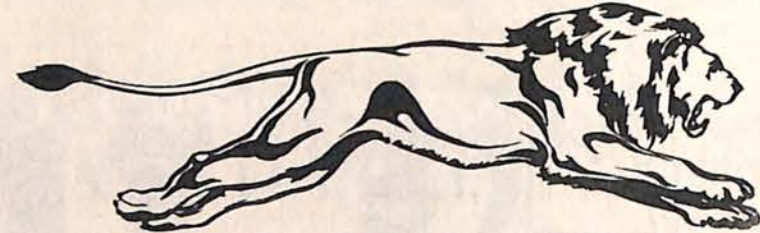




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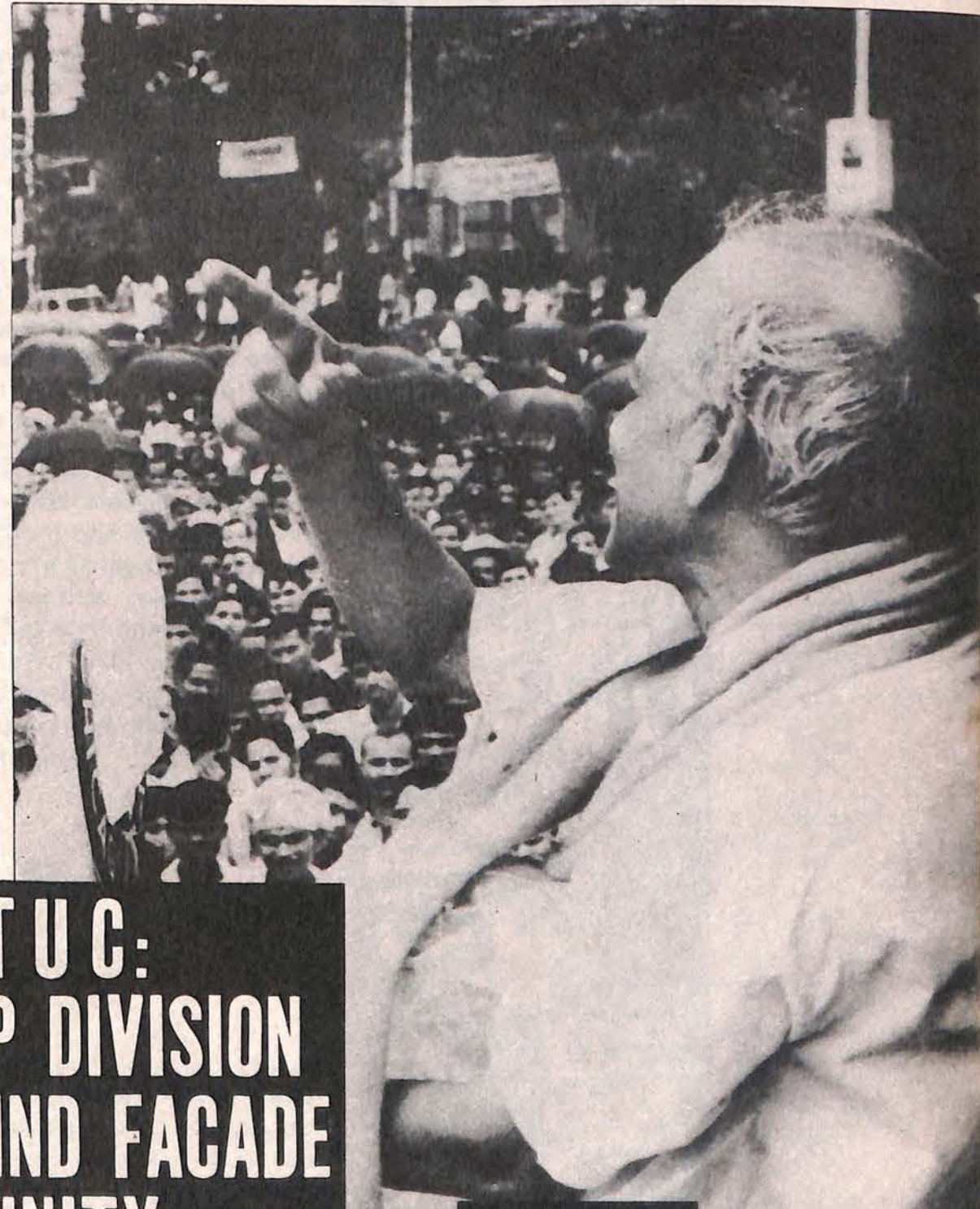
VOL 2 NO 31

Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY JUNE 3 1966



S. S. Mirajkar  
President AITUC



S. A. Dange  
General Secretary AITUC

**AITUC:  
DEEP DIVISION  
BEHIND FACADE  
OF UNITY** Page 5

**EXCLUSIVE REPORT FROM PAKISTAN**  
Page 7



# 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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## DALMIA ENTERPRISES.

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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday June 3 1966

## Bold and Imaginative

INDIA'S unilateral move to normalize trade relations between India and Pakistan is a bold, imaginative step. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has made a bid to restore healthy relations between the two countries. No doubt she hopes Pakistan will reciprocate India's gesture. The trade between the two countries of about Rs. 16 crores annually may not sound much, but then no effort has been made to allow it to grow and the two countries are starving each other of goods.

Pakistan has to import coal from vast distances when India next door has more than enough to spare. India has to set up plants in Gujarat for natural gas when Pakistan across the border has more than its share of it.

The World Bank will be interested in India's move and may well encourage Pakistan to respond. Some people suggest that India should even unilaterally declare that in the next budget there will be no customs duty on goods from Pakistan and create a free-trade area between the two countries. Many elements in Pakistan may respond to a move like that.

Meanwhile it is conceivable that Mrs. Gandhi has taken the present step to feel the climate in Pakistan prior to the next step which may be a meeting between herself and President Ayub.

## Confrontation's Lucky Number

THIRTEEN INDONESIANS and thirteen Malaysians got down to resolving the confrontation tangle in Bangkok last Monday. As HIMMAT goes to press the prospects of agreement are shining bright and throughout South-east Asia and, indeed, the entire world, there can be felt the sense of relief as after nearly three years of stubborn and provocative hostility the two peoples, drawn from common Malay stock, find their way back to friendship.

The stage was set dramatically last week by a surprise dash to Kuala Lumpur by an eight-man Indonesian military peace team led by senior members of the "Crush Malaysia Command". As though the years of vitriol had never been, the Indonesians were embraced and kissed by cheering Malaysians as they landed amidst a thunderous welcome at the airport. Thousands lined the 18-mile route as the Indonesians drove away to the residence of Deputy Premier Tun Abdul Razak. Said Tun Razak: "We can take it now that Indonesia has called off its confrontation unofficially."

It has been admitted by the Indonesian Foreign Office that the cost of confrontation has amounted to 70 per cent of Indonesia's total revenue for each of the past three years. A direct result also has been the increase in Malaysia's defence expenditure from 9 per cent to 30 per cent of its budget. The ending of confrontation plus the strenuous efforts being made by Indonesia's Deputy Prime Minister, the

Sultan of Jogjakarta, to re-establish the flow of economic aid from foreign countries, will mean an end to hardship for millions of Indonesians.

General Suharto's initiative, the Tunku's immediate response, the patient mediation efforts of the Thai Foreign Minister, Thanat Khoman, all have provided a moment of history for South-east Asia. But none of this would have been possible but for the eclipse of President Sukarno, confrontation's relentless gong-beater.

As reluctant as ever to face the truth, Sukarno was smarting under the news coming out of Bangkok. He said on Monday that when the time comes he would speak his mind. "The Indonesian revolution," said Sukarno, "is not yet complete. There are many problems that are left unsolved." One of the problems is his own future, were he only to read the writing on the wall. Already there is talk of former Vice-President Mohammed Hatta being nominated for the post of President when Sukarno either bows out humiliated or is forced out unwillingly.

With Sukarno's spell broken and the Indonesia-Malaysia conflict terminated the gay and spirited people of these great countries have a new role in world affairs offering itself to them.

## Hang Together or Separately

TWENTY YEARS AGO fasting was respected as an act of sacrifice. Today fasts and counter-fasts have become a farce.

The fast by some gentlemen timed with the AICC meet in Bombay has reopened the Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute. In less than a week linguistic fanatics removed fish plates from the railway track near the Mysore-Maharashtra border. The Bangalore-Poona Express was derailed and twenty-two people were killed.

Railway Minister S. K. Patil challenged people who sabotage to come out into the open. "If the means are so low, how on earth can the objective you strive for be any better?" he asked. Formerly, he said, wars were fought in the name of religion. Today they were being fought in the name of language.

He spoke of a new trend in fasting "for a few days and eating twice and thrice as much afterwards".

The men who sat with Mr. Patil on the AICC platform are surely as guilty of stirring the pot of linguism as anyone else.

At Kakinada, in the presence of Congress President Kamaraj, Andhra's Chief Minister threatened the Central Government that if injustice was done to his state and the fifth steel plant was not located at Vizag, no one could control the "resulting upsurge". How long can democracy survive in such a political climate?

Cardinal Gracias says that whenever he went abroad he did his best to project a good image of India. Now he "dreads" the idea of going abroad because foreigners ask more questions "than a wise man can answer". When they ask about the quarrels of language and territory he finds it difficult to remain silent. "I will utter a harsh saying," the Cardinal told a Bombay audience. "If we do not hang together, we shall hang separately."

The Cardinal is right.



## Briefly Speaking ...

Early to bed and early to rise,  
and you'll meet very few of our  
best people.

