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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



## OBOTE OF UGANDA

page 5

Friday  
August 6  
1965

**Vietnam | THE GREAT DEBATE**  
pages 2 & 7

## Issue Is China

WHEN MR. SHASTRI assumed leadership of the nation few imagined he would take such a direct personal interest in foreign affairs. He had not ventured beyond Nepal. In the last twelve months, however, Mr. Shastri has been on the move as much as his globe-circling predecessor ever was. This is reassuring.

Communiques from Belgrade indicate that during Mr. Shastri's just concluded state visit to Yugoslavia, "exploring new initiatives" in the Vietnam conflict was the main item on the agenda of his talks with Marshal Tito.

"New initiatives" are to be welcomed and there is no doubt about Mr. Shastri's genuine anguish over the agony of the Vietnamese people. What is not clear yet is how this complex problem can be settled on a basis of the discussions, notes and feelers proposed by the two leaders.

There is talk of bringing all concerned to a "Geneva-style" conference. Is it forgotten that the Government of South Vietnam did not recognize the original 1954 Geneva agreement?

Talks are important and necessary. But to push for them without recognizing that Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh have long held an unswerving commitment to communize the world (via Vietnam and South-East Asia) will achieve nothing.

It is surprising, therefore, that Mr. Shastri should have been reported as saying that fears of China's domination over her Asian neighbours were exaggerated, that her aspirations for a Big Power status should be respected and that Peking's admission to the U.N. was the first step. Hardly a solution for Vietnam.

Perhaps the remedy Mr. Shastri seeks is to be found in the analysis of the great debate on Vietnam by Mr. Vaitheswaran on page 7.

"The vital issue," Mr. Vaitheswaran points out, "is not Vietnam but China... We need to encircle China with a ring of nations united, stable and strong who together seek to present an ideological alternative to the Chinese."

If the "new initiatives" of Mr. Shastri and his friends could be made in this direction then those who advocate escalation, withdrawal or even the *status quo* would realize there is a saner alternative.

## Algeria's New Mood

THE LEGACY of Ben Bella's regime has been a devastated economy. During July there have been reports of a new mood in Algiers, a demand for an economy that works. The Foreign Minister, Abdellaziz Bouteflika, declared, "The era of noisy speeches, showy slogans and romantic agitation is over."

The first fruits of this new outlook were realized last week in the agreement with France for the future exploitation of the vast Sahara oil resources. The Algerian Foreign Minister, who signed the 300-page document, termed it "an original if not revolutionary concept" in relations between countries at different economic levels.

The agreement sets up a joint "co-operative association" in which French and Algerians will carry out independently oil and gas exploitation. It includes a five-year, \$400 million French aid programme for industrial development. As well as tripling its oil revenues within five years, Algeria becomes through the "co-operative association" a major operator in the Sahara.

The French National Assembly has still to ratify the agreement when it meets in September, but the spirit in which the agreement has come about has given hope for the economic development of Algeria and of healing the bitter wounds inflicted during the struggle for independence.

## Flood Control

"The Betwa River is receding but the nightmare continues. The floods have left in their wake a trail of intense misery—collapsed houses, washed-away villages, uprooted trees, cattle carcasses in hundreds, dazed and stunned people whose all had been taken away by the flood waters."

—News item

Last year floods cost 639 lives and an estimated Rs. 48 crores damage. A million tons of foodgrains are destroyed each year. It is time to end this annual national catastrophe.

What is the use of urging the farmer to grow more, of teaching him better methods and providing him with fertilizers, if each year when the monsoon comes round he sees his home and his crops washed away?

Since 1954 Rs. 100 crores have been spent in flood control. 4,300 miles of new embankments have been built; 4,900 villages raised above flood level; 10 million acres usually flooded made partly secure. The Committee of Ministers from the ten States worst afflicted seeks Rs. 300 crores to provide a reasonable level of flood protection by the end of the Fourth Plan. They say flood control should be given equal priority with food production.

But more than money, plans and committees are needed to solve this problem. What is required is the will to win. "The ideas are there; what is lacking is decision," says an *Economic Times* editorial.

We should be determined that not one year more will we allow this loss of life and property to go on. And we should mobilize the resources to achieve this goal. There is nothing the combined will of the Indian people cannot achieve. We might surprise ourselves, and the prophets of gloom, by the result.

Sunset over the Mekong River Delta.

The Great Vietnam Debate

Fear grips thousands of families

## WAR OR 'NATIONAL COMMUNISM'

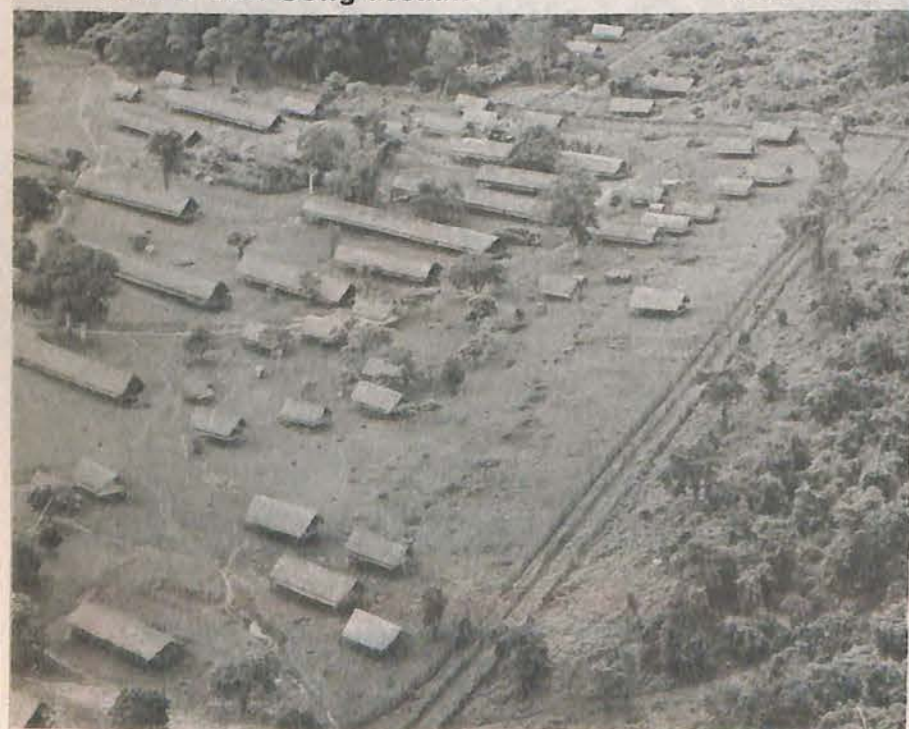
Should U.S. withdraw or step up military action? Some say China would settle for a Tito-style regime in Vietnam. R. Vaitheswaran, writing from the U.S.A., analyses this debate on page 7.



A woman in the ruins of her village after a Viet Cong assault.



South Vietnamese forces prepare for a helicopter attack from Soc Trang base in the Mekong Delta.



A fortified village in South Vietnam surrounded by a triple bamboo fence and ditch.



Vaitheswaran, author of "Under the Lens", travelled wide in Vietnam in '62. Here he speaks to village defence forces.

## Briefly Speaking ...

The statesman shears the sheep. The politician skins them.

AUSTIN O'MALLEY 1858-1932

### The Unthinkable

IS THE SOVIET UNION changing? In a recent issue of *Problems of Economy*, published in the Soviet Union, economist Manevich proclaims the existence of the unthinkable—large-scale unemployment in the Soviet Union.

In Leningrad and Moscow between 6 per cent and 7 per cent of workers are unemployed and the figure is reputed to be higher in the rest of the country. In Siberia the percentage without jobs is as high as 25 per cent.

### Crisis in Bombay

"CRISIS IN INDIA" by Ronald Segal (Penguin) which was reviewed at length by Mr. R. Vaitheswaran in last week's *HIMMAT* may, I understand, be banned—if not in India, at least in Maharashtra State. Bombay book-sellers complain that since receiving

the initial stock parcels have not been cleared by the Customs.

