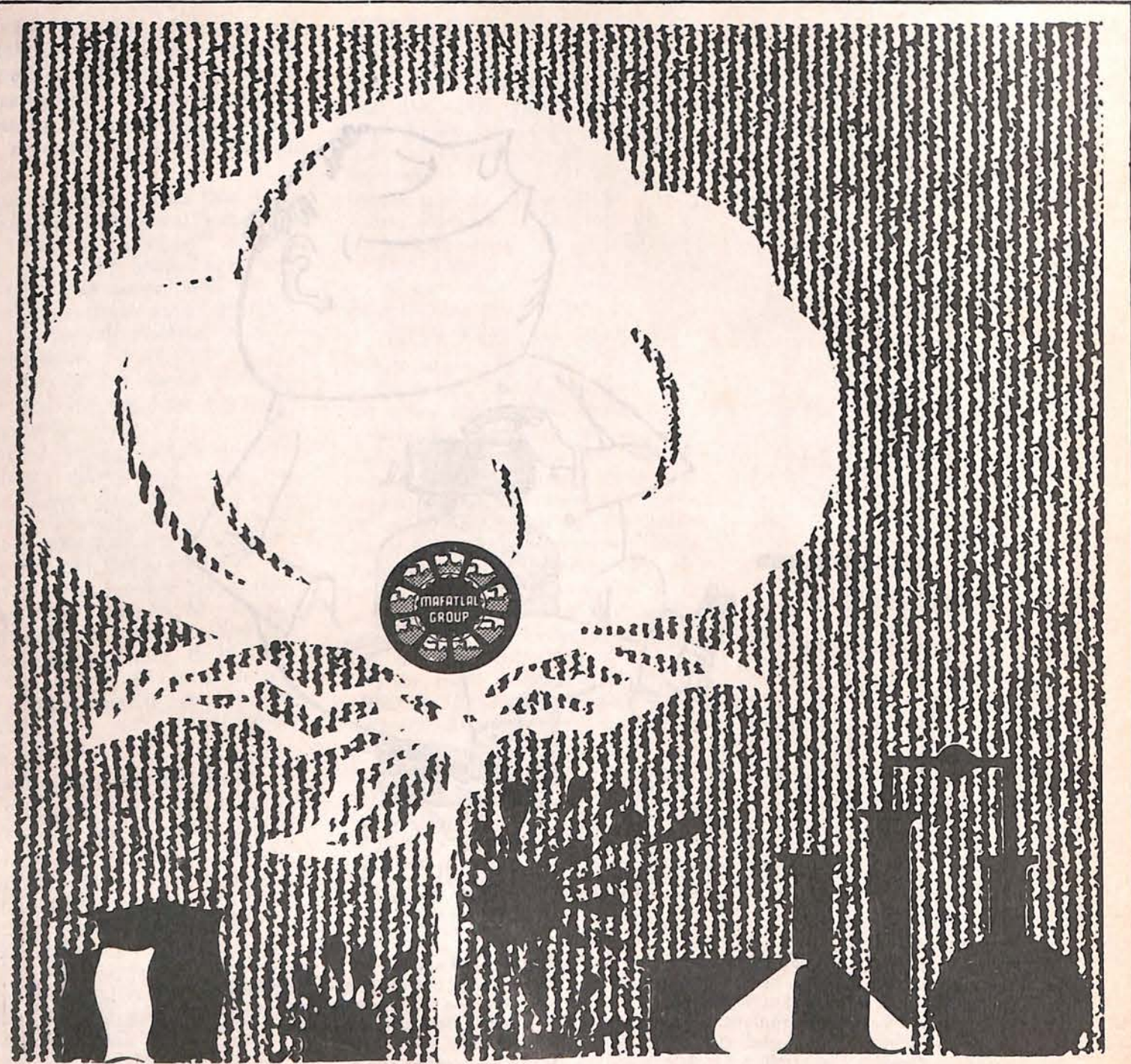


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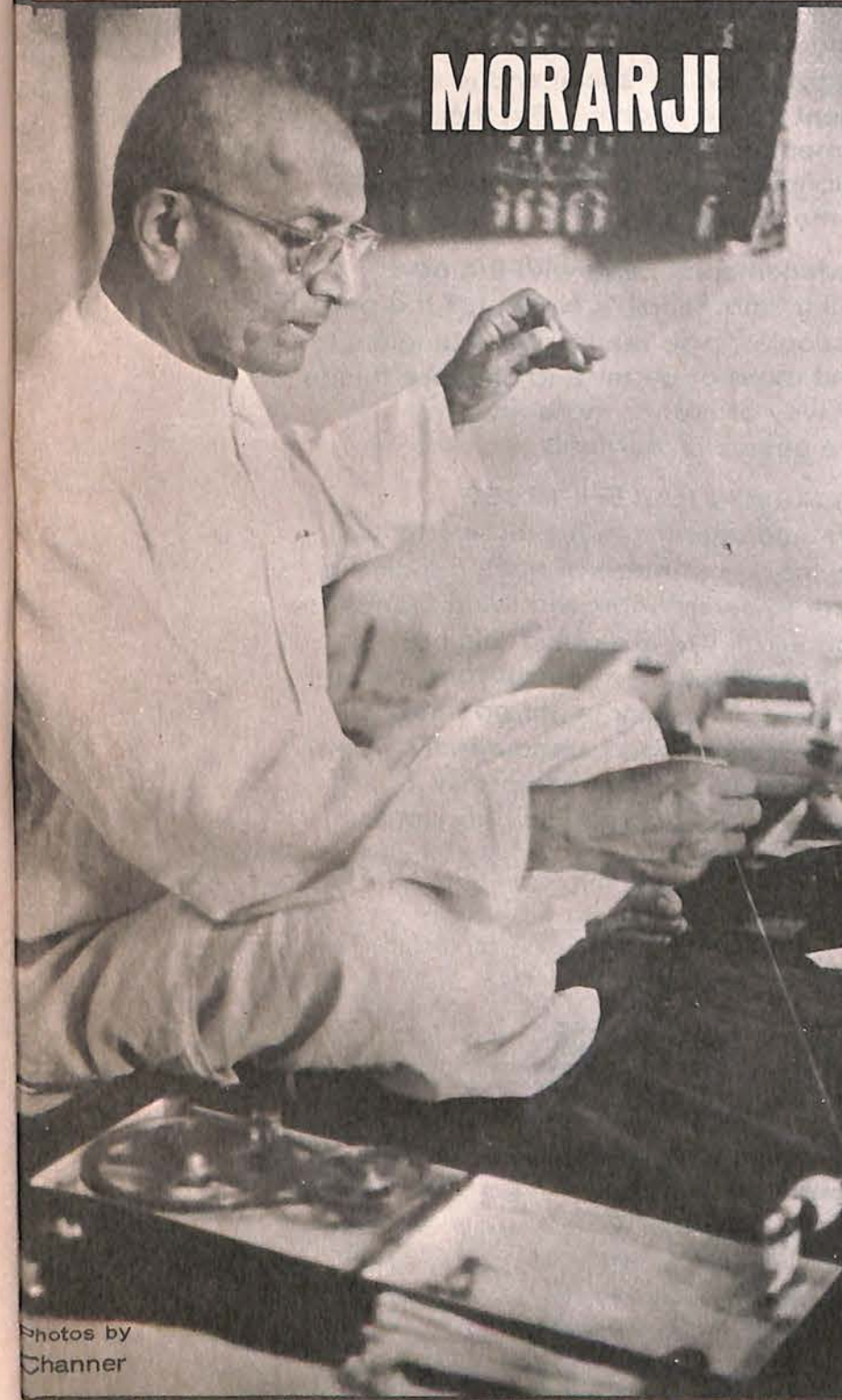
