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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

WHAT DRIVES CHINA ?

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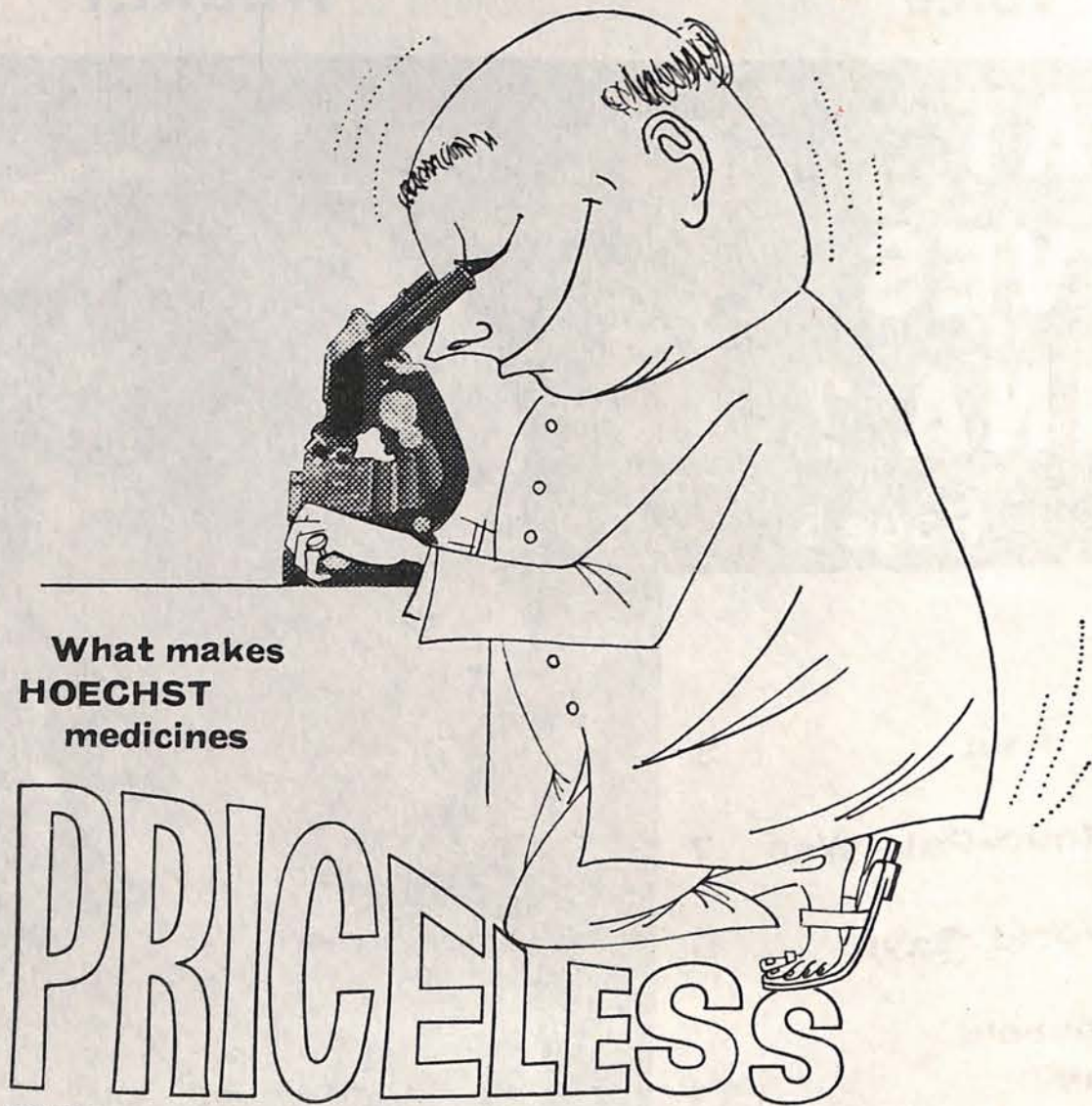
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Mastermind Mao

Friday
September 24
1965

WILL ASIA LOSE ?
by Rajmohan Gandhi Page 22



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, September 24, 1965 Vol. I No. 47

A Policy for Asia

THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL ordered that a cease-fire take place between India and Pakistan nine hours before China's extended ultimatum to India expires.

In Ladakh and Sikkim, Chinese troops are reported to have moved close to the border and a few provocative shots have been fired by Chinese in both regions. China will not be satisfied with Sikkim which is north of the Himalayas. Her immediate objective appears to be to obtain a base south of the Himalayas, either in Ladakh or elsewhere, from which she can command and dictate to the sub-continent. To achieve her objective she will go as far as possible without drawing the maximum fire on her own arsenal. Her ultimate objective of world conquest by Chinese Communism remains.

While she moves up her troops, Radio Peking every night is broadcasting chapters from Mao Tse-tung's book on guerrilla warfare and is beaming it to India and Pakistan.

HIMMAT has consistently pointed out that the real danger remains China and our greatest weakness is the inability to match her ideological pressure with a more convincing idea for Asia.

India has got to reckon that, if not in six days or six years, some day China's military might, backed by her ideology, will have to be faced. It is the task of Indian leadership and diplomacy to make sure that when that day comes, the hands of Pakistan and India are not raised against each other. We shall be fortunate if history gives us the respite to make this possible.

President Ayub Khan was not unaware of this need when he said a few years ago:

"As a student of war and strategy, I can see quite clearly the inexorable push of the North in the direction of the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. This push is bound to increase if India and Pakistan go on squabbling with each other. If, on the other hand, we resolve our problems... I feel we shall have a good chance of preventing a recurrence of the history of the past, which was that whenever this sub-continent was divided—and often it was divided—someone or other invited the outsider to step in."

Before strengthening her association with China, Pakistan may reconsider, even at this late hour, the risk for the entire sub-continent. Weakened by war, both India and Pakistan may fall a prey to China and possibly to internal revolution—of Right or Left.

Pakistan's objective may only be Kashmir. China's objective is the whole of India, Pakistan, the rest of Asia and more. Our leaders have emphasized that the conflict is not of India's choosing. From President Radhakrishnan downwards they have repeated that the people of India are not at war with the people of Pakistan. There is, in fact, no more division between the peoples of India and Pakistan

than there is between people living in any typical village, either side of the border. There is as much genuine desire among common people on both sides to get along, as in any decent community. That is the basic strength of the sub-continent.

Our leaders carry a great load. But from all reports, not many of them seem to know what they want beyond retaining Kashmir and resisting the invader. India feels rather alone and shorn of friends. We appeal in all sincerity in the name of democracy, of freedom of religion (secularism), of free elections, to get the world's sympathy. The world is unmoved. Indians turn and ask each other, puzzled, "But why are we alone?" Some blame Britain; others America. Some say, "Let's get out of the Commonwealth"; others, "We can never expect justice from the United Nations." Such views intensify our isolation.

For 18 years we have voiced some of mankind's noblest sentiments, but in truth have followed our own interests. Tibet may have felt even more alone than we do today. Then there was Hungary. When the U.S. has been holding the line against China-backed infiltrators in the swamps of Vietnam, we have advised her how to conduct the war and how not to. Our policy seems to be, "Hold on to what we have and do not provoke China."

How Do We Formulate It?

After the 1962 invasion by China, we could have learned our lesson better. We prepared ourselves militarily against future attack, but on the diplomatic front we did not do enough. China was quick. Soon after her withdrawal she consolidated her links with Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma and Cambodia. China has a policy for Asia. How do we formulate one now?

We may need to review our alignments, as Mr. Vaitheswaran says in "Under the Lens" on page 7. We may even need to think afresh about nations we have snubbed, like Taiwan who has offered to divert the Red giant from the Indian sub-continent. But we need to do more. If India's policy is in India's interests alone, it will never win other nations. An idea big enough to unite all our internal factions and provide a common platform with Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaysia, Japan and the rest of free Asia could yet lead the world forward. No political system, neither democracy, nor Socialism, nor Communism, has yet provided a uniting ideology above class, colour, race and religion. The ideology of Moral Re-Armament is doing that on every continent.

Mark Gayn, a recent visitor to China, says, "A tremendous campaign is under way to train a new and tough breed of revolutionary." Will the Indian Government now speed the training of more convinced revolutionaries, men of faith, patriotism and moral standards, to excel what China is producing? The future of Asia will be decided not only at the end of a gun barrel, but also in the capacity of free men to produce a greater revolution than Mao's.

Briefly Speaking ...

If you would not be forgotten, as soon as you are dead and rotten, either write things worth reading, or do things worth the writing.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN 1706-1790

Price-line Winners

IN RESPONSE to appeals made by national leaders to maintain the price line, growers and traders of Bihar State have reduced prices of food-grains, oil and vegetables. In one week the prices have been brought down by Rs. 10 per quintal of rice and Rs. 8 per quintal of potatoes. Will other States follow?

Surplus and Deficit

KENYA is faced with a problem which has "reached emergency conditions". One of the biggest game preserves in the world, the Tsavo National Park, has 15,000 elephants with munching ground for only 10,000, as reported by HIMMAT three weeks ago. The Ford Foundation has since sent £70,000

for the Kenya Government's ecological research and management programme that will involve, if it is so decided, a mass slaughter of 5,000 elephants.

Meanwhile, Malaysia regrets that it has no elephants to spare to replace one that died at the Auckland Zoo. It may seem there is scope for the exchange of elephants from a surplus to a deficit country.

Brain-Drain

THERE is a good deal of talk about the brain-drain of India to Western nations. Deputy Education Minister Mrs. T. S. Soundaram says that 1,000 Indian scientists and technologists have taken jobs abroad as against 50,000 of them employed here with similar qualifications. If that is so, it is to the credit of our scientists that so many of them choose to serve here for less attractive remuneration and working conditions.

Laughter and Tears

PAINTERS working in a building under construction in Sydney left the job laughing hysterically. Some were in tears. The outbreak of laughter is reported to have spread to Melbourne, 460 miles away, where the foreman dismissed some painters for being drunk. An official of the Painters' Union, Mr. J. Foster, said, "They were under the influence all right—not of liquor, but of toxic vapour. The vapour came from a new preparation spread on the walls." Australia's Council of Trade Unions demanded a "watch-dog" ministry should test all new products before they go into industry.

White Dress in Black-Out

AUTHORITIES of Maharashtra State, especially its Chief Minister, need to be complimented on the way in which they have organized the defence effort. Chief Minister V. P. Naik has included people of all sections, including his bitter political opponents, in defence committees. The offer of Maharashtra to gear small and large scale industry to defence needs will not be lost on New Delhi.

