Following this a new Government under President Kasavubu, with a college of commissioners composed of young university graduates, was set up. Their mandate was to get the administrative machinery of the Government going. In many ways they did an outstanding job.

In 1961 under the auspices of the United Nations a new Government was formed by gathering all members of the past elected government at Luvanium University. From this gathering "an elephant government" was handed to Mr. Adoula.

No Common Goal

Mr. Adoula is a man who has shown wisdom, great moderation and a great sense of patriotism and responsibility for his country. He was saddled with a very difficult government to operate. There were some 40 ministers and *secrétaires d'Etat*, most of whom represented, not a common political aim or goal, but the various political and tribal divisions in the country. He had on his back a government that was almost non-viable.

About a year ago a rebellion against the Central government, at that time under Mr. Adoula, started in the Kwilu, in the south-western part of the Congo. This province had advanced further than any other in terms of transportation, economy, hospitals and schools. It was a province where the Congolese administration was doing an excellent job.

The rebellion was started by a man called Pierre Mulele who had been Minister of Education in the first Congolese government. He went to Cairo when Mr. Lumumba was assassinated and from there went to Peking. He came back about a year ago and recruited an army of rebels from amongst a large number of unemployed and very dissatisfied young people. He started with 14,000 between the ages of 14 and 18. Army patrols have picked up on many occasions pamphlets which show that the method of training and recruitment of this rebel army was exactly the same as that used by the Viet Cong

in South-East Asia. Some of these young Congolese call themselves Viet Congolais.

One of the tragedies in that particular area is that every school, every hospital and every administrative facility has been destroyed. The Congolese in charge of them have been liquidated. The province is now an area of devastation.



Premier Moïse Tshombé

In the past months this rebellion has spread to the north-east and to the eastern provinces.

One of the major difficulties facing the present government in its attempt to have legal and fair elections is the administrative difficulty of setting up election machinery in areas where practically every young Congolese with any education has been massacred in numbers around 4,000 to 5,000.

What we have been dealing with in the north-east part of the Congo is human nature in its worst form exploited for ideological reasons. The present situation is exceedingly dangerous for the Congo, and Africa. On the northern and eastern frontiers of the Congo, particularly in the towns of Aba and Arua in Uganda, there are large concentrations of Russian and Chinese military material that have been brought in by aircraft and truck from Algeria

Continued on page 9

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Communist China's Future—From page 7

the mainsprings of human motives and actions.

The world knows the disastrous results of the Great Leap and the forced communization of all China. Mr. Chu reveals the fantastic extent to which science, medicine and industry have been made appendages of ideology and the Maoist mystique that seeks a substitute for science and technology in ideological fervour and quick tricks to a millenium such as the abortive attempt to build a steel mill in every backyard.

But the Chinese leadership has already learnt from their mistakes. They have for all practical purposes abandoned the commune system. They are learning to let the scientists do their work comparatively unmolested.

Mao Tse-tung is reported to have admitted to the Party Central Committee, "We have been too stupid. Since 1958 we have suffered many setbacks... the main reason is that we did not believe in the experts and did not listen to their words." But even as these trends will help to make China stronger and more powerful, they will reinforce the demands for liberalization and greater freedom.

After Mao, What?

Mao Tse-tung has retreated tactically, but he has not surrendered any of his ideological positions, either internally or externally. This is bound to accentuate the critical economic situation at home and the opposition to his policies, internally as well as externally. Under the circumstances, it is hard to imagine that he will continue to defy the United States, the Soviet Union, as well as his own people. Some change, therefore, is inevitable. If it does not take place during Mao's life-time, it will intensify the crisis at his death.

Mr. Chu's expectations of widespread disturbances in China, followed by a Nationalist landing or air-drop, appear to be too far-fetched. It is doubtful if popular discontent can overthrow the Communists.

What seems more likely in the immediate future is a new leadership inside the Communist Party of China; especially after the exit from the

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CONGO—From page 8

and from Egypt via the Sudan. On a conservative estimate there is enough tonnage of weapons and ammunition to put into the bush about 30 to 40 guerrilla battalions. And there is incontrovertible evidence that strong technical and tactical aid is being given by the Algerians and by the Chinese to training camps.

The same thing is true in the west where in December a Czechoslovakian ship brought in weapons to Pointe Noire in the former French Congo. These were taken to Brazzaville and to Gambona, site of a large Chinese operated training camp.

Psychological Warfare

I was in Leopoldville during the whole mutiny. I can say that the present atmosphere there is far, worse than anything in '60 and '61. This is a result of planned psychological warfare on this area. Broadcasts come across the river from Brazzaville calculated to sow panic in the population.

The elections arranged by the present transitional Government under Mr. Moïse Tshombé are now taking place province by province. The results will be disclosed by the end of this month. The aim of these elections is to establish a free government elected by the Congolese people. Through it, the Congolese constitution, which is new, excellent and practical, can become operative.

