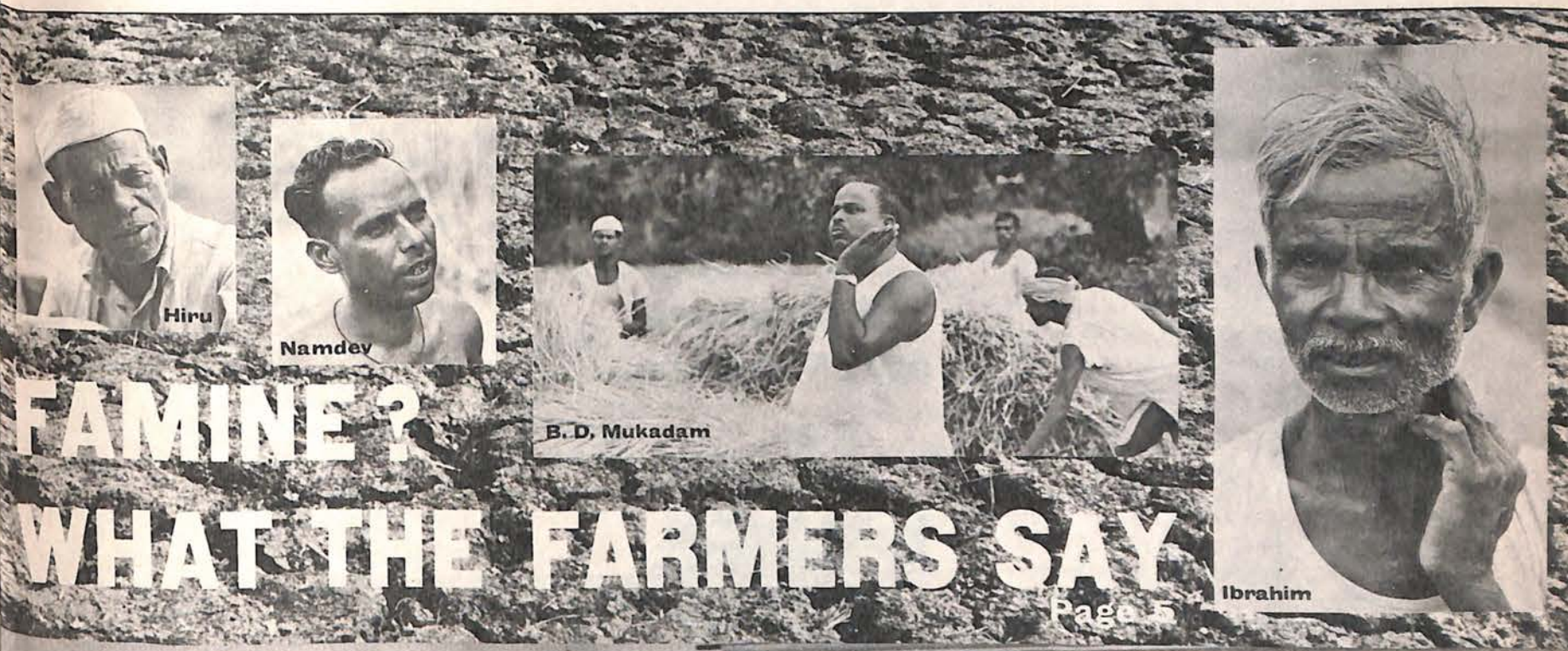


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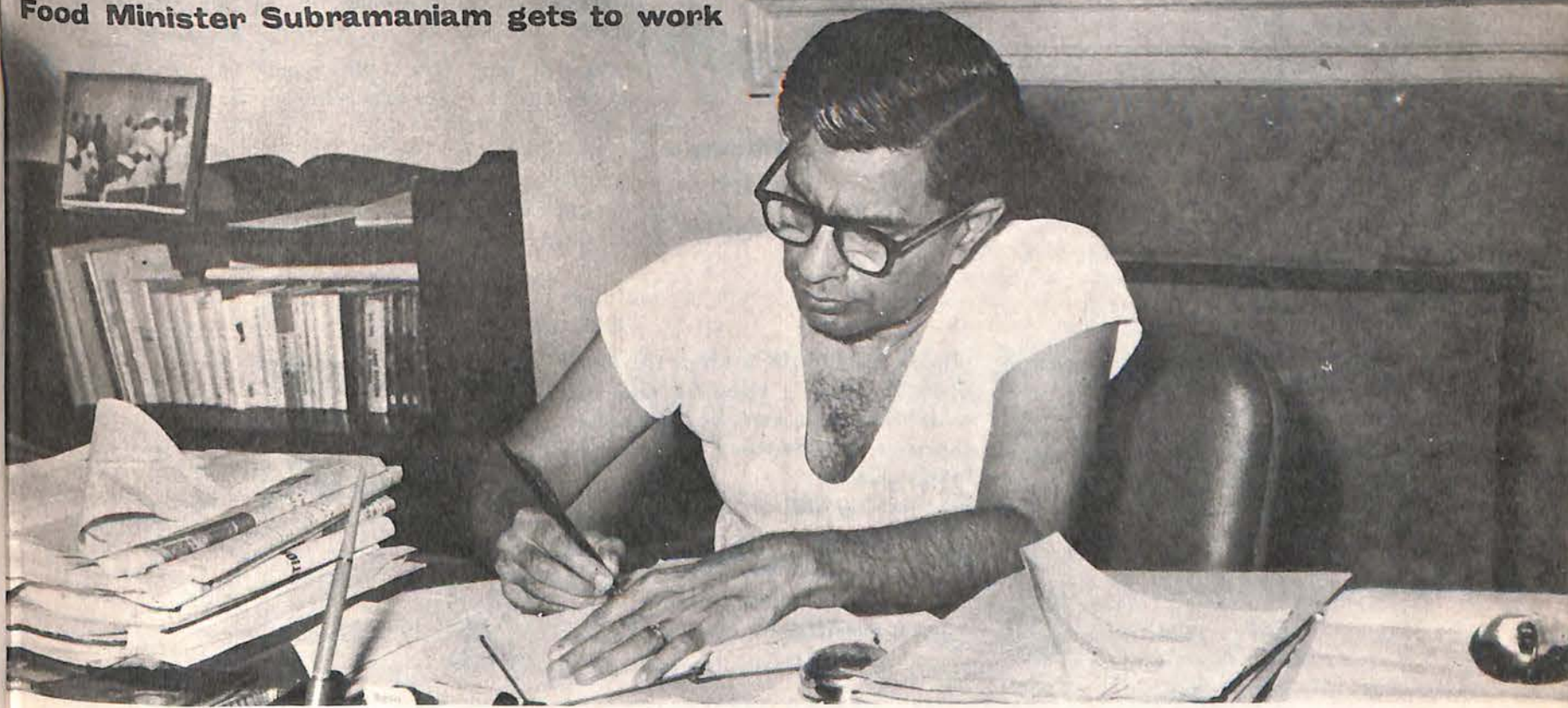
25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



Food Minister Subramaniam gets to work



Friday
December 3
1965

DANGER TO FREE SPEECH
by Rajmohan Gandhi

GROWING BIGGER EVERY DAY

That's us. Always trying to do a little better than yesterday. Always doing it. Textiles, jute, dyes and chemicals. These are the interests we have today. Tomorrow? The possibilities are endless. The future is wide open.



**MAFATLAL
GROUP**

Aiyars MG. 1913

No Comment

MADRAS, November 23: The city police today filed a charge-sheet before the Chief Presidency Magistrate against Mr. Pothan Joseph, editor, and Mr. T. Sadasivam, printer and publisher of the weekly, Swarajya, under the Defence of India Rules and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1961, in connection with the publication of a cartoon in the weekly dated October 9 and an article written by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in the issue dated November 13.

...The charge-sheet said that the manner in which Pakistan had been caricatured with a bulging chest and muscles in contrast with the caricature of Indian leaders with bony limbs was likely to convey an impression that Pakistan was militarily superior in strength to India and that India was unnecessarily plunging itself into war with more powerful nations.

The charge-sheet stated that publication of this cartoon at this juncture was likely to prejudice India's relations with foreign countries with whom it had friendly ties and was likely to bring the Government into hatred or contempt or excite disaffection towards it...

The charge-sheet also cited an article published in the issue dated November 13 written by an "eminent personality", Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, under the caption, "To win world's opinion", laying emphasis on a referendum to be held in Jammu and Kashmir to decide the Kashmir issue, when Jammu and Kashmir has been declared to be part and parcel of India under the Indian Constitution.

The publication of this article, according to the charge-sheet, was likely to lead the public to question the territorial integrity and frontiers of India in a manner likely to be prejudicial to the interests and safety of India at this juncture when India was fighting the Pakistan aggression to maintain her territorial integrity.