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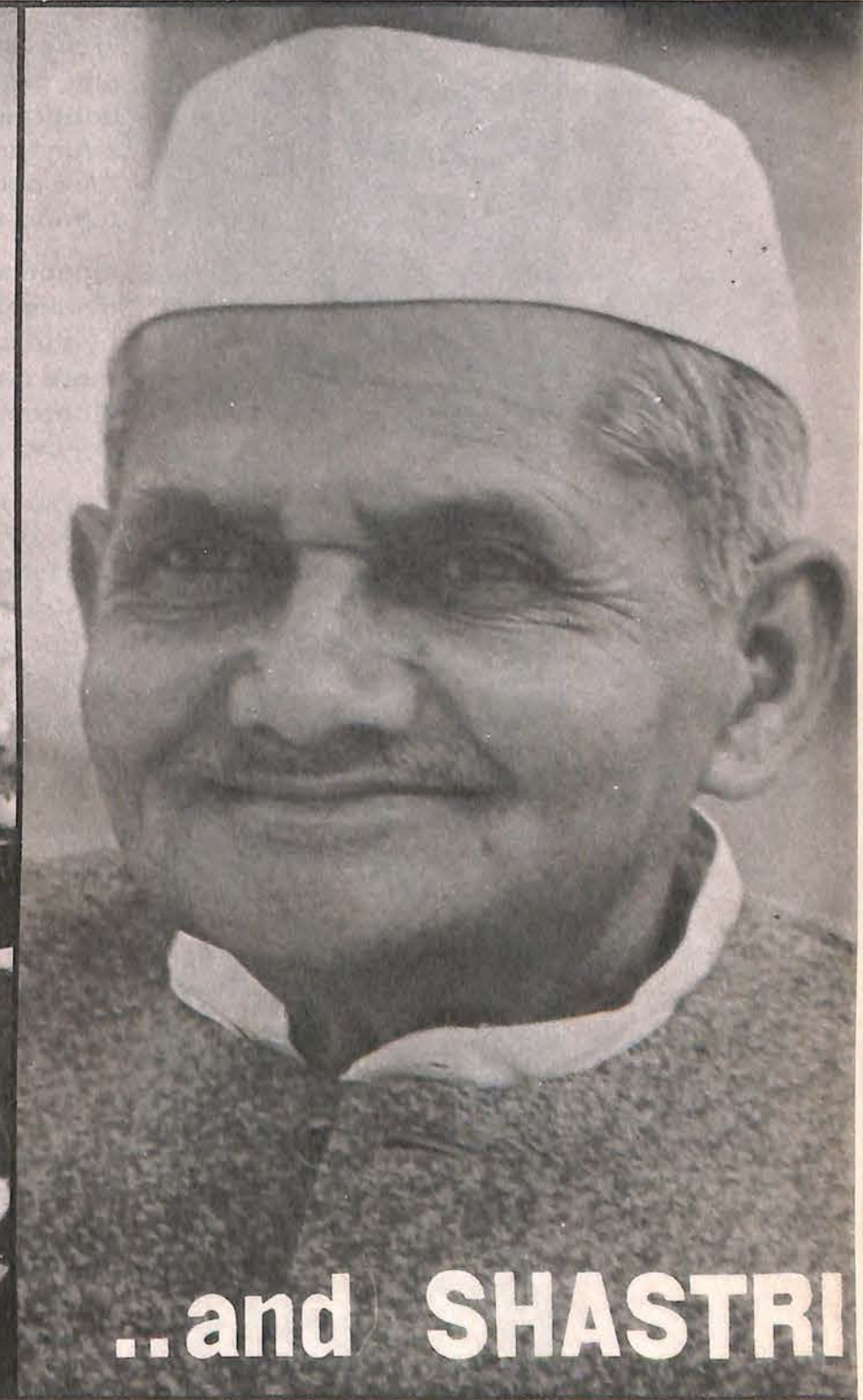
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Aiyars MG. 1913