The black-out is effective. All we now need are air raid sirens that can be heard. All cars have been ordered to paint their bumpers and footboards

white to be seen in the black-out. No similar rule for identification applies to pedestrians. Should the Government not advise them to wear a certain amount of white clothing or white bands sufficiently large to be seen in the black-out?

Kosygin Invites Help

SOVIET PRIME MINISTER Mr. Kosygin is reported to have asked a Japanese Government delegation for co-operation in the economic development of Siberia. He asked the visitors for "concrete proposals".

Mr. Kosygin is said to have told businessmen that a large capital in-

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vestment programme for Siberia was included in Russia's next Five Year Plan starting in 1966, and suggested that Japan could contribute industrial equipment for Siberia's projects, particularly for pulp and paper mills.

No false pride stops Mr. Kosygin from developing his country.

Fair Day's Work?

A FRIEND writes: "The war effort ought to mean people work harder. But this week when Bombay authorities imposed a five o'clock closing time on offices, banks shortened their trading hours by one hour. But at least one bank with whom I deal did not correspondingly start an hour earlier. Is this patriotism?"

Indian Standard Time

AMERICAN Indians in early Virginia counted years by winters, which they called Cohonks from the note of the wild geese that return each year.

Within each year, they knew five seasons: Budding and blossoming of the Spring; Earing of corn, or Roasting ear time; Summer, or highest Sun; Corngathering, or Fall of the Leaf; and Winter, or Cohonks.

Months were named for moons: Moon of stages, Corn moon, First and second moon of Cohonks, etc.

Days were not divided into hours but only into three parts: The Rise, the Power, and the Lowering of the Sun.

R.M.L.

What Drives China?

by John McCook Roots

If the combined laws of biology, sociology, and military science take their course, Red China by the year 2000 A.D. is likely to be the strongest power on earth.

Nearly half the inhabitants of the planet will be Chinese. She will dispose of a nuclear arsenal second to none, and with a will to use it superior to any. Barring some decisive intervention in the historical process, present trends in both Communist and non-Communist society foreshadow for her, by the end of the century, no serious rival for the mastery of the world.

Peking's rise has been spectacular. Fifty years ago China was hardly more than a geographical expression. British, French, German, American, and Japanese warships patrolled at will her rivers, harbours, and coastal waters. No foreigner was answerable to any Chinese court. European businessmen, living in the privileged enclaves known as "concessions", were lords of all they surveyed. Native "coolies" staggering under mountainous bales of cotton, who inadvertently strayed onto the white man's sidewalk, might be beaten until the blood ran. There were the celebrated signs at the entrance to Shanghai's waterfront park—"Chinese and Dogs Not Admitted".

War Lords Ousted

In the ancient capital of Peking a decadent Manchu Dynasty had been supplanted by an inept Republic, and then by the armies of rival "war lords". Only the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his successor, General Chiang Kai-shek, in Canton, spelled any hope for the political future. Through it all, the greatest population mass on earth lay ignorant and inert. Though China joined the Allies in 1916, ten years later millions of poverty-stricken peasants in the paddy fields had never even heard of World War I.

The Chinese Revolution—first the Nationalists of Sun and Chiang, then the Communists of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai—changed all that. Starting out modestly in the mid-twenties as collaborators with Sun

and Chiang in history's first popular front, the Communists rode with them to victory over the "war lords", were then ejected from the Kuomintang (nationalist political arm), survived a bitter civil war, and joined Chiang again to oppose the invading Japanese in World War II. After persuading an unsuspecting U.S. public that they were the spiritual heirs of Abraham Lincoln, they finally pushed Chiang into the sea and set up, in succession to the Dragon Throne, Asia's first full-fledged Communist state.

What breed of men are the leaders of Red China?

First, they are tough—very tough. The famous 1934-35 "Long March" of 6,000 miles from south of the Yangtze to Yenan in the far northwest was one of history's great endurance feats. Mao's troops, under

John McCook Roots, a Harvard graduate, was a foreign correspondent for the New York Times and North American Newspaper Alliance during Communism's formative years in China and Russia. His profiles of Asian revolutionaries were among the first to appear in the West. He has been a lecturer for the Foreign Policy Association, and a contributor to magazines in the United States and Europe.—Ed.

constant attack, averaged 20 miles a day for the better part of a year. Half of them died along the way. Chou En-lai's wife started the march wracked with tuberculosis, and finished it wholly cured. Much of the second echelon of Party leadership today is made up of war-orphans picked up en route at the age of 11 or 12, and trained as they marched.

Mao had a harder task to conquer China than Lenin to take over Russia. Internally, Chiang Kai-shek—a personally incorruptible and dedicated leader—and his revolutionary Kuomintang were far more formidable antagonists than the decaying Czarist bureaucracy and "white" generals with whom the Bolsheviks had to deal. As for foreign intervention, Lenin had hardly three years of it, while Mao faced varying forms of the same thing for two decades.

Second, Red China's leaders are durable, or perhaps "cohesive" would be more precise. Forty years after they founded the Party, the same men are in charge and, it seems, in harmony. One would have to dig

deep into the history books to find a parallel. The bloody Party purges of the Stalin era have had no counterpart under Mao.

Third, they are a singularly committed group. This is hardly surprising considering that many were personally trained by Lenin's colleague, Mikhail Borodin, whose self-abnegating devotion to the revolution was evident to anyone who, like this writer, knew him intimately in the early Canton days.

"Young man," the famous Soviet adviser once replied reprovingly to my hoot of merriment at the thought of a dozen Russians "taking over" a country of five hundred million. "Young man, you forget that with an ideology it is not numbers that count, but dedication and sacrifice."

Borodin's spirit communicated itself to his proteges. Twelve years

later, after the Long March, an American eye-witness who lived with them in the Yenan area for several weeks, gave a vivid sketch of Chou En-lai, Red Army Chief Chu Teh, General Peng Teh-huai, future Chinese Commander in the Korean War, Wang Ming, later envoy in Warsaw during the marathon diplomatic talks with the U.S., and General Lo Jui-chin, soon to be head of the Secret Police and now one of Mao's likely successors.

"Single-minded and hard-working," runs this vignette, "infectious sense of humour, simple plain dress, ate frugally but entertained guests royally, many gave up having children to devote all their time and energies to the revolution, very alert, always looking for a chance to win strangers to the cause, informal but never casual, sense of purpose in all they do."

What are China's aims? This, of course, is a secret known only to her masters. But history, psychology and ideology, offer some clues.

Continued on next page

CHALTA HAI ...

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HANDY-DANDY

The history of the Far East is largely a record of Chinese expansion—military, political, cultural. Vietnam, after all, was virtually part of China for 1,000 years, and one must take seriously, I fear, those ominous maps printed in Peking and showing most of South-East Asia and generous slices of India, Pakistan, the Soviet Union and Korea as under Chinese sovereignty.

To the leaders of Red China, these are claims as plausible, shall we say, as that of the United States to the former Mexican territories of Texas and California, or the Soviet Union's to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Does this mean that China will embark on a programme of military conquest in Asia? Only insofar as force or the threat of force will enhance the striking power of the ideology which as Communists they have always regarded as their supreme weapon.

For one thing, they have done exceedingly well in the past by encouraging the moves of others. Through Ho Chi Minh, an early convert to their ideology, they are exposing the flower of the U.S. Armed Forces to a war of attrition in the jungles of Vietnam, without commitment of a single Red Chinese platoon. And the surprise severance of Singapore, with its vast SEATO naval base, from the Federation of Malaysia—a

move surely greeted with joy in Peking—must seem to them only the latest and most sensational demonstration of the decisiveness of the ideological factor in Asia's power struggle.

For another thing these men are Chinese, with a deep belief in the superiority of their race and culture. Moreover, in terms of industrial development and the creation of a sense of nationhood, they have undoubtedly under Communism made great strides. They therefore are likely to assume that the nations surrounding them will eventually follow the example of Indonesia, and gravitate into the Peking orbit.

China's Lenin

After Mao, what? We have recorded the remarkable cohesiveness of Red China's senior leadership through forty years of collective rule. But it is also fair to note that cohesiveness has not yet been seriously tested. Mao is usually thought of as China's Stalin. He is in truth more accurately described as China's Lenin—the infallible theoretician and father-figure, universally revered as founder of Party and State, rather than, like Stalin, merely the victor in a struggle for the succession. Mao's death, then, as far as the Chinese Party's future is concerned, will be in every way comparable to Lenin's, and only when it takes place will it be possible to discern the shape of things to come.

There are signs that the ageing, though still vigorous group around Mao are conscious of the gravity of the issues. For some time they have watched with alarm the progressive "fatigue" of Communist ideology in the Marxist Parties of the West. They have noted the long-term corrosive effect of the original Stalin-Trotsky feud, with its unleashing inside the Party structure of suicidal forces of ambition, jealousy and hate—forces which till Lenin died were held in check. The Chinese want no part of such "bourgeois" deterioration, and are determined if possible to preserve their movement from it.

As I read the masters of China, it is this fear, more than any other single motive—more than all the talk about "hard line" and "soft line", "co-existence" or "war"—that explains the fierce clash of wills between Peking and Moscow. It also

explains what appears to be an almost frantic search, which has been going on for years within the Chinese hierarchy, for some means of taming the tiger of human self-interest in all its manifold forms.

I first noticed evidence of this quest in my early interviews with Borodin in Canton. The Soviet adviser spoke wistfully of the New Testament story, and paid tribute to the apostle Paul as "a great revolutionary". But the hard facts of history, he concluded with every appearance of regret, indicated that human greed and selfishness could never be altered "by love", but only "by force".

An astute observer of Chou En-lai in the Yenan and Hankow days before World War II, noted "an overriding pre-occupation with the question of how the nature of man can be changed, and a gnawing frustration that a solution seemed always to elude him". Mao's closest colleague would spend hours discussing the subject, as if possessed by some strange premonition that this would indeed prove to be the crucial issue of the age.

Behind the Mask

Throughout the history of Chinese Communism, far more than was ever the case in Russia, runs this emphasis on "re-education" and "change of heart" as preferable to strong-arm methods as an instrument of social purification. There is evidence to suggest that the "Hundred Flowers" episode of 1958 may at least partly be explained as another experimental attempt to solve the riddle of transforming man's conduct and purposes by means other than coercion.

Should these things be true, or even partly true—if behind his mask of ruthlessness at home and subversion abroad, the Chinese Communist giant should be hiding a heart that still seeks the mysteries of character and motive that no nation has yet uncovered—then in truth the present must be called one of the hinge eras of history.

And if the non-Communist worlds, East and West, are prepared to explore these mysteries and master them, they might find themselves acting as agents of that "decisive intervention" mentioned at the outset, and in possession of the key to the next stage of human events.

Lessons of the Indo-Pak War

Prime Minister Shastri's acceptance of U Thant's cease-fire proposals was a statesmanlike recognition that despite the tragedy and suffering of the present war, India and Pakistan must still learn the difficult art of living at peace together.