It appears that Mr. Segal has made some uncomplimentary remarks about the warrior king, Shivaji. While one can appreciate the distress felt by the Maharashtra Government, I am sure the great Shivaji would have been more tolerant of Mr. Segal's remarks—uncharitable though they may be.

### Medically Unfit

THE INDIAN ARMY rejects 70 per cent of recruits as medically unfit. The Deputy Minister for Health, Dr. D. S. Raju, attributes it to malnutrition.

In the U.S. 51 per cent of the recruits are rejected as medically unfit. American standards of medical check up might be stricter but it is not fair to attribute all the 70 per cent unfitness to malnutrition. Simple points like physical exercise, training programmes and discipline can make far more Indians medically fit.

### Fire of Conviction

THE BELLS were ringing in Jamnagar last week. No, it was not a marriage. The fire brigade was summoned by the Municipal President Shri L. B. Patel to "put out" recalcitrant councillor Shri Somchand Shah. Many councillors objected to Shri Shah's remark that sometimes the majority "consisted of fools".

An outnumbered Shri Shah gallantly apologized and the fire brigade withdrew.

### Falling Over Backwards

ONE CAN ADMIRE the patience of the Indian Ambassador to Djakarta, Mr. P. Ratnam. One cannot feel the same about his tendency to fall over backwards to please the Indonesian Government.

On July 20 His Excellency was threatened by a mob of 500 people in Surekarta, Central Java. Shouting, "Down with Shastri," they demonstrated in protest against our policy towards Malaysia. Even after he had graciously accepted their petition, they refused to disperse and shouted, "Indian Ambassador go home." They threatened to manhandle him and

destroy his car. Indonesian police requested the Ambassador to leave the city immediately.

Soon after this event, the Indian Ambassador declared that Indonesia and India were inspired by "common aims and objectives".

Which ones?

How long are we going to pander to the humour of power-drunk dictators?

### Dad's Share

AT THE TURN of the century German women had no say whatsoever in money matters—not even in regard to their dowry. Today in West Germany in 69 out of a 100 families the husband gives his wife the pay packet and receives his pocket money. Surveys show that husbands rarely complain.

Polls show that many couples do not tell the truth to their partners about the exact amount of their earnings, but "the older the people get, the more truthful they become towards one another".

### Ducking

CONRAD HUNTE'S letter in *HIMMAT* last week was quoted by almost every major newspaper of India. His valuable suggestion to arrange for West Indies businessmen to accept rupee payment and import Indian goods in return so that the West Indies Cricket tour of India could proceed was carried by the Press Trust of India.

I spoke to a few distinguished cricketers about the letter and asked for their comments. Two of them were not bold enough to commit themselves publicly on the grounds that they were members of certain sporting committees.

Do our cricketers feel strongly about the cancellation of the West Indies tour?

Can they who dare to bat a googly on the cricket pitch, duck a straight ball like Hunte's suggestion?

### Topsy Turvy

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO a widow entered the Order of the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity in the U.S.A. Recently her daughter, Sister May of St. Rose, was elected her Mother Superior in Wisconsin.

So now the mother must call her daughter "Mother" and the daughter must call her mother "Sister".

R.M.L.

## Uganda's Dr. Obote

From Vere James in Nairobi

There will be new and unexpected faces at Entebbe airport when Prime Minister Milton Obote returns to Uganda from his foreign tour. They will include seven members of the Kabaka Yekka, who have crossed the floor of the House to join the Government.

Dr. Obote, who is visiting India this week, is on a tour of State Visits to China, Russia, Japan, Hong Kong and Yugoslavia.

The political switch now gives Dr. Obote's Uganda People's Congress 74 seats in the 92-member National Assembly. No doubt more will follow.

Although publicly committed to a one-party state, which he regards as the most practical form of government in Africa if it is not abused, Obote has solemnly pledged that he will never take legal or compulsory action to achieve it. As in Kenya, where he served his political apprenticeship in the old Kenya African Union, he predicts that sooner or later the Opposition will "wither away".

### Political Acumen

This process is the essence of Obote's political acumen. He has succeeded in winning his way through a jungle of complexities that make up the Uganda political scene. Even his country's achievement of independence has been described as "a peculiar act of constitutional compromise".

Obote has succeeded in merging into the semblance of a united country the volatile young nationalists spawned by modern party politics, the cautious and privileged establishment of the traditional Kings, as well as the various religious factions whose rivalries have bedevilled progress in Uganda for the past 60 years.

This is all the more creditable when it is realized that Dr. Obote himself comes from a comparatively minor and less educated tribe. He has managed to enlist the co-operation of the majority of the more conservative and sophisticated Baganda.

With himself as Prime Minister, the Constitutional Head of State is

the President of Uganda, Sir Frederick Mutesa. The President is at the same time the hereditary Kabaka of Buganda, ruler of the largest and wealthiest region of the country.

Of the 350,000 Asians of Indian or Pakistani descent in East Africa, 75,000 live in Uganda. They still control the retail trade, are a prosperous professional class and are behind much of the commercial development.

But the position of the Indian man-in-the-street is perilous, particularly as demands for Africanization increase and Africans become more qualified to compete for the jobs which until now have been the prerogative of the Asian community.

They have not forgotten the boycott of Asian goods and shops in the late 'fifties which proved one of the bitterest inter-community disputes East Africa has seen. Nor the resignation of 1500 Asians from the East African Common Services Organization following the Uganda Government

decision to withdraw from its civil servants overseas leave and housing privileges. The resignations were treated by the African Governments of Kenya and Uganda as a threat, and were accepted—much to the surprise of some who frantically tried to withdraw at the last minute.

Uganda needs all the Indian money and skills it can get. Obote will warmly accept further investment in his country. New Delhi is equally anxious to encourage more development projects like the proposed sugar factory. A recent delegation of Indian businessmen and industrialists toured East Africa for this purpose.

One Indian firm producing sugar, shortening, sweets, and salad oils, generates 10 per cent of Uganda's gross national product.

An East African Common Market, with a potential 35 million customers, has been a major attraction for investors. But the common market seems about to disintegrate with Tanzania's withdrawal from the East African currency arrangements.

Essential elements of a federal structure were modern currency, a central bank, a sound commercial banking system and organized markets for short and long-term loans. "All these conditions are in the process of disintegration," Mr. Ibingira, one of Dr. Obote's Ministers, declared. He added, "If it also crumbles, the political leaders of these states will have committed as great an error as any leaders in history."

This may be harsh and exaggerated judgement. But with Tanzania's breakaway the signal appears to have been given to all three territories to "go it alone". It is a situation needing new perspective and



Uganda's President Mutesa greets Premier Obote

fresh initiative which the Uganda Prime Minister might find in India.

Obote, the consummate politician, now stands at the threshold of statesmanship. The art of compromise, the delicate balances of private interests, the patronage and pressures, all of which have brought him to his present powerful position, are not enough to succeed in what his Commonwealth colleague, Prime Minister Hastings Banda, calls "the scramble for the soul of Africa".

Dr. Obote is one of the men who must answer the question, will Africa continue to be fragmented by the conflicts of the cold war? His remark in Tokyo that the Chinese "have no aims in Africa" raises the question of whether he is fully aware of the external pressures being exerted on this continent.

### EAGLE PRESENTS

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## The great debate on Vietnam— withdrawal or escalation?

The great debate on Vietnam is whether withdrawal is not better than escalation and negotiations are not preferable to war. In recent weeks, it has developed into a discussion of the acceptability or otherwise of what is called National Communism.

"If the Americans had been sensible," said an Indian spokesman to me, "they would have negotiated with Ho Chi Minh three years ago and given him South Vietnam. There would then have been a Communist regime in all of Vietnam and it would have been anti-Chinese. Now they will have a Communist Vietnam which is not anti-Chinese." This view of the Indian Government has received unexpected support in recent weeks.