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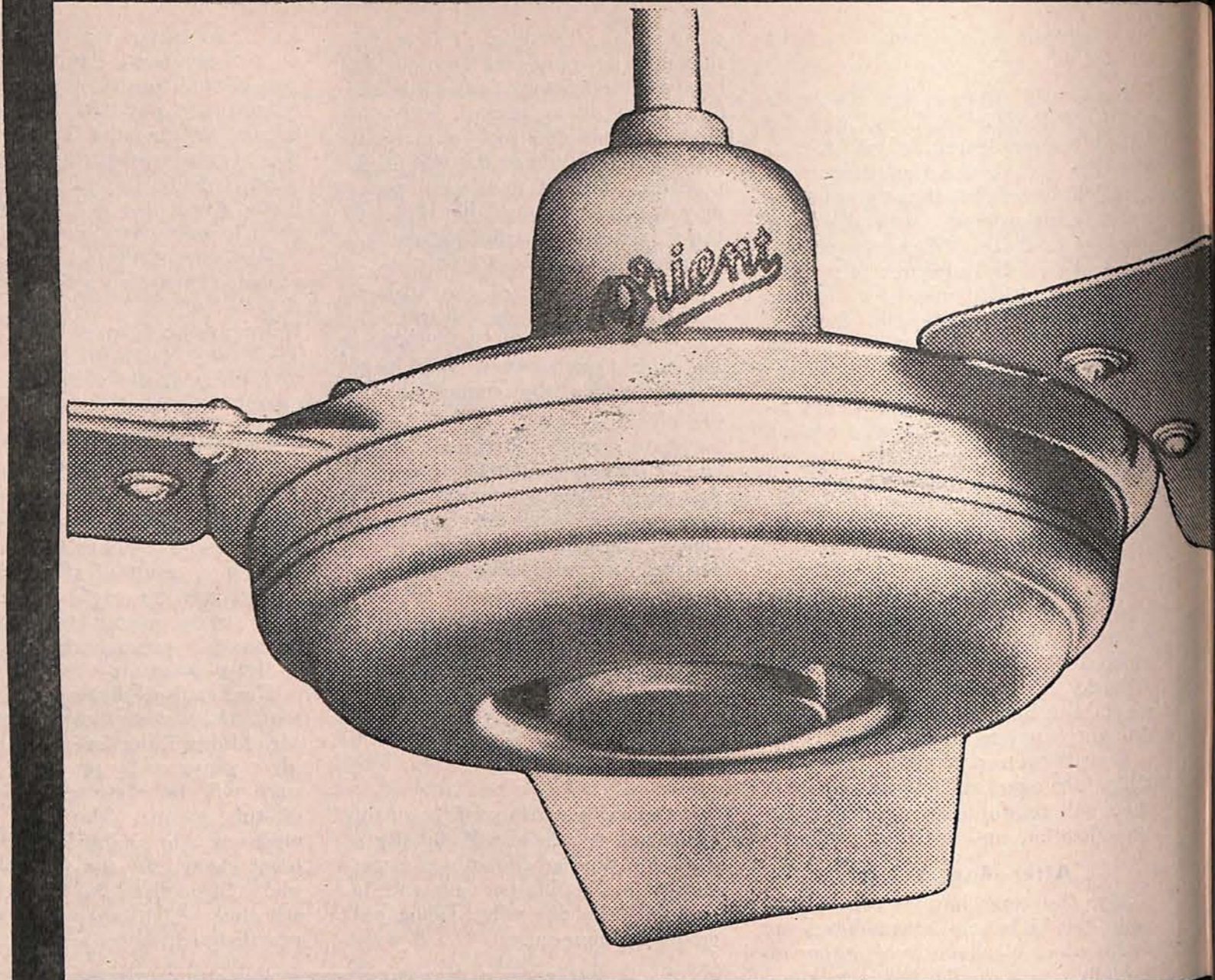
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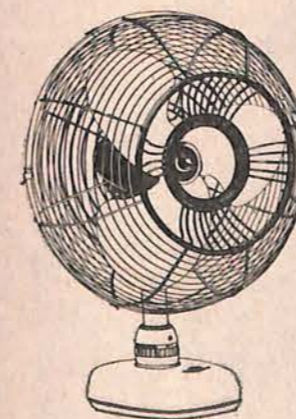


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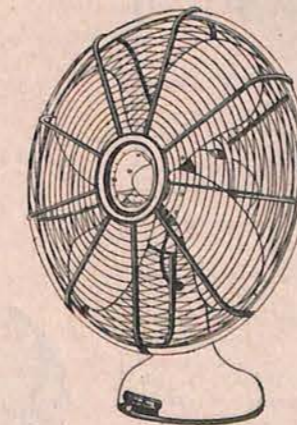


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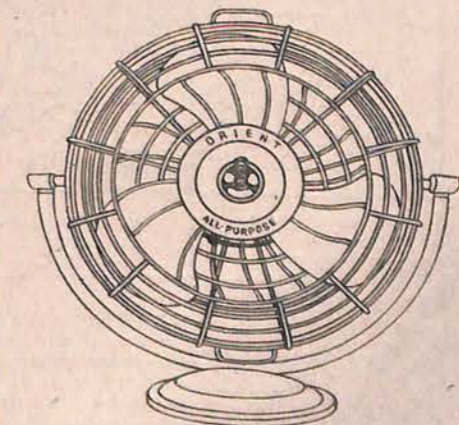
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

"Take Them Out of Politics"

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

HAROLD WILSON would win a general election if he went to the country today. He might even increase his majority of three. But why should he bother? He can probably get his legislation through Parliament while threatening the Tories with a snap election.

No, Harold Wilson sets his sights higher. He looks forward to the day when, with solid achievement at home and abroad under his belt, he can capture a land-slide vote—something not yet achieved in a Labour second term of office.

This is the season for "psephologists". These are the clever men with analytical minds, the almighty computer and an encyclopaedic knowledge of trends, swings, averages and polls, who can predict almost everything—except what sometimes happens, e.g. the Foreign Secretary twice losing his seat.

The Government, for all their efforts, are only a shade more popular than when they took office. The Conservatives are losing ground. It is reckoned that some 2,000 Labour votes went to the Liberal candidate

at the Roxburgh bye-election. And the triumphs of a Liberal next door to Sir Alec Douglas-Home's own constituency has added fresh fuel to the burning question of Tory leadership.

The Tories have not been as effective in Opposition as Labour in Government. Is that because of Sir Alec or in spite of Sir Alec? Can the party afford to make a change now and risk an election? Can they afford not to? It looks as if some Tories see in Sir Alec a scapegoat to excuse their inability or unwillingness to rethink their own policies. Sir Alec may have done more for the Tories in the post-Profumo period than they realize. Sir Alec's disarming politics, his "matchbox" economics, his obvious sincerity, may turn out to be strong assets.