He has emerged a stronger leader, who has proved capable of tough decision. Yet he seems to have preserved the resilience and perspective that can be so easily lost when emotions are strong and one is tempted to ride to high popularity on the wave of popular passions.

Anyone could have been overwhelmed by the scale and surprise of the attempt quickly to take over Kashmir. Mr. Shastri responded firmly to what certainly was a massive effort to subvert the State and convert it into a costly and prolonged Vietnam. Whatever the reasons for such a serious move, no Government in India could have hoped to survive, if it did not meet it with determination. Government's weakness or inaction could have easily led to a more menacing and widespread outburst of chauvinistic violence that would have assumed tragic proportions.

One may question the wisdom in international relations of the widespread attitude voiced by one member of Parliament, "Those chaps have to be taught a lesson." But that an attempt to force the issue of Kashmir by resort to arms had to be met with

counter-strength no one will doubt. Besides, to many Indians, tired of the weak-kneed kowtowing to lesser powers by the Government of India, India's confident reaction this time was a sign of growth.

But strength is only one of the elements of a mature power. The other is discretion. It is the duty of right-thinking leaders on both sides now to strengthen the forces in the two countries that stand for negotiation, and ultimate settlement of all outstanding issues without war.

The New Alignment

Moreover, India must face realistically the more dangerous aspects of the world situation revealed by the conflict. The most important of these is the reality and seriousness of Communist China's ambition to control Asia, and her deep penetration in high councils of many nations.

There is a new alignment in the world which cuts across the traditional divisions of capitalist, Socialist and Communist, and East-West. This is the new division between those powers, capitalist, Socialist and non-aligned, that have a stake in peace and orderly growth and transition and those that seek a violent cataclysm to change the world.

Communist China leads some nations and many peoples in a revolutionary bid to unleash violence, generate anarchy and foment civil war in the nations on her periphery, including India. (A left-wing Com-

Under
the
Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

munist, out of jail on parole for a few days, told me last week just before reporting back to prison, "Our leaders are immune to any reasoning. They are fanatically for China. Many of us who chose the Left because we did not like the indiscipline and opportunism of the Right, are now disillusioned.")

It would seem that a strong pro-China element wields major influence over policy, if they are not in actual control, in Pakistan. Indian policy should aim to strengthen and reinforce the considerable section of moderates who fear China at the same time as they seek to use her as a bargaining lever for greater national prestige and strength.

China-led Bloc

Both the United States and the U.S.S.R. fear the emergence of a China-led Asian and world bloc. They have sought by all means, including aid and coercion, to prevent nations like Indonesia and Pakistan from going irretrievably Chinese. They seem to have failed with Indonesia but there is no reason as yet to assume failure in the case of Pakistan.

The CENTO and SEATO Pacts, which were originally based on fear of Russian expansionist ambitions towards the Indian Ocean, have therefore lost much of their validity for the present era of U.S.-Soviet accommodation. While there is not much use in reviving these dead horses, it may be to India's interest to secure guarantees against overt Chinese attack from the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and even arrive at formal alliances with Ceylon, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, Vietnam, Taiwan, Australia, New Zealand, as well as Pakistan (when ever she is ready).

However, as long as the conflict between India and Pakistan continues, and as long as the Great Powers are

Continued on page 9

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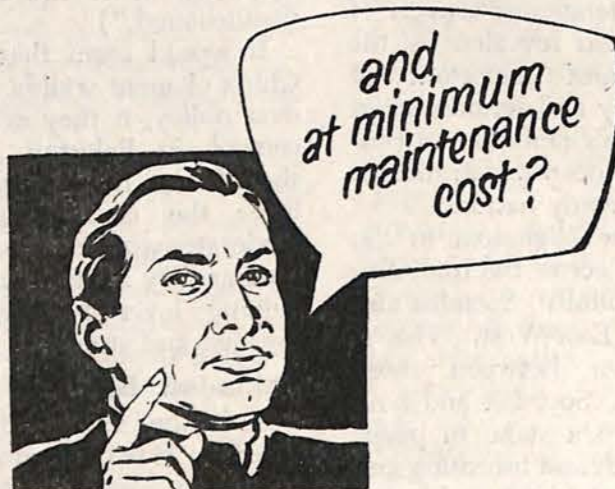
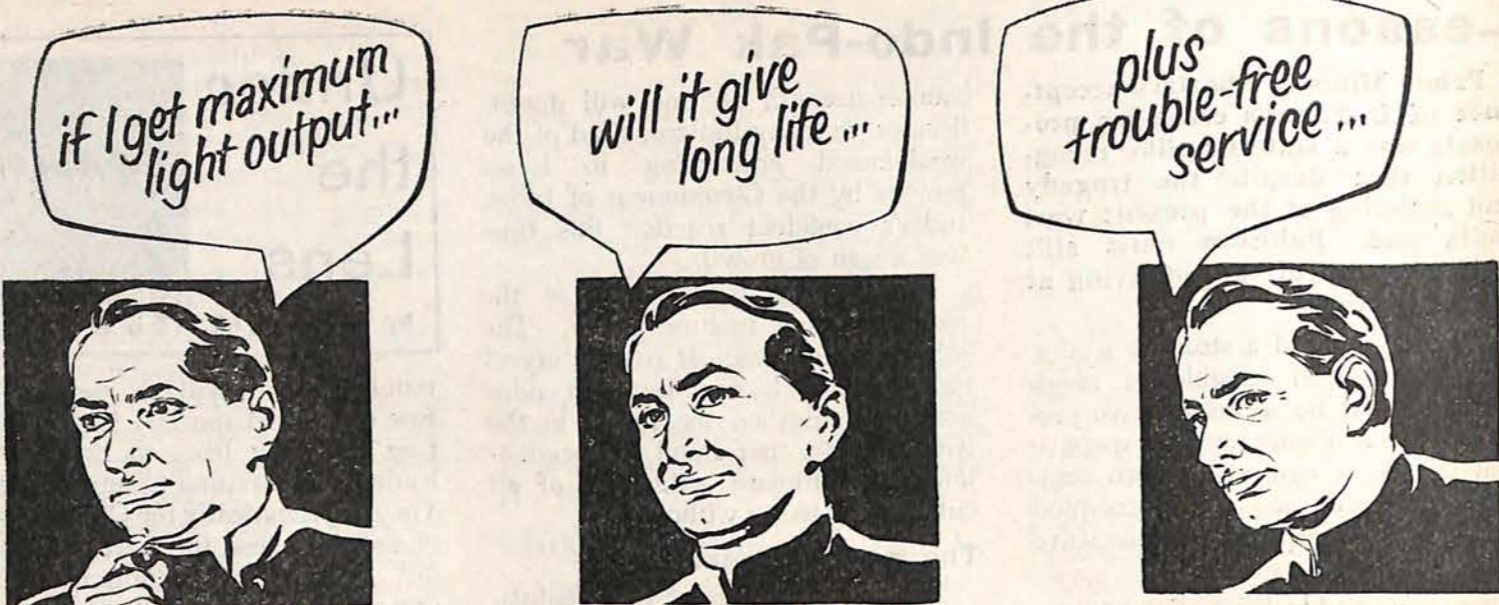


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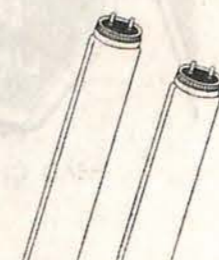


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INDO-PAK WAR— from page 7

assured that there is some chance of keeping Pakistan out of the Chinese bloc of influence, the U.S.A. and also the U.S.S.R. (to a lesser extent) will be cautious in their military (and possibly economic) commitments to India.

The ease and glibness with which the application of economic sanctions and even the stoppage of foodgrain allotments to India and Pakistan have been canvassed in Western quarters, is a sign of our vulnerability.

Without questioning the soundness or sincerity of Western motives, it is possible to suggest that India has to plan her future largely in terms of her own resources and technical know-how. One of the steps in India's growing maturity may well be to stand on her own feet, much as Communist China learnt to do when Khrushchev stopped aid and withdrew Soviet technicians.

There is also a strong argument for developing closer relations with the highly developed smaller nations. If we are prepared to pay for what we buy, we can obtain from them the technological base for our economic and military development. In either case, great sacrifice will be needed to generate both the export surplus and the investment capacity needed.

When the bugles call no more and the cheering has stopped, India, technically at peace, will face a more hostile world. It will then be time for a new call to arms.

The nation will have to gear itself to a near-impossible effort to tackle not only our age-old poverty but also our pathetic dependence on others for food and ships and arms. And in the grim, hard, difficult but satisfying way, India will have to learn and work to become a modern power.

WHAT THE WORLD SAYS

Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo

INDIA, champion of the non-aligned countries, and Pakistan, which had leaned toward a neutral foreign policy, have now, in essence, condoned settlement by armed might. How loud a voice can they expect to have in international politics in the future?

Generalanzeiger, Bonn

THIS WAR is not only senseless and fraught with great dangers... It is also grotesque, and this is not only because of India's avowed policy of peaceful compromise. This war is being waged by two developing countries living on other nations' work.

Borba, Belgrade

PAKISTAN and India would, by taking urgent steps to stop the conflict, do great service both to themselves and to world peace. And, above all, to peace in Asia, over which the threatening shadows of foreign colonialism are hanging and colliding.

The Observer, London

IT HAS happened again. Two large nations, led not by power-mad megalomaniacs but by sane, civilized and level-headed men, are fighting each other.

The Washington Post

THE CHINESE manoeuvre may have been encouraged by the absence of any specific American commitment to come to India's defence.

L'Aurore, Paris

THE KASHMIR affair has taken a sour and violent turn since the power which is uncontrolled and uncontrollable has granted Pakistan its support and guidance—that is China... It is Peking which is cradle of today's worries.

Avanti, Italy

SOME PEOPLE do not believe India and Pakistan have the resources for a modern war of long duration. But, unfortunately, both countries have enormous masses which, should they become fanatic, could transform this present-day war into an ancient battle of huge proportions.

Times of Ceylon

NATIONS, like people, are judged by the company they keep. China's loud vocal support of Pakistan in its quarrel with India certainly did Pakistan no good in the eyes of the world.

Die Welt, Hamburg

INDIA's defeat would also mean Pakistan's defeat although Pakistan is at present under Chinese protection. Should Communism prove stronger than the attempt at democracy made by India, no country from Pakistan to Indonesia would be spared or able to go any other way.

Le Monde, Paris

Would it not be possible to conceive of a Kashmir independent of both India and Pakistan and guaranteed by the U.N. or the Commonwealth?