### "National" Communism

"National Communism," said Mr. Patrick Gordon-Walker, semi-official spokesman of the British Government in a speech recently in the United States, "is a force that can, in certain circumstances and in various parts of the world, be compatible with our attainable ends."

*The New York Times* endorses this view and in an editorial urges that, "Notice should be taken of Mr. Gordon-Walker's remarks about the potentials of National Communism as a weapon against Chinese imperialism."

"The Vietnamese who are Communists," continues the editorial, "also belong to a people with a centuries-old tradition of resistance to Chinese domination. At least in this respect their interests coincide with those of both the United States and the Soviet Union. The task of diplomacy in the present situation will be to use this mutuality of interest as a force for a negotiated, honourable peace."

National Communism is thus sought to be encouraged as an instrument of foreign policy. It was right to support Tito against Stalin, the argument runs.

"In Eastern Europe the Johnson Administration has moved skilfully to exploit the National Communism of Rumania, for example, as a means of weakening the Soviet hold over that area," writes *The New York Times*.

### Russian Missiles

By the same count, presumably, it is a good policy to strengthen Ho Chi Minh. It is assumed, we know not how, that he will be anti-Chinese. The policy is, therefore, to encourage him to move into the Soviet orbit. Russian missiles around Hanoi become somehow a desirable alternative to Chinese advisers in the jungle.

The great debate may, in fact, be the great surrender. It is a face-saver, a counsel of despair. "If a

## Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

victory cannot be achieved," says Gordon-Walker, "then the chief end of policy must be the avoidance of defeat."

We cannot accept this policy for many reasons. Communism's practice has always been nationalist. As Djilas points out in his book "The New Class" the one achievement of Communism in our time has been the transformation of underdeveloped economies like the Soviet Union to a highly powerful nation state. Stalin harnessed the internationalism of Marx and the power of his ideology to the development of the Russian State. This is true of Mao Tse-tung today. The one does not become better than the other by virtue of conflict between the two.

### Chinese Pattern

National Communism in the conditions of Asia tends to adopt the Chinese pattern. The Communist groups which advocate the Chinese line, that is, armed uprisings of peasants and a relentless guerrilla struggle escalating into total war, are also the most nationalist. This will be increasingly true of the Communist parties of Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia and the left wing pro-Chinese groups in India and the other Asian countries.

Therefore, National Communism may lead to a strengthening of the bonds between South and South East Asia and China. It is more militant and aggressive and with power may become more oppressive. It is true that official Communist Parties, such as the Dange group in India, seem more nationalistic because of their anti-Chinese line but, in fact, they are merely pro-Russian.

The position has been different in Eastern Europe where National Communism has led to a weakening of the ties of the Soviet Union with these countries. Resentment over Soviet domination will ultimately lead, in these nations, to a claim to independence.

Continued on page 16

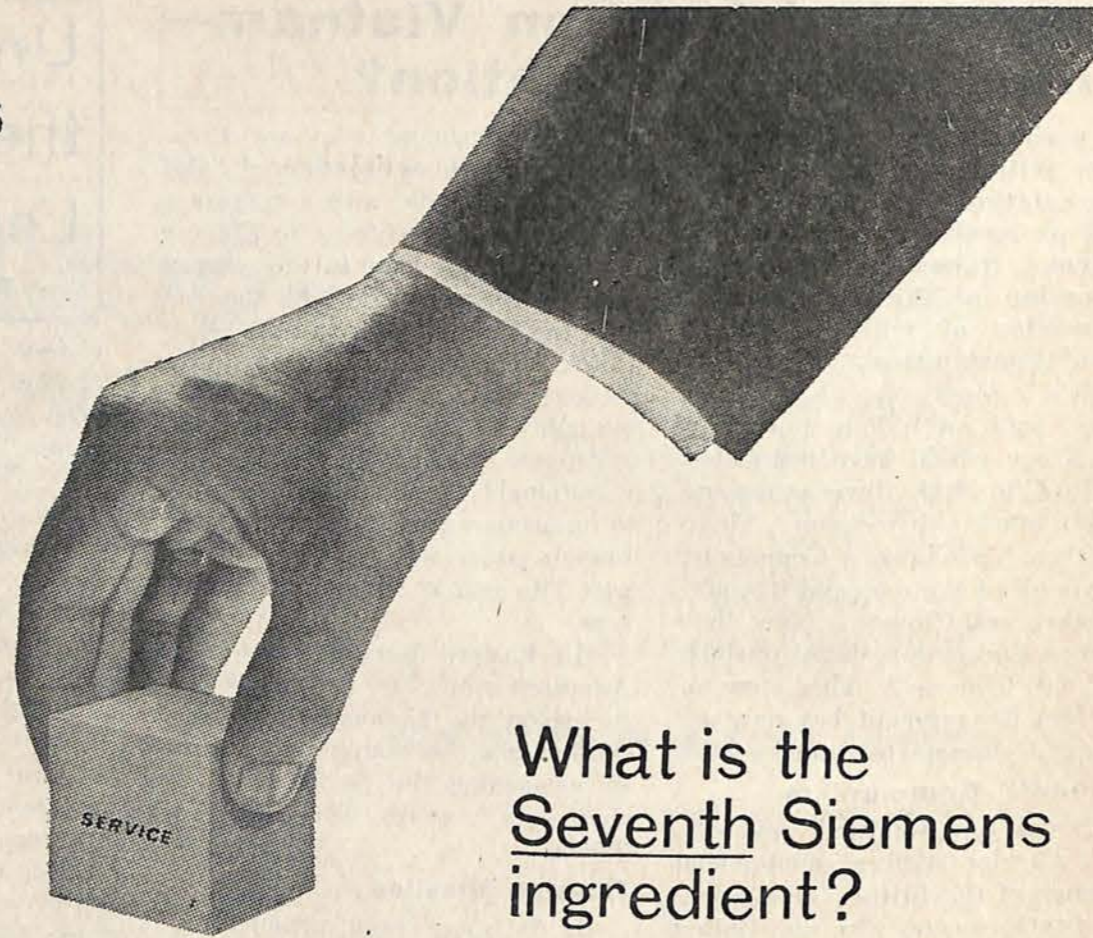


**has compound interests!**

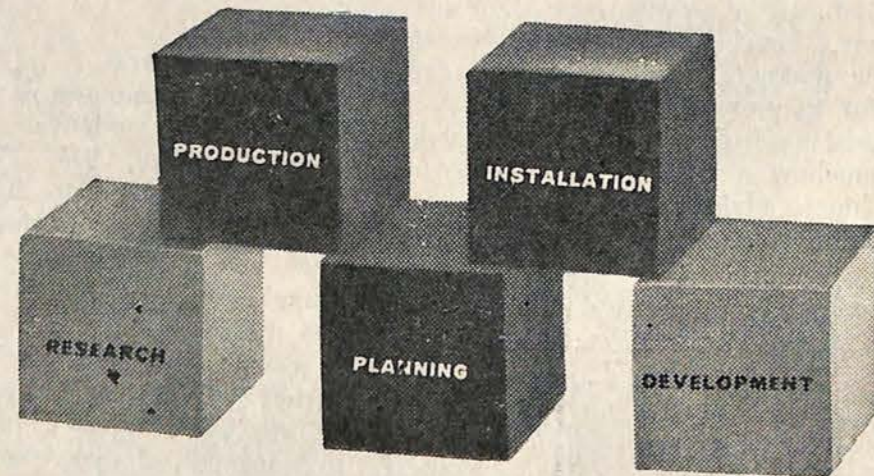
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**FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS**

**Scramble for Africa's Soul**

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

"Although the nineteenth century scramble for the body of Africa is over, we are now witnessing the scramble for Africa's soul," said Dr. Hastings Banda recently in London.

The Malawi Prime Minister gave further support to this statement when he returned to his capital, Blantyre, and claimed that "Communist China was spending millions of pounds to corrupt African leaders".