MORARJI

Photos by Channer



..and SHASTRI

Friday
June 4
1965

INDIA, NEPAL and CEYLON
Page 22

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.

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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, June 4, 1965

Vol. 1 No. 31

Enough Amendments

WITH PARLIAMENT in recess, for lack of any excitement, it is now fashionable to talk of "comprehensively revising" the Constitution of India. One M.P. who suggested it in Poona last week found the chairman of the meeting warning him that if we meddle with the Constitution "nobody would be able to control the resulting confusion".

The Madras Industries Minister, Mr. Venkataraman, now proposes to move a resolution in the forthcoming A.I.C.C. session, seeking replacement of the present cabinet form of government of the Centre and the States by an executive directly elected by the people. Some reasons advanced by the State Minister for the change are "instability and weakness in administration caused by dissidentism among legislature parties".

"Dissidentism" is a result not of the Constitution but of the greed for power, hatred and anger among those who are supposed to legislate and rule the nation. No amount of tinkering with the Constitution is going to affect the nature of man. A determined bid to give the nation a revolutionary purpose would answer the "dissidentism" that worries some people.

The question of a presidential form of government was thought through in great detail by the giants who architected our Constitution. Mr. K. Santhanam appears to be one of the few who once favoured this form of government, but even he today states that he is not in favour of this change because it would mean putting the entire Constitution "into the melting pot".

There is such a thing as respect for the Constitution in a democratic form of government, and men who talk lightly of changing the constitution do not help consolidate democracy in their country.

The ruling Party itself has not shown the respect for the Constitution it should have and has thought it advisable to amend it no less than 18 times. There are latent totalitarian forces in this country who wish to break the nation's faith in the Constitution. Let us beware of that.

Africa's 32 Per Cent

THE REPRESENTATIVES of 50 nations who signed the United Nations Charter at San Francisco in 1945 probably did not foresee that within 20 years their number would be more than doubled to 115. Nor could they have predicted that of this number 37 would be from Africa. Of the votes cast in the world body today 32 per cent are African though only 6 per cent of the world's population lives on that continent.