Mr. Peregrine Worsthorne says in



Sir Alec Douglas-Home

the *Sunday Telegraph*, "Until the Tory party decides what it wants to stand for in the coming decade, there is no sure way of judging who would make the best leader." Or, as Mr. Quintin Hogg pointed out last month, the first need of the Tories was not to attack the Government "but to restore the spirit of the nation without which nothing else is possible".

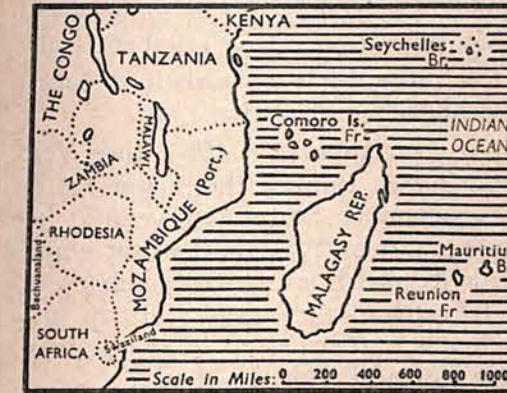
If none of the political parties wants an election now, certainly most of the public don't either. They want good government. More and more, as in the matter of housing and immigration, there is the cry, "Take them out of politics."

Confederation in the Indian Ocean

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

DEVELOPMENTS in Zanzibar and the present Indonesian threat in South-East Asia once again focus the importance of the island of Madagascar, the now independent Malagasy Republic. With its population of over six million people, including 60,000 French, 15,000 Indians and 8,000



Chinese, the island is prominent in any Indian Ocean design.

Gaining full independence from France in June 1960, Malagasy has been led for the past seven years by President Philibert Tsirirana through a period of exceptional stability and progress. As one of Africa's most independent and outspoken leaders, his influence, long respected in French-speaking Africa, is now being felt in the affairs of the entire continent.

As the demand for political independence stirs in the neighbouring island of Mauritius (pop. 750,000), as well as in the French overseas territories of Reunion (pop. 350,000) and Comoro (pop. 200,000), an economic union seems inevitable.

Further north, the Seychelles, a group of 92 islands scattered over 150,000 square miles with a population of only 50,000, might find, in closer links with Malagasy, a more secure and profitable association, than with her East African neighbours.

Such an Indian Ocean confederacy of nearly 8 million people would be an attractive economic association.

In this cold war age, where island bases have assumed critical importance in international manoeuvring, they could also exert decisive influence on India and Africa. President Tsirirana is in an interesting position.

Collision in Canada

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Montreal

THERE ARE many responsible people in this part of the world who will tell you that the French-English issue, managed and manipulated for a hundred years, is finally on a collision course and heading for a bust up.

Many feel that 1966 will be the decisive year.

A year ago in Quebec, "separatism" was the rallying cry. It was accompanied by expressions of anti-English action. Blood was spilt, life was lost and property damaged.

Today a new breed is giving voice. They want complete independence, what they describe as "a sovereign state".

This "sovereign state" concept put forward by the student groups represents probably 95 per cent of the student opinion in Quebec province. It is not the product of a trigger-happy, noisy minority. It represents the seasoned resolve of thoughtful men and women who in voting numbers add up to possibly one-third of the electorate.

Nor is it something that can be bought or brushed off. It is shared by thousands of maturer, if not so vocal elements, throughout the Province.

Fifty Years Too Late

"Most youth today," said a Laval University student, "think in terms of job security, a high standard of living and so on. We are prepared to sacrifice this, if necessary, in order to be able to run our own affairs."

The English speaking element have little new or imaginative to offer. All they suggest is more emphasis on French teaching in kindergarten and upper grades and more understanding of the role of French Canada in Canadian history, or other variations of these themes.

These suggestions should have been put into effect fifty years ago.

Nobody has made any attempt at outlining what the real aims and goals of the nation must be. Without a clear definition of some theme of nationhood, points of division are bound

Continued on page 14

The week in Asia

TOKYO—Radio Peking has warned Japan not to challenge China's bid for Asian leadership and to co-operate with Chinese policies in Afro-Asian affairs or face isolation. A Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman said that no amount of intimidation would alter Japan's Afro-Asian policy.

KARACHI—Reports have reached here that the Naga leader Mr. A. Z. Phizo may be planning a visit to China to seek support for the underground. He will be in Algiers during the Afro-Asian Conference.

RANGOON—The Burmese Revolutionary Council has nationalized 129 missionary and private schools throughout the country. The remaining 704 private schools will be brought under State control gradually. All privately owned oil wells in Central Burma have recently been nationalized.

KATHMANDU—India will equip and train a mountain brigade for the Nepalese Army thus doubling the size of Nepal's military forces. Britain and America will supply additional equipment.

KARACHI—Pakistan Foreign Minister Z. A. Bhutto disclosed that China has invited Sheikh Abdullah to visit the country. The Sheikh met Prime Minister Chou En-lai in Algiers and reported that China supported "the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir".

BANGKOK—Chinese infiltration of Thailand's northern sector is well established. Peking is infiltrating agents and wooing the villagers in preparation for Viet Cong-like action.

CEYLON—Whirlwind strikes are being planned in the port of Colombo, the transport and utility services. This is the Opposition's first move against the Government of Senanayake. Resentment against the Tamils is also being stirred up in the south as the Tamil parties refused to back Mrs. Bandaranaike and gave their support to Senanayake.