GEORGE ADE, 1866-1944

### Aid in Smoke

GREAT is the generosity of America. Now under PL 480 they have offered three and a half million tons of food grains, a substantial amount of cotton for our textile industry and two million pounds of tobacco.

But why the tobacco? Surely India can produce its own tobacco and if our production is low, consumption can be cut down and the nation's health will improve.

While the import of food grains is necessary just now, by importing items like tobacco we are creating in our people a psychology of dependence which will rob this country of her backbone and character.

### CHALTA HAI...



"We will end the strike if your men don't strike the way we tell them."

This weekly feature comes to you through the courtesy of the Eagle Vacuum Bottle Mfg. Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., manufacturers of the Eagle range of vacuum flasks, jugs and insulated ware.



LADY HAMILTON

Our people don't want to reach a stage where ultimately they will have to import drinking water from a foreign country.

### How is Mao?

THE NEW YORK TIMES says that there are indications Mao has been living away from the Capital Peking and that power now resides principally in three old comrades. Premier Chou En-lai, 67, is in control of Government apparatus. Though influential he is not regarded by most observers as aspirant to the role of No. 1.

The second is Lin Piao, 57-year-old Vice-Chairman of the Party and Defence Minister. He seems to be emerging as the most powerful man in the country. (He gave the famous thesis in September, of villages surrounding towns and under-privileged nations surrounding and taking over the privileged ones.)

Third is Teng Hsiao-ping, squat, 62-year-old General Secretary of the Party.

Both Piao and Hsiao-ping are believed to be tough-line followers of Mao's revolutionary techniques. It is not known whether they are so from conviction or to please Mao and be appointed his heir.

### Swing

CEYLON HAS BEATEN INDIA as the largest tea exporting nation in the world, with a 500 million pounds export last year. Tea earns 51 per cent of Ceylon's foreign exchange and employs 500,000 people out of a total population of 11 million.

### Next Viewpoint

VIEWPOINT competition entries in this week's contest show that, among other things, Indians are most proud of Mahatma Gandhi, emancipation of women, secularism, tolerance, culture, peace and South Indian temples. A younger reader writes that he is most proud of India's success in hockey!

The next viewpoint is on what type of MP or MLA you would elect.

### Win a Transistor!

The latest Murphy transistor radio (Model 579—Two band, short-wave) will be given to the person who sells the greatest number of annual subscriptions (Rs. 12) between May 6 and June 30, 1966.

Those wishing to enter the competition are required to send their name and address to the Circulation Manager, HIMMAT Weekly, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1.

Subscriptions with payment must be sent immediately to HIMMAT. A record of the number sold by each entrant will be maintained at this office and the results declared in the issue of July 8.

—Circulation Manager.

### TV Leads

MORE PEOPLE in the USA get their news from television than from the papers. A recent estimate shows there are 70 million TV sets compared to a daily newspaper circulation of 60 million.

### Khadi Blinkers

WEST BENGAL Congress Chief Atulya Ghosh, evaluating the last AICC, told newsmen in Madras that it was the first time in the history of the AICC that non-official resolutions were taken up for discussion on the very first day. This, he said, was no small concession to members of the AICC and it meant that the High Command respected their wishes and views.

Stuff and nonsense! I was present at the AICC and, while non-official resolutions were discussed, nine-tenths of the time the High Command on the platform was having small group meetings of its own and with that example the rest of the hall chattered away.

In fact one lady delegate, Mrs. Renuka Ray, appealed, "Mr. President, in all this noise I cannot be heard."

### Not Under a Bush

FOR THOSE who believe that good causes should be silent, meek and mild, here is a quote:

"He who whispers down a well  
About the goods he has to sell  
Will never make as many dollars  
As he who climbs a hill and  
hollers."

R.M.L.

## The AITUC — deep division behind facade of unity

The 27th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) held in Bombay from May 16 to 22 was both a demonstration of the power of the Communist-led workers' movement as well as the bitter struggle for control that has only just begun between the so-called Right and Left Communist parties.

"Unity and struggle are the keynotes of the programme in the coming days," said Mr. S. A. Dange, re-elected General Secretary of the AITUC, in his concluding remarks. Struggle there will certainly be, as much between the contending Communist Parties as between workers and employers and Government. Of unity there is no prospect though as each group competes for control over workers and their unions, they will have to work together during the short periods of militant struggle.

Mr. S. S. Mirajkar, re-elected President of the AITUC, spoke in his presidential address of "the machinations of the bourgeoisie to create dissensions in the AITUC". It is true that the enemies of the AITUC, including the capitalists, will rejoice to see the AITUC break up. But the

main reason for it would be, not any machinations of a diabolical enemy, but what at the moment seem to be the irreconcilable ideological positions of the extreme sections of the two Communist Parties.

The objection of the Left faction to the Dange report was ideological and their own alternative draft programme presented on their behalf by P. Ramamurthy took up the positions of the Left Communist Party programme adopted in 1964. As one Left-wing Communist stated, "Ours is a total opposition to the ideological position that Dange symbolizes."

### Differences on Planning

These differences emerge from reading the 79-page report of Mr. Dange to the Congress and Mr. Mirajkar's Presidential address, though the latter, by and large, avoids sweeping ideological formulations. For example, while Mr. Dange's report contains only passing references to the Draconian Defence of India Rules under which at least a thousand Left-wing Communists had been detained in prison for a year and a half, Mr. Mirajkar began his address with details of the severe repression of AITUC workers in the last years.

Analyzing the Indian economy, Mr. Dange is anxious to emphasize positively such development as has taken place and outlines what he calls "the objective facts of economic growth in the period 1951 to 1966". In a rare tribute to the Congress leadership he declares that "India has been building capitalism and that too in an under-developed country". For him the increase in size of the working class to twenty millions is "the biggest contribution of the new growth in independent India", for it represents the growth of "the potential vehicle of revolutionizing the social process for the birth of a new society".

On the other hand Mr. Mirajkar in his Presidential address says on the same subject, "The experience of the three Plans has conclusively proved that all hopes of independent development on the lines of capitalism are doomed to failure. Any pursuance

## Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

in this line of development will only tighten the noose of neo-colonialism round our neck ..."

Mr. Dange is careful to balance his condemnation of the Government by adequate praise of its achievement. He supports the philosophy and aims of the five-year plans. He is at pains to demonstrate that the increase in the importance of the State sector in the economy is a significant achievement. He answers at length the Communist Chinese argument against Socialist aid to non-Communist countries like India and declares, "In the absence of Socialist capital, India would have gone into the hands of foreign monopolists and neo-colonialists long ago."

Though Mr. Mirajkar is not opposed to Socialist aid he does not think it can save the Indian bourgeoisie from neo-colonialism. On the role of Government he takes an even more extreme view. He says, "Today in our country the State plays the biggest role in finding the capital for the capitalists."

### Concessions to the Left

Mr. Mirajkar is fairly moderate in comparison to the views of Mr. P. Ramamurthy and Mr. B. T. Ranadive, both of whom acted as spokesmen for the Left during the Congress. Mr. Ranadive is reported to have altogether opposed any differentiation in policy between the public and the private sector. He was against the industrial truce even in time of war and condemned the support given by the AITUC to National Defence at the time of the Chinese attack in 1962 and the Indo-Pak conflict in 1965.

A great deal has been written about the triumph of the Dangeites at the conference. This is technically correct as the Left-wing Communists could only muster 617 votes against

Continued on page 18

### SAY THAT AGAIN...

I will be the happiest person if the  
Emergency can be lifted tomorrow.

G. L. NANDA  
Minister for Home Affairs.

\* \* \*  
...gold smuggling is now going  
on to an extent we had not known  
before. Give me half an hour and I  
will produce one lakh tolas of gold.

BABUBHAI CHINAI, MP  
to the AICC

\* \* \*  
Once I used to play tennis. Now I  
am playing politics... I like it better.

DR. JACK SEQUEIRA  
United Goans leader

\* \* \*  
Let it not be said that it is because  
we do not want to give anything that  
we have brought this measure (Delhi  
Administration Bill).

J. L. HATHI  
Minister of State for Home Affairs.



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# EXCLUSIVE: Report on Pakistan

From a Special Correspondent

The Central Government of Pakistan is divided into two groups. The West Pakistan Governor and Mr. Shoaib, Minister of Finance, are the most influential figures among those leaning West.

It is rumoured that by getting his relations Air Marshal Nur Khan and General Sarfraz to command the Air Force and Army respectively, the Governor hoped to impress his wishes on President Ayub even while leaving the latter in his position. This plan has gone awry. Nur Khan does command the Air Force, but General Sarfraz has just been eased out of his position in an Army reshuffle which brings to senior positions a group of officers felt to be wholly loyal to Ayub.

## Rich Rub Their Eyes

The President's dwindling popularity within the country probably inspired him to take this drastic action, but it does not ensure his safety from any possible ouster by the pro-Chinese faction in the Cabinet.

Foreign Minister Bhutto, Mr. Faruque of Commerce and Defence, and Information Secretary Altaf Gauhar are openly called "Reds" in the country's Urdu press. They are strongly pressing the President and the country to fasten the Chinese friendship. China, by being pro-Pakistan on Kashmir, gives them plenty of help. The welcome given to President Liu Shao-chi and Marshal Chen-yi by the common people of the country was sufficiently tumultuous to make rich people rub their eyes. But even this pro-Chinese group is reputed to want a pro-American link in any Cabinet they might ever form, as an insurance policy.