Dr. Banda's self-imposed exile as a medical practitioner in Ghana during the fifties may have given him some useful diagnosis of Africa's ills. But he is not popular with all of the leaders on this continent. Some of them, perhaps self-righteously, do not agree with "Kamuzu's" methods of governing Malawi.

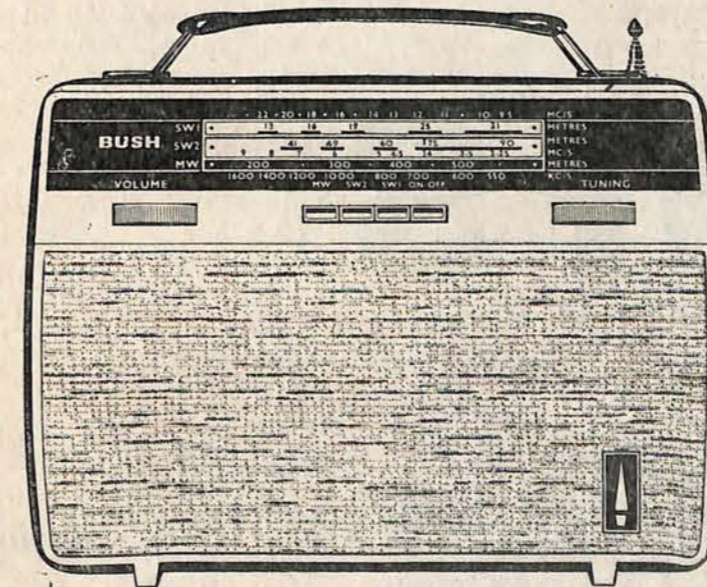
But he clearly recognizes some of the dangers to Africa's freedom. If

he would answer some of the valid criticisms and even allow some of his former colleagues to return to the fold, Dr. Banda would have an important influence on the continent.

In Nairobi the other day, Sayed Sadik El Mahdi, President of Sudan's ruling Umma Party, was asked why his country had permitted arms to pass through Khartoum for the Congo rebels. He simply replied: "We were drawn into the Congo problem through lack of clarity."

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**The week in Asia**

**PEKING**—In a blistering attack on Soviet policies in Vietnam, the Peking newspaper **Ta Kung Pao** accused the U. S. S. R. of being intimidated by America. "While professing opposition to U. S. imperialism... they sing in chorus with such faithful lackeys and precious pets of U. S. imperialism as Tito and Shastri of India".

**DJAKARTA** — President Sukarno announced that Indonesia would explode an atom bomb in November. Experts believe it impossible to manufacture the bomb with the reactor now operating at Bandung but point out that the Russians are helping Indonesia construct a reactor that is ten times more powerful.

**HANOI**—Pathet Lao forces in Laos have demanded an end to the activities of the International Control Commission because of the "erroneous attitude" of India and Canada, who have turned the three-nation Commission "into a tool serving the U.S. imperialists".

**LHASA**—The Panchen Lama, second in the Tibetan hierarchy, has disappeared from Lhasa where he was under house arrest. He has not been seen since last January when he was publicly humiliated by the Chinese. One thousand Tibetans are reported to have died in an uprising against the Chinese in southern Tibet.

**BANGKOK**—In one district in Thailand's vital north-east which borders Communist-controlled territory in Laos, eleven village heads and police officers have been murdered. In another district police report that two-thirds of the villages are Communist-controlled.

**SAIGON**—President Johnson will increase the number of American troops committed to the Vietnam war from 80,000 to 125,000. In a new approach, he offered to discuss Hanoi's conditions.

**RAWALPINDI**—American military assistance to Pakistan is decreasing following the controversy over the postponement of American aid. Pakistan is considering diplomatic retaliation by withdrawal from SEATO and CENTO, closure of U.S. information centres and replacement of American aid with Soviet and Chinese assistance.

**GANGTOK**—Bhutan has agreed to resettle an additional 1,000 Tibetan refugees. The cost of resettlement will be borne by India.

**KATHMANDU**—Chinese technicians began construction of a 40-mile ring road around Kathmandu valley.

**COLOMBO**—The Leftist Opposition parties urged the Army, police and government workers to defy "the unconstitutional or illegal" orders of the Senanayake Government.

## SEATO's New Role

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Bangkok

The new Secretary General of SEATO, General Jesus Vargas of the Philippines, could use his past experience as the late President Magsaysay's Chief of Staff to help SEATO to a new role.

Increasingly SEATO's friends and critics feel that it must take on to meet the ideological challenges of the area and not merely remain poised to counter military threats.

General Vargas was one of those at Magsaysay's right hand during the period when the late President carried out his successful campaign against the Communist-led Huk rebels.

With South Vietnam in mind it is well to remember the Huks who at the peak of their power had effective control of more than half of the Philippines, during the night hours at least. Magsaysay gave the choice of "all out friendship" or "all out fight". He offered Huks who laid down their arms an ideology and land on which to settle. However, he promised war

without mercy to those who sought to change the Government by terrorism. His posters dramatized this choice with a hand of friendship and a clenched fist.

General Vargas might breathe this spirit into SEATO. Thailand, the host country to the organization, could enlist the Secretary General in seeing that the outstretched hand of friendship and aid is extended in the most practical way to needy people of the North East border area.

Marshal Chen Yi's prediction of a guerrilla war in Thailand by the end of the year could then be proved false.

## Danger in Burma

BY OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

A dangerous situation is developing in the Shan States in north-east Burma, says a recent report in the "Far Eastern Economic Review" of Hong Kong.

Chinese troops wearing Burmese uniform have been helping the Burmese keep order in the area which borders China, Laos and Thailand. The Chinese send troops to Laos

across Burmese territory and attack Kuomintang remnants on Burmese soil. They are also said to be training the Burmese.

Since 1960 a Shan National Army has also come into existence. Its leaders oppose the Burmese Government's attempts to collectivize their land. The Shan National Army, says the *Far East Economic Review*, are today "the most powerful of all the groups operating along this strategic frontier and now pose a real threat to the Burmese Government, both on the regional and national levels".

Its aim is said to be the overthrow of the present Government and restoration of U Nu with whom they are prepared to make terms ensuring autonomous government for the Shan States within the Burmese Union.

## Tories' "Mr. Wilson"

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

Mr. Edward Heath who last week replaced Sir Alec Douglas-Home is, at 49, the youngest Conservative leader of the century.

"The vote has been," said the *Daily Telegraph*, "for toughness and pug-

nacity, for absolute commitment and political professionalism. Mr. Wilson as Prime Minister will find himself confronted with an opponent intellectually at least his equal and in rigorous consistency far his superior."

Mr. Heath entered Parliament in 1950, was Government Chief Whip under Macmillan, President of the Board of Trade under Home, and led Britain's unsuccessful negotiations to join the Common Market.

Son of a building worker who became a master builder, Heath in 1936 won an organ scholarship to Balliol College, Oxford. Unmarried, music is his only interest outside politics.

He is, said the *London Observer*, "an expert political insider. Even in private conversation, at a party or in



Edward Heath

the Commons lobbies, his eyes never seem to stop counting votes."

Both Heath and Wilson are economic experts—reflecting Britain's preoccupation with industrial modernization and financial crisis. The day after Heath's election, balance of payments' difficulties forced the Labour Government to announce severe curbs on public and private spending—measures described by *The Times* as "belated conversion to economic reality".

Heath's election, said *The Times*, marked a turning point for the Conservatives and "not merely because a man of the new generation will be taking over. Grave national difficulties lie ahead. The solutions which now have to be found to Britain's problems have to be of a new kind... There is no sign that Mr. Wilson and his colleagues have found those solutions. It will be up to the Conservatives to persuade the nation that under their new leader they can do so."

## The week elsewhere

### U. K. JET TRANSPORT

LONDON—Plans for a 100 m.p.h. "hovertrain" and a 265-seat long-haul jet airliner were announced in Britain last week.