A separate charge-sheet was also filed against Mr. Sadasivam, editor printer and publisher of the Tamil weekly, Kalki, in connection with the publication of a similar cartoon and articles by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari on Kashmir in the issues dated September 26, October 3 and October 10.

The magistrate postponed the case for hearing on December 7.

— PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

As the above agency report refers to a matter which is *sub judice*, we are unable to comment, much as we would like to.

Musical Chairs

MUSICAL CHAIRS had another round in Africa last week. This time it was the Congo's turn and the tune was played by a military band. Following a fresh wave of political uncertainty in which President Joseph Kasavubu ousted Prime Minister Moise Tshombe and installed M. Evariste Kimba, who in turn was rejected by Parliament, the 35-year-old Army Chief, General Mobutu, took the reins. He quietly but firmly invited President Kasavubu to move out while proclaiming himself President for a five-year term. In a country so bedevilled by violence the peaceful switch showed a larger measure of law and order than expected.

General Mobutu insists that it was not a military coup—merely a reshuffle. Kasavubu remained at his official residence. There were no reports of political detentions, on the contrary many *detenus* were released. Certain credence can be given to Mobutu's words when it is recalled that once before, in September 1960, he resolved a similar deadlock by taking over the Government, running it under a college of commissioners for nine months, then voluntarily returning power to Parliament.

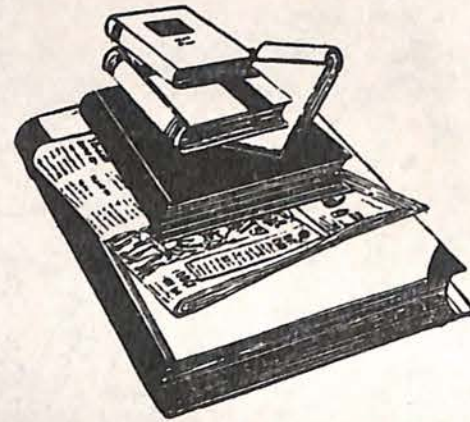
But the firm hand which the General means to use was evident in his instruction that the new hand-picked 21-member national union Government, under Colonel Leonard Mulamba as Prime Minister, should "pass through Parliament by acclamation". And indeed it did, without dissent.

It is no secret that the rebellion which tortured the Congo has at last shown signs of ending, largely due to the white mercenaries called in by Tshombe and deployed by Mobutu. There were signs that Kasavubu and Kimba were considering terms with the rebels and the dismissal of all white mercenaries. Mobutu swiftly overruled this realizing perhaps that his own army, while fast becoming a tight and well-trained fighting force, was not yet a match on its own for the rebels with their external, including Chinese, aid.

At various stages in the last five and a half years, Kasavubu, Tshombe and Mobutu have each in turn figured as the strong man of the Congo: Kasavubu with the strong support from his Bakongo people centred round Leopoldville, Tshombe backed by Katanga's wealth and power and Mobutu with his loyal army. Today it is Mobutu's turn.

But if one thing has emerged from Congo politics it is that the nation needs all three men, just as each man needs the other two, to fulfil the hopes of independence. Mobutu is a practical man. He is certainly practical enough to realize that whatever shape the immediate situation takes, in the long run the strength of the Congo will depend on his capacity for getting its best men to work together.

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Briefly Speaking ...

More important than winning the election is governing the nation.

ADLAI STEVENSON

Penalizing the Public

IT IS BAD ENOUGH for a Government not to erect the necessary housing or make facilities like cement available. It is even worse when such a Government decides to requisition the property of others. The Maharashtra State Government has now decided to requisition under the Land Requisition Act non-residential premises like offices, shops and godowns required by its departments throughout Maharashtra. Its Revenue Minister says that Government offices were actually feeling the dearth of accommodation as their activities have been expanded. It had become impossible to secure premises on hire.

What then about the millions outside the Government who find it

impossible to get premises due to the cockeyed New Delhi policies? Prices of cement were controlled for years with the result that cement companies did not have the excess to plough back into major expansion programmes which the country needed, while the middle man made all the profit from the black market.

If the various Congress Governments find themselves short of accommodation, they ought to thank their own policies. Why should they penalize the public?

Crocodile Smuggling

ALTOGETHER 170 baby crocodiles were seized by the Customs officials from a schooner at Mergui in Burma, says the Rangoon correspondent of an Indian daily. The crocodiles were about to be smuggled into Thailand.

In India we concentrate on gold.

Crime

THE LACCADIVE, Minicoy and Amin-divi islands are the only territories of India which were free from crime during the first half of this year. Sprawling Uttar Pradesh came first in crime with 525 murders, 8,738 house-breakings and 1,735 rioting cases.

B-o-r-e-d

U.S. HOUSEWIVES found it so difficult to occupy their time after they had raised their families that they tended to "become bored, neurotic, fat, delinquent and even alcoholic", according to Dr. Donald Lindsley, a psychologist in California.

Dr. Lindsley predicts that the same fate awaits all mankind, as machines take over more and more of man's work and computers more and more of his thinking.

Discovered Amerika?

THE MEDITERRANEAN RACE and the Scandinavian are at war! How dare the Scandinavian Vikings take the credit from Christopher Columbus for discovering America. This controversy having blown up on the eve of the International Co-operation Year has set journalists across the world writing.

Spain who backed the Italian Columbus is not to be treated lightly. The leading Madrid newspaper ABC

thinks that, by suddenly giving the credit for the discovery to a Norwegian, the Nordic peoples are once again trying to prove their superiority to the Mediterranean race.

Land-locked Switzerland now claims a Swiss discovered America. The *Basler Nachrichten* says:

"In an effort to soothe the ruffled feelings and to prevent the Spanish, Italian, Scandinavian, Jewish and Irish Americans from coming to blows, let us once and for all establish who really discovered America. It was a primitive lake-dweller from the shores of the Lake of Zurich, who awoke one morning, rubbed the sleep from his eyes, packed his dugout, and to the great amazement of the assembled lake-dwellers set out on a great journey. His reason: in the long run, even the entire Canton of Zurich could only offer a man like him limited opportunities. Speaking these words he set out and discovered the 'Land of Unlimited Opportunities'. Among his fellow lake-dwellers this man was known as Gopf. But his real name was Gottfried Merki—and that is how the continent of America got its name."

What People Want

A JAPANESE FRIEND of mine tells me that during the opening of the term in April, principals from various schools have a chance to appear on television with two of their students for a maximum of 5 minutes. The principals and their pupils speak of the merits of their respective schools. Some say that their school has a swimming pool, others that they have good playing fields or a library and so forth.

In North Hokkaido, the island nearest the Soviet Union, when a principal and his pupils said with conviction that building the character of the pupil was their basic policy, this school obtained the largest number of applications for admission.

Dangerous Game

CHURCHILL had one of the longest political innings of all time with over 50 years in Parliament. He had his ups and his downs. "Politics," he wisely commented, "are almost as exciting as war and quite as dangerous; although in war you can be killed only once, in politics many times."

R.M.L.

FAMINE? What the Farmers Say

By R. M. Lala

Last year the rains were kind. This year they have failed. Drought has struck six states of India.

Last year we had a record harvest of 88 million tons compared to our normal 80 million tons. Even last year we imported 6 million tons of wheat from the U.S.A. but this year there is a further shortfall of 6 million tons-grain that would have fed 30 million people for a year.

Congress President Kamaraj warns there may be distress in some areas. Irrigation Minister, Dr. K. L. Rao, promises sufficient food grains by 1969. Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari says that not all of last year's record crop has come into the market and hopes that some of the hoarded grain will emerge and help relieve the shortage. Experts are vocal on the subject and nowadays even ambassadors of other countries. HIMMAT felt it was time the farmers should have a word.

Too Dry to Plough

Beyond Thana, 30 miles from Bombay, we met the first farmer going home in his bullock cart. Twenty-year-old Ananta Kalu calculates grain by cartloads, not tons. "Last year we had 12 cartloads. This year we have only four."

What will you do to make up the loss of income?

"What can we do?"

Will you sell in the market this time?

"No. We have a large family of 12 to support. We will have none to spare."

You are returning from town? Did you go to sell any goods in the market?

"No. I went to town to buy some wheat and provisions."

Will the showers in the last few days make a difference?

"No difference. It is too late. The rice crop is harvested."

We branched off the main road to a farm on the road to Panvel. Over a spacious old hut, vegetable vines crept. A "Cinderella" pumpkin rested on the roof.

Namdev Mahulkar has four pieces of land, about an acre each. The one nearest to his *kutchra* (crude) well has a crop of vegetables recently sown. Another field adjoining the well has been ploughed up. But the other two plots are baked dry and the earth is cracked. Four-inch stubble of the rice he has harvested stands on it. "They are too dry to plough," he said plaintively.