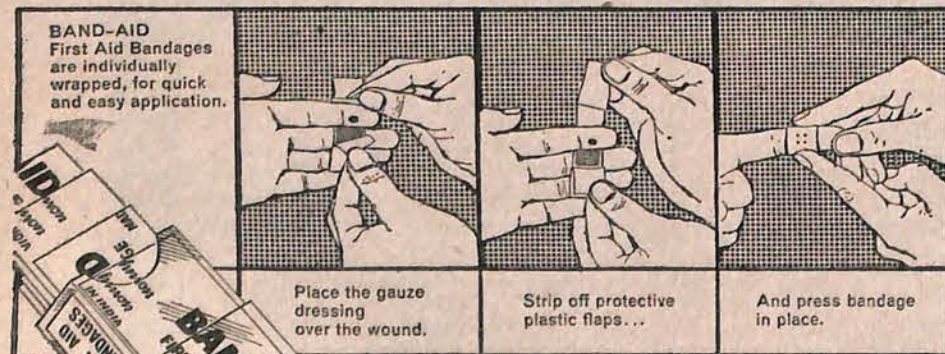
HANOI—Soviet anti-aircraft missiles are being installed around Hanoi and Haiphong by Russian technicians. The missiles are designed for use against supersonic aircraft and, in the case of an American attack on Hanoi, will involve Soviet personnel.

COLOMBO—Ceylon will review its maritime agreements with China which at the moment give Chinese vessels unrestricted entry to Ceylonese ports.

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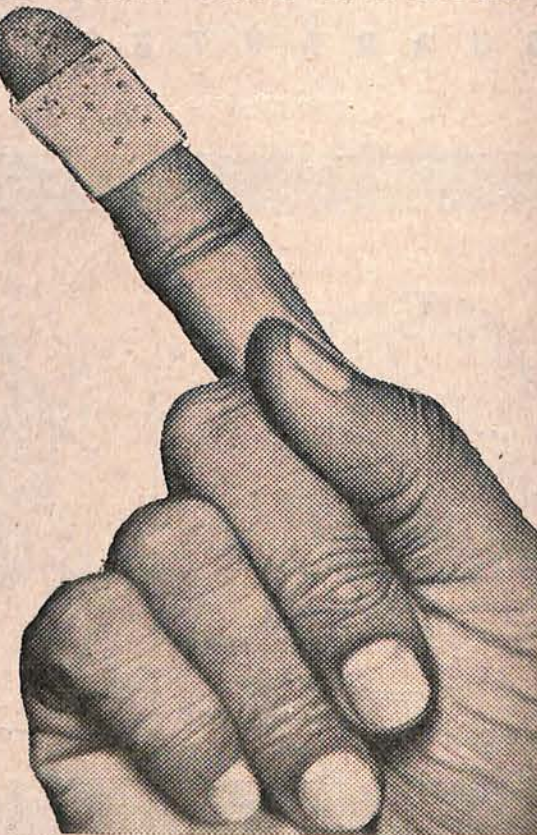
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HIMMAT, April 9, 1965

HIMMAT, April 9, 1965

CANADA—From page 13

to assume exaggerated proportions. At the same time the big gap in the thinking of the French nationalists is that they fail to grasp how much their ideas, culture, thinking and militancy is needed. That far from isolating themselves they are very much needed to help fashion a sense of nationhood in the country as a whole. Granted this is easier to put into words than to put into acts but it is the nub of the issue at the moment.

Social War on America's Streets

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Washington

FREEDOM IS THREATENED on the streets and college campuses of America as well as in the paddy fields of Vietnam. If the traditional dikes of law and order are allowed to break, a flood of anarchy will be let loose.

During the last month of proliferated demonstrations, President Kerr of the 100,000—student University of California tendered his resignation. He had failed to maintain law and order on the campus at Berkeley. A few hundred students, led by a few trained agitators trumpeting the

slogan "free speech", squatted in halls and classrooms disrupting the operation of the university for months. When student enthusiasm and the administration's tolerance for the "free speech movement" began to fade, it was followed by another called "the filthy speech movement" in which students demanded the right to use filthy 4-letter words in defiance of authority and decency.

On December 2, 1964 the *New York Times* quoted the President of Pennsylvania State University as saying that an "attempt, using bogus students and bogus faculty members, to divert the energies of students into channels embarrassing to our universities" would soon be made.

React Not Rebuild

As the social war on the streets of America intensifies, respect for law and order diminishes among both the whites and the blacks.

The students get a certain fun and satisfaction out of civil rights demonstrations. They feel a part of the march of history and the fight for justice. Few are conscious that they are being given lessons in "revolutionary tactics". An attempt is being made to train a generation to react; to rebel but not to rebuild.