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

U.S. Dilemma Over Indo-Pak Conflict

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Los Angeles

"The policy of the United States in Asia makes no sense at all unless it rests on a firm foundation of friendship with India. In size and in resources of intellectual leadership, India stands foremost among the nations who have won their independence in recent years," wrote Max Freedman in the "Los Angeles Times".

He predicted that Washington's attitude towards India would "breed great troubles" unless a change took place. He criticized the giving of a virtual veto to Pakistan over our relations with India in the past.

America has made the mistake, perhaps out of sheer innocence, of lumping India and Pakistan together in our thinking instead of taking them separately as sovereign states on their own merits. At other times it was thought Pakistan deserved special consideration because she signed a military alliance with America.

"The results of this policy," said Freedman, "have been 'deplorable', for all too often the U.S. has compromised its policies towards India out of a nervous fear of what 'closer' relations with New Delhi would signify in Pakistan."

The result is that, despite U.S. compliances, Pakistan has "embraced an ominous association with China". The stipulation in providing military aid to Pakistan was that none of it

would be used against India. This agreement has been broken.

At last the United States has seen fit to suspend delivery of military supplies to Pakistan. In recent years almost \$6,000 million in aid has been given to India and \$3,500 million in aid has been given to Pakistan. In the present conflict between two old friends, the U.S. is in a dilemma as to what to do.

The American people have been shocked by the ferocity of the reported fighting on both sides. The Government is seeking every means possible to aid in bringing about a cease-fire believed to be agreeable to India.

Japan Urges Peace

FROM TOSHIO HARA

Tokyo

The Indo-Pakistan conflict has swept the rest of the news off the front pages of Japan's newspapers.

Editorials and commentaries have unanimously urged a truce, but they are all strong on analysis and weak

on solutions. This weakness reflects a general atmosphere of pacifism and fence-sitting that has permeated Japan in post-war years.

The twenty years since the end of World War II have seen in Japan an emotional abhorrence of war and hesitancy about relations with her Asian neighbours. Without shedding these attitudes, Japan has emerged as industrially the most powerful nation in Asia and a key ally of the West. In a sense, Japan is like an actor pushed into a starring role in the current hit without having learned his lines.

In this role, Japan has yet to fulfil an effective part in the drama of Asia. Her Constitution prohibits the use of arms in international issues. It has often served as a shield to hide the fear of involvement. Leftists have used it to oppose even the sending of Japanese medical teams to help the Vietnamese.

It is a similar public fear of escalation that encourages editors to spread Kashmir over the pages of their papers today. Prime Minister Sato has sent messages to both Prime Minister Shastri and President Ayub Khan urging a peaceful settlement, without concrete offers or proposals. His special envoy Shojiro Kawashima, in a recent visit to New Delhi, could do little more. Japan is still groping for an effective, useful role in Asia, but still remains reluctant to pay the full price of responsibility.

If the new treaty opening normal relations with the Republic of Korea

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

is successfully ratified by the Japanese Diet this autumn (it will be not without considerable political conflict), it may help Japan to take on larger commitments. Although in-

After Singapore's Breakaway

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Singapore

The merits or demerits of the dispute between the Tunku Abdul Rahman and Lee Kuan Yew are arguable. The significant thing for the outside world is their respective purposes.

The Tunku could unify Indian, Malay, Dyak, and Chinese because he had the purpose to create Malaysia. Lee Kuan Yew's purpose is to manage Singapore.

Beyond Malaysia, the Tunku aspired to create Maphilindo—a loose federation of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia. This would form a nation of 160,000,000 people.

It is certainly the intention of the Communist Party of Indonesia to prevent this. Hence their manipulation of Sukarno onto courses which make the federation impossible. Nevertheless, the possibility remains that other Indonesians will substitute statesmanship for circuses when Sukarno dies, and the prevention of Maphilindo is a major objective of the Indonesian Communists.

Confrontation is without question the achievement of the Communist Party and the policy is the product of three considerations which are Communist, but not Indonesian, interests.

The first is that confrontation has removed 15 battalions from Java to Sumatra and 12 from Java to Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo). Java has 80 per cent of the population of Indonesia. If the Communists are to seize power it is essential to get the Army out of Java.

The second is that confrontation damages the economy of Indonesia severely. Outlying regions of Indonesia became prosperous supplying the needs of Malaysia and Singapore. The Malay dollar circulated in the Riouw islands. Sukarno has made it a death matter to trade with Malaysia and dire poverty has befallen thousands. Malaysia is a country prepared to utilize foreign capital and

volving entirely different issues from the Kashmir crisis, a fully implemented reconciliation with Korea may provide practical examples to help solve the basic problems of distrust and indignation that underly other international conflicts.

foreign skills and to encourage the cross-fertilization of ideas from free enterprise, Socialism or anywhere. The result is that, outside of Japan, it has the most rapid rate of economic advance in Asia. Indonesia has the most rapid rate of deterioration.

Thirdly, Malaysia may be the hub of Maphilindo, and unity for South-East Asia is not on any Communist programme.

Very largely in deference to sentiment aroused by India, Malaysia (and now independent Singapore) pursues an official policy of non-alignment. Concretely, Malaysia and Singapore are not part of SEATO.

British, Australian and New Zealand warships in Singapore or in Malaysian harbours are not SEATO forces even if they are part of the SEATO reserve! They are "anti-confrontation forces".

Forty thousand citizens of Singapore, 9 per cent of its employed work force, derive their livelihood from the defence bases in Singapore. The payroll for employees of the British services is 95,000,000 Malay dollars per annum. Outlay for supplies on contract is about \$M65,000,000. Expenditure of servicemen locally is about \$M100,000,000 annually. For rupee equivalents double these figures, and then assess their significance in a community of 1,800,000 souls.

Lee Kuan Yew has asserted that the bases may continue so long as they protect Singapore from confrontation and because of their economic significance. These are not long-term considerations in a dangerous world. The question surrounding the Singapore base is whether Britain feels it is more trouble than it is worth.

The week in Asia

PEKING—The Foreign Ministry summoned India's Charge d'Affaires at 1 a.m. last week and presented an ultimatum that India dismantle all military installations on the Sikkim border within three days or face "grave consequences". The note charged that there had been 30 Indian air or ground intrusions across this section of the border since the 1962 fighting. Peking later extended the time limit a further three days.

GANGTOK—The Maharaja of Sikkim denied China's charges that India had built military fortifications on the Chinese side of the Sikkim-Tibet border. "Our people will resist to the last man any aggression on our territory," he declared.

KABUL—It is reported here that Pakistani troops have withdrawn from a town in Baluchistan following an attack by Pathan tribesmen.

RAWALPINDI—President Ayub Khan declared that Pakistan remained adamant in its demand for a Kashmir plebiscite and if this was agreed to, would make a "purposeful cease-fire and an honourable settlement" with India.

SAIGON—Military strategists are baffled at Viet Cong inactivity. As the rains near their end, the Viet Cong appear to have abandoned their objective of cutting South Vietnam in two during the monsoon season.

HONG KONG—Vice President Kawashima of the Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party who has just been in New Delhi, told newsmen that he doubted the Indo-Pakistani conflict would develop into a major war, but he did not foresee an early settlement of the dispute.

DJAKARTA—The offices of Air India and the Indian Information Service were ransacked by Indonesian mobs. The Indian Embassy is evacuating the wives and children of its personnel because of the tide of anti-Indian feeling in the country. All Indian shops have been confiscated by the Government.

PEKING—Radio Peking denounced U Thant's peace mission, describing him as a "political broker of U.S. imperialism". It accused the U.N. of "protecting India's large-scale military aggression against Pakistan".

TOKYO—Japan is withholding yen credit to Pakistan pending a settlement of the conflict. Similar measures will be taken with India.

RAWALPINDI—Foreign Minister Bhutto told a banquet to honour the visiting Iranian Prime Minister and the Turkish Foreign Minister, "We have made our final choice—victory or disaster... Pakistan can never be complete without self-determination for Kashmir. This is the demand of the Muslims of the subcontinent."

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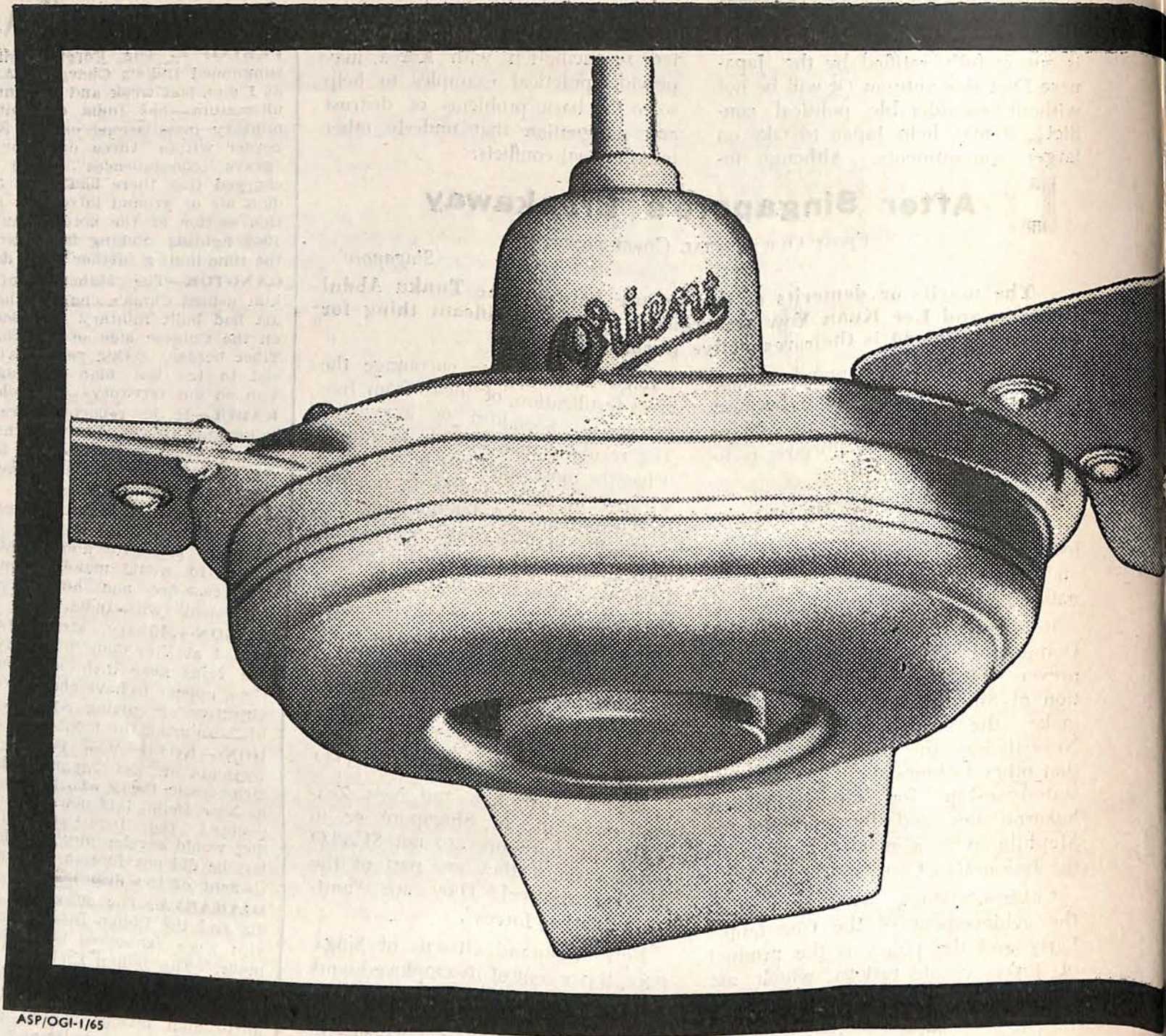