## Ferment in East Wing

East Pakistan is in ferment. Mujibur Rehman's six-point plan for a federal government amounts to near autonomy. He is in gaol, but has a strong following. West Pakistan seethes beneath the surface. The Government is physically opposed in Baluchistan. People resent the rise to wealth and position of the President's sons. They believe he sold out at Tashkent. The Army asks, "Why begin a war if you're not

going to finish?" or "Why begin when you can't win?" Prices are high for both poor and rich. The gap between increases.



Ayub Khan

Maybe these considerations have prompted a return to the "hate - India" campaign of the pre-Tashkent era in press and radio. To thinking people this has only made matters worse. They can see no sense in such a vacillating Information policy. And it is contributing to a hardening of the two most widely-spread mental attitudes in the country—plain disgust with the whole affair of government, and real anger with the mistakes that have led to men's deaths and losses of an army of which Pakistan was justly proud.

The great powers all appear to support President Ayub. He would probably be welcome in most world capitals though he might have to pick his time occasionally. They appear to judge that Ayub Khan is more reliable than Pakistan, but Pakistan will last longer—and the big question mark now is what would happen if he were not there? The ordinary people of Pakistan are worried lest any of the political cliques in the country are considering this question in practical terms. President Ayub appears to be doing likewise. His public appearances are more hurried these days.

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HIMMAT, June 3, 1966

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### No Candidates for Astrology

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

Sweeping educational reforms are under way in Ceylon. Fierce discussion rages about the three bills, The General Education Bill, the Higher Education Bill and the Bhikku University Bill, which, if passed, will reorganize all of Ceylon's education and set up a new University for Buddhist monks.

The British mould, going back to Lord Macaulay, which gave such kudos to the Civil Service and "white collar" jobs, is being rightly superseded. Under the new measures, practical work, beginning with gardening in the primary stage, will be compulsory. At the post-primary level agriculture or fishing are necessary. Later, students will have to produce a certificate proving they have done two weeks a year in an agricultural, commercial or industrial undertaking before they can qualify for higher education.

In an economy which is, and must be for some time, based on the land, these measures are sound sense. In the past, manual labour has been looked down upon and this has done much to retard the progress of agriculture. The new system should go far to put this right.

No one doubts the need for reorganization. As the Ministry of Agriculture told the Government Parliamentary Group, in one university a chair of astrology was set up and finding no student to attend its course, one was paid to do so.

There has been some discussion on what language should be used for the different minority communities, but this seems to have been amicably settled with a fair degree of choice for each.

The chief bone of contention now is the vast authority that will be wielded by the Minister and the Permanent Secretary of Education, who, at present, will be absolute bosses of the system. There has been strong opposition from all sides to this and the Prime Minister has promised to give the matter further consideration.

### Arab Tinder Box—Aden to the Gulf

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

Some weeks ago a rank of five soldiers recruited from the Jabili tribe stepped smartly forward to present arms to their Ruler, Said bin Taimur, Sultan of Muscat and Oman: instead, they levelled their rifles and shot point blank. Only the quick action of their Pakistani commanding officer saved the Sultan's life. The Commander pushed the Ruler from the reviewing stand and leaped upon the assassins. Three were killed and the officer was badly wounded.

The attempted assassination took place in Salala, principal town of Dhofar. This is Oman's southernmost corner.

Muscat, Oman's sweltering capital, lies outside the Strait of Hormuz. Arab tribal leaders wrested control of the town and countryside from the Portuguese in 1650. One hundred years later, Omani conquests included the islands of Mafia and Zanzibar as well as Mombasa and Mogadishu on the African mainland. The present Abu Said dynasty came to power

in 1743 when they expelled Iranian invaders.

Muscat was a major slave market in the early 19th century, but the Sultan signed a treaty with Britain in 1822 ending that traffic between his lands and Christian countries. Successive treaties of friendship and commerce in 1891, 1939 and 1951 have established Britain's pre-eminence there. The 1951 pact terminates next January, so this year is decisive for Britain's relations with Oman—as it is

Continued on next page

HIMMAT, June 3, 1966

## The week in Asia

**TOKYO**—The Sultan of Jogjakarta, Indonesia's new Deputy Prime Minister, had talks with the Japanese Government to solicit economic aid and convince them of the genuineness of the political change-over in Indonesia.

\*\*\*

**DJAKARTA**—In an unprecedented gesture, Indonesia sent a military goodwill mission to Malaysia which conferred with the Malaysian Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister.

\*\*\*

**HUE**—The American Consulate evacuated its personnel as further attacks were expected from militant anti-Government Buddhist students.

\*\*\*

**PEKING**—Premier Chou En-lai is reported to have postponed indefinitely his planned trip to the UAR.

\*\*\*

**KARACHI**—Visiting Soviet First Deputy Premier Mazurov handed President Ayub Khan a personal letter from the Soviet President Podgorny which stated that the two countries shared a broad base of agreement on many world issues.

\*\*\*

**DJAKARTA**—Two days of student demonstrations forced General Suharto to promise a session of the Provisional People's Congress by July 5. Members of the Congress from West Java nominated former Vice President Mohammed Hatta for the office of President now held by Sukarno.

\*\*\*

**PEKING**—Chinese Vice-Premier Chen-yi stated, "A serious trial of strength with United States imperialism seems unavoidable." He bitterly attacked the Soviet Union for "uniting with US imperialism and all reactionaries in a vain attempt to establish an unholy alliance against China".

\*\*\*

**SAIGON**—A Buddhist nun and a young girl burned themselves to death as nine-day Buddhist protests against the Saigon Government continued in the capital.

\*\*\*

**BANGKOK**—Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr. Adam Malik, and Malaysia's Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, met for the first time, each with a far-reaching mandate from their Governments to find common areas of agreement.

\*\*\*

**PNOM PENH**—Cambodia denied US reports that six regiments of North Vietnamese troops were poised on her territory ready to attack South Vietnam.



for all the states of the Arabian littoral.

Earlier this year a "Dhofar Liberation Front" had been launched. It has, up to now, carried on a programme of terrorism on a small scale. However, the assassination attempt in Dhofar may mark the beginning of a new phase.

Like its neighbours up the Gulf, Oman has now got oil. The Shell subsidiary, Petroleum Development (Oman) Ltd., has made a number of strikes in the hinterland. The original estimate was that production would run to 10,000,000 tons a year, but this has already proved too conservative a figure. A pipeline is being laid from the fields 130 miles to the coast.

The whole area marginal to the "Island of the Arabs", as the peninsula is called, is a tinder box. Most of it is smouldering. The Yemen is in flames, South Arabia nearly so and the sparks fly past Oman to the Gulf. Britain's departure from Aden is fixed for 1968: it will only underline the strategic importance of her positions in Oman, the seven Trucial States, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait. Kuwait, from whom Britain gets half her petrol, achieved full independence in 1961, joining the Arab League and later the United Nations.

#### Britain's "Petrol Station"

The relation between Britain and all the Gulf states, is that in return for protection from aggression, the States agreed at the turn of the century to cease slave trade and not to cede any of their land without British approval. While Britain agreed to a policy of non-interference in domestic affairs, advisers and military and police officers were supplied.

Thus along the whole Arab coast as well as in Aden, Britain must choose: stay or go. If the choice is stay, it must be on a new basis. Fuel for ships was the necessity that dictated a coaling station in Aden. It is still the major factor. Oil has swiftly replaced coal; and "oil" and "Persian Gulf" have become almost synonymous.

Besides her need for a secure petrol supply, moreover, Britain has a century-old responsibility to these states. With the whole Arab world in restless ferment, they cannot hastily be cut off from the stability their treaties guarantee them. Neither is it enough to carry on in the same old ways. If Britain wants to continue to operate her "Gulf petrol station", she will have to up-date her methods and relationships. It just isn't good enough to prop up

### Indian Business in Africa

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

Since Kenya's independence the British Government has made loans or grants to President Kenyatta's Government of around £30 million to "buy out" white farmers and settle Africans on the land in their place. It is the largest farm resettlement scheme ever attempted in the world.

The entire concept was a political inevitability, such was the demand for land—especially from the Kikuyu. Whether it becomes an economic liability remains to be seen. The indications are that, given sufficient incentive to move out of subsistence farming, the new African farmers will make a success of it.

They will have to produce not only enough for their own needs but enough to feed others and thus earn the income that will find its way through repayments on the land and taxation back into the Kenya exchequer. Only in this way can the Government repay the loans from the British Government.

So much for agriculture. But what about commerce which is largely dominated by businessmen of Indian and Pakistani origin? African businessmen, like African farmers, are beginning to ask why the indigenous people do not have a larger share in the control of their own economy. Some claim that 90 per cent of the East African economy is controlled by "foreigners".

#### African Participation

Drastic measures to increase African participation in the retail and wholesale sectors of commerce are being considered by the Kenya Government.

A motion recently passed in Parliament called upon the Government to approach the Government in India for loans to "buy out" Indian traders throughout the country.

archaic rulers and states. There are too many intelligent and educated young men who feel they have a right to a voice in government. Reforms are needed and will, in fact, come: the question is whether it will be by peaceful or violent means. The violent revolutionary forces have already started lighting fires. To stay, Britain must herself start a fresh breeze of peaceful change with all the considerable influence at her command.

It is acknowledged that the Indian Government faces its own economic crisis with problems of foreign exchange, famine and the repayment of huge development loans.

"African Businessman" writing in the new economic journal *African Commerce* suggests that Kenya could make regular payments to the Government of India for the purchase of these businesses. "This will make much needed foreign exchange available to the Indian Government at a regular flow."

#### Closed Shop—No Shop

He then suggests that Indian nationals could expect payment in rupees in India where they could invest in their home country. This solution would not be acceptable to the average Indian businessman who, with British passport in hand, would prefer his payments to be made in London.