The prototype hovertrain built by the pioneers of the hovercraft, a jet-borne amphibious vessel, will be ready within two years. It will ride on a cushion of air and use wheels only for cornering. Within ten years, according to Christopher Cockerill,

inventor of the hovercraft, "Britain could have a hovertrain that could go at 250 m.p.h."

BOAC have announced that they prefer the Superb, an enlarged version of the British-built Super VC10, to the American designs for a larger commercial aircraft. The new airliner, carrying passengers in two decks, will use the same wings, tail and engines as the VC10. It should

Continued on next page

## The week in India

TRIVANDRUM—Union Home Minister Nanda held extensive talks with political leaders including Mannath Padmanabhan, who urged unity in the democratic ranks and told Nanda that the rebel faction of the Congress Party would rejoin the main body if they were received honourably.

NEW DELHI—Indo-Soviet trade, valued at Rs. 75 crores each way in 1964, is planned to reach Rs. 150 crores by 1970.

NEW DELHI—S.S.P. leader Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia said that his Party would surround Parliament and prevent its sessions if the Government did not change its stand on the Kutch conflict and alter its economic policies. November 25 is the date of the proposed demonstration. CALCUTTA—A Leftist "Resistance Movement" by nine parties against an increase in tram fares sparked riots and tram burnings.

NEW DELHI—Laotian neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma accused North Vietnam of having 60 battalions of troops on Laotian territory aiding the Pathet Lao and of using Laos as a route to send supplies to the Viet Cong. He urged that the strength of the International Control Commission be increased in Laos.

NEW DELHI—Indian industrialists are setting up fourteen industries in Africa under the India-Africa Development Association.

SHILLONG—122,476 illegal Pakistani immigrants have been expelled from Assam since the 1961 census, the Chief Minister announced.

NEW DELHI—India has offered \$95 million towards the \$1 billion capital needed for the Asian Development Bank. Japan and America have each offered \$200 million.

MADRAS—All private electrical undertakings distributing power to the State will be taken over by the Government during the Fourth Plan.

NEW DELHI—The Energy Survey Committee predicted that India's consumption of energy from all sources will treble by 1980. Most of this will have to be met by coal and oil, as energy from nuclear sources will only be a fraction of what the country requires in the next 20 years.

CALCUTTA—Starvation deaths are being reported from West Bengal as the food situation in the State enters a crisis. Large quantities of rice are being smuggled into Bihar where the price is much higher than in West Bengal.

NEW DELHI—Finance Minister Krishnamachari is considering knocking Rs. 3000 crores from the Fourth Plan due to the foreign exchange difficulties. This will bring the expenditure to Rs. 18,000 crores.

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be in service on the London-New York and other long range flights by 1969, and is expected to cut passenger costs by one fifth.

### GERMAN "SKY" CAR

MUNICH—West German designers have built a "flying car". Turbo jets propel the machine forwards and make it airborne. In traffic of the future its driver will press buttons giving the code number of his destination, then leave everything else to the car's electronic steering. While a traffic control centre guides his car through the air, the driver may read his paper or talk business over the intercom. On landing the flying car travels along the road like any other.

### ODINGA MOVES OUT

NAIROBI—Mr. Ronald Ngala has replaced Kenya's leftward-looking Vice President, Mr. Oginga Odinga, as Deputy Leader of the Kenya African National Union's parliamentary group, says a *Hindustan Times* report

from Kenya. Ngala, who last November dissolved his KADU party and led its parliamentary members across to the Government benches, was said to have received 75 votes to Odinga's six. KANU last week asked the Government to close the Chinese embassy in Nairobi and withdraw Kenya's ambassador in Peking and post him to New Delhi.

### JOHNSON'S CRIME PLAN

WASHINGTON—President Johnson who has already declared war on poverty, race discrimination and the Viet Cong, last week also declared war on crime. Announcing the appointment of a 19-member law enforcement commission the President said, "The present wave of violence and the staggering property losses inflicted upon the nation by crime must be arrested." The same day the FBI reported that serious crime in the U.S. such as murder, rape, assault and robbery increased 11 per cent last year. Nearly half those arrested for such crimes were under 18. Arrests of youths for criminal

offences (except traffic violations) rose 17 per cent.

### AYUB FREES PRESS

KARACHI—Through its Press and Publications Ordinance the Pakistan Government has been able for some time to suspend newspapers and printing presses. Last week President Ayub Khan announced that this law would be suspended for a year. The decision followed the adoption of a code of ethics by Pakistan editors. The press is now expected to observe a voluntary code of conduct



Ayub Khan

that will ensure its working freely in a way that is helpful to the nation. A "press court" consisting of six journalists and a high court judge will receive complaints of breaches of the code. It will have power to withdraw its protection from a newspaper.

## LETTERS

### STATE TRADING IN GRAINS

SIR: The food crisis of last year has led to a renewed demand for "nationalization" of the foodgrains trade.

Though the principle has its merits, it overlooks the fact that there are difficulties and dangers in switching from private trading to state trading suddenly.

On the side of procurement, the Government faces the possibility of farmers evading the state trading mechanism. As the farmers produce for consumption as well as for sale, the state trading agency cannot purchase the whole of the produce. It must allow for the needs of the farmers. A limit for holding of foodgrains will have to be fixed. As the farmers are large in number and scattered all over the country, the job of enforcing such limits on holding will be formidable. The state trading agency then may not receive the whole of the marketable surplus.

On the side of selling the foodgrains to the people, the Government may resort to rationing. This means that people will not be able to purchase foodgrains according to their likes and dislikes. Such purchases are possible under private trade because the traders know the extent of demand for different varieties of foodgrains at different places. This knowledge has been built up over generations and the Government cannot have this knowledge. Hence rationing is the only way left. Rationing can be accepted for a short period, but sometime the consumers must be able to purchase freely. Otherwise rationing, which does not take into account individual likes and dislikes, will create a scope for black markets to satisfy the individual likes and dislikes.

A better alternative is to make a start in state trading in a modest way. The Government may decide to protect the lowest income groups. It may then procure foodgrains mainly consumed by people in these groups and try to sell them to these people in a free manner. Rationing may be introduced as a temporary measure, making purchases free after collecting information about the extent to which people demand different foodgrains in different places.

Such a beginning will enable the Government to start trading by procuring only a part of the marketable surplus. It can at the same time take steps to build up buffer stocks to protect the rest of the people who are not covered by the scheme. Not that this scheme is free of dangers and malpractices. But it has better chances of succeeding as the operations can start on a small scale and can therefore be carried on without involving too much strain on administration.

Bombay

\* This week's Rs. 10 prize-winner.

N. B. KULKARNI\*

### HUNTE'S CRICKET PLAN

SIR: Conrad Hunte has suggested a five point formula for re-opening negotiations for the West Indies tour. It would have been far better if Hunte had made the proposal after obtaining the West Indian businessmen's approval to underwrite the cost and profits of the tour, which is the main basis of his suggestion. Even so, I for one would not encourage resorting to Hunte's plan.

Indian cricket no doubt will be affected as a result of the cancellation of the tour. However, the Finance Ministry has maintained that, due to the paucity of foreign exchange, they cannot release the necessary exchange required and that should be the end of it. We cannot lower India's prestige.

The West Indies Board can, however, help Indian cricket by officially proposing to the Indian Board that they are willing to accept the tour on rupee payment basis. Should the West Indies Board officially make such a proposal, there is every likelihood of the tour materializing.

Bombay 5

### SERVICE TO CRICKET

SIR: Conrad Hunte has certainly done a service to Indian if not world cricket by offering sensible proposals whereby the West Indies tour of India could be resumed.

However, I am rather ashamed that few, if any, test cricketers of standing (past or present) have come out so openly in favour of the tour. There is no doubt about what the cricket-loving public want, but surely those who would benefit most from playing against the world's best should be more vocal. Or are they afraid of appearing to disagree with the honourable Finance Minister in his harsh decision to refuse foreign exchange?