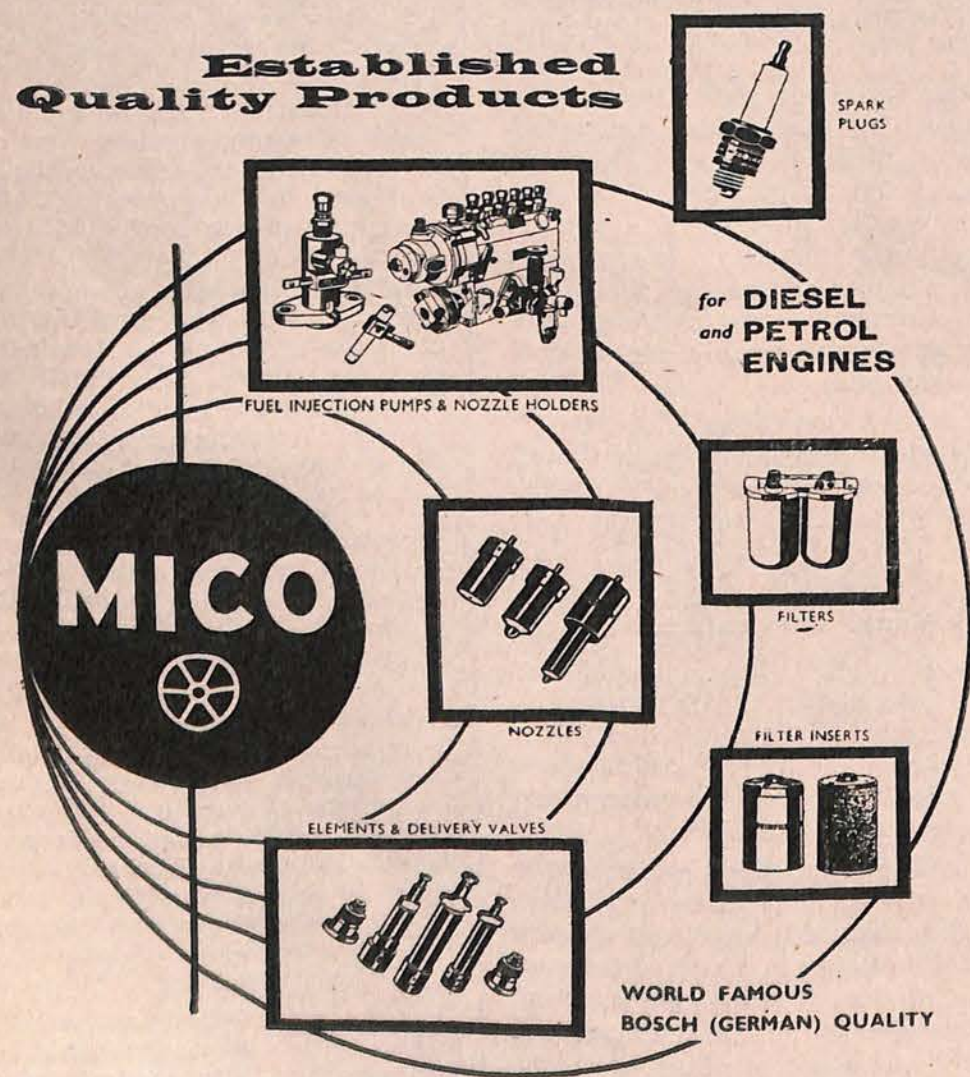
"If you don't live for something big, you fall for anything," is an apt proverb. The youth are falling for the hoax that breaking down the old society is the means of building a new society. Demanding rights without accepting responsibilities is as hypocritical in the younger generation as the pious *status quo* attitude is in the older generation.

Regretfully, neither the new leftist movements nor the new rightist movements have yet produced a solution. It has taken a newer movement springing up in the schools and colleges of America to do this.

The aim, like other militant movements, is to change the world. The theme is the "modernization of man". The tactic is to launch a moral war involving a revolution in the social,

Continued on page 16

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FOR WOMEN

Your Miniature Indoor Garden

THE MOST interesting and fascinating thing about gardening is seeing the plants grow. More and more people are going in for miniature indoor gardens.

They can be made in any container—an old-fashioned meat dish, a large baking tin or any other suitable container you might fancy.

The container may or may not have drainage—in fact, one without drainage is almost more convenient, as the question of protecting the furniture polish is eliminated. Cover the base of the container with a 1-inch layer of crocks, small stones or pebbles. This drains the moisture from the soil above and prevents the roots from standing in the water. Next, spread a thin layer of leaves or pieces of coarse peat to prevent the finer soil from sifting through. Then add equal parts of coarse sand, peat and loam, with a little crushed charcoal and brick rubble.

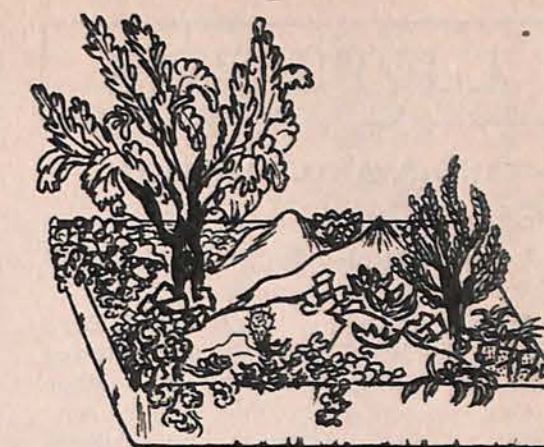
Then comes the most interesting

part—the arranging of the miniature garden. This can be designed like any ordinary garden. You can have a rock garden if you wish—in which case you pile the soil unevenly to give a casual effect and put small pieces of stone here and there for added naturalness.

If the garden is to be formal, little lawns and flower beds can be introduced. Little pathways and walls can be built. Japanese-style miniature gardens are particularly attractive, with bridges and sunken pools and waterfalls.

Whichever style you choose, be sure to keep the trees, plants, stones and all else in proportion.

Dwarf oak and beech seedlings can be planted; also dwarf evergreen piceas form trees that give height to the garden. Most small bulbs look well in miniature gardens. Plants of



small varieties, small begonias and miniature roses, do well.

Once the miniature garden is planted, never let it dry. It needs daily attention. Also guard against getting it waterlogged. Turn the container gently to the side to let the water drain out. Light and sun are necessary—and occasionally, if the garden is put out when there is a gentle shower, it will freshen up. (You may also use a small watering can with tiny holes).

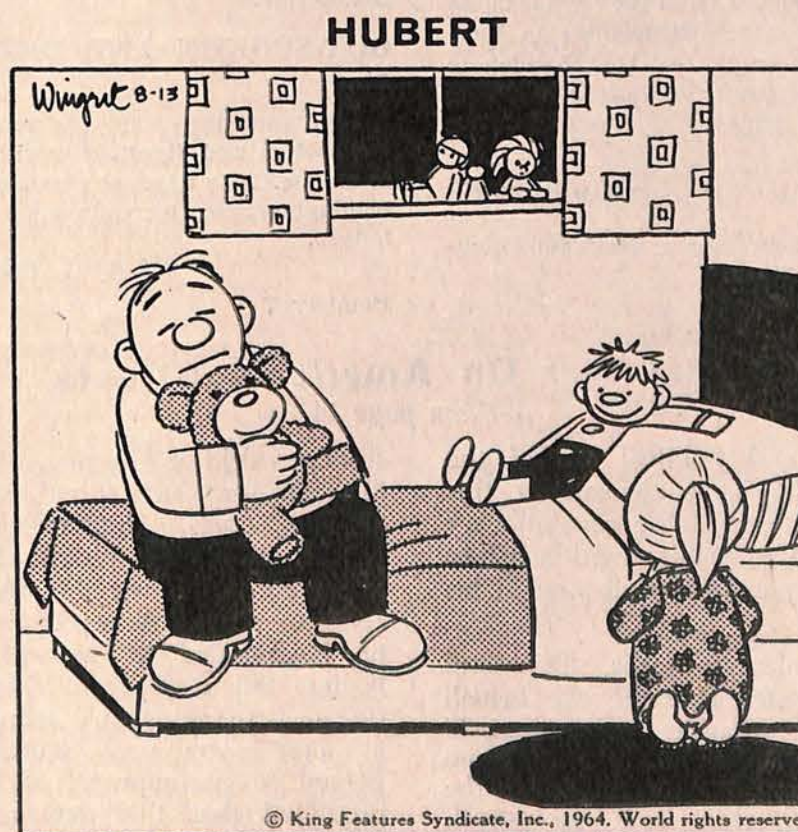
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"... An' bless the birds, an' the flowers, and the little kitten an' the big dog next door..."