The proposal has many flaws and could be chaotic if put into action after emotional rather than practical considerations. Does it indicate a trend that all foreign communities are to be eventually "bought out"? This might limit future investment.

Many believe there is room for everyone. But the first step may have to be taken by the Asian traders to bring more and more Africans into their business activities and share their obvious skills.

A "closed shop" today could mean no shop tomorrow.

### Seamen Snarl Up UK Economy

From Gordon Wise

London

It is ironic that the National Union of Seamen may succeed in doing what they themselves helped to prevent Hitler from achieving: cutting Britain's shipping life-line with the world.

The official strike called by the Union is their first since 1911 and may develop into the biggest snarl-up of this country since the General Strike of 1926, involving over 2500 ships.

The Prime Minister said that the Government was declaring a state of national emergency. This is the measure of the gravity of the issue.

Britain has reason to honour the men of her merchant marine. But the seamen now demand some more tangible recognition.

In the last war, the merchant seamen bore the brunt, losing no less than one third of the Union membership in lives lost in enemy action. Their working conditions at sea are still regulated by an Act of Parliament of 1894—three years before Queen Victoria's "Jubilee", as Mr. Wilson has said.

Although the seamen's wages have been improved in recent years, they are still admittedly below the average level of workers in shore-based industry. Fifty-nine pounds seven and six a month (Rs. 790) for a fifty-six-hour week, after five years' service, is the present rate.

The Union is demanding sixty pounds a month for a forty-hour, five day week, and increased rates of overtime, to be operative right away.

The employers offer a forty-hour week by stages over the next two years, a five percent pay increase this

year, and four percent in each of the following two years. This represents a thirteen percent increase by 1968. The Union demand is equivalent to an immediate seventeen percent wage increase.

At stake for the Government is the future of the national Prices and Incomes Policy which lays down a norm of three-and-a-half percent for a wage increase in view of the precarious state of the economy.

In his broadcast, Mr. Wilson declared, "The Government has not taken and is not taking sides." As well as telling the Union bluntly that "this is not the way", he castigated some ship owners for interpreting the present agreement "in a stupid and provocative way".

Mr. Ford Geddes, Chairman of the Shipping Federation, said that shipping is a very low profit industry and anything approaching the full claim is something it cannot afford.

Mr. Ford Geddes was questioned about the 1894 Act. He said that in negotiations the Union had not brought this up for discussion. But employers who care for their seamen as well as for their shareholders should not wait for grievances to be "brought up"—they should seek to be ahead of the game.

Meanwhile, millions just have to wait and see. The housewives feel it first. In one day, some Covent Garden vegetable and fruit prices rose forty percent.

### Papua-New Guinea—Australia's Seventh State?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Canberra

The Australian Government sees difficulties in making Papua-New Guinea part of Australia but it has not yet been frank enough to spell this out in precise terms to the people of the Territory.

Many of the Territory's two million people, particularly the energetic New Guinean Highlanders, have been pressing for Papua-New Guinea to become a seventh State of Australia.

The Government has not ruled this out. But a close analysis of recent policy statements by the Minister for Territories, Mr. C. E. Barnes, leaves little doubt that such an

Continued on page 14

### The week in India

**MADRAS**—Ten thousand people applied for 200 teaching positions in Ethiopia following an advertisement placed in the Indian press by the Ethiopian Government.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—The Government has unilaterally lifted the restrictions on trade with Pakistan that had been in force since last year's fighting.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—India purchased three Russian Tupolev-124 jet aircraft for use by the President, Prime Minister and senior officials.

\*\*\*

**KOHIMA**—Underground Nagas fired at police on election duty in Chiech-aima village during polling for four Assembly seats.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—Canada will grant \$9.5 million to enable the Geological Survey of India to speed up its drive for exploitation of minerals.

\*\*\*

**BELGAUM**—22 people were killed and 24 injured when a section of the Bangalore-Poona Express was derailed. Sabotage is suspected.

\*\*\*

**MADRAS**—Navy Chief of Staff Vice Admiral Chatterji said India would develop two fleets, one in the Bay of Bengal and the other in the Arabian Sea.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi has accepted an invitation to visit Australia some time after February. It will be the first visit of an Indian Premier to that country.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—India has one million graduates and 2,20,000 M.A.s. Between 1950 and 1963 the number of graduates in the arts increased 4.2 times while those graduating in science went up 3.8 times.

\*\*\*

**LUDHIANA**—Master Tara Singh indicated his Akali party would seek an electoral alliance with the Jan Sangh as the latter had "changed its stand" on the Punjabi Suba.

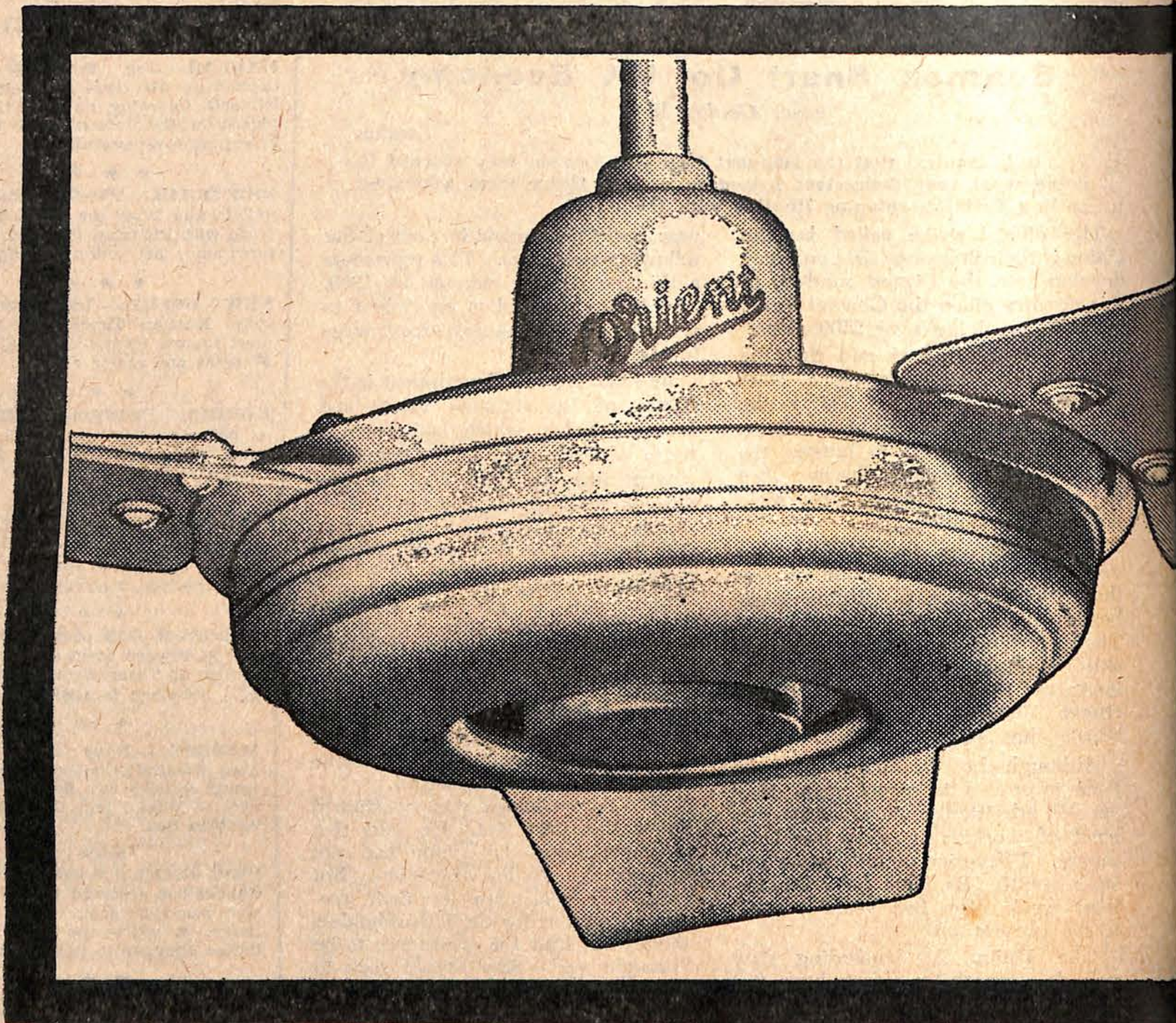
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**SHILLONG**—The Khasi Hills District Congress Committee reiterated its demand for statehood for the Khasi and Jaintia hills.

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**CALCUTTA**—India and Pakistan will begin simultaneous demarcation of the unmarked boundary of the Berubari and Hili sectors on June 9.





ASP/OGI-1/65



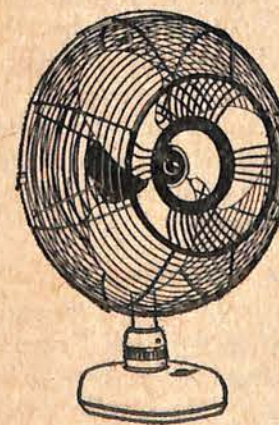
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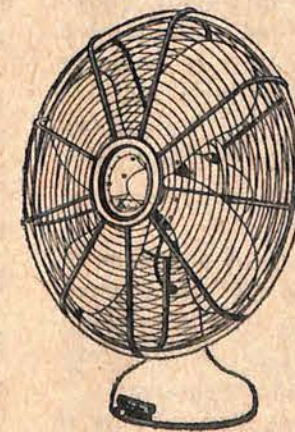
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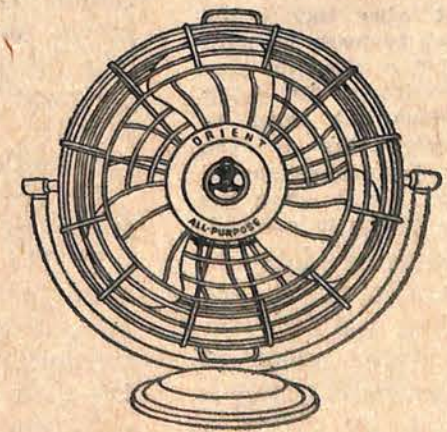
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arrangement is not really envisaged.