Anyhow, congratulations to HIMMAT for being vocal on the subject.

New Delhi 1

### "I AM ASKING FOR HELP"

SIR: Besides being the Secretary of the La Trobe Debating Club, I am actively participating in assisting the Ryder Cheshire International Centre, India.

One of our main projects is the making of cots for the young children in the Homes, an item that is sorely needed. The people who run and maintain these Homes do not have sufficient funds to buy them, because to buy them locally would mean spending money that at the moment is being used to feed and clothe the patients.

Some six months ago I was informed by the Cheshire Committee that we would have to pay customs duty if these cots were to enter India. We have no access to funds with which to pay this duty and, besides, we are genuinely offering these cots as a gift.

I wrote to Mr. Shastri, the Prime Minister of your country, but have not received a reply.

HIMMAT announces a prize of Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be brief and exclusive to HIMMAT. Copies will not be considered. —EDITOR

I have also written to the Indian Embassy in this country and was informed by the Attache that it was not the policy of your Government to allow charity articles into the country duty free.

Sir, being genuinely concerned with the fate of the children in these Homes, one of which we have adopted by paying for the maintenance and education until the child is old enough to be independent, we are both annoyed and upset at the decision.

I am asking you for help in finding a solution to this problem, but in the event that you are unable to assist me I can assure you that I will continue to fight until a solution is reached.

The reason why I have written to you is that I had a copy of your paper given to me for debating purposes and on reading it I found that all the articles it contained were fearlessly written and that your paper took views that were concerned with the betterment of mankind.

WALTER W. WILLGOSS

Secretary,  
La Trobe Debating Club,  
Coburg, Melbourne.

### SHEIKH ABDULLAH

SIR: I am a regular reader of HIMMAT. At times views expressed by you through the columns of HIMMAT are really thought provoking. I admire them. However, the answer to the question "Is Sheikh Abdullah, in your opinion, a traitor?" appearing in your issue date July 16, is simply ridiculous. It is cynical in its contents and most apologetic in tone. Your reply lacks a straightforward answer to a straightforward question. It reveals nothing but your desperate attempt to defend and justify Abdullah's anti-national activities.

V. G. KARMARKAR

Poona 2



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## VIEWPOINT

### LARGER PRIZES

There is in HIMMAT readers a tremendous desire to improve their respective cities and towns, and a righteous anger at the apathy in people. In spite of many shortcomings, readers also show a love for their home towns and often treat the less noble aspects with humour, patience and, at times, sarcasm.

Miss U. R. Sandu of Lytton Road, New Delhi, compares the Delhi Municipality to "a sleep-walker". "Everything done by it is in a haphazard, sleepy manner."

Mrs. Ahuja from Bangalore speaks of its beauty and of its gardens, yet its failure to implement an adequate shop assistants' act. The result is that some have to work from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. One reader from the capital, Vijay M. Shankar, says that "living in the capital produces a paradoxical frustration—a feeling of living in the centre of things, yet having no contact with it".

A reader from Ahmednagar goes into poetic raptures about the scenic beauty of Ahmednagar whose "roads are ribbons of moonlight". But she ends on the note that during the rains walking or cycling is difficult: "Ahmednagar becomes A-MUD-NAGAR."

HIMMAT's Viewpoint Competitions are becoming a barometer of the nation's thinking on vital issues. When HIMMAT posters announcing ONE OUT OF THREE INDIANS WANT A BOMB hit the streets, it was no accident that within three days two former Union Cabinet Ministers felt constrained to comment on why India should not manufacture the bomb.

When 41 per cent of contributors reject non-alignment, it is a sign of the times which our leadership should note.

In view of the Competition's growing importance, we have decided to raise, from next week, the value of Viewpoint's first prize to Rs. 35 a week with a second prize of Rs. 10. Best points published will win Rs. 5 each.

### COMPETITION

\*My first five acts on being elected Prime Minister.

Closing date: August 13

\*\*Should boys get priority over girls in admittance to medical and engineering colleges?

Closing date: August 20

Prizes: Rs. 35, Rs. 10

Excerpts published: Rs. 5 each

Length: Up to 500 words

Send entries to The Editor, HIMMAT, 13 Advent, Foreshore Road, Bombay-1.

First Prize: Rs. 20

## What I Like Least and What I Like Most About My Town

By S. Rangarajan, Bombay

*What I like least*—in fact, I loath it—is the average citizen's lack of civic sense. We lack dignity and decorum. We spit on the streets, walk on the roads, travel on the footboards of trains and abuse everyone else.

What we lack is a national character. We do certain things when we know we are being watched and exactly the reverse when the supervising authority is absent.

It's a battle of wits, while boarding the train or the bus, or while waiting at the theatre for a ticket, or while securing a seat for college admission. We lack discipline. The smartest of the lot and the "go-getters" get their jobs done sometimes, at a tremendous sacrifice, monetarily, while the mediocre and the small fry suffer defeat.

The hit-and-run motorist doesn't bother to wait. The helpless businessman who has been relieved of his swelling wallet cries for help which never seems to be coming, for the passers-by are unconcerned.

*What I like most* about my town is the harmless ease with which po-

verty and prosperity go courting down the broad highways and dingy lanes of this modern metropolis. How tolerant the Bombayite is! How wonderfully he takes everything in his stride with a philosopher's pride—whether it be the unexpected downpour which soils his trousers and disturbs his mood, or the suburban train that arrives late, invariably following a confidential timetable (unknown and, so far, unreleased to the commuter); whether it's the promotion that was denied him at the office or the college seat that his son didn't procure.

The Bombayite has a tremendous capacity to endure. He likes change if it's occasional. A gregarious and social animal, the Bombayite prefers to live in clusters and believes in expressing his opinions vehemently, sometimes when not asked, or by resorting to strikes. The Bombayite is an emotional being who cannot help breaking out into song now and then or criticizing the Government who, he feels, are partly (or is it solely) responsible for his present predicament.

hour nears. After lunch it is difficult to exert on a heavy stomach. So he has to relax for some time. Then comes the time for his evening tea and another round of talks and discussions, and then the time to wind up and go home! With the result that very little time is actually spent on real, constructive work.

But these are minor deficiencies compared to the magnanimity of the people living here. It is the people who make or mar a place.

Any stranger, who comes and lives here for some time, comes under its magic spell.

### I CAME AS A STRANGER

M. ALPHONSE, Bombay

My town is not the one I was born in. I came here to live from another place, but the lack of hope in the

Continued on page 16

## ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

## "We have lived under the coconut palms too long"

*"What is the secret of your winning game?"*

The junior tennis champion of Ceylon smiled and answered quickly, "My opponents!"

Alan da Costa, 18 years old, concedes under pressure that he also has "a fairly good volley" and is "quite quick" on the courts.

The only son of chartered accountant Noel da Costa who won Ceylon's National Championship in Doubles in 1951, Alan has tennis in his blood.

In season, Alan runs regularly and does press-ups to keep in trim. But it is his aggressive spirit that explains at once why last year he won first place in the nation.

Asked if he seeks higher prizes, Alan is quick to say no. "I play just for enjoyment and for competition. If you want to try for Wimbledon or the Davis Cup, you've got to give tennis more of your time. I don't want to give tennis everything."

The truth is, tennis is only a part of Alan's story. He has recently launched a national campaign for a "strong, clean young leadership" for Ceylon. It is to this aim that he wishes to give his time, his talent and energy in the years to come.

*What made you place yourself in charge of this call for leadership?*

"The youth in Ceylon need an aim. They live utterly without one for the most part—even of making Ceylon a great nation in the world. The Ceylonese are by nature great and generous. But they have lived idly without wars, crises, famines, droughts. We need to think seriously about the future. We have lived under the coconut palms too long. We need chaps who think seriously and straighten up their own lives—not just for themselves, but to fight for what is right in this nation and to give it backbone."