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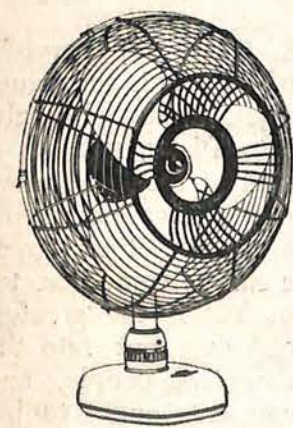
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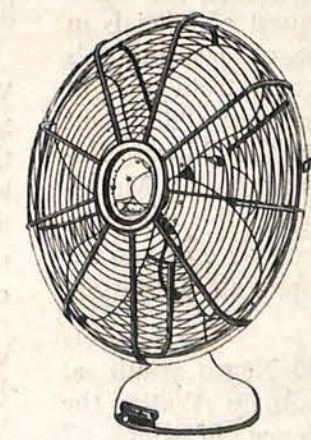
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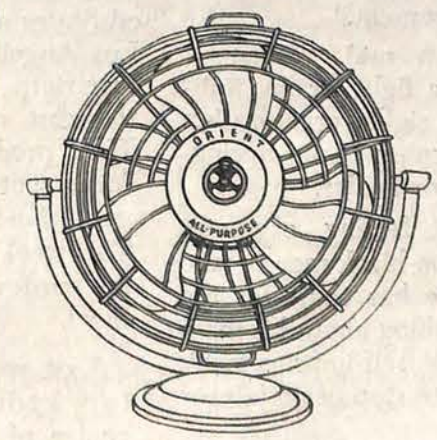
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Civil Rights Movement Endangered

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

New York

Civil rights leaders are in danger of losing the support and respect of the broad mass of American people for their important movement.

The civil rights demonstration was a failure in Springfield, Massachusetts. The Negroes refused to co-operate wholeheartedly with the politically ambitious civil rights leaders.

For over 100 years Springfield has been free of racial conflict. Suddenly in August Negro agitators began crying "police brutality". Organizers from outside Springfield tried to stir up the 18,000 Negroes who live in the community. They staged a "camp out" on the City Hall steps. A protest meeting was held in the central square of the city. Stores were picketed calling for a boycott until the brutality charges were resolved. Fire bombs were thrown into stores.

The demonstrations culminated in a march of 1,000 (considered a poor turnout) and was policed by the State National Guard. State Attorney General Edward W. Brooke, a Negro, stepped in to help cool the crisis.

The charge of police brutality could not be substantiated. The question was, what lay behind the sudden racial upheaval in a community that had never seen racial conflict?

A civil rights spokesman boasted that a "Northern Selma was in the making". The Mayor of Springfield said, "These weren't civil rights demonstrations, they were demonstrations against government."

A Negro citizen said, "What is going on here is a fight among militants in the civil rights organization to see who was going to be Springfield's No. 1 Negro leader."

"If this present feeling of antagonism persists, the black man is sure to lose. The time has come for the Negro to do something about his main problem which is self-improvement. It is time for him to stop using 'abuse' as a crutch.

"The right way for the Negro is registration, voting, full participation in civic life. He must earn respect. He can't get it by trying to

intimidate the white people. There are just too many of them."

The Mayor said, "I'm too busy to be bitter. I want to bring industry here to benefit both Negro and white."

A senior citizen sitting outside the courthouse said, "While most folks will let the sleeping dog lie, now there are fellows who make it their business to kick every poor sleeping dog they can find."

Britain's First Five Year Plan

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

Two hundred thousand words on how everyone can become more efficient. That is the new national plan published by the Government and aimed to increase Britain's output 25 per cent by 1970.

Its author, George Brown, calls it "a major advance in economic policy-making". Opposition Leader Heath

The week elsewhere

MRA'S FREEDOM TRAIN

LOS ANGELES—A "freedom train" carrying 300 Negro, white and American Indian youth crossed the United States at the request of officials in Los Angeles, scene of last month's race riots. The 15-coach train brought the cast of the musical, "Sing-Out '65", produced at the Moral Re-Armament demonstration at Mackinac Island, Michigan, this summer. This week, thousands were due to see the musical in the open-air Hollywood Bowl.

Last week, 4,000 Negro youth at two leading schools in Watts, the centre of the violence in which 37 lost their lives, gave "Sing-Out '65" an ovation. Most of them had taken part in the riots. A school principal told the cast, "You don't realize what

"a publicity gimmick". But both sides of industry have given it a warm if cautious reception. The Confederation of British Industry says even the harshest critic and greatest planning sceptic cannot dismiss the first attempt to put the economy on a carefully laid out course.

Greater mobility of labour, outrooting restrictive practices, increased investment in manufacturing, reduced foreign aid, spending on imports restrained, the lagging regions of Britain revived—these are some of the measures outlined in the 474-page document. It is wholly pre-occupied with Britain.

With foreign creditors looking over his shoulder and the Parliamentary majority dwindling around him, the Minister of Economic Affairs was not free to do all he wanted. It is a five-year plan, but there is real doubt whether the Government will last five months. What is still lacking is a continuing aim that enlists people and will work whoever is in power.

Brown says, "This isn't a plan to tell us what to do, when and how. That wouldn't be acceptable to a nation like ours." The *Evening News* commented, "You're wrong, Mr. Brown. This nation of ours is waiting for just that sort of plan." In other words, we have a national plan. Now we need a national purpose to make it work.

you have done here. This was the first day of term and the first time they had all been together since the riots. We had no idea what would happen."

Los Angeles County Supervisor Warren Dorn, who with his colleague, Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, brought the MRA force to Watts, said, "We have been present at the most moving, most impressive occasion any of us can remember. It took great courage for the cast to come here today. 'Sing-Out '65' is the greatest weapon for good ever put into the hands of the American people, and the force it represents ought to become the foreign policy of the United States."

Dorn, whose Board of Supervisors governs seven million people in 76

cities, said he was laying plans for this stage show to appear on every college and university campus in California's huge educational network.

NORWAY MOVES RIGHT

OSLO—Last week's Norwegian General Election ended the rule of the Labour Party, which has been in power since 1935. The results indicated that the Opposition coalition parties would have a majority of 10 in the Storting, the Norwegian Parliament. The coalition consists of the Conservatives, Centre Party, Liberals and Christian Democrats. The new Prime Minister is likely to be either Mr. John Lyng (Conservative), Mr. Bent Roiseland (Liberal) or Mr. Per Borten (Centre). Observers feel the election reflects the Norwegian people's desire for a change of government, rather than a reaction against socialism as such.

BOMBS AND BLACKBOARDS

TEHERAN—A crash programme to break the back of world illiteracy within ten years was proposed at the UNESCO Congress on World Illiteracy here last week. The Congress was initiated by the Shah of Iran who believes his own country's experience can help solve the problems. Three years ago Iran formed an "army of knowledge" or literacy corps by sending men of military age to the villages to teach people to read and write. Secondary school graduates are given the choice of military training or service as village teachers. Those who join the literacy corps do three months' training, then 14 months' service in a village. Ten thousand teachers have been put in the field. By 1967 Iran expects to have 35,000 at work. The villagers are said to have received the teachers with enthusiasm. In three years, more one-room village schools have been built than in the whole previous history of the Ministry of Education.

At the Congress the Shah called on nations to give part of their military expenditure to an international fund to fight illiteracy. He said the world spent \$120,000 million a year on arms—\$13 million an hour. Iran was willing to contribute to such a fund.

The world has an estimated 700 million illiterates. In most parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America the proportion is over 75 per cent. U.N. experts believe 40 per cent adult literacy is the minimum necessary to ensure economic progress in developing countries.

SOME CHANNEL CROSSING!

HAMBURG—Franz Cords, a German water sports enthusiast, plans to cross the Channel between England and France on motorized water-skis, his



own invention. For the 22-mile crossing Cords will wear his rubber skin diver's suit and leave the umbrella behind. Cords thinks his invention will be useful to skin divers and that boat owners could use it as a dinghy.

GUERRILLA TRAINING

MOSCOW—Latin Americans are the biggest number of this year's intake at Lumumba University. The pro-Rector, Pavel Yevzin, told Tass news agency that the 600 new students included 200 from Latin America, 150 from Africa, 120 from South-East Asia and 130 from the Middle East. This year the University would have 3,500 students from 82 countries. A Moscow Radio broadcast last month said the number of Latin American students was to be increased because "the new dawn" of the liberation campaign there had begun. According to a report in *The Scotsman*, this broadcast contained an admission that Lumumba University students are trained in guerrilla warfare.

The week in India

AHMEDABAD—Gujarat Chief Minister Balwantrao Mehta and his wife died in the crash of a government plane en route to a meeting in Saurashtra.

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Shastri told a cheering Parliament that in the face of the Chinese ultimatum, India was prepared "to fight for our freedom with grim determination". In order not to give the Chinese a false pretext for any action he announced that he had agreed to their proposal for a joint inspection of the military installations along the Sikkim-Tibet border. "The might of China will not deter us from fighting for our territorial integrity," he declared.

NEW DELHI—Chinese troops moved towards the Indian border opposite Sikkim and Ladakh. China is believed to have 200,000 men stationed in these areas.

NEW DELHI—The Prime Minister dismissed a suggestion that Parliament be extended beyond September 24. He told members that the greatest service they could do was to work in their constituencies to rally the people.

AMRITSAR—Indian troops established positions on the Lahore side of the Ichhogil canal, a tank barrier forming a major part of the city's inner line of defence.

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Shastri agreed to U.N. proposals for an immediate, unconditional cease-fire if Pakistan agreed as well.

NEW DELHI—74 Members of Parliament, including seven women, submitted their names for service in the armed forces.