Officially, Papuans and New Guineans have been left in the dark as to what sort of future political association they are likely to be able to work out with Australia.

Members of a select committee of the Papua-New Guinea House of Assembly, charged with drawing up a draft constitution for their land, came to Canberra to talk over with Government representatives just what form any future association with Australia might take. They have returned to their country empty-handed and dissatisfied.

Mr. John Guise, leader of the delegates who attended the Canberra talks, criticized the Government for not clarifying any of the problems raised by his committee. Mr. Guise said the committee had wanted to return to the Territory and be in a position to go out and put to the people the possible ways in which New Guinea could develop an association with Australia or independence.

### Seventh State "Impracticable"

After four days of discussion a wordy statement by Mr. Barnes indicated that the stages of constitutional development would be by progressive financial independence and local ministerial responsibility to full internal self government. After a time the Territory would be free to determine its own future, which presumably would mean the ending of the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement under which New Guinea is administered and a form of sovereign independence for Papua-New Guinea.

The Government also has made clear that it proposes to press on with its plans to establish a separate economy for the Territory. In doing this, it probably does not want to shut the door irrevocably to the seventh State idea lest there should be a strong demand for it when the point of self-determination is reached.

But most people with any intimate knowledge of Papua-New Guinea believe that Mr. Barnes and the Government would achieve more in terms of building permanent friendship with the people by giving a frank account of the factors governing its policy decisions.

In Port Moresby, the Administrator of Papua-New Guinea, Sir Don-

ald Cleland, took a much more clear-cut attitude when he talked to reporters following the announcement that he would retire at the end of this year.

He bluntly declared that the idea of Papua-New Guinea becoming a seventh State of Australia was completely impracticable. But he was "perfectly sure" an independent

## Any Hope for NATO?

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Munich

"NATO is out of date!" "NATO must be saved!" "The plans of de Gaulle mean the end of the Atlantic Alliance." "De Gaulle's plans will lead to a better partnership between Europe and America."

Every European or American political figure and every commentator of any importance has been forced during the last weeks to take a stand on these positions. The dividing line has gone straight through every nation.

Because of the heat generated by this issue, one tends to overlook the wide areas of agreement which are still accepted by all the personalities and nations involved. Both de Gaulle and his opponents still agree on three main points: They see the need:

- 1) To preserve the political alliance which was the basis of NATO from its beginning, even if the military status has to be changed radically.
- 2) To hold firm in Berlin and Germany.
- 3) To plan not only to preserve freedom, but to spread it wherever possible, for instance in Eastern Europe.

### Disagreement Grows

The disagreements between de Gaulle and his opponents have grown during the last months due to a different assessment of some of the main factors of today's political situation. De Gaulle and his opponents inside NATO assess differently:

- 1) The imminence of Soviet aggression in Europe,
- 2) The importance of a nation or a group of nations—in the present case, Europe—to be able to defend themselves, if possible by developing their own atomic weapons;
- 3) The interconnection between the crisis in South-East Asia and the situation in Europe.

It is understandable that in Germany the first factor is judged to be

Papua-New Guinea would remain in close association with Australia.

As Sir Donald pointed out, there is no "strong internal pressure" in Papua-New Guinea at present for early independence. However, there is a demand for Australia to be more sensitive to Papuan and New Guinean opinion and to give the people practical experience in the sort of responsibilities that will be theirs.

the most important one. The enclave of Berlin and the division of Germany remain as real as in 1949 and any voice advocating some form of disengagement in Europe immediately revives the deepest fears.

On the second point—the need of nations, even continents, to stop depending only on America for their defence and stand on their own feet—de Gaulle does not stand isolated. The former German Defence Minister, Franz-Josef Strauss, wrote recently: "America needs Europe, not only in her cultural role as a modern Greece, but as a second independent power on her side. The Europeans in their turn have no right to burden their American friends and allies for all time with the responsibility for their freedom and ultimate fate."

The third point raises different reactions in many people. The Americans feel that they are also defending Europe's freedom in the jungles of Vietnam and that therefore their partners in NATO should be the first to acknowledge this. Several nations in Europe, however, have only recently withdrawn from other continents after having large colonial interests. They have no desire to get involved again.

### De Gaulle for Moscow

How will the NATO crisis end? Nobody knows what will happen during the coming weeks, especially during and through de Gaulle's visit to Moscow in June. One can be certain that de Gaulle will not change his views by threats, force, pin-pricks or offers of more trade or

sympathy. It is also obvious that he does not want to move away from too much dependence on America to accept more dependence on Russia.

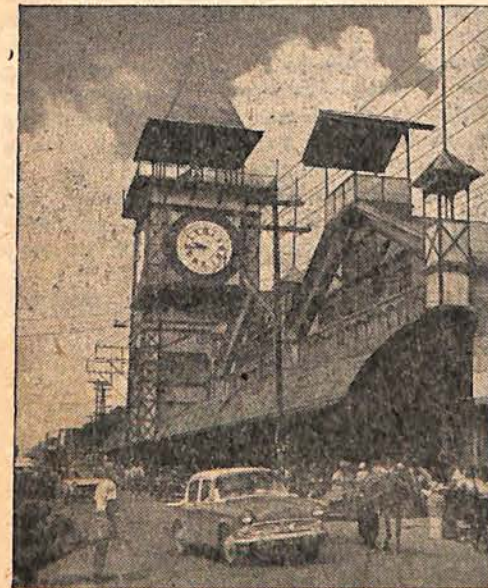
The conclusion one reaches, and it seems also the one reached in the European capitals and in Washington itself, is that even without de

## The week elsewhere

### GUYANA—LAND OF WATERS

GEORGETOWN—Guyana, which became independent last week after 135 years of British rule, is the 23rd member of the Commonwealth. She is the twentieth British dependency to become independent in the last 19 years.

People of Indian origin form just over 50 per cent of her population of 650,000. Africans, who live mainly in the cities, make up 35 per cent. Ninety-seven per cent of the Africans



Reminiscent of early Dutch rule is the Starbroek Market in Georgetown.

are literate, but only 55 per cent of the Indians are. Many of the Indians work on plantations. Africans make up almost 75 per cent of the police force.

Dr. Cheddi Jagan of Indian ancestry, who was Prime Minister from 1957 to 1964, was replaced by a negro, Mr. Forbes Burnham. Mr. Burnham, has accepted the recommendation of the International Commission of Jurists that in the next five years Indians make up 75 per cent of police recruits.

Gaulle the moment would have come soon when the basis and content of the Atlantic Alliance had to be reformulated and rethought. The need to organize one's collective defence may be today as necessary as in 1949, but the need to explain to friends and foes alike why one does it, seems more urgent than at any moment since the war.

## The week elsewhere

Guyana's defence force, which is newly formed, has been carefully apportioned along racial lines and British troops will remain until October.

### KABAKA FOLLOWERS SLAIN

NAIROBI—The Baganda chiefs in neighbouring Uganda urged the two million supporters of the deposed Kabaka of Buganda to launch civil war against the Government of President Obote. Government troops stormed the Kabaka's palace but it is reported he escaped into Burundi. Over 1000 were reported slain in the attack on the palace.

### POPE'S REGRET

ROME—Pope Paul expressed "keen regret" at the Polish Government's refusal to grant him permission to attend the 1000-year celebrations of the advent of Christianity in Poland. Speaking with unusual directness he rejected the reasons given by the Polish Government as "unjustified" and without the support of the Polish people. This is the latest development in the growing crisis between Church and State in predominantly Catholic Poland.

### NIGERIA'S PARTIES BANNED

LAGOS—The head of the military Government, General Ironsi, abolished all political parties, tribal unions and regional territories. Nigeria, he said, has ceased to be a Federation of three regions and becomes "simply the Republic of Nigeria".

### QUERIES US CHINA POLICY

SEOUL—Japanese Foreign Minister E. Shiina has declared that Japan will not be a party to any move to form a defence or security organization in the area. He said he had "some reservations" on America's "contain China" policy. Though Japan does not recognize Communist China

diplomatically, she has considerable trade with it. It is "conceivable", said Mr. Shiina, that Japan might enter into political talks with Peking should there be any need to settle specific issues. Mr. Shiina was speaking at the Asian and Pacific Areas Foreign Ministers' Conference in the South Korean capital.

### GENERALS vs WRITERS

MOSCOW—Soviet generals joined the chorus of attack on liberal writers for "sliding from a party approach". At a conference on "ideological problems of military fiction" they called on artists to strengthen the "military patriotic" theme so as to create the right spirit among Russian youth.

### RED COALITION IN FINLAND

HELSINKI—For the first time since 1948 Finland has a coalition Government with three Communists as Ministers.

### REVOLUTION IN THE AIR

LONDON—Britain's tallest building (620-feet high) and heaviest (13,000 tons) and costliest (£2½ million) was opened by the Postmaster General recently.

It speaks to 108 other towers in the microwave circuit throughout the country. The microwave circuit is designed to expand the trunk telephone system. In 1939, 112 million trunk calls were made in Britain. This year they estimate 850 million. The annual rate of increase is now between 15 and 17 per cent.