LETTERS

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Sir,

I was interested to read your article "Pakistan Today".

We are brothers—twin brothers. Now we are divided. We abuse and hate one another. We try to destroy one another.

Can this go on? Must this go on? With all our differences and quarrels, we have lived together for centuries. In today's shrinking and explosive world we must live together. The safety and freedom of all Asia depends on us.

The God of Islam and the God of all the different ones of us in India is the same one God. But men who have made themselves gods—gods of materialism, tyranny and hate—want to divide us and exploit us to serve their own selfish ends.

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★ *Distinguished speakers from India and abroad.*

★ *Supervised sports programme.*

Rates: Rs. 4 per day, not inclusive of travel. (Some scholarships available for deserving cases)

Age limit: 14 to 24. Closing dates for application forms: April 16.

Separate accommodation for boys and girls in adult supervised quarters.

For application form and brochure send 20 P in stamps to Training Camp, c/o MRA, P. O. Box 1870, Bombay 1.

Our energies and power must be used to build our lands, to unite our peoples and secure for Asia and the world a lasting peace.

Upon the shoulders of the General who became Pakistan's President and Mr. Shastri, whom the people of India trust, rest responsibilities of great magnitude. They can go down in history as men who with courage, foresight and wisdom fought against heavy odds and replaced hate, division and bloodshed with sanity and unity.

The blessings of millions will be on them.

J. FREDONJI

Bombay 4

INDIANS IN LONDON

Sir,

A meeting of The Indian National Group was held on March 23, 1965. It strongly condemned the irresponsible activities of some of the Indian nationals here who are wilfully playing into the hands of enemies of India (pro-Chinese Communists). By holding demonstrations against the Government of India in foreign countries they are tarnishing the name of the whole community of Indian origin in this country.

We are happy to note that the main Indian Workers' Associations in South-hall, Leicester, West Bromwich, Leeds, Bradford and other mass organizations throughout the country have dissociated themselves from the irresponsible activities of a few individuals in London. We strongly feel that London is not the right place for Indians to debate publicly the problems of free and democratic India.

AUTAR S. DHESI

President, Indian National Group
176 Regina Road
Southall, England

Social War On America's Streets

—From page 14

economic and political life of the nation. The new element in this movement is that the revolutionary must first change his own life before he can demonstrate a change in his society.

The books, speeches, films and plays of Peter Howard, the British journalist, sportsman, and late world head of Moral Re-Armament, in no little measure has contributed to the growth of this new movement. Speeches Howard made on 17 of the major college campuses in November and December of 1964 stirred up the

CHEATING IN EXAMS

Sir,

I agree with what an S.S.C. student has written in your issue of April 2. I gave my S.S.C. exams last week and I was horrified to see so many students cheating in such an important exam.

They treated cheating as one of the greatest jokes and if you didn't agree with them they looked down upon you. It was a common sight to see students writing on desks before the exams commenced and later whispering and pointing out answers to questions.

I have realized what sort of nation we would have tomorrow if we don't watch out now.

ANOTHER S.S.C. CANDIDATE
(Name supplied)

Bombay 1

NOTHING LIKE IT

Sir,

I must write and tell you how much I appreciate HIMMAT. If it's a choice between breakfast and the newly-arrived copy, HIMMAT always wins!

It is most heartening to have such a clear-sighted, brilliantly written, readable magazine arriving every week. I often get news of the West that isn't in our papers. You put world issues in their right perspective. Congratulations on leading the world in this field. There is nothing like HIMMAT in the West.

(MRS.) ROSALIE E. R. PROCTOR
London W.1

OUT-SPOKEN AND DIGNIFIED

Sir,

I am immensely enjoying your concise, out-spoken and dignified weekly. Get-up is unique. It is a great pleasure to read brilliant articles by your master contributors.

S. R. JUSSAWALLA

Bombay 7

This was a life

JAMSETJI N. TATA

1839-1904

"WEALTH CAME to him in full measure, but he remained to the last what he was by nature, a simple, modest gentleman, seeking neither title nor place, and loving with a love that knew no bounds the country that gave him birth." In these words Lord Sydenham described the founder of industrial India, Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata.

A little under average height, dressed in the long white coat and wearing the pagdi headgear of the Parsees, Jamsetji Tata typified rugged strength and determination. He was a sturdy figure. His voice was rather harsh, but sonorous. His contemporaries were struck by his energy and to many he appeared a remarkable combination of a man of ideas who was also a man of action.

J. N. Tata was born in a priestly class of Parsees of Navsari on the West coast. After schooling in his home town, he entered Elphinstone College and then went into business with his father, trading with China. Jamsetji was always searching how to adapt the advances of the industrial revolution to Indian conditions. If he saw a textile mill in Manchester, he ventured to start one even better in India. He was bubbling with ideas to export mangoes, preserve fish, introduce trees and plants or grow coffee in Panchgani. He visited every foreign industrial exhibition during his business lifetime.