Africa is assuming a larger share in world affairs and naturally must do so. But those who naively talk

about an African identity seem to overlook the sharp contrasts which Africa's nations display. Likewise, those who try and parcel the nations of Africa and Asia into one neat bloc linked by some persuasion of colour or politics are constantly embarrassed these days by the refusal of some countries to conform.

As officials in Algiers make final preparations for the forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference the continent heaves with dissension.

Charges of outside interference from China and Ghana were levelled recently by several African nations. A deputation from several states told President Nasser last week that China has shown "scant respect" for smaller African nations. Reports were circulating in Cairo that anything up to ten African nations—principally former French colonies—would boycott the Algiers meeting.

In the Ivory Coast, President Houphouet-Boigny told a press conference that China was behind most of the subversion in Africa today. With President Houphouet-Boigny at the press conference were the Presidents of Niger, Chad, Togo and Upper Volta as well as the Foreign Minister of Dahomey. The President alleged that China was training Africans in Nanking and sending cadres to Ghana where they were given a base for further operations.

Another outspoken head of state has been President Tubman of Liberia. In Monrovia he proposed that a commission of heads of state be set up to investigate the alleged subversive activities of Ghana.

Meanwhile, China's diplomatic offensive continues. Deputy Foreign Minister Cheng Peng-fei has been visiting North African countries while Chou himself is about to arrive in Tanzania to commence his own pre-Algiers African tour.

Chou En-lai, Sukarno, Ben Bella and Nkrumah, who show every indication of wanting to employ the Algiers meeting as a platform for "anti-neo-colonialist" harangues, must be having certain "first-night flutters". No matter how well the performance is stage-managed, it is clear that some of the actors are not going to stick to their lines and quite a few in the audience will cat-call the cast. Alignments in Africa are shifting.

There is a chance that Algiers will not be just a repetition of previous Afro-Asian meetings where all support the ready-made resolutions, sign the communique and return home leaving the reins in the hands of Chou En-lai and a few others who want to divide the world on a basis of colour.

India, Kenya, Nigeria and others who profess true non-alignment have their chance, if they will seize it, to offer the China-aligned nations a concept larger than race or colour.

Briefly Speaking...

Men must choose to be ruled by God or they condemn themselves to be ruled by Tyrants.

—WILLIAM PENN 1644-1718

One Voice

DOES THE CONGRESS speak with one voice?

Prime Minister Shastri said last week, "Threatening utterances are not becoming a statesman like President Ayub. It is neither becoming of us or other statesmen to talk of war."

Listen to Maharashtra's Congress Minister for Urban Development, Dr. R. A. Zakaria. According to a report in the *Indian Express* he boasted to the African Students' Association:

If India so wished, she could plunge Asia into a holocaust, but that was not her approach. India's armed forces "can walk through the two wings of Pakistan" for such was the strength of this country, he declared.

Dr. Zakaria, instead of talking about "walking through wings" of other countries, should ensure that overbridges within his own jurisdiction are more safe to walk over.

Duty and Sentiment

GREECE, the cradle of parliamentary democracy, required a quorum of 6,000 at the Athens Assembly 2,500 years ago. Today the Greek Parliament often lacks a quorum of 100. M.P.s complain that they have become "porters and messengers" of their constituents.

"We run here and there all day to fix them in jobs, put their grandmothers in hospital or cut red tape so their widowed aunts should get a pension."

Greek M.P.s who get a tax free £4,250 a year are also entitled to privileges of free post, telegram and telephone conveniences. One enthusiastic M.P. from Piraeus, who had polled only 12,000 votes in the last elections, sent 22,000 "Happy Easter" telegrams to constituents. The local telegraph office complained that its maximum capacity was only 20,000 telegrams in a month.



"At last! my father put my name down for a tractor the day I was born."

Our M.P.s may not be much better where a quorum goes, but they are certainly more restrained about their sentiments.

Not a Drop

WHEN plans for colonizing the moon are going apace, mankind is running short of water in New York as well as New Delhi. Whilst New Delhi citizens can at least walk to the Jumna river and collect buckets of water, New York restaurant owners risk a fine of \$50 if they even serve a glass of water in city restaurants without the customer asking for it.

Television

NINETY countries now have television. Outside the U.S. and Canada there has been an increase of 34 per cent in television stations during the last year. Liberia, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Aden, Barbados and the French Antilles have started television broadcasting last year. India is not a moment too early with its Rs. 100 crores television programme.

Half Study, Half Work

RADICAL CHANGES are taking place in the Chinese system of education. An official of the Ministry of Higher Learning has announced that the

principle of half study and half work will be applied to all schools and universities in China. In some of the half and half schools, study would be in the morning and work in the afternoon. Some would alternate day by day, others by the month, and some would split the year into two equal parts.