Can you get some water from your well and loosen the ground?

"My well is only 25 feet deep and there is not enough water to irrigate all my fields. Nor do I have a pump."

Can you get a loan from the Government and install a pump?

"Yes. But it is no use having the pump till I deepen the well, and if I can't pay back the loan to the Government, they may take my land away."

Namdev hopes to concentrate on his vegetable plot and do the best he can by selling the crop to Bombay.

Smiling and unshaven for some days, Sheikh Ibrahim Ismail has a family of nine children and about half as many acres of land. Three of his children were perched on bags of rice being hauled on a bullock cart. His crop, he said, was about one eighth of last year. How then could he remain so cheerful?

"We have been informed the Government will forego its tax this year."

Will they give you a loan?

His face lit up. "Yes."

25 to 35 Per Cent Crop

In Palaspa village farmer Hiru said he must have spent 50 years in farming, but thinks the present crop is the worst in his memory. He claims that an acre of land has yielded "two annas in a rupee" (one-eighth). He doesn't seem too worried, for he grows vegetables and hires out his bullock cart for odd jobs. His bullocks don't fail him.

We visited the Government godown, and found it was reasonably well-stocked with bags of grain neatly piled on each other. The godown appeared to be a converted school or

a private mansion and through its wide-spaced bars, not only rats, but even cats, could conveniently travel if they so wished.

The manager of the grinding mill next door to the godown said that the crop was 25 to 35 per cent of last year's crop. It is fair to say this was the consensus of most knowledgeable men in this particular area of Kolaba district.

"There has been a lot of improvement around here," said one villager. "We now have a school—and even electricity."

Much Politics

Further on the main road to Ratnagiri and Goa lies Shridon village. The Mukadam family seems to have run village affairs for generations. Eighty-year-old father Mukadam, with a staff in his hand, turned up. He stands straight as a stick. Seeing non-farmers around the place, he asked us: "Are you politicians?"

Have you in your experience ever seen such a poor crop?

"Yes, about 60 years ago. The drought was so bad we could not even harvest."

His son, P. S. Mukadam, is President of the local co-operative society. The society gets loans from a nearby bank and distributes to the farmers.

The Mukadams have obtained about 40 per cent of their last year's produce and hope to keep what they need for themselves for the year and sell the rest to the Government.

His well-built cousin, B. D. Mukadam, is *Sarpanch* (Chairman) of the Village Panchayat.

"I belong to the Congress Party," he said. Cousin P. S. smiled and said, "There is too much party politics in the Panchayat. Congress and Samiti members get elected and start fighting with each other. Development projects and administration is neglected and members indulge in fighting and even in physical violence."

Cousin B. D. was not amused. P. S. added, "I suppose it is all due to lack of education and I hope things will change."

CHALTA HAI...



"They have asked me to leave my farm and come to advise the Agriculture Ministry on how to increase farm production."

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Implications of the Naga Problem — successful policy possible

THE NAGA PROBLEM has been with us ever since Independence. The truce that has been declared and its continuation over a period has been one of the remarkable achievements of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri. It is not only a recognition of the futility of a policy of force against the hill tribes, it is an act of realism which acknowledges that peace on the border and friendship of the Nagas and other frontier peoples is the best guarantee of the security of India and the freedom of all.

The Nagas live in a territory roughly 6,300 square miles in area. They number 400,000 in Nagaland. There are 200,000 Nagas in the hill areas of Manipur State besides a few thousand more in Assam and in the North East Frontier Agency. There are about 200,000 Nagas in Burma as well in the hills adjoining the Assam-Burma border.

They are a fiercely independent people and demanded to be left to themselves even as early as 1928 when the Simon Commission visited India.

On August 14, 1947, the then Naga National Council declared independence and notified New Delhi, London and the United Nations. The plebiscite conducted by the Council in 1949 is said to have resulted in an overwhelming verdict in favour of independence.

Past Mistakes

Understandably, India never recognised this Naga claim but she has never fully appreciated the strength of sentiment behind it. The Nagas, for their part, have not also understood the compulsion to keep the diverse people of the sub-continent together and the dangers of disintegration which would follow from separatist demands of minority groups.

Yet, with a certain amount of generosity on both sides, a mutually acceptable formula that recognized Naga aspirations, and at the same time safeguarded the security and integrity of the Indian Union, was

perhaps not impossible in the early years after Indian Independence. It could have averted the bloodshed, suffering and bitterness of 15 years.

At the end of nearly 15 years of war, which tied down two divisions of the Indian Army and resulted in great suffering to the mass of the Naga people, there is a realization both in the Government and many underground leaders of the limits of a policy of force and war.

But just as there are over-enthusiastic Members of Parliament who shout and protest at the least sign of any tendency to accommodate the underground Naga leaders, there is a considerable section of the latter who believe that they know the art of guerrilla warfare sufficiently well to wage an indefinitely prolonged war.

Underground Thinking

It is reported that the underground still commands great support among Naga people. It is estimated that they have 3,000 fully armed soldiers equipped with light machine guns, sten guns and 303 rifles. (Government estimates the number of armed underground Nagas at 10,000.) They get their arms from East Pakistan. Thousands of them march across the Burma border to East Pakistan and march back.

The strength of the Naga underground stems from the genuine aspiration of the Nagas for freedom and their fear of being swamped as a minority.

As things are, the respective position of the Naga underground and that of the Government of India seem almost irreconcilable. The underground wants independence which would establish Nagaland with a status similar to any other independent country like Nepal and Burma. They seem to recognize the common threat from China and may well be prepared as an independent state to give guarantees to India regarding our security. They will even allow Indian military bases in Nagaland. This seems most presumptuous to Indians but represents nevertheless the thinking of the underground leadership.

Under
the
Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

India, on the other hand, is irrevocably committed to the integrity of the Indian Union and the political survival of any government at New Delhi would be threatened if it granted more than full internal autonomy to a constituent part like Nagaland. The utmost that Mr. Shastri can perhaps give (and even this will need sagacity and strength) is Bhutan-like status with foreign affairs and defence and communications under Delhi.

Yet, irreconcilable as are present positions, both the underground leaders and the Indian Government must make the attempt to negotiate. This will mean a readiness to change and shift and compromise if we want to avoid the alternatives which are grim—continued war which neither can afford, the embroilment perhaps of Communist China and the ultimate threat to the independence of both.

Naga leaders, sincere and genuine as are their aspirations and feelings, must in the longer perspective appreciate the consequences to India of a Government in Delhi granting them any status outside the constitutional framework of India. Obviously no Government in New Delhi could prepare a plan for the dis-

Continued on page 16

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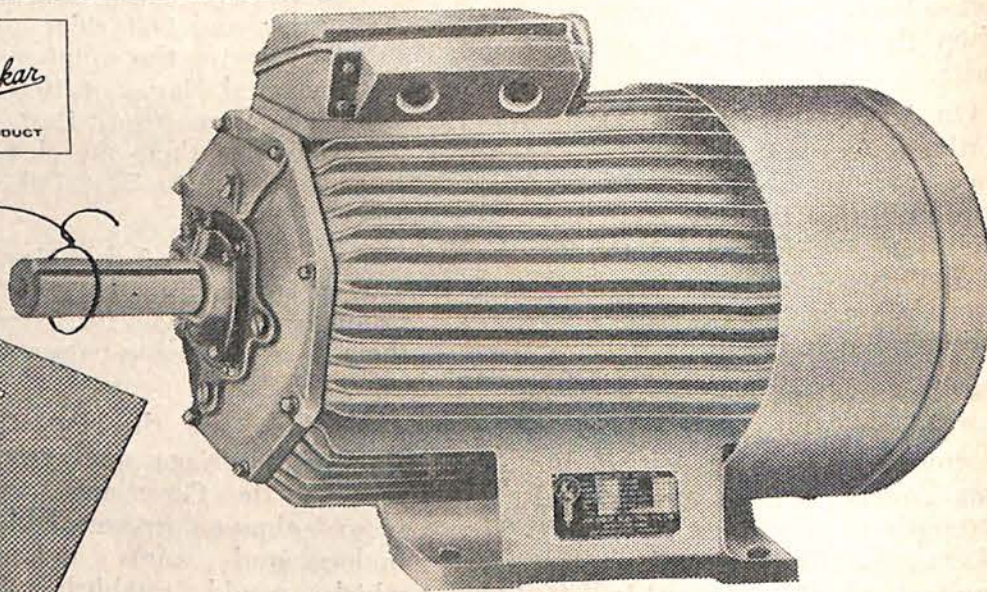


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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Kenya Indians To Decide

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

One hundred thousand Kenya residents of Indian origin are still undecided about their future. They have only until December 12 to make up their minds.