NEW DELHI—India has cancelled landing privileges for Indonesia's Garuda Airlines in retaliation for mob attacks on the Embassy and Air India offices in Djakarta.

NEW DELHI—Food Minister Subramanian has proposed a new and austere food-rationing scheme under which no adult will be guaranteed more than eight ounces of cereal a day. This drastic reduction from the original 12 ounces has been caused by dwindling food stocks, uncertainty of future imports of American grain and war pressures.

NEW DELHI—A bill to replace the present federal structure of India's Constitution with a unitary form of government was introduced into the Lok Sabha with strong support.

BOMBAY—A mass meeting of the Jan Sangh Party demanded New Delhi reject the U.N.'s cease-fire proposal and allow the Army to take over all Pakistani-occupied Kashmir.

AMRITSAR—Over 60 per cent of Pakistan's tank strength was reported destroyed in battles with Indian forces.

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VIEWPOINT

First Prize: Rs. 35

SHOULD ENGLISH BE INDIA'S NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOREVER?

by Mrs. Pankaja Srinath, Bangalore 19

THE STATUS of the English language in independent India has been a matter of much controversy ever since the British left India. Irrespective of the fact that it is the language of India's ex-rulers, English is so deep-rooted in the country's national set-up that it would be absurd to brush it aside as a foreign language. As a matter of fact, even now, after eighteen years of independence, English happens to be the one and only means of communication and the instrument towards national unity and integration. Without English, there would have been just chaos and confusion in this vast sub-continent where no less than fourteen languages have been accorded Constitutional recognition.

English language has now become an integral part and parcel of our lives and it is indeed an asset. Edu-

COMMENT

"The language issue is no more an 'issue'. It is not even a controversy. It is a muddle," says a contributor to this week's competition. Two-thirds of the contributors want English to remain the national language forever, or for a considerable period of time.

This majority opinion has brought a sharp comment from Mr. N. B. Kulkarni, Bombay, who says, "If Indians are unable to accept an Indian language as a national language... they do not deserve to remain free."

Mr. Alex Francis, Poona, gives the rejoinder, "May Providence save us from the narrow nationalism and distorted outlook that would deprive India of England's greatest gift."

Those in favour of English have put a strong case. English, they claim, cannot be dubbed as a foreign language, as it has been declared by the Constitution as "one of the languages of India".

Others claim that our national unity is due to English and quote Maulana Azad, that "the unity of the north and south was made possible through the medium of English".

Those against English do have a good case, but have not succeeded in pungently presenting it. It may well be that a future Hindi edition of HIMMAT may have two-thirds of its readers against English and only one-third for it.

—Editor

cation, day-to-day administration, trade and commerce, both inland and foreign, and in fact, every vital thing still continue in English only. Having been in vogue for more than two centuries, the English language has earned a permanent and rightful place in the Indian way of life. For this very reason, English was given a place in our Constitution as well.

True, every nation needs a national language. But why should a language which is already serving the cause of the nation in every conceivable manner be denied official recognition merely because it happens to be mother tongue of a foreign land? If English is considered a foreign language, to what an extent can Hindi claim to be indigenous? True, Hindi is spoken in some parts of India but it should not be forgotten that Hindi is as alien as English in so many other parts of this country.

Moreover, the switching over to Hindi would present ever so many problems. Firstly, the language is not fully developed in the sense that technological and scientific terminology are practically non-existent. How would the youth of the country learn engineering and technology which are so essential for the national reconstruction? In addition to learning new subjects, they would have to grope in the dark with a language they are not well versed in. How would the big task of compiling text books be dealt with? Are our Hindi supporters competent enough to tackle this task?

If our nation could borrow money from different nations, if it could borrow technical know-how and technicians from foreign lands, what harm would there be, if we put the official seal on a language which has, through the ages, developed Indian-ness in its own way?

Why should we not acclaim English as our national language? Will we be the less patriotic for this? Certainly not; we would be helping India to hold up its head high in the comity of nations.

COMPETITION

* Should China be admitted to the United Nations?

Closing date: October 1

** Has the Afro-Asian Concept still any meaning?

Closing date: October 8

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RIDICULOUS

N. C. SHAH, Poona 1

IT IS RIDICULOUS to think that a foreign language can be a national language forever.

It is very well known to us, that even after more than a century's British rule over our land, hardly 2 per cent of our population can speak English. As against this, 30 per cent can speak Hindi, and some 22 per cent (those speaking Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu and Punjabi) can learn Hindi easily as these languages have many words common with Hindi.

The problem facing us at present is what should be our national language, English or Hindi? From the above facts one can rationally deduce that it is easier to teach an Indian language to the remaining 48 per cent than to teach a foreign tongue to the 98 per cent of the population.

If this problem is tackled on the realistic pattern rather than political or sentimental basis and viewing this as a national duty, it is sane to predict that within 10 years' time at least 75 per cent of the population will be knowing Hindi.

Those who put the lame excuse that without English as a national language the country cannot survive in this scientific era, should know that in Hitler's Germany English was not the national language nor is the space research of the Soviet Union dependent upon the knowledge of English. It is the slavish mentality that fears the downfall of the country without English as the national language.

LETTERS

EACH ONE, TEACH ONE

SIR: I would like to appeal through your columns to all those, like me, who have been fortunate enough under adverse conditions to receive a free education.

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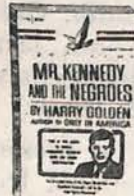
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A. B. KATRAK*

Bombay-1

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SIR: Most universities fail to include social service as an important activity of a student's life and, sadly, neglect this essential aspect of an educational system. The student is not made to realize the poverty, ignorance and disease which cripple our country. He is not made to feel that it is his duty to help his less fortunate countrymen.

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LOY SALDANHA

Bangalore 25

IMPARTIAL REPORTING

SIR: It is indeed a relief for every politically-conscious Indian to witness the growth of an impartial political weekly which we have been very badly lacking all these years. I am sure the balanced approach with which you present every one of our domestic problems will give a correct picture of our nation's political scene to readers overseas, to whom India and its policies have always been baffling. The first thing that attracts me in your weekly is the last page article by Rajmohan Gandhi who has so much to offer to our immature parliamentarians.

May I request you to consider introducing a feature on the political events of various states of India. This will widen your readers' vision and bring them out from their isolation.

A. S. JANARTHANAN

Karur, Madras State

DOUBLE VIETNAM POLICY

SIR: Deputy Foreign Minister Dinesh Singh's statement (HIMMAT September 9) that "Prime Minister Shastri's branding of the infiltrators' tactics in Kashmir as similar to Chinese tactics employed in Vietnam, does not mean a change in India's neutral stand on the Vietnam issue", only shows absolute bankruptcy of diplomacy. As long as we condemn Pakistan for aggression and

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the adoption of Chinese tactics of infiltration, it would be both illogical and unstatesmanlike if we still hold a neutral stand in the Vietnam crisis. Further, after branding Pakistan's tactics as similar to Chinese tactics it is foolish to proclaim that we are neutral in the Vietnam conflict. We cannot hold two different policies on the same issue.

N. VASUDEVAN

Madras-8

PROUD OF INDIA

SIR: I read your "On the Spot" on Dr. Telang. I was very proud to know that 98 per cent of the equipment of our Everest expedition was Indian and that the weather forecast was always 100 per cent correct. These may be minor points for many, but they are of great value to me. The slightest good thing that takes place in India makes me proud. I wish such things would happen and we would hear of it every day.

REKHA NANGLA

Bombay 67

CONDUCT OF MINISTERS

SIR: The conduct code prescribed for Ministers of all States is not only a recipe for good government but it is also helpful to check up corruption and graft in public administration. But the Government should see to the meticulous implementation of the various rules adumbrated in the code. However, it should be remembered that it is not rules that make a good Minister but his own standards of conduct imposed by his conscience, the esprit de corps and tradition of service and by the watchfulness of public opinion. After all, the people value good government.

RAJAIAR P.

Nellore

FOREIGNERS' STATUES

SIR: I read A. S. Tata's letter with interest. While I agree fully with the views expressed by him, I doubt whether the recent action taken by the Government of India against the S.S.P.'s volunteers both in Bombay and New Delhi will have any fruitful results. In my opinion, the Government itself should remove the foreigners' statues slowly and carefully, and arrange a suitable place either in the National Museum, New Delhi, or construct a building to keep them there and prevent the anti-social elements from disfiguring them. At the same time, the places vacated by the foreigners' statues should be reserved for Indian leaders' statues.

K. L. VARAHAN

New Delhi 16

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

Citizens Needed for Defence

SAYS PARATROOP GENERAL

AT THE TIME of the Kutch fighting, a distinguished General of the Indian Army was addressing a group of 300 college and school students. "India's defence depends upon her physical strength, economic stability and moral determination... The armed forces are responsible for physical strength alone. The other qualities must be created by the ordinary citizen.

"It is your task," he said, "to make our country worth fighting for and dying for. Modern war is fought not so much for the conquest of territory, but for the conquest of people through their minds and hearts. It is a moral conquest rather than a physical conquest. It goes on in peace as well as in war. The opponent's aim is to kill a nation's will to resist."

Today many of those young people will remember the words of Major-General Y. S. Paranjpe, who holds the Chair of Military Studies at Poona University. Educated at Sandhurst.

Major-General Paranjpe has seen service in the Middle East and Kashmir in 1947-1948. At that time he was in the Jammu-Noshera-Kotli sector. He retired a few years ago.

How did you happen to join the Army?

"I wanted to. In those days after I had passed my science course in college, I had to beg my family to let me appear for the competitive examination. I passed and was selected for Royal Military College at Sandhurst."

What regiment did you join on your return?

"I was first in the cavalry and then moved into the infantry. Later I was a paratrooper."

You recommend the Army as a career?

"I most certainly do."

Did you enjoy your time there?

"Thoroughly. I do feel however that we need the brightest students who seek other professions like engi-



Major-General and Mrs. Paranjpe

neering and science, seriously to consider the Army as a career."

What do you feel about the spirit of our people in this crisis?

"Very good. I hope they keep it up. With recent developments, including the threat of China, it is important that this spirit lasts in the nation. That has got to be done by judiciously handling food and consumer goods so that the hard conditions of war are softened for the common man. It seems this conflict will be a long drawn-out affair and a pretty stiff one at that."

As you talk to Major-General Paranjpe, you realize that you are talking not only to a soldier who is concerned about the Army and physical defence, but to a patriot who passionately loves the land in which he was born.

Strategic Studies

He has a cool and collected air as he puffs his pipe, but behind it is a determination to make this nation alive to the need for military studies—a cause for which he has fought relentlessly for some years. It was due to his persistence that the first Department of Military Studies was established at an Indian University—in Poona. General Paranjpe would like to see at least four or five such Chairs established.