The aim of this reform is to accelerate development of what is called "a new type of Chinese citizen, the power intellectual". It is believed that the Chinese are afraid that their intellectuals will be detached from the masses, a charge which they level against Soviet "revisionists".

Unique Task

IT APPEARS that Japan is to be entrusted with the task of building up an entirely independent nation in Africa. The Melbourne *Herald* reports that a high-powered delegation from Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) is in Japan, including the Foreign Minister, negotiating terms for such an undertaking from Japan. The landlocked former British colony has a population of four million in an area of 290,000 square miles. Its main export is copper.

It is believed that Zambians are so impressed by Japan's recovery after the war that they would like to place their country's development in the hands of Japan's investors and technicians. Japan already exports to Africa more material and goods than all the countries of Europe put together.

"Glueck Auf"

THERE IS a kinship beyond frontiers and race. Miners from the Ruhr in Germany cabled their sympathies to the bereaved families of miners in the explosion at Dhorri, Bihar: "In honour and respect we mourn with Bihar families of dead comrades and the Indian nation." They end their message with the traditional greeting of German miners, "Glueck auf!"

The cable was signed by Hubert Eggemann, Willi Schween and Hans Hartung, representing many miners who visited India in 1960 with Moral Re-Armament's miners' drama, "Hope".

R.M.L.

MORARJI and SHASTRI

By R. M. Lala

Lal Bahadur by D. R. Mankekar, Popular Prakashan, Rs. 10
Morarji by D. F. Karaka, Times of India Press, Rs. 12

GANDHI, through "The Story of My Experiments with Truth" and through his weeklies *Young India* and *Harijan*, became a living figure. Nehru, through his "Autobiography", "Discovery of India" and other works, became known intimately to millions. The second generation of Indian leadership, less fortunate in not having recorded their own lives, will need to be fortunate in their biographers.

Both Mr. Mankekar and Mr. Karaka have done a useful service in presenting biographies of two leading national figures. Mr. Mankekar was, until recently, Bombay editor of the *Indian Express*. Mr. Karaka edits *The Current*. Neither of them claims to write a conventional biography. Both biographers are partial to their subjects.

Last year at this time a contest royal was proceeding in Delhi. Lal Bahadur Shastri and Morarji Desai were contesting for the *gadi* of Nehru. Breathless, the nation watched the drama as king-maker Kamaraj was working towards an uncontested election of Nehru's successor. A new word emerged overnight into India's vocabulary: "consensus". Kamaraj told Morarji that he lacked majority support. He advised him to withdraw with grace. Morarji refused to accept the verdict of lack of support yet agreed to withdraw for the sake of the Party.

Similar Backgrounds

Acting Prime Minister, G. L. Nanda, proposed Mr. Shastri's name as leader of the Party. Sportingly, Morarji seconded it. So was elected the Prime Minister of India.

Then came the Cabinet formation. Shastri told Mankekar, "I have not consulted a single person in so far as the formation of my Cabinet is concerned." He invited Morarji to join, but the question of ranking was raised. Should Morarji be number two, or should Mr. Nanda have second ranking. Both Morarji and Nanda were adamant. Shastri chose Nanda.

Morarji, says Karaka, is "content to wait for destiny to call him" when

"his country may need his service again". Shrewd observers of the Indian scene believe it is only a matter of time before Morarji attains some high office again.

No two men could be more different than the two aspirants to Nehru's office and yet, in some ways, both have a similar background. Shastri and Morarji both lost their fathers at an early age. Both have known the crushing burden of poverty.

At one time Shastri's family could never be sure of the next meal. Shastri then lived on only Rs. 2.50 a month. Morarji won a scholarship in school of Rs. 10 a month and as the eldest son sent the entire amount to his mother to support the family. Consequently both are spartan in their habits. "It has always been my practice," says Shastri, "to put out any fan or light which is burning unnecessarily."

The Difference

Neither of them smokes or drinks. Both have experienced intense personal tragedies. Shastri's daughter died, it is said, because he could not afford medical treatment for her. Morarji, too, lost his daughter.

Both resigned high office under the Kamaraj Plan.

Both men were influenced by Gandhi, but Shastri was also influenced by Nehru. Morarji spins Khaddar daily. Shastri spent nine years in prison during the freedom movement; Morarji seven years. Both leaders have a calm and composed exterior. While Morarji is a turbulent river inside, Shastri appears to be calm both within and without.

Morarji is at heart a crusader. Life with him is never dull. Even in a 10-minute interview he will try to convince you about the virtues of Hindi, vegetarianism or prohibition. Morarji is out to influence people. Shastri, on the other hand, is out to win friends.