*What do you think of the state of affairs in Ceylon today?*



Tennis champion Alan da Costa

"After the change of Government the people expected a lot. But so far the Government hasn't been able to sort things out. Prices are still going up. There is instability. Some elements are trying to break this Government up too. Things are still in a mess. This country needs stability. We need to develop agriculturally, industrially. We need hard work."

### Hell of a Mess

*Do you support the present Government?*

"Yes. They're having a tough time of it, though."

*How was your life different under the last Government?*

"I saw very little change except the prices of my sporting goods were higher. I was too young to be much affected though my father experienced difficulties in business. I am from a Catholic school and I remember the great bitterness when an attempt was made to take over the schools. The last Government got us into a hell of a mess. Some men really tried to do something for the country but they got so involved politically that the bad outweighed the good."

*What are your own plans in life?*  
"I want to be a doctor. I want to go to the villages and help my people."

*Can you let us in on some of your plans in raising up a new leadership for your country?*

"First, there is the August 13-15 Colombo Conference. In December there will be a full-scale training camp. Next year I want to send

Continued on next page

### HUBERT



"Will somebody in there give me a hand?"



## VIETNAM —from page 7

But no universal law about National Communism can be deduced from this fact. Contradictions between Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union may be amenable to exploitation. Nationalism may here be a liberalizing, democratizing force though the increasing rapprochement between Tito and the Soviet leadership makes this doubtful.

On the other hand, extension of this theory that National Communism can be exploited to the benefit of Western powers on the Asian continent involves conceding large areas and even nations to Communism. It amounts to acceptance of the Soviet Union and Communist China as the principal powers of Asia and a recognition of their sphere of influence.

If this is considered inevitable, there is no reason for the United States or anyone else to fight in South-East Asia. But, surely, the powers in Vietnam who have chosen to give battle are doing so, not just to force negotiations which will legalize transfer of South Vietnam to the Viet Cong, but because they

## ON THE SPOT —from page 15

youth to the permanent training centres Moral Re-Armament is building in India. Within a period of time I hope we can build our own permanent centre in Ceylon."

*Your programme is reaching out to Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Government employees, Marxist trade-unionists and even the "fast young set" at Colombo's night-spots. Don't you have any restrictions on who can join your revolution?*

"No. Incidentally, the 'fast young set' can make the pace. They can be the greatest example of all. Holy chaps don't interest people. Chaps who have gone wrong at one time may be the most passionate of all."

*What is your final aim in all this?*

"Mrs. Bandaranaike, our last Prime Minister, tried to act as a mediator between nations. She couldn't really do it because Ceylon was in a mess. Ceylon is made up of so many elements, so many religions, languages, sects, classes. If we as a nation can set an example of unity and peaceful living, we can be an example for Asia."

want to prevent the imposition of such a result by the armed action of the Communists.

The vital issue in South and South-East Asia is not Vietnam but China. A Vietnam unified under Ho Chi Minh will still leave unresolved all the problems of Chinese aggressiveness. In fact, it will speed up their timetable of advance in the region. The real lack is, therefore, an adequate China policy that will plan for the region as a whole.

At present, the alternatives in Asia are between a pro-China and an anti-China policy. Both have proved inadequate. The former has not checked the influence of China. The latter has failed to contain the expansionist ambitions of Mao Tse-

## VIEWPOINT —from page 14

citizens of what is now my town was what I noticed first when I arrived.

The apathy in my town is what I like least about it. We have rattle-infested old buildings that need painting, and which harbour a lot of disease, we have roads in which big holes appear when it rains, we have uncared-for people on the streets begging, we have a poor water supply, an abominable telephone system and a hundred other features which ought not to be. But all these things are results of apathy.

The apathy does not seem to be created by the conditions in which most of the people of my town live—that is, poor conditions.

Even the minority who live in good conditions seem to be apathetic. So perhaps the apathy has created the conditions.

Our town has a pleasant climate, beautiful views, parks, beaches and historic associations, but the thing I like most about it is that although I came as a stranger, I can now write about it as *my* town.

Along with the apathy in the citizens of my town there is ability to accept people from all sorts of places and all sorts of backgrounds with a variety of ideas. Of course they have their prejudices, their cliques and community rivalries, but they are a hospitable people.

They have humour, courage and dignity and these attributes make my town worth living in. After all it is the people you have to live with.

tung. What is needed is a policy that will prepare for developments in China for the next 25 years and anticipate her moves in neighbouring countries in the coming period.

Surely, the lesson of Vietnam is that it is time to take care of the nations around China. We need to encircle China with a ring of nations united, stable and strong who together seek to present an ideological alternative to the Chinese. This is no easy task as the situation in many South-East Asian countries is quite unstable. The leadership is often quite divided and, militarily, the nations are quite weak; but somehow these nations must be helped to put their own house in order. The leadership must rise to this difficult task.

## IT MAKES ME MAD

DILEEP TALWALKAR, Bombay

Whatever anyone else may say, I like Bombay with all her faults and shortcomings.

*What I like least:*

1. You see big hotels where people sleep in air-conditioned comfort at Rs. 75 a day—an amount which can easily keep a man going for a month—and you see people sleeping on the pavements. You see people wasting good food and throwing it in dustbins with disgust, and if you are unlucky enough, you see people picking it up eating it with gusto.
2. You can buy any commodity from cars to coca-cola at black market cost prices. Except cool, fresh, Marine Drive air, maybe, I am sure there is not a single thing that has not, is not or will not go on the black.
3. Dirty pictures and impure stuff Bombay takes in her stride.
4. If you go for a walk on Marine Drive any evening—Cor! it makes me madder than a mad hatter to see hundreds and thousands of young men and women—and also old—just lazily strolling, apparently aimless.
5. Overpopulosity (this is a new word I have coined).

*What I like most:*

1. Nil.
2. —
3. Maybe I could mention... No!
4. The consciousness of some young people of the faults of Bombay. They are out to change it. They have a big aim. And this is the thing I like best about my town: it has started a cure for itself.

## This was a life

FREDRIK RAMM

1892—1943

WHEN NORWAY achieved independence in 1907, one question was left unsettled—the trading and fishing rights on Greenland. This was disputed between Norway and Denmark until 1933 when the Hague International Court gave judgment in favour of Denmark.

Fredrik Ramm, a Norwegian journalist who had represented the world's press on Amundsen's flight in an airship over the North Pole, was furious with the decision. His bitter articles fomented bad feeling between the two countries.

It was then Carl Hambro, President of the Norwegian Parliament, invited Ramm and other leaders of Norway to meet Dr. Frank Buchman and some of his friends in Moral Re-Armament. In the train Ramm asked a fellow journalist, "What is going to happen at this conference?" His friend replied, "Miracles. And you will be one of them."

Indeed he was. He realized the damage his bitterness caused. He decided to change his attitudes as well as his ways. This had revolutionary results in his family and in his relations with leading Norwegians. His new outlook affected his attitude towards Denmark.

One day Ramm was telling his small son of his earlier hatred of the Danes and how it had gone. The boy asked his father if he had said he was sorry for having hated the Danes. "Yes, I've apologized to some of them," replied his father. "But I can't say I'm sorry to four millions of them." His son thought for a moment and then said reflectively: "You could do it over the radio."

That was how the broadcast apology came about. It took place in Denmark, at Odense, Hans Andersen's birthplace. It was Norway's National Day. Ramm spoke at a great meeting of 3,000 Danes of how his hatred for Denmark had been removed. At the end of his speech he asked the audience to rise so that he could lead them in singing their National Anthem. There was a moment's hush and then, without a word of prompting from anyone, those 3,000 Danes burst into the Norwegian Anthem.

When war came, Ramm's articles raised the morale of the whole country. Before long he was arrested and died as a result of his imprisonment under the Nazis.

Five books on his life and death appeared in Norway during the first two years after the liberation.

His name survives as one of the great modern heroes of his nation.