When Kenya became independent in 1963 the new African Government generously allowed the non-Africans in the country two years in which to consider the question of citizenship. The period of grace is now rapidly drawing to a close.

Thousands of Indians have already obtained the British passports to which they are entitled. And it is unlikely that they will be affected by Commonwealth immigration restrictions to the United Kingdom. The British High Commission in Nairobi had to open a special office and employ extra staff to deal with the flood of applications. There was no run on the Indian High Commission for Indian passports.

From December 12 onwards all non-citizens will be classified as aliens and treated accordingly. If Mr. Kenyatta's Government continues its considerate policy of the past two years this will not be in any way discriminatory. But it is fair to assume that only citizens will enjoy rights and privileges not accorded to "foreigners".

The most vulnerable area, as far as non-citizens are concerned, is likely to be in the realm of education. Kenya can hardly be expected to provide free education for them all.

The recently appointed High Com-

missioner for India, Mr. Prem Bhatia, in a frank and friendly appeal to Indians in Kenya, stated last week: "I wish all of you who wish to live in this country would become citizens. Believe me, your interests lie in the direction I have indicated to you. The appeal I am making stems from my heart. I do not have any legal or constitutional responsibility for the Indian community in Kenya, but I thought it would be unfair and dishonest if I did not speak my mind to you."

Mr. Bhatia went on to say: "In spite of what you may have heard, by and large the people who run this country wish you well. I hope you will take my word as an assurance which is based on certain facts."

Advising local Indians that they were the best judges of their own future he went on to deplore the lack of decision on their part, saying: "I would be the unhappiest man if this warning is not heeded and as a result you came to grief."

In many countries there are large Indian communities. The choice facing Kenya Indians during the next month, and the way in which the outcome is handled by the Kenya Government, could have decisive implications beyond the borders of this country, including South Africa with its large Indian community.

Soured Kurds Fight for Self-rule

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

London

Bloodshed and destruction has been going on in the North Iraq mountains since 1961.

For 3,000 years these mountains have been inhabited by an Indo-European people speaking an Aryan tongue: the Kurds, dwellers in Kurdistan, which extends over northern Iraq, north-east Syria, eastern Turkey, the south-west corner of the U.S.S.R. and north-west Iran.

Since Iraq was freed from Turkish dominion in 1919, successive Iraqi governments have guaranteed "the rights of the Kurds". Western nations inserted the same pledge in the 1920 Sevres Treaty. These "rights"

Continued on page 11

The week in Asia

RAWALPINDI—Pakistan will spend over Rs. 275 crores—55% of its budget—this year on its armed forces.
TOKYO—Japan will have the strongest air defence system in Asia with a surface-to-air missile network covering the country.

PNOM PENH—60 Communist troops were killed and 15 North Vietnamese taken prisoner in renewed fighting around the central Laotian city of Thakhek.

DJAKARTA—All civilian portfolios have been dropped from Indonesia's top executive body, the Supreme Operations Command (KOTI) headed by President Sukarno. KOTI now consists only of armed forces officers.

HONG KONG—Reports reaching here indicate that at least six major cities in South China are being evacuated of all non-essential personnel. The reason given is fear of American air attacks.

COLOMBO—Former Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike warned her followers not to push their opposition to the Government's "sell away" to the Tamil minority to the point of communal disturbance.

TOKYO—The first shipments of Japanese truck and jeep components will leave for India November 30 marking the resumption of supplies after the Indo-Pakistan conflict.

RAWALPINDI—The Pakistan Assembly passed a bill enabling the Government to suspend fundamental rights during the emergency.

COLOMBO—Government officials continued a massive hunt for hoarded stocks in a bid to hold the price line. Stocks worth Rs. 5-6 million have been unearthed to date, many from businesses owned by persons of Indian or Pakistani origin.

PEKING—China has promised Cambodia unconditional support in the face of alleged threats of action by South Vietnamese, Thai and American forces against Communist guerrillas said to be using Cambodia as a sanctuary for attacks on South Vietnam and Thailand.

RAWALPINDI—It is reported that Foreign Minister Bhutto declared in Moscow Pakistan's willingness to discuss the "whole gamut of Indo-Pakistan relations" with Prime Minister Shastri in Tashkent.

DJAKARTA—The Government is taking over the export-import trade, cutting non-essential projects and rationalizing government wages in a bid to shore up the economy.

SAIGON—American Secretary of Defence McNamara surveyed war conditions and has ordered heavier bombing of North Vietnamese military sites and the jungle trails used for infiltrating regular army units from North to South.



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

include: schooling in Kurdish by Kurdish-speaking teachers; local administration by Kurd officials; and recognition of Kurdish as one of Iraq's official languages.

The Kurds do not ask for "independence". "Autonomy" within the framework of Iraq is their only hope of a satisfactory existence. Their fellow Kurds, minorities in the other four lands, are more or less soundly integrated in those societies. In Iran, Kurds have held the State's highest offices, for example, Iran's distinguished Ambassador to Washington and Moscow, Dr. Aligholi Ardalan.

"Double-Cross"

The Governments of Nuri Sa'eed, Kassem and Aref each promised such "autonomy". In 1963, the Kurdish negotiators then in Baghdad were offered an army helicopter flight to the headquarters of Mullah Mustafa Barzani, their military leader, to complete a just settlement. Escorted with all honours by high Iraqi state officials to the airport, they were flown to arrest. *The New York Times* correspondent called this "the great double-cross".

The new Iraq Premier, Dr. Abdul Rahim El Bazzaz, is too enlightened a statesman to allow such tactics. He is not likely to fall into the error of holding that Kurd resistance is due to a "handful of extremists", nor to yield to the expedience of previous regimes, who, fearing a further army coup, have diverted the Arab troops on to their immemorial sparing-partners, the Kurds.

Two Irelands Working Together

FROM GORDON WISE

Dublin

"We Don't Want Home Rule Here", says the framed proclamation of the '20s hanging in Ulster's Unionist Association headquarters. But in Dublin Post Office the declaration of the Republic says, "We hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State."

Two Irelands within a nation. And yet, there is a crack in the ice of frozen attitudes. It is not a political impulse as much as an economic one.

At Stormont, the palatial parliament of Ulster, I met Captain Terence O'Neil, the charming young Prime Minister of Northern Ireland.

Kassem's fall was caused by this shortsighted policy backfiring. The army, tiring of promises of "a speedy clean-up", turned on him and substituted Aref. President Aref also pays monthly visits to his troops, affirming that "victory is just round the corner". The Kurd's recent reconquest of the Safia Mountains, and their halting of the Iraqi offensive up the Rowanduz Road, cannot have enhanced the President's popularity with the troops who put him in the saddle.

A solution must soon be found, the more so since bitterness mounts among the Kurds as a result of the bombing of defenceless villages, the driving of survivors into cave-dwelling penury, the resettlement by Arab squatters and the bulldozing of the Kurdish quarter of Kirkuk and its rebuilding by Arabs.

It was Tsarist imperialism's dream to drive a way through Kurdistan to the Persian Gulf's warm waters. Present Russian imperialism pursues the same design, whetted by the added incentive of the oil deposits.

Much of Iraq's income depends on the oilfields in the Kirkuk region, which is part of Kurdistan. In the nearby Jebel Hamrin are the great dams. Possession of their waters means control of the oilfields, of agricultural irrigation and of Kirkuk's civil needs. This practical issue is capable of easy settlement, given goodwill.

Iraq would be greatly enriched by imitating the example of Switzerland or Yugoslavia in setting up a multi-lingual state. If this does not happen, Kurdistan may become another Korea or Vietnam.

He surprised friend and foe in North and South when he assumed office by visiting Prime Minister Lemass in Dublin. Mr. Lemass then made a northern pilgrimage. Half a dozen ministerial exchanges have followed.

Most vigorous of these missions have been led by bustling Brian
Continued on next page

The week in India

NEW DELHI—Defence Minister Chavan announced that a contract had been signed with the U.S.S.R. for the purchase of submarines and other naval craft. Russian naval experts will aid in the establishment of a dockyard at Visakhapatnam.

BOMBAY—One of the largest telephone exchanges in India carrying 30,000 new lines was completed five months ahead of schedule here.

NEW DELHI—The Lok Sabha voted to postpone discussion of the bill to change the name of Banares Hindu University.

MADRAS—The editor and the publisher of the weekly *Swarajya* were charge-sheeted under the Defence of India Rules for a cartoon and an article by C. Rajagopalachari suggesting a referendum in Kashmir. The article, it is charged, would lead the public to question India's territorial integrity.

LUCKNOW—A "Unite India and Pakistan Conference" sponsored by the Samyukta Socialist Party called for a confederation of India and Pakistan with common citizenship as the answer to the Kashmir issue.

IMPHAL—1,000 Naga hostiles are reported to have entered Burma en route to East Pakistan for arms and training.