Shastri is a good listener. He is not by nature a salesman, but an excellent mediator and negotiator. With his new-found confidence, however, it appears he is becoming a salesman of ideas too.

Morarji has had a longer innings in office, uninterrupted from 1946 to 1963, where he proved an efficient ad-

ministrator. Shastri, as Home Minister, settled with distinction the language issue of Assam, and later, as Minister in charge of Mr. Nehru's work, calmed Kashmir after the theft of the sacred relic.

Colour and Excitement

Morarji's career was tempestuous. As Bombay's Chief Minister in 1965 he was faced with violent linguistic agitation, both in Bombay and Ahmedabad. His fast in Ahmedabad against the violence is the highlight of Karaka's book. There is colour, excitement and a great sense of occasion about it. At the public meeting before he broke his seven-day fast, a menacing crowd faced an unperturbed Morarji.

"A hundred stones must have been hurled... Two Congressmen stood in front of Morarji's chair. They had folded chairs in their hands which they raised at the sight of the flying missiles, like two opening batsmen in a cricket match they stopped the stones as they came on. The crowd sportingly shouted, 'Well played', each time a stone was blocked. Some stones did serious damage."

Mankekar deals well in his presentation of the days immediately after Nehru's death, and Shastri's election to office. Interesting is his presentation of Nehru's search for a successor. He also credits the present Prime Minister with a mind of his own during the time of Nehru, and quotes instances where suggestions of Shastri's were accepted by Mr. Nehru. Shastri proved his worth on his first trip abroad to Nepal when he settled differences between Nepal and India.

Morarji's first visit abroad in 1958 saved India's second plan from failure. He got all the funds he needed from the West.

Karaka is a good craftsman. He does not strain after the achievements of Morarji. He tries to present the personality that has both intrigued, interested and infuriated many of his countrymen.

Mankekar is more keen to present Shastri's achievements.

Morarji is quoted as saying that his main urge is self-realization and "I am in politics only because I believe

Continued on page 8



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CHINA'S NUCLEAR THREAT What Guarantee Have We?

CLOSE on the heels of China's second atomic explosion, comes the announcement of the abolition of all the ranks in her army.

The London *Times* commenting on this move in an editorial says, "This is nothing new for revolutionary armies. The Russians adopted it in the rapture of 1918 but reverted to ranks in 1940. The French revolutionaries elected their own officers. Equality in the army has always been the perennial ideal of the revolutionary."

It goes on to add, "The surprising thing is that the Chinese, who have already exceeded most other revolutionaries in their dedication to revolutionary virtues, should ever have departed from a people's army without ranks." In fact, the Chinese adopted ranks in 1955. They are believed to have done so in imitation of the Russians.

The abolition of ranks in the army now will reinforce the control of the Political Commissar over the purely military man. Externally, it is bound to prove a potent weapon in undermining the discipline and loyalty of the armies of non-Communist Asia. To China's nuclear weapon has thus been added an important ideological advantage.

This step reinforces the argument for ideological training in the Indian Army. It also emphasizes the importance of dedication, leadership and integrity in our officers which alone can protect the jawans from the propaganda of subversion.

Policy of Fits and Starts

Our biggest deficiency continues to be a defence policy hamstrung by considerations largely unrelated to security. It is a policy of fits and starts. We meet an emergency at one point and a clash at another. We do not seem to assess the total danger, consider what needs to be done, evaluate the cost and take appropriate action; our nuclear policy, made more vital as a result of China's growing capacity to manufacture and deliver atomic weapons, is an example.

It is typical of our nation that the second Chinese atomic explosion went without much comment in the country. The excitement and concern evoked by the explosion last year seems to have given place to indifference and helplessness over Chinese superiority in nuclear as well as conventional weapons. Rethinking on military policy has yielded to a reluctant acceptance of Government policy.

We do not have the Bomb. We do not intend making it. We have announced this policy for all, friend and enemy alike, to know: so far, there have been few indications that it is a result of any study or understanding of the aims and future of Communist China. We seem to have decided upon not making the bomb because to make it would involve us in further political, economic and international difficulties.

Excessive Dependence

With our present economic troubles and excessive dependence on foreign aid, it may be the only practical decision. But wisdom consists in pursuing the most sensible policy for the present without at the same time bartering away our right to follow a different course in the future.

This is precisely what we have not done. In the Shastri-Kosygin joint communique, we have given solemn guarantees about our nuclear policy

Under
the
Lens



by **R. VAITHESWARAN**

to the Soviet Union. Presumably, similar assurances have been given to the United States of America. We have thereby earned the plaudits of the great powers without in any way enhancing our security.