This GPO tower has a present capacity of 3,600 telephone circuits. Its eventual capacity will be 100,000 telephone circuits and 40 TV channels. It can be used to send almost any kind of information—telephone calls, TV beams, newspaper photographs and telegrams. It puts Britain one step ahead in the world of advanced telecommunications.

In addition to all this complex mechanism the tower has three public galleries and a revolving restaurant. Sitting at your table by the window you do one complete revolution in twenty-five minutes. In a 90-mile-an-hour gale the tower has a maximum sway of fifteen inches. If one is dining out on a stormy evening an extra thrill will be provided with the meal.



## LETTERS

### MAKE ROOM FOR YOUTH

Praise be to Mr. Babubhai Chinai, MP, who suggested at the AICC in Bombay that the elders in the Congress should hand over the reins of power to the younger generation and should themselves act as advisers.

At present almost all our leaders are on the other side of the fifties and if urgent steps are not taken right now to train the flower of the nation for leadership, the country would be inviting trouble of no mean magnitude and at not too distant a future.

Let our leaders forthwith start out on a "hunt" for the right type of youth to be trained for leadership, if they truly love the country and not their own ease.

This letter can be taken as a symbol of the bubbling enthusiasm of those many deserving youths who are burning with a devoted zeal to do something finer for their motherland but are awaiting the doors of opportunity to open.

M. M. TALWAR\*

Bombay 3

\*This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

### POST-MAO WORLD

Mao and his colleagues are the real trouble-creators in the world through their aggressive and cheating policies. After Mao there will be peace throughout the world. After Mao Mr. Walter Lippmann predicts "a new generation of Chinese". It is the fate of the world to wait for this new generation to have peace.

S. RAJU

Karaikeni

### CHINA MAY FOLLOW INDONESIA

The views expressed by the Japanese on China appear quite reasonable and prudent, though most of us may not even welcome a suggestion to ponder over them. We have dwelled too much in anti-Chinism, that our mind refuses to hear a different view of China and look at it from the other side, than we have so far done.

After all, China has suffered as much, if not more, than we have under foreign hands. And her present extremist tendencies must be understood in context with the slavery and humiliation that she suffered, when her own capital had restaurants marked "Chinese and dogs not permitted".

Again, with a depleting economy and growing defence expenditure, in our own interests our relations with China and other neighbours will have to be friendly. In another 15 to 20 years, China would have moderate men leading her, who would not be prepared to alienate neighbours and isolate herself; with growing problems of population and economic instability, China will be

forced to be friendly and accommodative.

The passive and soft protests raised when Mao declared "Let a hundred flowers bloom..." indicate that with the exit of Mao and his senior colleagues, there will arise intellectuals in China who would think beyond the Chinese wall. China, after Mao, may well prove to be an Indonesia of the recent past. India must formulate constructive policies to draw these dissident Chinese intellectuals.

N. VASUDEVAN

Madras 8

### INDIA CANNOT WAIT

I have read the "Under the Lens" article of Professor R. Vaitheswaran pointing to the post-Mao period. It does not make crystal-clear what he thinks precisely on the subject. The wool-gathering or forecasting of a marriage of convenience between Peking and Moscow does not carry enough conviction. I am not pleading for permanent antagonisms between China and India. But where does the guarantee lie, that at least in the foreseeable future, the Chinese people will not be naturally inhuman? Does Professor Vaitheswaran read accounts of the constant frightful persecution of Christian missionaries in China? Aren't they more blood-curdling than your word picture of Orissa famine in your issue of May 13? May I repeat that our people cannot wait to see China change her heart. They will not wait.

IGNATIUS ABSALOM

Madras 4

### "FRANKLY, I DON'T GET IT"

Frankly speaking, I have failed to grasp the true import of the views attributed to "a distinguished Japanese" by Shri R. Vaitheswaran in his article (HIMMAT, May 13).

It seemed obvious to the distinguished Japanese that China is a great nation which cannot be "contained". Does this greatness mean colossal military strength to expand at the cost of others? Otherwise, how is the question of containing China connected with her greatness? He also said, "China's claim in Asia is stronger than the American claim." What is this claim about? Claim to overlord Asia?

"China is a great nation and the Chinese are a great and cultured people," he continued. "They cannot any more be treated as barbarians outside the pale of civilized society."

Who treated the Chinese as barbarians? So far as we are concerned, only the other day we were busy in thinking and shouting "Hindi-Chini bhai bhai" and even after the Chinese attack on us, we continued advocating their entry into the United Nations Organization. What again is the true significance of the recognition of the Chinese claim in considering the pattern of a new Asia? Is it recognizing their right to fall upon us with all

their might and to force on us "the pattern of a new Asia" which only the Chinese wisdom is capable of devising?

In my opinion India will be happy to settle problems in a friendly way with any country that is willing to do so and it is always prepared for that. In fact, India's anxiety for peaceful solution left it badly prepared to repulse attacks. And it is necessary that instead of being overawed by the Chinese might, India should be adequately prepared to meet the Chinese threat. If in the post-Mao period, the Chinese hand is extended for a hearty shake, it will immediately find the Indian hand ready to clasp.

A. MANDAL

Calcutta 7

### DEVALUATION HARMFUL

Discussing the possibility of devaluation of the Indian Rupee (HIMMAT April 22) Professor Vaitheswaran has failed to mention two very important points. The efficacy of devaluation as a means of discouraging imports appears to be marginal, especially in the contest of the stringent import controls and high import duties currently in force. Besides (1) devaluation would greatly increase the burden of repayments on maturing foreign loans; it has been estimated that debt servicing obligations, placed at Rs. 1700 crores, would increase to Rs. 2200 crores during the Fourth Plan period; (2) if the rupee is devalued, foreign enterprises in India which repatriate their profits and other earnings would get less in terms of the foreign currency and consequently the inducement to bring fresh private capital into the country would be reduced.

V. S. KUMAR

Madras 17

### HUMAN WISDOM

As a Swede I was proud to see that HIMMAT (May 20) quotes Axel Oxenstierna and also gives a very interesting evaluation of Dag Hammarskjold's life.

One small correction: Oxenstierna lived in the seventeenth century so his letter to his son was not written in 1964\*\* as HIMMAT claims. But of course his words on "with how little wisdom the world is governed" are very much applicable to the 1960s.

One reason for Oxenstierna's and Hammarskjold's greatness was that they knew the limitations of human wisdom. That is a quality desperately needed in a world that is falling apart because the human intellect is worshipped as God.

BROR JONZON

Bombay

\*\* It was a printer's devil that remained a "devil" although corrected to 1648!—Ed.

HIMMAT awards Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be brief and exclusive.—Ed.

## ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

# Crippled, he is out to cure a sick nation

"THE POWER IS NOT IN US," says Emerson in one of his famous essays, "but through us." Thirty-six-year-old George Mathew is a living example of this truth.

George Mathew is a crippled and disabled man. Yet, when you talk to him you are impressed by his force and vigour. His life's story is as inspiring as it is dramatic.

Born and brought up in Alleppey district in Kerala, George was the youngest son of a lawyer. "Because I was the youngest in my family, I was easy-going and had no serious purpose in my life. Both in school and college I excelled more in sports than in studies. My favourite sports were the high jump and long jump (of which I was a school champion), badminton, volleyball and football. Like any other active young player I brought home my share of bruises picked up in football games. But a football game, one day, crippled me forever."

### Suddenly Paralyzed

You must have hurt yourself very badly.

"No, I didn't hurt myself in the game, actually. In 1949 I accompanied my college team to play a football match at a place nearby. On the morning of the match my friends urged me to swim in a small river flowing nearby. Reluctantly, I agreed. But as soon as I jumped into the water, which I didn't know was shallow, my whole body was suddenly and completely paralyzed. My backbone was fractured at the neck region and the spinal cord too was affected very badly. I had to remain in various hospitals for six months and escaped death very narrowly. The kind of suffering I had was worse than death. I cannot tell you what that suffering was like. I wanted to end my life and be free from this pain forever. And then, unexpectedly God came into my life as a real and true friend."



Didn't you have faith in God prior to this unfortunate incident?

"I had, but this belief was not a living belief each day, when caught in a season of suffering. Then I heard the clear and reassuring voice of God. It asked me to find a job in which my particular disability could be a positive asset. This, though it looked impossible in the past, was now possible. Could I not start a centre in which the different requirements of needy children were met? The first problem was to find the money for such a centre. Next to finding the money, the biggest difficulty was to convince all concerned that this idea was practicable."

### Facing Life

Could you overcome all the obstacles?

"Yes, by God's grace, I could. A children's centre of my dreams—Swarajya Baljanasakhyam—was started. Kerala's Governor, Sri Giri, laid the foundation of the centre. It is a heartening experience to be working in and for such a centre. I invite everybody to pay a visit to this exciting centre and help us in cash

and kind, and by offering suggestions to this address: George Mathew, Ramappattil, Pallickal P.O., Kerala (India)."

What is the main aim of this centre?

"To equip children to face life and to train them to fear God. This, to my mind, is the purposeful beginning of a new pattern in their education."

What are your future plans?

"I would like to add three new departments to this centre: (1) a nursery school (2) a youth organization to train youth who will give their time and influence to serve others and (3) an elders' home for elderly and retired persons who are usually condemned to live in deplorable conditions."

### "Forget Your Pain"

Do you have any plans for those who are disabled?

"Yes. They are ordinary people who want to live amongst ordinary people. The aim of my proposed rehabilitation centre for the physically handicapped persons would be to remove the barriers which separate them from everyday life. People have fixed ideas about what a disabled person is, and what he can do. From my personal experience, I know that whether a particular disability is, in fact, crippling, depends less on its severity than on the character of the individual who has to cope with it. The aim of this centre would be to help develop such a character in its disabled members. Incidentally, did you know it was Peter Howard who helped develop such a character in me?"