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Shastri announced that elections to determine the future status of Goa had been postponed indefinitely due to the emergency.

TRIVANDRUM—E.M.S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the Communist Party of India (Left), urged the Prime Minister to "open talks with China just as in the case of Pakistan". He attacked the "argument of 'Chinese intransigence' to justify our Government's failure to open talks with China".

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Shastri warned of increasing Chinese hostility along the northern border as Chinese troops daily intruded on Indian positions. "They are hostile towards us, very much against us. They are not in a mood to settle matters at all," he stated.

NEW DELHI—The number of Indian armed forces personnel killed in the clash with Pakistan up to November 16 is 2,226. The wounded number 7,870 and the missing are about 1,500, Defence Minister Chavan announced in the Rajya Sabha.

NAGPUR—The Central Government has proposed that certain textile mills be set up in the public sector in Maharashtra in order to increase employment and exports.

NEW DELHI—India and Kenya have agreed on a £6 million annual trade pact.

Faulkner, Minister of Commerce and Industries and Deputy Prime Minister of Northern Ireland. Faulkner told me of the 80 new industries established in the North; of the unemployment rate down to an improved 28,000. There are advanced discussions going on between Dublin and London on a free trade area between the two countries. Competent Sydney Gibson is President of the Federation of Irish Industries. He told me during a drive around Dublin's handsome streets that although Irish manufacturers stood to lose by a freeing of trade, he felt that

The week elsewhere

WAR WORSENS

SAIGON—The Vietnam war intensified with the arrival in South Vietnam of two further divisions of regular North Vietnam troops. Fighting last month reached a scale not seen since the 1953-4 Indochina conflict. After a six-day battle in the Central Highlands, the U.S. First Air Cavalry Division counted 1,200 Communist dead. One year ago the Americans estimated the Viet Cong at 30,000. A few weeks ago the estimate was 80,000. With the arrival of two new regular divisions, besides one already in South Vietnam, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese may number 100,000. The regular divisions came to the South via the Ho Chi Minh Trail through Laos and Cambodia. Their weapons include flamethrowers, rocket launchers and recoilless rifles. They have engaged the Americans in set battles rather than the usual Viet Cong hit-and-run tactics.

LAND OF THE WATERS

LONDON—British Guiana is to become independent on May 26 next year. The announcement was made following talks between Guiana Government leaders and the British. The Guiana Opposition leader, Mr. Cheddi Jagan, boycotted the talks.

The new country will be called Guyana—"land of the waters". Its population is 650,000: about half of East Indian origin and 200,000 of African descent. The country is thinly populated but rich in resour-

agriculture would benefit so much that the overall national gain would be worth it. An enlightened attitude.

Protestantism versus Papacy remains an issue. One Northern newspaper reported a complaint when Pope Paul overflowed Ulster soil on his way to the United Nations!

Yet there are signs that younger blood in North and South will point their nations hopefully forward instead of bitterly looking back. They say that the Irish don't know what they are fighting for, but are ready to die for it. If they do find a big enough cause to fight for unitedly, then Heaven help the enemy.

ces. It has had a balance of payments surplus since 1961.

The constitutional conference ended with a declaration: "That there should be an end to the communal divisions by which Guiana has long been plagued and that, with the coming of independence, all Guyanese should put aside forever all prejudice and bitterness and should strive together as one nation for the peace and prosperity that are the right of free men."

ARMS REBOUND

ADEN—British arms given to tribal sheikhs to buy their loyalty are being sold to rebel tribesmen and used against the British themselves. To keep the tribal leaders' support the Aden High Commission uses subsidies totalling over £1 million a year, and gifts of obsolete British rifles and ammunition. These rifles, costing the Crown Agents about £4 each, are resold by the tribal leaders to arms dealers for about £40 each. The dealers then truck the weapons into the State of Lahej, which borders the Yemen, and sell them to the highest bidder. From there, the arms are believed to have gone to the Congo, the Kurdish rebels in Iraq—and to tribesmen backed by Egypt who are fighting the British.

Despite successes in rounding up terrorists who assassinated senior government officials, the British are not winning the Adenis' support for their plans for an independent South Arabian Federation by 1968.

CUBA CONFERENCE

HAVANA—The U.S.S.R. is actively preparing a "Three Continents Conference" to open here on January 5. The Conference, which includes Latin America, may incorporate the postponed Afro-Asian Summit meeting. Russia is represented on the organizing committee and is expected to use the conference to further isolate China. They may also take a leaf from China's strategy, by using the meeting to enlist the underdeveloped continents against the West.

BARTER ISLAND

SINGAPORE—Singapore is planning to reopen trade with Indonesia in the near future. This step could lead to a serious clash with the Malaysian Government who opposes such trade while confrontation continues. The trade is expected to amount to 50 million Straits dollars or one-eighth of Singapore's overseas trade. It will take place through a barter trading station on Pulau Senang Island, 12 miles from Singapore and only three miles from the nearest Indonesian islands.

The Indonesian Government has not said it is willing to resume trade but the merchants are known to be eager. Tunku Abdul Rahman is likely to oppose this trade both on principle and because he mistrusts Prime Minister Lee. Should Malaysian naval vessels interfere, Singapore may retaliate by denying them port facilities and pulling out of the defence agreement. Mr. Lee threatens also to expose the barter trade which, he claims, has flourished for months between Malaysia and Indonesia with the connivance of Malaysian authorities.

EUROPA CANAL

BONN—Within ten years, ships of up to 1,500 tons will be able to sail from the North Sea to the Black Sea via the Europa Canal. Of the 3,400-kilometre-long waterway connecting the Rhine and Danube Rivers, 3,200 kilometres have been completed. The remaining section, now under construction by the West German Government, rises through a series of locks 406 metres above sea level. The new canal will open a completely new trade route between northern and eastern Europe.

VIEWPOINT

First Prize

Is The Moon Worth Reaching?

By M. P. Rao, Poona 1

THE QUESTION has two aspects. From the layman's point of view, nothing useful or spectacular could be achieved in landing on this "corpse" of a moon going round the earth, an empty bleak world, without any atmosphere, without vegetation or water, with extreme heat on the sunlit side and extreme cold on the opposite side such as cannot be imagined in any part of our earth.

Due to lack of an atmosphere, unless we are protected adequately, we will be pelted with meteorites (stones of all sizes ranging from the size of a grain of sand to huge boulders weighing several tons) falling from the skies at tremendous speeds onto the surface of the moon.

The other is the scientific aspect. The moon is only at an average distance of 238,860 miles from the earth and in astronomical units this is a negligible distance, too tempting to space scientists. It is an astronomical fact that the moon shows the same face to the earth always and is the best-mapped celestial body besides our own earth; in fact even better mapped than some inaccessible portions of our own earth. Geologically speaking, we may expect to find some rare minerals on the moon, not to speak of precious stones, gold, etc.

Why this urge to go to the moon? The moon has unparalleled opportunities for the astronomer to explore the universe with the aid of the telescope, thanks to the absence of the atmosphere, which will allow an unhampered view of the stars and the planets in a crystal clear sky, devoid of clouds or haze. Further, the moon can be used as a stepping stone for space travel beyond.

The view of our earth from the moon will be a breathtaking sight—a multi-coloured, huge globe some 12½ times the apparent size of the moon, showing the fleeting clouds, land masses, oceans, the snowcovered mountain peaks, etc. The light reflected by the "full earth" on the moon is 80 times that of the light we receive from the "full moon" and

naturally a lunar dweller will be able to read books in small type by the light received from the earth during the lunar night. The earth also will show different phases to the moon like full earth, new earth, crescent earth and so on. These phases are luckily opposite to the phases of the moon, that is, when it is new moon it will be full earth. Moreover, our earth will never set on the moon; it will only oscillate from one side to the other slowly within certain limits.

With appropriate instruments, electronic or otherwise, and television cameras installed on the moon, weather on our earth can be watched with great advantage, resulting in accurate weather forecasting of cyclones and other weather hazards.

Climbers' Paradise

The pull of gravity on the moon is only one-sixth of our earth and this will enable men to climb the high mountains of the moon like the Libnitz mountains, which are some 3,000 feet higher than our Mount Everest, with very little effort, provided, of course, oxygen is supplied.

The samples of soil from the moon should be analysed and compared with the soil of the earth and the moon's age determined by the isotope or other methods to settle once and for all the mystery whether the moon once was part of the earth or not. From the scientific point of view, therefore, the moon is definitely worth reaching.

Second Prize

WHY ASK FOR THE MOON?

By Miss Indira N. Rao
Hutti P.O., Mysore

THE FIRST men on the moon! What a splendid achievement it will be for the scientific world. No one disputes that, and I will swing along with the rest to give a loud cheer if we reach the moon. But is the moon worth reaching? I say, no!