He saw, as perhaps no other man of his generation, that the three basic ingredients of the industrial revolution were steel, electric power and technical education.

His path was not easy, but he never grumbled. He had the courage to withstand odds or recalcitrant British administrators, to break through and bring his plans to fruition. The Tata Iron and Steel Company, still the biggest single private enterprise in India, the Tata Hydro-Electric, the first of its kind in India and the Indian Institute of Science, the pioneer research body in India, are monuments to his genius and also to the wisdom of his successors who carried out his plans.

Great as are his achievements, greater still was his motive for business. To him industry was a weapon to extend the benefits of civilization to his countrymen.

Q and A

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

Q—"Democratic decentralization stands in the way of national integration." Please comment.

K. JAWAHAR, Vishakapatnam

A—Local self-government is a useful training ground in democratic ways. It develops the grass-roots leadership that is the backbone of parliamentary democracy. One of the necessary drawbacks of decentralization is the conflict of local and regional loyalties with national interest. Even developed democracies suffer from this evil.

In underdeveloped countries, where democracy is a gift to the masses of people and where the habits and temperament for parliamentary institutions still need to be cultivated, the initial result of decentralization is greater division.

We see it in India, where in the past months divisions have grown, regional demands have multiplied and loyalties have become narrowed. But the nub of the trouble is not decentralization. It is the selfishness that is content with realizable but narrow aims.

The real obstacle to national integration is the disappearance of a sense of national destiny.

Q—What would you suggest for our foreign policy to answer the vociferous campaign of Indonesia and China in the African nations?

PANKAJ SHAH, Bombay

A—We must make our foreign policy dynamic and not defensive. For example, we rely more on the Russian veto to keep us safe on Kashmir than on a vigorous attempt to make the

world understand the justice of our policy. We expect the constant reiteration of the formula that India has accepted the Colombo Proposals, to answer the sustained propaganda of the powerful radio transmitters of Peking and the intensely cultivated personal contacts of Chou En-lai and Chen Yi with the heads of state of Asian and African nations. Lest we be considered lacking in militancy, we blindly toe the line of the most aggressive powers of Arab and Black Africa on issues like the Congo, totally ignoring the fact that tyrants like Nkrumah and dictators of a one party state like Ben Bella, are ill qualified to prescribe the qualifications for democracy in the Congo.

We must realize that if approval of the Soviet Union is the sheet-anchor of Indian policy, friendship with China will be the natural consequence in Pakistani policy.

Our foreign policy must build on and appeal to the constructive forces that are working for a united, multi-racial, economically progressive Africa. We must abandon one-sided non-alignment and sponsor alignment with what is nationality just and internationally right.

India must stand for a democratic, incorruptible leadership who are known to practise in their national policy the principles they preach to other nations. This alone will restore our image in international affairs, badly damaged by the double-think, double-talk and the double standards of our foreign policy in past years.

Finally, we must build up the radio and press network to publicize our policies adequately. The external service of the AIR cannot be heard even in Singapore and Nairobi. Our failure to acquire transmitters that can do the job adequately is an indication of the fear that paralyzes our actions.

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Giant Brazil Awakes

by Rajmohan Gandhi

COUPS ARE COMMON these days. Almost every week a government falls in Asia or Africa or Latin America. Something vastly more interesting is a change through which a nation captures its destiny and finds a new purpose.

It is strange that huge Brazil, three times the size of India, has not been a force and factor impacting each day the life of the rest of the world. The world's newspapers speak more about Castro's tiny Cuba than about Brazil.

Every footballer in the world has heard of Pele, Brazil's inside-forward, who perhaps is modern football's most dazzling figure.

Brazil's coffee does not taste like the cup you drink in a southern Indian home, but has more world consumers than any other brand.

Everyone has heard of the adventure and terror of the Amazon jungles over which you can fly for many jet hours and which appear as an unending green ocean.

More than Football

Soon the world may realize that Brazil is something more than football, coffee and forest, something much more even than a people with gigantic hearts. Brazil's 80 million people may well demonstrate what no nation so far has shown—how a modern society can live.

Her problems are titanic. Nearly everyone wants to live on a narrow strip along the coast in the east and the north. Not many wish to hazard their lives in developing the tough interior.

Students study law, philosophy and politics in large numbers. One of them told me, "Most of us like soft jobs, good pay and beaches."

Industrialists invest their large profits in the crowded and overdeveloped areas around Sao Paulo or, preferably, in Switzerland or the U.S.A., and not in the North-East where 28 million people live in a poverty that sometimes reaches India's proportions.

Brazil's workers have the world's friendliest homes, yet hard work is not everyone's first love.

Taxes are a great conception, but not always paid. The Governor of Rio Grande do Norte, one of the

hard-pressed provinces where the climate, trees and landscape are just like Madras, told me, "70 per cent of income tax and sales tax is not paid in my state."

You hear the same talk of the need to bribe officials to clear your papers as you do in India.

"Our biggest problem is impurity," says Alberto Kowarick, a young Sao Paulo industrialist who has given his life to transform Brazil. "It is killing the energies of our people."

Changing the Climate

Leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, the country's main religion, are worried by the high rate of illegitimate children, by the paucity of effective priests and sometimes by moral compromise in a few of the priests themselves. "We must save the next generation before the excesses of sex impair this country permanently," a Catholic nun told me. She added, "I thank God that through Moral Re-Armament so many of our youth are finding a challenging and all-demanding purpose which takes them beyond impurity."

"Many young men talk of revolutionizing our society and economic structure," says Kowarick, "others shout *Viva* democracy, and *Viva* freedom! Then comes the girl friend on the phone and the idealism of both types collapses."

The army is concerned at the lack of moral and physical toughness of many who enlist. Its leaders have called for a massive training of officers and men in Moral Re-Armament.