The *Sunday Standard* reports from its Washington bureau that American officials saw "no way of giving a satisfactory guarantee to India against a potential Chinese nuclear threat".

Inaction and Weakness

The report goes on to say, "Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are unprepared for a joint guarantee to non-nuclear Powers. While London is giving the impression that great new initiatives are in the air, American officials say the U.K. draft is a repetition of the well-known position whereby nuclear Powers are urged not to transfer nuclear know-how to non-nuclear Powers."

Our nation now is committed to a questionable policy of inaction and weakness.

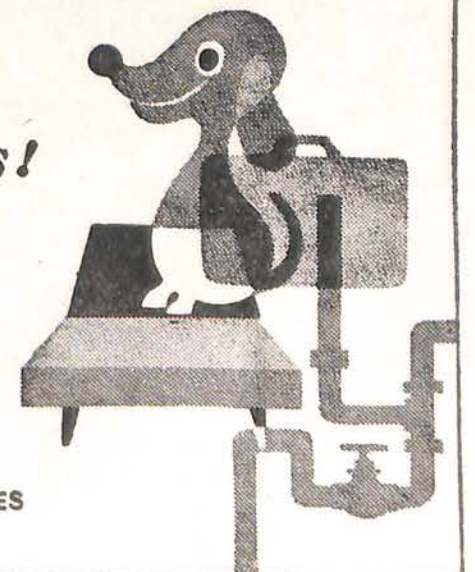
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ing. We have become prisoners of our concepts and slaves of our fears. We are so afraid of a Sino-Soviet rapprochement that our reply to Chinese aggression is a reassurance to the world that we have not abandoned non-alignment. We condemn Chinese tests but, as if India were on trial, rush in with assurances that our policy continues unchanged.

By our amazing ability to tie our hands in advance, we are obliging China who knows that we cannot do anything about the border because we are committed to the Colombo proposals and we are helpless in face of the growing Chinese nuclear menace because we will do nothing.

The continuation of this situation will only further handicap India in the future. Appeals to the United Nations for protection from China are naive and ultimately useless. The hope of a joint multilateral assurance from a combination of Western and Communist powers is an excellent idea but in the present state of the world, rather far-fetched. As for the belief that India will be protected anyway because the world must be

saved from Communism, it is the counsel of the irresponsible.

By 1975, China's nuclear capability will threaten the United States; she will have the bombs as well as the delivery system to destroy U.S. cities. When this position is achieved, American involvement in the Far East and South East Asia must be far more risky. Whether or not she retreats from this region, U.S. policy will be cautious. Even the U.S.S.R. will be more careful of such a strong China.

India's policy must therefore:

1. Plan and build up her own inherent internal strength to meet the challenge, alone if necessary.
2. Where this strength is deemed inadequate, supplement it with help, including nuclear protection, from friendly powers formalized in treaty arrangements.

It is essential, however, to reinforce the strength of a military build up and a system of alliances with a conviction for what we stand for and are ready to die for. Strength and ideology are the twin factors of a successful foreign and defence policy.

MORARJI & SHASTRI

—from page 5

in an active life... To my mind anger is a sort of insanity. But for years it has not been possible (to conquer anger). Now, gradually, for the first time, I am able to control it."

At the end of Mankekar's book you don't know what inner springs make Shastri tick.

Both authors show an intense preoccupation with their respective subjects but neither of them appear to extend their horizons to other men who are in a position to evaluate the lives of Shastri and Morarji. It would be interesting to know what a Bombay policeman thinks of Morarji's 10-year rule as Home Minister, or what a Congress Party worker thinks of Shastri as a party boss in charge of the election campaign of 1952 and 1957. Even so the two biographies will be well-remembered when many hasty judgements made on the leaders, in the heat of the moment, are forgotten.

What will the later chapters of their lives hold? Will they work together for India?

A Plan For Shipping

By N. F. Ledwith

THE Indian Government plans to increase the merchant shipping under the Indian flag in the next few years from about 1.25 million gross tons to 4 million. Is this a sound objective?

Basically, the plan seems a sensible one. The situation seems to call for it. A vast amount of cargo moves in and out of Indian ports. The bulk of it is carried in foreign bottoms, and this means a huge outlay of foreign exchange in freight money. If even a quarter of this could be saved, it would be a big move towards real independence. On this ground alone the proposal is needed urgently.

Can it be carried out? It is necessary to look at the factors involved.