For the present, we in the world have to contend with several other

COMPETITION

* The U.N. should have its own armed forces to implement decisions.

Closing date: December 10

** Who is really responsible for the increasing road accidents?

Closing date: December 24

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problems. Problems needing all our money, time and scientific brain.

A lot of money is being burnt up for conducting costly experiments in preparation for the landing of men on the moon. The United States and Russia, competing for the lead in the space race, budget increasing sums of money to finance space projects.

The money earmarked for space projects could be handed over to the United Nations. The United Nations could use this money to feed the starving millions in the world.

Starvation and poverty, death and disease, the economic imbalance between the haves and have-nots—these are widespread problems. Why not solve these before reaching out for distant horizons?

With a diameter of about a quarter of the earth's, the moon has a surface area less than half that of the Atlantic Ocean. With no atmosphere, the moon's surface receives the direct heat of the sun. Hence it has extremes of temperature varying between 100°C in daytime to -180°C during night. Under such temperatures and with no atmosphere, it is impossible for life to exist.

So even if men do reach the moon, it will be many centuries before men can adapt themselves to life on the moon.

Scientists envision the moon as a launching pad for further space projects. But the expensiveness of such projects should deter scientists and governments from indulging in far-fetched dreams.

The programmes for reaching the moon should be jettisoned till the earth becomes stable economically, socially and politically.

After all, why ask for the moon, when we have the earth?

LETTERS

KASHMIR PROBLEM

SIR: In a casual manner the Kashmir problem figured in my talk with an acquaintance. We were sharply divided and he said, "The voice of the public is the will of God," and he went on to persuade me that the multitudes cannot go wrong and the statements from people like Rajaji cannot claim anything better than the majority opinion or than the collective thinking of the cabinet.

This conception naturally draws support from certain quarters since it is in accordance with the principles of democracy; in fact never before in my life had I opposed it. But on this occasion I felt a strong impulse to counter it effectively. At the end I was saying: Socrates, an old man, did transform a part of the ancient world; Jesus, a lone man, sought to establish love in place of retaliation when the latter was the order of the age. The first before the public was declared an enemy of the people and a public nuisance, and he was sentenced to death as a criminal; the second was not preferred to a murderer and the multitude cried, "Crucify him". This was the

judgement of the multitudes in the past. People in all these instances had remained violent and they had not the power of self-government. They acted not according to the dictates of their own conscience, but of some shrewd and cunning politicians.

"Yes, it is true," he said after some time. I said that a great man does not seek applause or place; he seeks only the truth; he seeks the road to happiness; and what he ascertains he gives to others. If the great had always kept quiet vast multitudes would be barbarians now.

He rose to depart. As he shook hands, he said sincerely, "Let us hope that wisdom shall prevail upon the leaders." I thanked him in return. That was all.

J. SUSAI

Madras

* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner.

INFLUENCING THE COMMONWEALTH

SIR: "India should quit the Commonwealth". These words are used nowadays by many Indian leaders.

I would like to appeal through your columns to all those who believe in this, that if the present Government of the U.K. is not supporting us, or if the present policy of the U.K. is not favourable

from the point of view of India, this does not mean that it will continue forever.

By remaining in the Commonwealth we have a better chance of influencing its larger policies. Being in it means a meeting with leaders of other nations from time to time which increases their mutual understanding.

The object of the organization is to pool together the resources of each member country and utilize them for other member countries. India can lead the Commonwealth and will.

SURENDRA NATH NAGPAUL

Jaipur

PRESS IDEALS

SIR: I am glad to read your editorial "Let Freedom Live." Your observations about the Indian press and the confused mind of the nation are very true. The way every sane voice is being silenced in India in the name of patriotism reveals that dark and ominous clouds of political disaster are hovering over this country. And incidentally what is patriotism? Some times it is abusing the U.S. for not supplying wheat under PL-480 and at other times just for the opposite reason! One day it is laudatory reference to the U.N., the other day it is disapproval of the policies pursued by it! One time it is restraint on the Dalai Lama, the other time it is the loose rope given to him. There is no end to it. It is simply the cult of the day. But one cannot blame the politicians for this, for they are sometimes made of the stuff which very ordinary men are made of; but one has much reason to bemoan the role of the press, which is the bastion of personal liberty and free thinking. But, broadly speaking, in its anxiety to toe the official line always on the current controversies raging the country, the press in India has shown that it is either not free or has chosen to say goodbye to the high ideals a free press is endowed with.

JAG MOHAN PAUL

New Delhi

FREEDOM ISN'T FREE

SIR: Shri Rajmohan Gandhi's editorial "To Every War Widow", besides being very moving, was to the point and realistic.

Yes, we thank God for the cease-fire and we pray that it continues—but this could be just the beginning. Humanity demands that India and Pakistan become and remain friends. To fight, it takes courage—but having fought, to make friends it takes greater courage—it takes humility and grace.

And above all it takes wisdom. If we are able to solve our differences today, tomorrow we will live in freedom and the sacrifice of the thousands of valiant husbands and sons and brothers will not have been in vain.

Freedom isn't free. We will all have to work for it, toil for it and sacrifice for it.

JINI TALEYARKHAN

Bombay 4

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

Ambassador Extraordinary: G. L. Mehta

GAGANVIHARI LALLUBHAI MEHTA took over as our Ambassador in Washington in 1952 when relations between India and the United States were at a low ebb. When he left, leading citizens of the United States gave him a testimonial dinner—the first time such an honour was accorded to any ambassador in 180 years of Washington's history.

Through the period of his ambassadorship, John Foster Dulles with his "brinkmanship" and his policy of "massive retaliation" ruled U.S. foreign policy. Dulles has been much abused, but Mr. Mehta says that in the summer of 1954 when Dulles appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he was asked why aid should be given to India when this nation "nearly always supports the Soviet Union". Dulles replied, "Freedom involves an acceptance of diversity."

Mr. Mehta recalls that Dulles was the subject of many quips in Washington. As Dulles was an indefatigable globetrotter, they said he had an "infinite capacity to take planes".

Connecting the Dulles era with the present relations between India and the United States, Mr. Mehta says, "We in India need to realize at times like these that understanding does not mean the same as agreement. Other nations can understand us yet need not agree. And that does not mean that they are against us."

Mr. Mehta was speaking to me in the offices of the I.C.I.C.I., the leading credit bank through which funds from the World Bank are also channelled into India's private industry. Some 430 projects have received total loans of Rs. 120 crores (\$240 million) through the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India, of which he is Chairman.

Kennedy, Cooper Help

Mr. Mehta's family comes from Bhavnagar where his ancestors were *dewans* (prime ministers) of the State. His grandfather, Samaldas, has a college named after him and on its rolls is the name of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. After graduating from Elphinstone College, Bombay, Mr. Mehta left for the London School of Economics and studied under Laski. His health did not permit him to finish the course. He returned and joined as assistant editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

A couple of years later he left journalism for shipping and headed the Scindia Steamship operations in Rangoon and Calcutta. Throughout his life he has written extensively in Indian and foreign journals, has published a book on *Studies in Gandhism* and humorous skits.

His rise in business was rapid and, before he was 40, he represented employers of India at the I.L.O. During World War II he was President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. He was appointed to the Con-



Mr. G. L. Mehta presenting a set of books to President Eisenhower.

stituent Assembly of India, became President of the Indian Tariff Commission and was one of the first members of the National Planning Commission till he was appointed Ambassador to Washington.

"When I went there, Mr. Nehru's attitude of neutrality was not relished. On the political plane we had disagreements, but even then there was always the desire to assist in economic development. The U.S. Senate was more liberal and receptive than the House of Representatives. The main champions of massive aid to India were Senators Sherman Cooper and John F. Kennedy.

"U.S. interest in India increased after China went Communist," Mr. Mehta went on. "I found an enormous amount of goodwill for India among the U.S. public and officials."

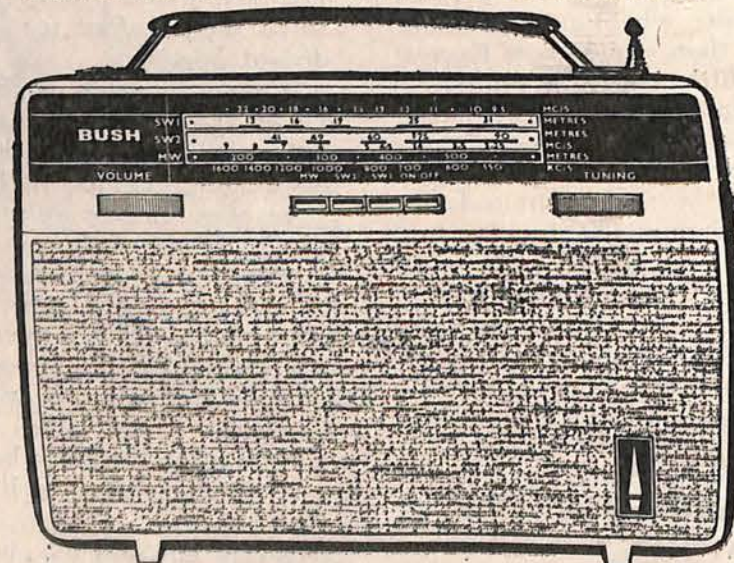
What effect will Indo-Pak hostilities have on aid from abroad?