The fight of men like Kowarick is changing the climate. In the last weeks, he and others have addressed 24 colleges and universities from the North-west to the South-east.

"License is out-of-date and has failed in every country," says Kowarick. The task of Brazilian youth is to pioneer a modern revolution which demands guts and discipline. In every college where these men have spoken, students have formed units to multiply the new spirit. In July they will hold a conference in which a thousand

Brazilian and Latin American youth will be trained to become the citizens and leaders the continent needs.

Workers are marching with youth. They feel Brazil can cure the injustices of capitalism with an ideology superior to Marxism.

Brazil has a 5,000-mile coastline and thousands of miles of navigable rivers.

Until recently, corruption, inefficiency and violence in the ports added up to a daily loss to the Government of Rupees 45 lakhs.

For some years now Rio portworkers have worked out Moral Re-Armament in practice.

One of them is Otton Barbosa, now in charge of a thousand men in the port. He and his colleagues got rid of dope rings. They announced publicly that they would accept no bribes from anyone. When recently they received a customary set of envelopes they returned them unopened and asked the shipping agents who had offered them to use the money to spread Moral Re-Armament. Barbosa and his friends have wiped out the secret export of coffee and recovered huge sums of export duty.

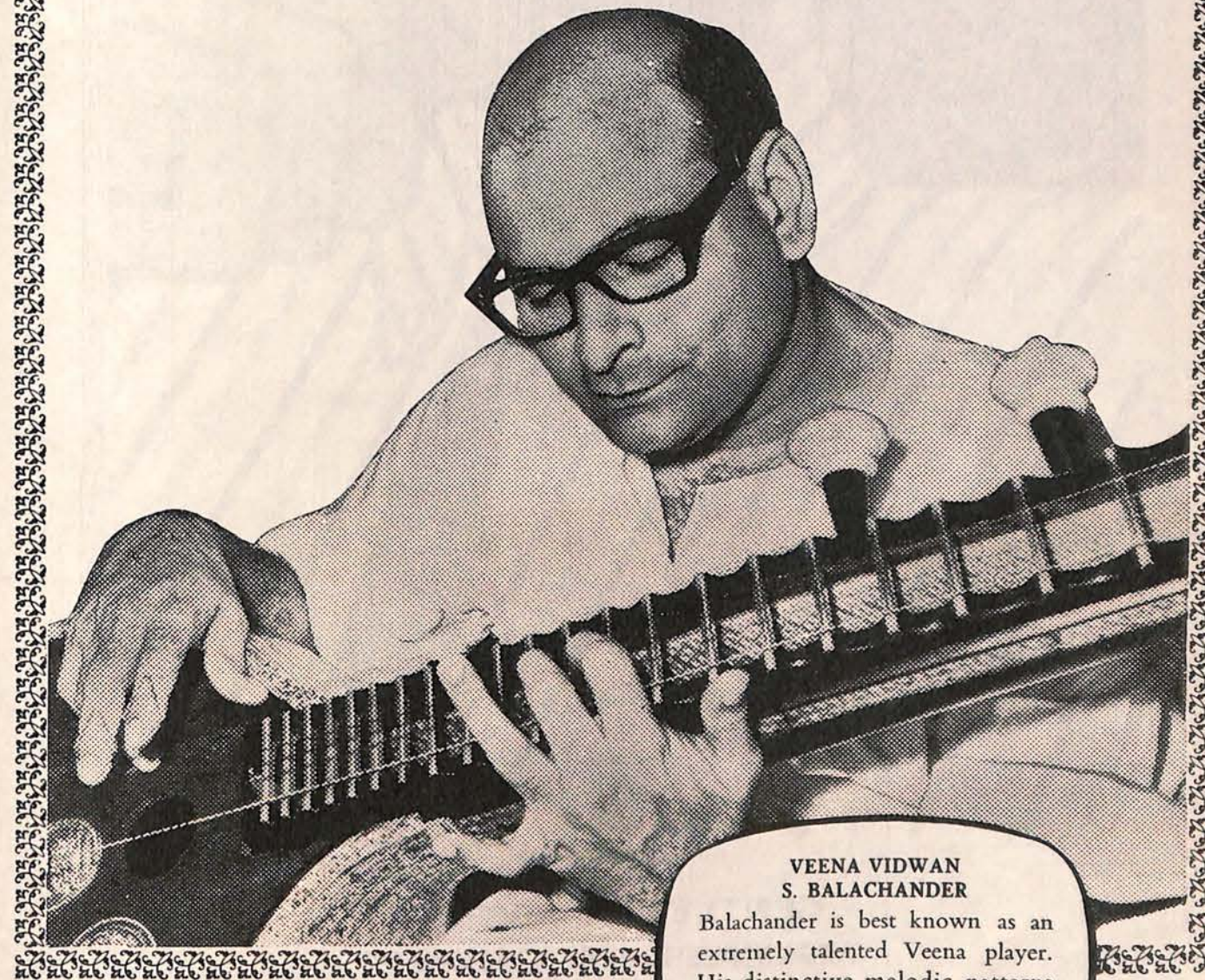
Workers Benefit

Most significant of all, productivity has gone up by 80 per cent in Barbosa's division of the port without the use of new machinery.

In Recife, capital of the North-east, a fiery portworker had planned to dynamite a ship full of wheat to block the entrance to the port and to prevent further aid coming in. This man faced the challenge of Moral Re-Armament and says now that it is more revolutionary to change selfish capitalists and Government leaders than to kill them. He and his colleagues enabled the workers to improve their conditions and the port to show a profit instead of the former huge loss.

An amazing amalgam of European, African and American Indian discovering a new role, the overlooked giant may well find that other nations, big and small, Communist and anti-Communist, come to its door to learn.

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25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

REALITIES OF VIETNAM

by Rajmohan Gandhi



Friday
April 16
1965

GRAND DESIGN FOR INDIA
Prize Winning Entries