Q and A

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

Q—"Democratic competition is impossible if the parties to the competition cannot assume that their opponents will recognize their victory if they win and will co-operate with them afterwards." (Charles Frankee) Do you think it is proved in the case of Kerala?

M. S. PRAKASA RAO, Secunderabad

A—The rules of the democratic game are valid when all the political parties accept them. When they do not, as in the case of Hitler's party in Nazi Germany or the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, the democratic process is used to destroy democracy.

The sad truth is that Communist Parties, until recently at any rate, openly proclaimed their contempt for democratic institutions. For them, constitutional guarantees and democratic liberties were useful tools by which these could be subverted. Some Communist Parties are changing in this regard. But the Left Communists of India have use for the Indian Constitution only as a means of overthrowing it.

It may well be that democracy has been given another chance by Presidential Rule.

In any case, the essential failure of democracy in Kerala is not so much in the imposition of Presidential Rule, as in the pride and arrogance that has prevented unity of those who do be-

lieve in the rule of law and the sanctity of the Indian Constitution.

Q—What should be the correct relationship between a party and its government?

N. CH. VEERACHARI, Hyderabad 4

A—Broadly speaking there are two types of government—totalitarian and democratic. Under Communism, the Party Secretary or Chairman is more important than the Prime Minister or the President.

Mao Tse-tung, as Chairman of the Communist Party, is more influential than the President of the Chinese People's Republic. Similarly, Khrushchev's real power stemmed from the fact that he was First Secretary of the Communist Party, and not only Chairman of the Council of Ministers—Prime Minister.

In a democratic state, it is usually the other way around. Ministers command greater authority than party officials outside the government. The correct relationship in a democratic set-up is for the leadership of the party to tender their advice to the prime minister. But the prime minister is not bound to accept it. It is the party's duty to make the government aware of public reaction to its policies. A vigorous party machine usually makes the nation understand the policies of its government. A strong prime minister may tend to treat the party rather lightly and look upon it only as an election convenience. A weak prime minister may need to lean on the president of the party.

In 1947 Mr. J. B. Kripalani, then Congress President, resigned from office as a result of differences with Prime Minister Nehru.

Professor Harold Laski, as Chairman of the British Labour Party, expected Premier Attlee to heed his advice on Government matters. Attlee declined. Laski resigned.

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# Getting Them Up

By Dr. Wernher von Braun

SINCE THE Space Age began we have been limited by our launch vehicle capability. This handicap will soon be removed.

When the Saturn V becomes operational, it can place into orbit in one launch the weight of all the NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) payloads launched since the Agency was formed.

The Saturn IB will be able to carry payloads of 18 tons. The first unmanned Saturn IB will be launched in 1966, and the first manned flight will follow in 1967. The first unmanned flight of the Saturn V is scheduled for 1967, with the first manned launch coming in 1968.

We have been making studies for some time to exploit this enormous payload capability to the best advantage. Making full use of the capabilities being developed during Project Apollo will enable us to pro-

duce and launch vehicles and spacecraft at a fraction of the initial cost.

I expect that the majority of our space missions for some time will be planned for earth orbit. We will be using the same approach as sea captains of the Old World hundreds of years ago. They explored the Mediterranean and Baltic Seas before they brought their sailing vessels across the Atlantic to the New World. We shall, of course, continue lunar and planetary exploration—but the space near earth will receive most attention.

The basic reason for the existence of a national space programme is to expand scientific research, to learn more about the earth and the universe, and to make this knowledge a part of our lives in the 20th Century.

Modern science began in space, when men like Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton undertook systematic observations and serious study of the motions and behaviour of heavenly bodies. Their earth-based observations were limited by the crudeness of scientific equipment. Today, through the development of rocketry, we are taking science deep into space to learn more about the tantalizing mysteries of the universe.

When Americans land on the moon, we shall be using information that has been gathered patiently by scientists for hundreds of years. We stand so high in science today because we stand on the shoulders of all who have gone before us. Science has carried us from witch doctors to miracle drugs, and in communications from smoke signals to satellites.

To use our expanding payload capability to the fullest, NASA sponsored an Apollo Extension Systems Science Symposium at the Marshall Centre.

In opening the symposium, my good friend, Dr. Ernst Stuhlinger, recalled a similar situation in the desert proving grounds of White Sands in the hot summer of 1946.

The Army was assembling and launching V-2 rockets, which could carry a payload of one ton over a distance of a few hundred miles.

Dr. von Braun, Director of the Marshall Space Flight Centre (right) and Col. R. Petrone, Director of Space Launch Vehicles, Cape Kennedy, with the U.S. Saturn I rocket.

Since there was no need to carry an explosive warhead, the nose cone could be filled with a scientific payload. The Army invited scientists to avail themselves of this unique opportunity of a high-altitude research laboratory, and to prepare scientific instruments for rocket flights to altitudes of about 100 miles.

A handful of young physicists accepted the Army's invitation with enthusiasm. When a V-2 stood on its launch pad a few days before firing, there was always a scientist on board with a little black box, an ohm meter, a soldering gun, a hand drill, and a few screws. Another scientist would be standing at the foot of the ladder, similarly equipped with black box and hand tools, waiting for his turn.

## 90 Per Cent Success

The situation today bears little resemblance to that at White Sands, when the V-2 rockets offered the opportunity for scientific research in space. The Saturn V rocket will have as much thrust as 140 V-2s together. The complexity of the launch vehicle has increased on a similar scale. The task of properly phasing together the scientists with their black boxes and the engineers with their carrier rockets and spacecraft is much more complex. The success with which this has been accomplished in the past is reflected by the fact that NASA's success rate for mission accomplishment is now better than 90 per cent.

There was a time when we struggled to place a tiny object into space, with barely enough equipment aboard to emit a tracking signal. The capability for exploring space which this nation has built up over the past few years is second to none. We are entering a new phase in the mastery of space. Instead of being amazed when an experiment is successful, we are surprised if it fails.

We are no longer limited by technology, but by personnel and finances. There is so much that could be done in space, that no country can undertake to exploit every opportunity.

The exploration of space is a national undertaking, and it will remain a major activity for years to come. I believe that man will explore space as long as he hungers for knowledge of himself and the universe, and as long as he has a vision of a bright future.

# 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.

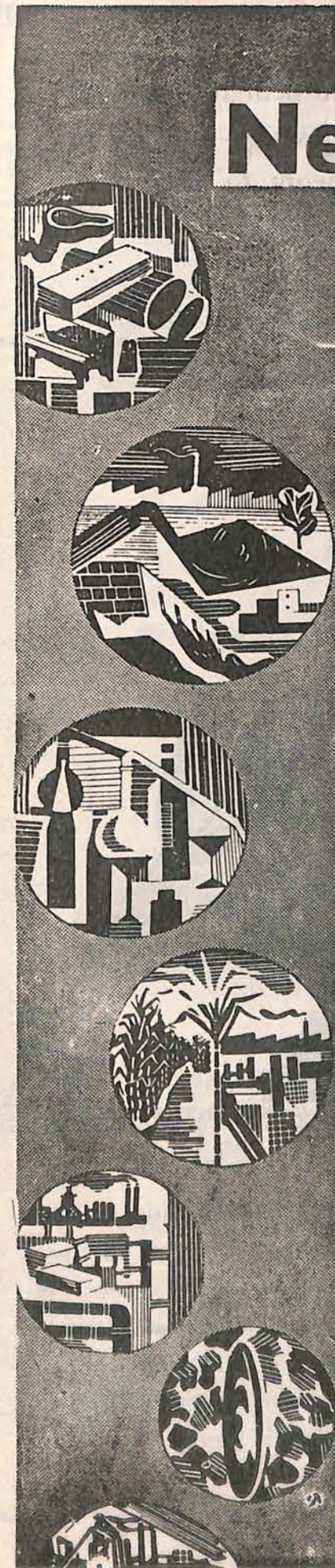


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