"Private investors will follow a policy of 'wait and see'. The repercussions are adverse on foreign aid. Undoubtedly, it will result in a great strain on us, but it may have some good effects. It may spur on India to produce more food, for example."

Mr. Mehta is a man with perspective. "We are interested in nations like the United States," he said, "because they are powerful. We cannot expect the same interest in America for India."

While India's future economic development depends so heavily on continued U.S. aid—for the time being stopped—one might expect that the services of Mr. G. L. Mehta will be used on an even wider international scale than they are today.

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NAGALAND—from page 7

memberment into independent states of its strategic border areas. Underground leaders must therefore be prepared out of mutual interest for less than what they have fought for all these years.

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, despite the jingoistic pressures of irresponsible groups, has proceeded cautiously and courageously to ensure easing of tensions in Nagaland. If he persists in his policies he may be able to secure eventually a negotiated peace and settlement. This is an urgent necessity because India cannot maintain a state of permanent armed preparedness against China and Pakistan and at the same time fight a war against the Nagas.

Other Tribes

If the cease-fire does not lead to a negotiated solution, war is inevitable. The Indian Army will be compelled to go in and attempt to crush the underground army. Such a war of attrition will have harmful repercussions among all the tribes of Assam and NEFA. Assam, which by virtue of its geographical situation is even now vulnerable, will become almost indefensible.

Eastern hill tribes are now quiet but some, like the Mizos, are getting restive. It is important that the philosophy that war in the jungle alone will force the attention of Delhi is answered before the smouldering discontent flares up into violence.

A successful Naga policy will be the basis of securing the permanent friendship and loyalty of the border tribes—the Kasis, the Mizos, the Garos and Mikris of Assam and the Tibeto-Burmese tribes of NEFA, for the Nagas are only the most articulate and politically conscious of the hill tribes of the Eastern border.

India needs the goodwill and support of these peoples. They need India as well. The long term interests of all of us are best served by friendship and common endeavour for a united and prosperous sub-continent. It will require change in all as well to move from the present uneasy truce to permanent peace and to the acceptance of a common destiny.

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This was a life
WILLIAM MORTON
1819—1868

"SIR! Your patient is ready."

A 27-year-old dentist named William Morton stepped forward. The operating theatre at Massachusetts General Hospital was crowded with doctors and students. In the operating chair lay a youth with a dangerous growth on his neck. Through a tube, he inhaled the ether which Morton gave him. He slept. The surgeon, Dr. Warren, cut away the growth and stitched the wound together. The patient's eyes opened. "Have you felt pain?" asked the surgeon. "I have experienced no pain," came the reply.

Dr. Warren turned to the audience on that morning of October 16, 1846. "Gentlemen," he said, "This is no trick."

Dr. Morton's discovery of anaesthesia was the result of enterprise, hard work and willingness to take risks. He came from a farming family and took up dentistry because he could not afford a doctor's training. In 1843 he set up practice in Boston but few patients came. Advised that this was because he had no novelty in treatment to offer, Morton invented an improved kind of false teeth. Business prospered, but Morton was worried by the pain caused by his treatment, which involved pulling the old teeth out by the roots. Fearing that pain would keep patients away, he resolved to find a way to overcome it.

To improve his medical knowledge he joined Harvard Medical School. By day he attended lectures, in the evenings he kept up his dental practice and at night he studied till one or two a.m. He soon learnt that leading surgeons like Dr. Warren had little hope of finding a cure for pain. Various gases had been tried without success; ether was considered too dangerous.

Morton experimented with ether, first on his dog Nig, then on himself. At last he tried it on a dental patient. Then came the successful demonstration at the hospital. Surgeons in America, Western Europe and Russia were soon using it. In the American Civil War it was a blessing to the wounded.

Controversy with rival claimants to the discovery embittered the rest of Morton's life. He lost health and fortune defending his claim. Friends in Boston who raised money to help him wrote: "He has become poor in a cause which has made the world his debtor." He died in Washington aged 48.

Q and A

Q—Mr. Shastri is reported to have said that those whose views were not in conformity with the policies of the Government should quit India (the remark was in context of the Indo-Pakistan hostilities). Any comment?

JAG MOHAN PAUL, New Delhi 3

A—With regard to loyalty in the face of a military attack obviously those who do not support a policy of defence should be free to quit the country. But Mr. Shastri's remark, if I recall, had a broader implication than defence. And in this respect, of course, it is rather dangerous to set oneself up and say who should and who should not quit. For that matter, it is also rather presumptuous, in a democracy anyway, for a Prime Minister to assume who will be the Government tomorrow and who will not be. It is a sign of great weakness in any Government or leader when they brand those who disagree with their policies as "traitors" or as "unpatriotic".

Q—In what is India self-sufficient apart from hoarders and taxes?

M. D'C., Jamshedpur

A—Some say talkers, dozers, dreamers and preachers. BUT she is also self-sufficient in patriots who can shake the nation into dynamic action.

Q—If India asks for a nuclear umbrella from the big powers it will be guaranteed only on their terms. Will not that be detrimental to her security and independence?

MAHENDRA PRASAD, Madras 36.

A—By all means let us be watchful as hawks to safeguard our independence, but these days there is a lot of shallow talk on this subject. Some say that any agreement we enter into with other

countries, whether for military assistance or wheat, endangers our independence. This psychosis of fear that we need be pressured and steered by countries who give—or even lend—us aid is childish. No doubt, any nation who offers, at our request, some nuclear protection is bound to require certain guarantees on their terms. Remember they are the giver and we are the receiver. Because an insurance company extracts certain guarantees in its policy to give you protection against fire does not endanger your freedom or independence as a citizen. You are free not to sign the policy.

In any international agreement, guarantees would be negotiable and, finally, if they are not to our satisfaction we can always reject the arrangement and return to our splendid, independent isolation. If we were truly independent now of external pressure, we would not be afraid of agreements with other nations. If we talk so much about refusing to be pushed around, is it not an indication that we are already being pushed around?

ANY QUESTIONS?

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Danger to Free Speech

By Rajmohan Gandhi

HERE IS WHAT President Johnson said when he was entertaining Princess Margaret and her husband, Lord Snowdon, in the White House: "I hope you will not be offended if I take this occasion to offer a little advice."

"I have learnt that only two things are necessary to keep one's wife happy. First, let her think she is having her way. Second, let her have it."

The joke went down well with the Princess, her husband and the 140 guests.

The question before India is whether our democracy will be along the lines of Johnson's joke

"First, let those who are powerful think they are having their way. Second, let them have it." Is this to be the picture of Indian democracy in this age of liberty, equality and fraternity?

It was only recently that President Radhakrishnan went on the air to tell the nation—and the interested world—that India's dispute with her neighbours was not mainly about bits of land. The real struggle, he maintained, was between a democratic system and an autocratic one. Between a land of free expression and societies where liberty is stifled.

Let's be absolutely sure that we keep and enhance this freedom which we have with just pride proclaimed as an essential characteristic of Indian life.

Recent signs are profoundly disturbing. We hear of threats of violence or imprisonment, demonstrations in front of private homes, shrill clamourings in Parliament for suppressing the voices of men who have served and loved the country with greater devotion than most. If these bullying tactics do not stop, India's image in the world, already bruised, will come apart in bits and pieces.

Crude Extremism

We face the worst food crisis in our post-independence history. The common man, already in the tight grip of the economic facts of life, is being asked to miss a meal a week. Soon he may be pressed to do more than that.

His support and understanding will not be won by intimidation. Fortunately, Mr. Shastri is aware of this. He is not one to be hust-

led into the crude extremism advocated by those who see in present conditions a chance to spread their narrow outlook. But it is not enough not to be pressured into the wrong path. Mr. Shastri must now take a turn for the right path.

Surely the moment has come to pool the skills, talents and energies of our finest people. And to draw out the best from everybody. From leaders of different parties and groups, from the professionals—civil servants, military officers, lawyers, teachers, doctors and others—and the common man.

The best is not evoked by threats to jail dissenters. Do these thunderers of warnings expect India or the world to believe that it is immoral or unpatriotic to have differences of opinion?

Not so long ago these very men attacked the imperialist concept that a few clever rulers shall decide what is best for the people. Now they want to foist their beliefs on the whole country and to seal the mouths of those who differ.