"In 1961 Peter Howard came to Kerala. I found myself sitting beside him in one of the meetings which he was going to address. After hearing my story, he told me, 'You know, George, I have also been a disabled man in a way. But when you let yourself become a tool in the hands of God, you forget your disability and pain and become as effective as a normal man.' These words worked a miracle. Through him, and his associates, I found the strength to do so. Since then I have been totally committed to the ideology of Moral Re-Armament which wants the world to be united and to be ruled by persons ruled by God."

Continued on next page



You have invited a force of MRA to work in Kerala. What work have you in mind for them?

"Kerala has been a sick State for the last many years. I want this force to cure this sick State by the medicines of love, care and honesty. The members of this force must go to every nook and corner of the State, and demonstrate to Kerala a new hope, and a new vision through their shows, films and conviction-filled speeches. I would like this force to remain in Kerala until its sickness is cured."

What do you want to see happen?

"The people of Kerala are looking for a revolution. If we don't give them a correct one they will turn to a bloody one—and that will be no fault of the people. We must give them a new hope and idea—a peaceful, strong revolution."

George Mathew's concern extends to the whole of mankind. He not only preaches, but practises what he believes. He knows not race, nor colour, nor country when the cry of human pain or need is heard.

H.M.S.

## UNDER THE LENS from page 5

the 1827 votes of the Dange group. As a matter of fact if the 400 delegates of the latter group who were enjoying a holiday in town had also been present at the time of the voting the Dangeites would have made an even better showing.

But this ignores the many concessions that the Left-wingers were able to obtain on many issues, and their ideological victory in resolutions such as the DIR and emergency, Vietnam and negotiations with Communist China. The resolution on China, for example, refers to the "India-China border dispute" and eschews any moral judgements on the respective claims of India or China.

Again, the Left-wingers had all been released from prison only in the previous four weeks. Some of them came to the Congress directly from gaol. They had not had the time or opportunity to consolidate their position in their trade unions. The decision to accredit delegates

from Unions on the basis of affiliation fees paid (and not on the basis of membership of Unions as filed with the Registrar of Trade Unions) was to the advantage of the well-run, financially-sound Unions under the control of the official leadership who had all been out of gaol.

Above all, the increasing emphasis on struggle, even in the Dange report, was in the nature of a concession to the militancy of the Left-wingers.

The struggle for power inside the AITUC has begun. Some Left-wing Communists claim that the general elections in 1967 will demonstrate the lack of support for the Dange group and vindicate their strength in Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Bengal. Whatever the truth in this belief, Dange will have a more difficult job of maintaining control as the Left-wing party, in freedom, pursue their more aggressive line in circumstances that favour militancy.

**NEXT WEEK: Analysis of the Left Communist Party of India.**

## VIEWPOINT

First Prize

# What I Am Most Proud of in My Country

By Ratna Sen, Calcutta 19

IN THE BOWELS of the city, or in the vast countryside, dawn breaks. Mothers, young and old, rise and prepare for the day. Silently earning a few moments of precious sleep for the family they begin their work. Patient and struggling, these mothers and housewives try to make impossible palaces out of their hovels. Their day is one long story of hurrying and giving, for listen they must to, "Wife, give me..." and "Mother, hurry."

### Heroic Lives

When a man comes back from work he can rest satisfied. But for the mother—no such luck. For her it is another cycle of work. But she is not a mere cook or a cleaning woman or even a teacher. She is all in one, and she serves up her day's work with abundant love. When day yawns and the night falls, tired humanity goes to rest. But the mother? Let there be illness or mishap, and her kind shadow will flicker by the bedside, often with callous husbands, sick children and hordes of relatives, her brave smile is a gift for her family and the world.

Hers is the Herculean task of making a home out of a house, a shelter out of mere boards. These heroic lives, lived in obscurity, are something to be really proud of in my country.

### While Politicians Gabble

In the far stretches of India, in the villages, toil the farmers. While politicians and administrators gabble over food policies and fertilizer projects these children of the earth carry their ploughs in the half-light of breaking day. Through the high dazed noon, through biting winter winds, in rain and hail, they bend

their backs to the earth and seed, and water and reap. There are days when fear and despair lurk in their hearts. When the sky remains bright and cloudless, or when the money-lender is unyielding and threatening, or when the skies pour to drown the earth, these sturdy people come to the brink of their tottering existences. Prices rise, supplies dwindle. Through it all the farmer holds up. He crowns despair with dignity, sorrow with resignation.

## COMPETITION

\* Candidates' qualities I would vote for in the next elections.

Closing date: June 10

\*\* India and Pakistan need each other to solve their economic problems.

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Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1.

Everywhere in the country we see disintegration and conflict, the old and the new facing each other undecided. Disease, poverty, illiteracy, famine, stare us in the face. But through it all is struggling a brave humanity. There are young and there are old who strive on with determination on their faces and hope in their hearts. They are housewives

Continued on next page

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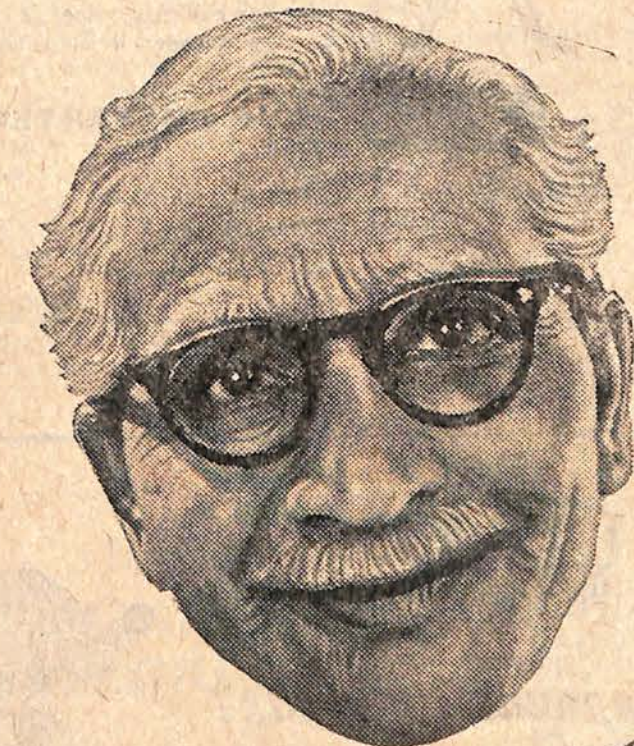
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**VIEWPOINT—**from page 19

and farmers, students and labourers. They are the backbone of our country.

They are what I am most proud of in my country.

**Second Prize  
THE COMMON MAN**

By N. B. KULKARNI, Bombay 1

MY CHOICE FALLS on the common man of my country. There are qualities in him which make me proud of him.

He possesses an unlimited fund of endurance power. He has suffered hardships in the past with very little protest. In times of emergency he has shown a spirit of sacrifice which could have been emulated by the prosperous classes of the community.

In spite of continued hardships due to poverty, he has not lost faith in principles like freedom, democracy. That is why he bore his share of sacrifices during the trying times of the past. It is his willingness to suffer for noble causes that has enabled the country to achieve and maintain independence.

He has lived in the past with people of cultures different from his own and this has made him not only tolerate other religions or classes but also take interest in the ceremonies of such people. Festivals in India are based on religions, but they are participated in by persons of other religions.

**Sadly Neglected**

Even though he is illiterate and poor, he leaves the politicians little scope to fool him. He has come to respect certain personalities due to their deeds in the history of the country. But he is sufficiently aware of the real nature of the so-called followers of these great personalities to prevent them from influencing his judgement.

Given proper leadership, there is little doubt that he will play an active part in building the nation. What a pity this potential source of progress is being neglected in this country.

**This was a life  
HEMENDRANATH GHOSH  
1890—1965**

DR. HEMENDRANATH GHOSH lived up to the best traditions of the medical profession, and was a pioneer in the revolution of medical science. Not only was he a research scholar of the highest order, but above all else he was a patriot whose love of country and of his fellow men was a driving force behind the countless hours of toil spent in his laboratory.

The son of an Honorary Magistrate in the District of Tippera, now in East Pakistan, Dr. Ghosh received his education up to high school level near his village. He graduated from Calcutta Medical College in 1918. During this period he was actively engaged in the freedom struggle and much of his medical study was carried out in prison.

In 1920 he joined the Pasteur Institute in Paris and later continued his studies in Berlin, Marburg and Hamburg. When he returned to India in 1923 Dr. Ghosh brought with him various bacterial strains which he managed to keep alive during the long sea passage. From this start, the first anti-diphtheria serum was produced in India.

Tetanus anti-toxic serum was the next life-saving drug produced commercially under Dr. Ghosh's supervision, and it was shortly after this that he started his own company from his own personal meagre resources. One of his greatest achievements was the successful production and standardization of penicillin in India for the first time.

Dr. Ghosh was a founder Member of the Indian Medical Association, and one of its earliest Secretaries. He was highly practical in his approach to life and was never satisfied until theory had been translated into practical utility. When imported ampoules were no longer available, this remarkable Doctor himself trained the first batch of Indian glass blowers. He had a deep understanding of human nature. To a friend he wrote, "I don't think you will act with any spirit of retaliation or vengeance, because the latter never gives tranquillity and peace of mind; rather it works in reverse and produces ultimate harm."

He had a tremendous care for those he came in contact with; whether sweeper or colleague he treated each the same. He had a great vision for each of those working with and under him as to what they could do and become and many of those who staff research laboratories and pharmaceutical firms in India today are a living memorial of this.