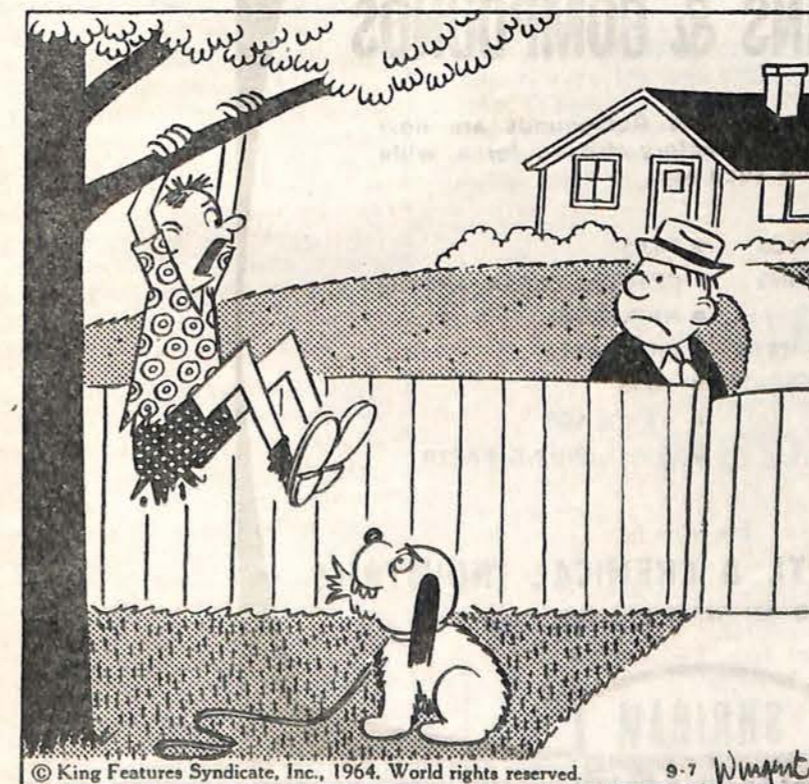
"Delhi is a good place and maybe Allahabad, Madras and Calcutta could be added to that," he said.

Why do you select as many as five places? Do you not think that one major Institute of Strategic Studies should be sufficient for India?

"India is a large country and if in its many regions anyone wants to do anything to study and understand

Continued on next page

HUBERT



"He's going to make a wonderful watchdog when I get him trained."

military studies, he should have an opportunity to do so."

Do you envisage a central body to co-ordinate activities?

"The activities will have to be co-ordinated by the institutions themselves. They can exchange ideas, publications and papers. Most advanced nations have unofficial institutes for the purpose. London has the well-known Institute for Strategic Studies, and similar institutions exist in France and Germany."

You believe that these institutions should be completely separate from Government control?

"Exactly. The Universities of Harvard and Princeton have Centres of International Studies to carry out research in political and strategic subjects affecting the interests of the United States. The Government gives contracts to these institutions and their results help the Government to evaluate their own policies better in the light of independent findings."

Do you think that Ministers and officials who are civilians are capable of evaluating our strategic policies?

"The world is too complicated for the detailed attention of civilians who, with other responsibilities, seldom have the time. Today there are over 100 nations each with a different background in different stages of development with different alignments. The permutations and combinations of inter-action are immense. Each region must be thoroughly examined in its various economic, industrial and strategic aspects. Forgetting other countries for the moment, I was keen that an impartial and independent body did research on India's war economy. What effects would war have on controls, taxation, distribution of resources, etc.? It would have helped to have had such a study at this hour."

Finance Needed

What has been the bottleneck?

"Finance. The *raison d'etre* of the Institutes I have in mind is that the study should be objective and independent of official influence."

Who is going to finance them?

"I believe it is the people who are affected most in war and it is their

duty to support strategic studies, especially the business men and industrialists."

In specific terms can you spell out the needs?

"An Institute needs a good library or should be close to a good one with military books added to it. It should have adequate journals and other facilities. There should be experts on relevant subjects. Above all, it needs money for research workers. I tried to form a defence study group in Poona University. If the group had even Rs. 10,000 a year at its disposal a research section could have been built up. There is nothing to stop the universities from giving an allocation and I dare say that it will be more valuable doing research on subjects like the impact of war on Indian economy."

Do you think the present crisis has made people conscious of the importance of your struggle to advance military studies in India?

"I hope it has."

This was a life

GEORGE WASHINGTON

1732—1799

"FIRST IN WAR, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Today, as when he died, this expresses what Americans feel about the father their nation.

Washington rose to leadership because of a character that inspired confidence and loyalty. The son of a Virginia tobacco planter, as a youth he kept a notebook in which he recorded the strict standards he aimed to live by. The story is told that when one of his father's cherry trees was damaged, Washington owned up, saying, "Father, I did it. I cannot tell a lie."

When the American War of Independence broke out, Washington, who had shown qualities of leadership in earlier fighting with French colonists, was called to lead the revolutionary army. The better-equipped British gained initial successes. A desperate winter followed in 1777-8 at Valley Forge, where the Americans were forced to withdraw.

Short of supplies, his army indisciplined and dispirited, Washington went out into the snow alone and fell on his knees in prayer. "Let us raise standards to which the wise and honest can repair," he said. "The event is in the hand of God."

He kept his army together. Reinforcements came from France. The British army was forced to surrender at Yorktown. In 1783 Britain recognized the independence of the 13 original colonies. Washington, who had spent a personal fortune in the war, resigned his command and retired into private life.

At the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Washington was unanimously elected first President of the new republic. For the second time, at his country's call, he left Mount Vernon, his beautiful home on the banks of the Potomac River. He was elected President for a second term, but refused to serve a third, thus setting a precedent observed today.

He devoted himself to improving his estates. "There is no proverb in the catalogue more true," he would say, "than 'A penny saved is a penny got'."

In his Farewell Address to Congress, Washington told his countrymen: "Of all the habits and dispositions which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert those great pillars of human happiness. 'Tis substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government."

Q and A

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

Q—What is the role of an agricultural graduate in a national emergency?

A. RAMLULU, Hyderabad 12
A—Produce, produce, produce. In a national emergency any talent you have has to be used fully. Many an agricultural graduate in India dislikes even the thought of going on the land and working with his hands. If we love our country, this sort of snobbishness has to end. If we attempt the difficult, we may even begin to enjoy it.

Q—What can be the fitting answer to the unwarranted hostile attitude of Sukarno's Indonesia towards Shastri's India?

DAMJI JIVRA J. SHAHA, Bombay 9

A—Sukarno's quarrel is not only with India. It is with anyone who stands in his path. For him the world is divided between two groups. The Nefos (New Emerging Forces) and the Olefos (Old Established Forces). Nations are lumped into one or the other group as suits Dr. Sukarno. India goes among the Olefos.

One should understand that Indonesia today is becoming the hatchet man of Communist China in South-East Asia and the forces it symbolizes run absolutely contrary to the values and democratic life India symbolizes.

Beyond the obvious need for military and naval preparedness, the answer to Sukarno is to create a massive bid to direct the thinking of all Asia on lines superior to the one China is giving today. It means, as HIMMAT has advocated a few weeks ago, the creation of a belt of nations round China and Indonesia who are totally dedicated, with

all they have, to create a new society where men work hard enough, where wages and profits are fair, where there is no class hatred or distinctions of race, colour or creed. In this effort for Asia's moral re-armament, India, Japan, her neighbours will all have a part.

Q—"MRA deals with politicians and not with politics." Comment.

SURESH SHETTY, Bangalore 7

A—Correct. MRA's initiator, Dr. Buchman, used to say that at international conferences there were more problems around the table than on the table. His intense preoccupation with men rather than their colour of politics helped him, for example, to inspire politicians like Schuman and Adenauer to architect the unity of Europe. Should it not be normal to find Congress, Socialist, Swatantra or Jan Sangh M.P.s, differing on specific political issues, united in their conviction to bring about a moral renaissance? And this happens the world over. MRA deals with human nature, and human nature is the same whatever political convictions one may have.

Q—How can we eradicate the poverty of our toiling millions?

T. E. R. SIMHAN, New Delhi

A—Recent events have shown that there are considerable inner resources in the Indian nation. A major conflict, like the one at present, brings out the best in us—patriotism, sense of duty, discipline, and hard work. If we could wage a war on poverty in the same spirit in which we defend our country, the scourge of poverty can be removed.

In specific terms, it would involve a vision of what India should be. The nation needs a goal, and eradicating poverty, noble as it is, is not a big enough one. A big enough purpose would be the remaking of society. It means eradicating not only poverty of the physical world, but the poverty of the mind and knowledge, and above all, the poverty of the spirit. In that sense the poverty you talk about can be ended quicker than planners think.

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Will Asia Lose?

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Singapore

PAKISTANIS AND INDIANS are locked in conflict over Kashmir.

Here, relations between Malays and Chinese are the worst in years. The separation of Singapore—with an 80 per cent Chinese population—from Malaysia—now with a 55 per cent Malay population—has neither cured nor caused the hate.

In Ceylon, where I was last week, the Sinhalese-Tamil tension is still very much there and could grow to dangerous proportions.

The South Korean Parliament has not yet ratified the treaty with Japan, signed months ago by leaders of the two countries, because students have kept up a barrage of violent demonstrations against it.

Thais and Cambodians continue to glower at each other across their controversial border with frequent incidents of bloodshed.

Lose Blood or Pride

Despite all the solidarity calls to "crush Malaysia" and to be on guard against external enemies, Sukarno's Indonesians refuse to be united. Javanese and Sumatrans still carry traditional animosities in their hearts and wait for the day when they can have it out.

Is Asia condemned to be forever divided, forever destroying what is built, forever exploding with hate into more hate, forever backward and in poverty because her people prefer to lose blood rather than pride?

Are Asians going to prove the European Imperialists right by demonstrating that they cannot live together in friendship and peace?

Was Churchill right and Gandhi wrong? A free Asia, Churchill predicted, would be the scene of secessions, strife and wars, whereas Gandhi maintained that India and Asia could show a brotherhood superior to anything seen in the West.

Is it, in fact, possible that West Europe as a whole may be more united than individual Asian countries?

These are disturbing questions. If the answer in each case is yes, it means that the freedom struggles were pointless, that tomorrow's Asia will be like yesterday's, that a hundred years hence Asia will be the same miserable, unhappy, hate-filled and hurt-filled continent she was five hundred years ago.

Now, I believe that the answer is meant to be no in each case. Whether it becomes so or not depends on Asians of this generation.

We may learn by looking at the story of the American Indians. They are not finished, and in the last few years—thanks to Moral Re-Armament—an amazing development has taken place in their midst that may make them an influential factor in world events.