Mr. Shastri will do well to tell his clamorous friends (are they his friends?) that intelligent Indians wish to be treated as adults.

Trust the People

Encourage your colleagues to trust the people, Mr. Shastri. The people know about scarcity and high prices. They sense that a famine may not be far away. Realities impinge on them months before committees and departments convert them into statistical pills for the benefit of Ministers. You can well afford to take them into complete confidence, as indeed you often have.

It is juvenile immaturity to dub the man who differs from you your enemy. If some Indians believe that in a wise understanding with Pakistan lies the hope of keeping the Peking Army on the northern side of the Himalayas and of meeting satisfactorily the material aspirations of our people, then they are perfectly justified in speaking out their mind.

Similarly, if Mr. Namboodiripad, the Communist leader, believes that India stands to gain by reconciling her differences with China and Pakistan, he is justified in saying what he thinks.

The Government dislikes, it is said, the British and American plan to have a joint base in Chagos Island in the Indian Ocean, more than a thousand miles to the south of us. The Government is entitled to its views. So are others. If they believe that it is unwise constantly to annoy the British and Americans, that reliable backing when the Chinese threat materializes can only come from the Americans and the West, and therefore welcome an Anglo-American presence in the Indian Ocean, they should be free to air their assessment.

Not Easily Crushed

All this is obvious if the aim is to defend the liberty of India. India needs as much unity as possible inside the country and as many friends as possible abroad. Ordering people to silence their consciences will fetch neither. Fuller jails and a fatter roster of constables and C.I.D. men and prison warders will not produce more wheat or rice or sugar. Nor will they cause plane-loads of soldiers to rush to our aid.

Liberty perishes when it is not exercised. Democracy dies in the hearts of cowardly democrats before it is killed by the hand of a dictator. The initiative still is in the hands of the people. Yet Mr. Shastri's cabinet has a responsibility. It must reward frankness, not punish it.

What our leaders must understand is that a large heart and a broad mind mark the confident and the brave, and that cruelty and tyranny are always the signs of the fearful.

They must realize, too, that modern ideas have established themselves in many more Indian hearts and minds than is normally believed. The new intelligent and educated class, not always organized or disciplined, is clear on the point. It no longer will stand for the feudal concept, the big leader-humble servant approach, the *neta-chela* relationship. It wants equality, dignity and respect.

The Indian intellectual is jealous of the right of conscience and free speech bequeathed to him by history's march and by men like Gandhi, Nehru and Subhas. Their spirit is not so easily crushed.

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.



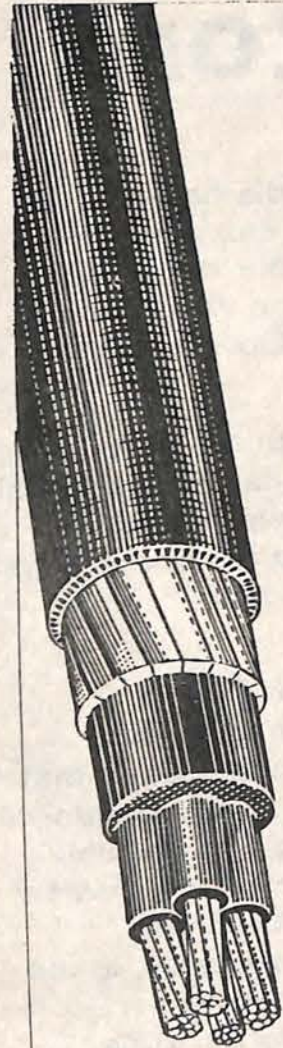
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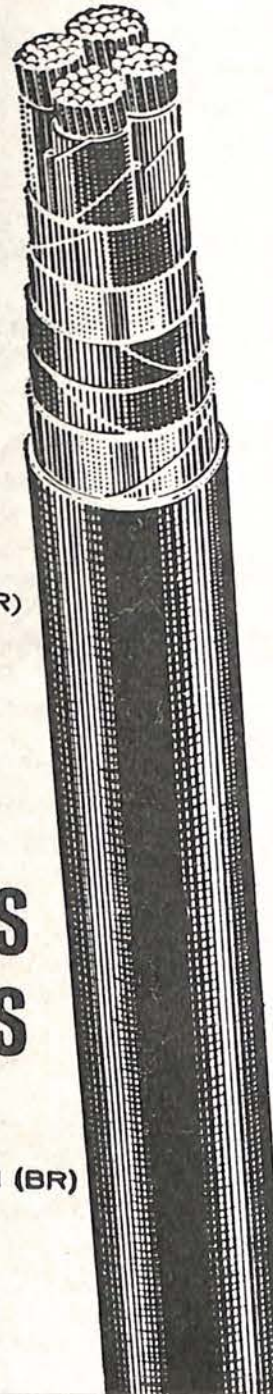


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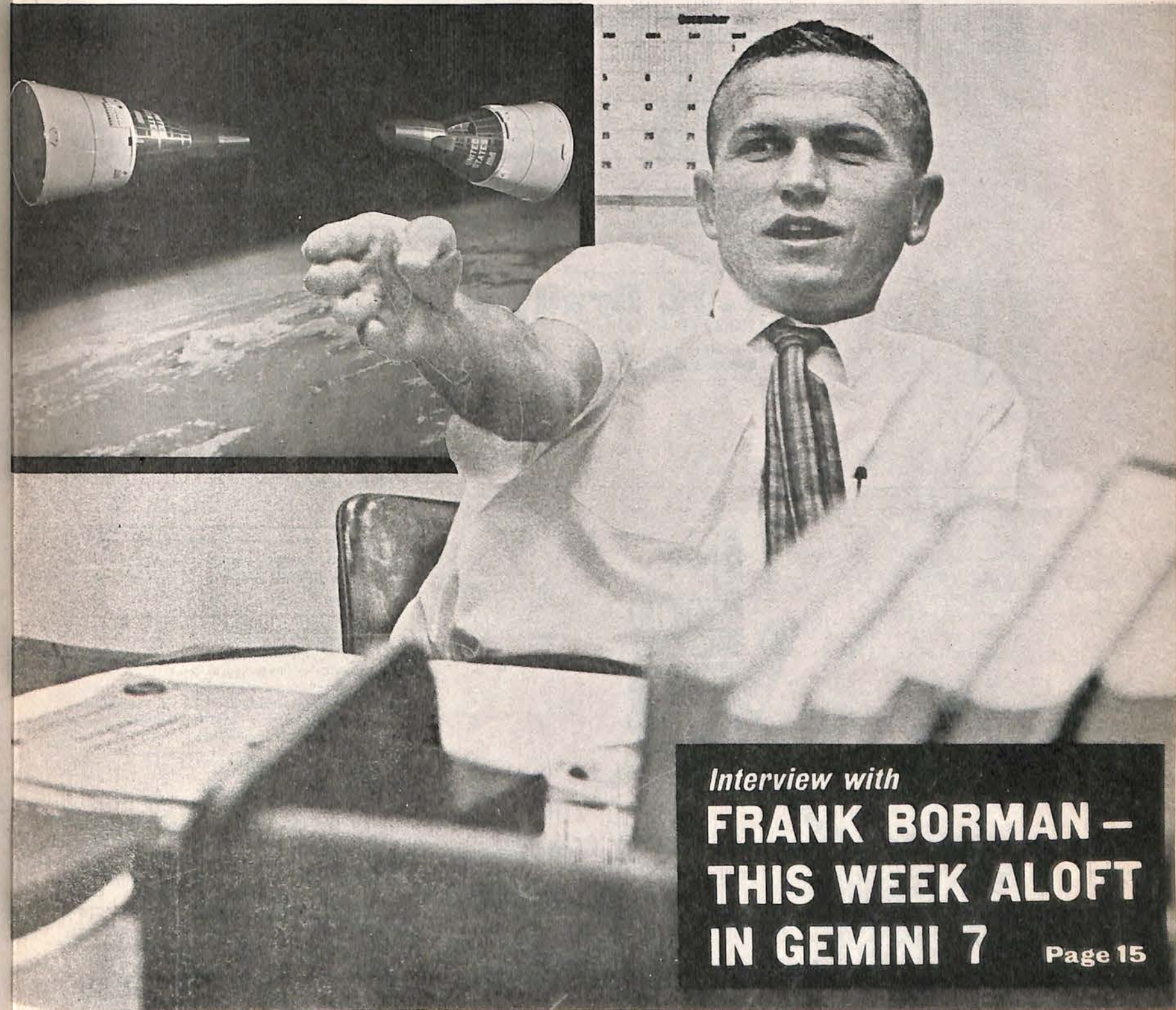


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1965

Under the Lens
DELHI ON EVE OF TASHKENT