M.P.

**Q and A**

**Q—Is it good to lift the Gold Control Order?**

J. ABDUL SUBHAN, Tiruchi 8

**A—**Yes. Its utility, if it had any, is outlived. The Government has spent Rs. 30 crores in its implementation, but people are yet enamoured of the 22 carat yellow metal, and smuggling proceeds merrily. Thousands of goldsmiths have been thrown out of work (some have committed suicide) and the Government has lost in Sales Tax, Income Tax and Excise Duty.

It is significant that at the last AICC, not even the original mover of the Gold Control Order, Mr. Morarji Desai, bothered to defend it.

**Q—Can China be contained?**

S. RAJU, Karaikeni

**A—**The policy of containment was originally advocated for Russia, by George Keenan of the US State Department. A ring of bases was built round the USSR, and NATO and CENTO formed. It was a purely defensive measure that gained time until changes in leadership and material prosperity softened Russia enough for them not to want military ventures.

America's policy today is to contain China and she has a measure of support from some of her Western partners. Mrs. Gandhi when in the US made clear that India would be a major factor in meeting the Chinese challenge in Asia. Nevertheless, like Japan, India will not enter into any regional defense organization.

Two questions arise.

First, how long can China be contained? Will America risk the destruc-

tion of San Francisco and Los Angeles when in 5 years' time China may have the delivery system to land an atomic warhead on the American mainland?

Second, while the attention of most people is concentrated on containing China, what about the considerable increase in Soviet influence, which, almost unseen, is taking countries into the Soviet orbit?

Asian nations will be wiser if they planned how to change China rather than to contain her. They need to go on an offensive with their ideas.

**Q—What is the viewpoint of HIMMAT on the Indo-US Foundation? Comment.**

T. P. SATHYANARAYANA, Hyderabad

**A—**In all the heat generated over the Indo-US Foundation one thing appears to be forgotten: the money belongs to the USA. About 80 per cent of the PL 480 money in India is already allocated by the US for economic programmes in India. The Indo-US Foundation is to be established from the balance of the funds, which it is the business of the USA to utilize as she wishes. Some of the critics of the Indo-US Foundation speak as if the money belongs to India, because it happens to be in Indian rupees!

Americans will not object to any reasonable safeguard we want to keep for the educational integrity of the country. But it is a shabby way to treat America, making all sorts of allegations about her intentions when she is giving her money for an Indian project.

It takes as much grace to receive as to give.

**ANY QUESTIONS?  
SEND THEM TO Q & A, HIMMAT.**

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# The Marriage Season

By Rajmohan Gandhi

"THAT MUST BE a bullet-proof sari," commented my Australian friend, looking at the shining, golden dress of a woman at a wedding reception.

He was awe-struck at the parade of finery and jewelry. He found it almost impossible, of course, to discover who the bride was. The competition for drawing attention was keen. And when he ran into a whole series of such affairs, he wondered whether he should believe all that he knew about India's poverty.

Personally I am all for gold. I don't have it myself. If I had it I would happily use it in the task of changing our country. I don't envy those who possess it. It seems to make them happy and for that reason I am glad.

In Bombay another wedding season has just ended, and HIMMAT wishes all the married couples a life of abundant happiness.

However, I sometimes cannot help wishing that some brides and grooms displayed at least a portion of this happiness at the wedding receptions and in the wedding pictures.

When you look at the marriage page of a pictorial weekly, you are not exactly hit by a tornado of pleasure.

For some reason gloom seems to be the appropriate mood. Perhaps it represents the sorrow of parting from one's parents and brothers and sisters, but I am not absolutely sure.

## Sense Under Tin Roof

I was fascinated by a wedding I recently attended in Panchgani. It was held in a small space outside a tin-roofed shed. In the shed live a man, his wife and eight of their eleven children. One of the girls was getting married.

The father is a sweeper, a harijan. In the past when he married his girls he spent away years of savings in a binge of guest-pleasing. Mind you, the guests were not exactly pleased, for it was never too difficult to notice all the things that were wrong.

This time he decided he was going to give real thought and care to all the groom's party and guests but not have an expensive dinner or days-long celebrations. He reckoned that this was good for him, his children, the groom's party and the country. He got strong support in this decision from his family. In fact it was one of his children who suggested it to him.

There may often be greater common sense under tin roofs than under chandeliers reflecting glittering saris.

Then there was another wedding in Bombay I attended which a man described to me as the finest he had ever seen. "You could not have bought that reception for a million rupees," said this man, who was himself calculating how much he would spend soon on his daughter's marriage.

What jolted everybody at this particular celebration—which was quite inexpensive—was the obvious radiance of the man and woman involved and their patent care for each other and for all who came.

## Love More Than Selves

The man had loved the girl for some time. When he was clear he was meant to wed her, he wrote a letter and proposed.

The girl did an interesting thing. She tried to figure out in her heart whether God wanted her to accept. Within a day she was clear she should. In four weeks they were married.

In truth, the secret of their affection for each other is the desire and decision of both of them, separately and together, to live for a much larger aim than themselves.

I long for Indian homes to be the cementing and strengthening force they are meant to be. I don't feel all of them are.

When I asked a group of teenagers recently whether they actually enjoyed returning home each day, the answer was almost un-animously in the negative.

It appears to me that a great deal depends on the relationship

between father and mother. If dad and mother, or *pitaji* or *mataji*, are truly fond of each other and enjoy forsaking comforts, plans and points of view for each other, the result, it seems to me, is a strong and united home to which it is a thrill to return.

A businessman was telling me the other day of the need to train our people at an early age in teamwork, hard work and unselfishness. He complained about the irresponsibility and self-centredness of many of our children. They are bright and charming, he felt, but utterly self-seeking.

## Copying Parents

There is much in what he says, but I cannot help thinking that children copy their parents and that any genuine unselfishness for each other in parents is bound to be emulated by the children in their relationship with one another.

There may not be such a vast difference, as far as the essentials are concerned, between running a family and running a country. A man who raises a loving, laughing family is quite likely to help India become a smiling land.

The hate, killing, rioting, sabotage, demonstrating and counter-demonstrating that go on in the country today may be in some way related to the hating, indifference and dishonesty that exist in so many families.

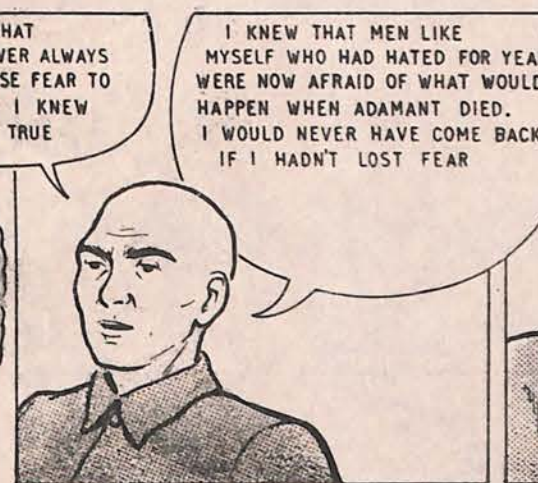
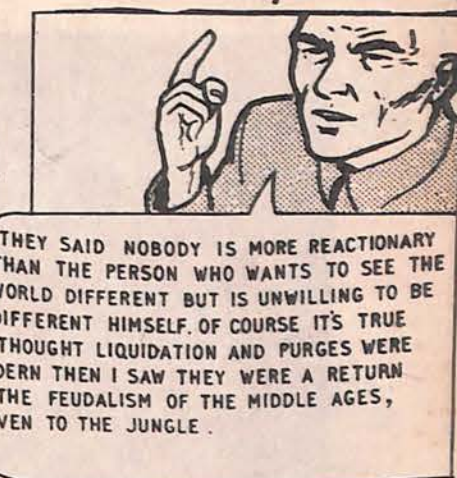
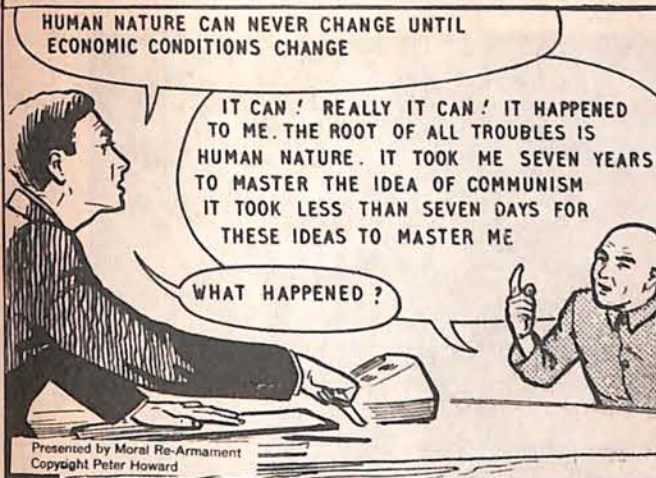
India needs, putting it crudely, a force of men and women who can teach all our people to love one another.

If we are not quite prepared to find pleasure in giving up a programme, point of view or point of pride for the sake of husband or wife, we are not likely to achieve "national integration", "total integration" or a nation of one heart, one mind and one goal.

On the other hand, couples and families where devotion for one another is sustained and deepened by a practical concern for a new nation and a new world can be far-reaching catalysts.

# THE DICTATOR'S SLIPPERS by PETER HOWARD

Episode 12



## If you think efficiency went out when charm came in...this girl will soon change your mind!

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## Prof. C. N. Vakil on **DEVALUATION AND YOU**

— will prices rise? Page 6



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