Their weaknesses were exploited by the Europeans who reached North America; they were pushed out of their ancient lands and herded together to reservations where they were "preserved". But there can be no exploitation without weaknesses, and it is interesting to examine the Red Indians'.

They were shockingly divided tribe by tribe and within each tribe. Few in one tribe bothered to learn the language and customs of another tribe, and fewer tried to meet the needs of a tribe not their own. Self-concern and self-absorption ruled their life. Anyone who urged friendship with the other tribe was suppressed with the cry, "Traitor!". In reality, of course, those who shouted in this fashion were the traitors, men and women whose narrowness invited defeat and whose vanity very nearly killed the entire future of their brave and extraordinary race.

Thinking Each for All

Just as Peking today has a plan for the whole of Asia, Europeans then had a plan for the whole of America. And just as each Asian nation thinks only for itself today, each American Indian tribe thought exclusively for itself.

Suppose the American Indians had thought for more than all the American tribes; suppose they had had a plan for Europe? Red Indians would then have landed in Normandy or Spain or Portugal or Ireland, perhaps, to try and show Europe something more interesting and attractive than what she had.

My point is plain. If the different Asian countries intend to build satisfying societies for their peoples and if they are not to exhaust themselves they will need to think each for all and all for each; and they will need a passion, philosophy and plan to capture Peking with a better idea.

A united people can easily and quickly create economic and military strength. Japan, in recent years, has proved the economic point and can, if she wants to, prove the other also. A divided people can just as easily squander their wealth and strength as well as what they receive from others.

We can and must make Asia a united continent and India a united people. A woman Minister in our Government, possessing a large and valiant heart, told me some time back of four expressions that she felt came with reluctance from Indian lips: "Sorry", "Thank you", "I don't know" and "Congratulations".

If there is truth in her observation, as I believe there is, our internal divisions become understandable. It is the attitude of the big "I" and the small others that is at the root. Steadily, fearlessly, rapidly, we have to transform this attitude in millions of Asians.

Imprecise Hope

There are still some who think that Communism can cure the individualism, parochialism, casteism and racialism of Asia. I respect the Communist dedication but find no basis for this belief. An Indian socialist who visited Moscow in 1923 to meet Lenin told me he found immense barriers between Communists based on pride of race and background, even though every attempt was made to remove them. The class war ideology cannot cure race war or caste war, even though it tries to use both before taking over and suppresses them after taking over.

There are others who equally irrationally expect the fear of Communism or opposition to it to unite the non-Communist Asians. Events have thrown this impractical hope to the winds.

The challenge of remaking the world by modernizing man can unite all Asia above race, caste, nation and class. This challenge is big enough to include everyone—Indian or Pakistani, Malay or Chinese, Sinhalese or Tamil, Communist or anti-Communist.

I believe Asians in their millions will rise to this challenge and create something that Europe, Africa and the Americas need.

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HIMMAT

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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



TOWARDS THE WILL TO LIVE TOGETHER
page 7

President Radhakrishnan: "Look far ahead. Do not be short-sighted."

Friday
October 1
1965

NO TIME TO FAULT FRIENDS

by Rajmohan Gandhi

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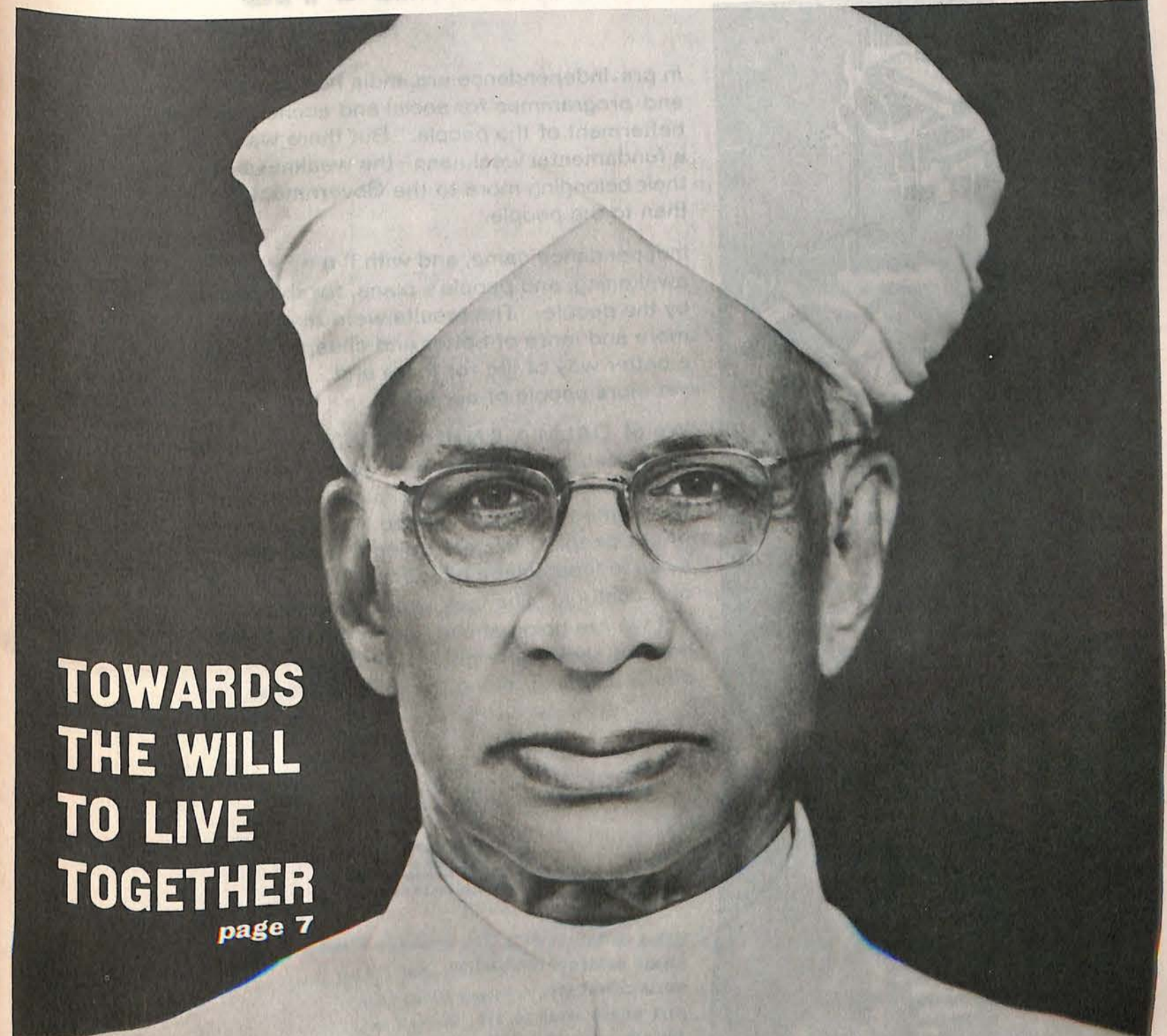
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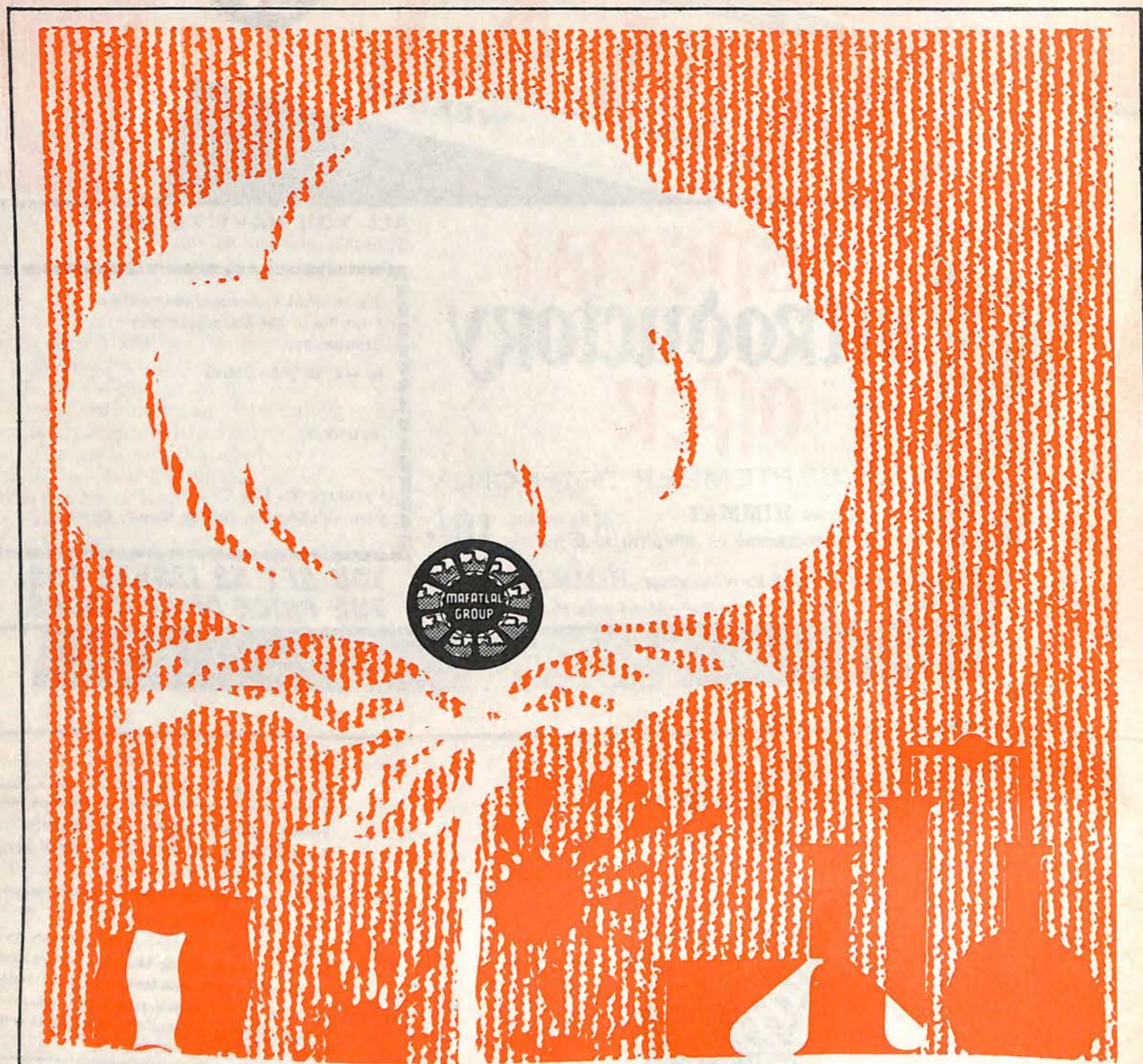


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