Formidable Finance

The first is finance. The figures are colossal, and it is impossible to estimate closely. One can, however, assume that perhaps half the tonnage will be general cargo carriers, and the rest large bulk carriers and tankers. Part of the former might be

tained in two ways, by the earnings abroad of existing companies, and by foreign participation. The present shipowners with their existing fleets are already earning substantial foreign exchange (freights paid by foreign shippers and consignees of cargo) and no obstacle should be put in the way of the free use of this for acquiring additional ships. Similarly, foreign participation in new companies should continue to be encouraged. This not only provides access to large amounts of foreign exchange, but makes available to the new companies resources of knowledge and international contacts.

Foreign participation in Indian companies is at present limited to 40 per cent in most cases. This is probably a wise precaution. It should not deter foreign capital if the Indian majority involves several different interests, and the Government has a steady policy which safeguards the payment of dividends and (should it be necessary) the return of the foreign capital to the country of origin. Although repatriation of capital is



London—where ships of all flags find their cargoes.

they can pay their way if freights continue reasonably good and a large part of the capital is provided by the Government at 3 per cent, with the current easy repayment terms.

In addition to providing for interest on capital and repayment of loans, the profit must also cover depreciation of the ships, and a reasonable profit for the shareholders. During the last world war, the rates of hire for British ships requisitioned by the U.K. Government were calculated to cover running costs plus 5 per cent depreciation and 5 per cent profit. The depreciation figure is still a realistic one, but the 5 per cent profit was a bare wartime minimum at a time when everyone was called to sacrifice to the utmost, and investors today would require a better return (even 12 to 15 per cent) for money invested in a hazardous industry.

Compete Successfully

No doubt the Indian Government will consider what they can do to keep the earnings of Indian shipping up to the point needed to meet all these obligations. It is to be hoped that it will not follow policies which are discredited. Flag discrimination is a dirty phrase in shipping circles, just as Fascism or Nazism is in political circles. It would be tempting to give Indian ships the preference for Government imports of foodgrains, for example, but this would be flagrant

THE AUTHOR, with 40 years experience in shipping, is a partner in a London firm which insures one fifth of the world's shipping. He has travelled widely in 21 countries on business and was recently in India.

bought second-hand, which will reduce the overall cost, but most of the bulk carriers must be built, for everyone seems to be out for bulk carriers these days. The total outlay might be Rs. 300 crores (£225 m). A formidable figure, but it will be spread over a number of years.

Fortunately, the Government seems determined to give massive help by low interest loans (currently at 3 per cent) through the Shipping Development Fund Committee. This aid, however, is in rupees, and except for the limited output of the Indian shipbuilding yard at Vishakhapatnam the additional yards planned will not be ready in time to make a contribution of any importance to this short time plan. Therefore new and second-hand tonnage must be paid for in foreign currency.

This foreign currency can be ob-

unlikely in the foreseeable future in major companies, it might well happen in smaller ones. One small shipowner discussed with me the prospects of finding a foreign participant who could provide two or three crores. In terms of ships, this is a modest figure, and might be paid back in five years or so, to leave the company wholly Indian-owned.

The capital required for expansion is vast, but it could be found if the Government and foreign participants remain willing.

Adequate Earnings

The shipowners must also be able to make adequate earnings. So rapid an expansion means a huge load of expense for interest on borrowed capital and for its repayment by instalments. Most of the Indian shipowners I met seem confident that

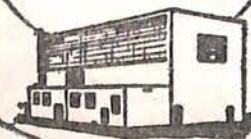
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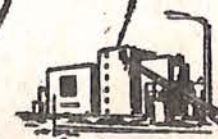
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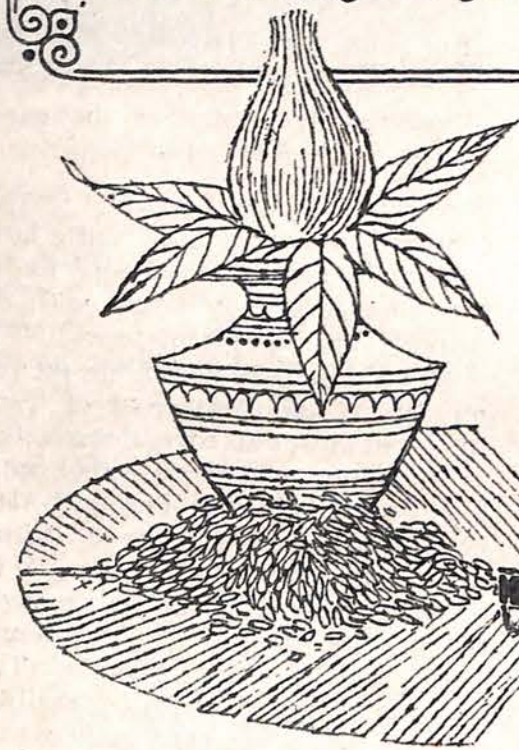


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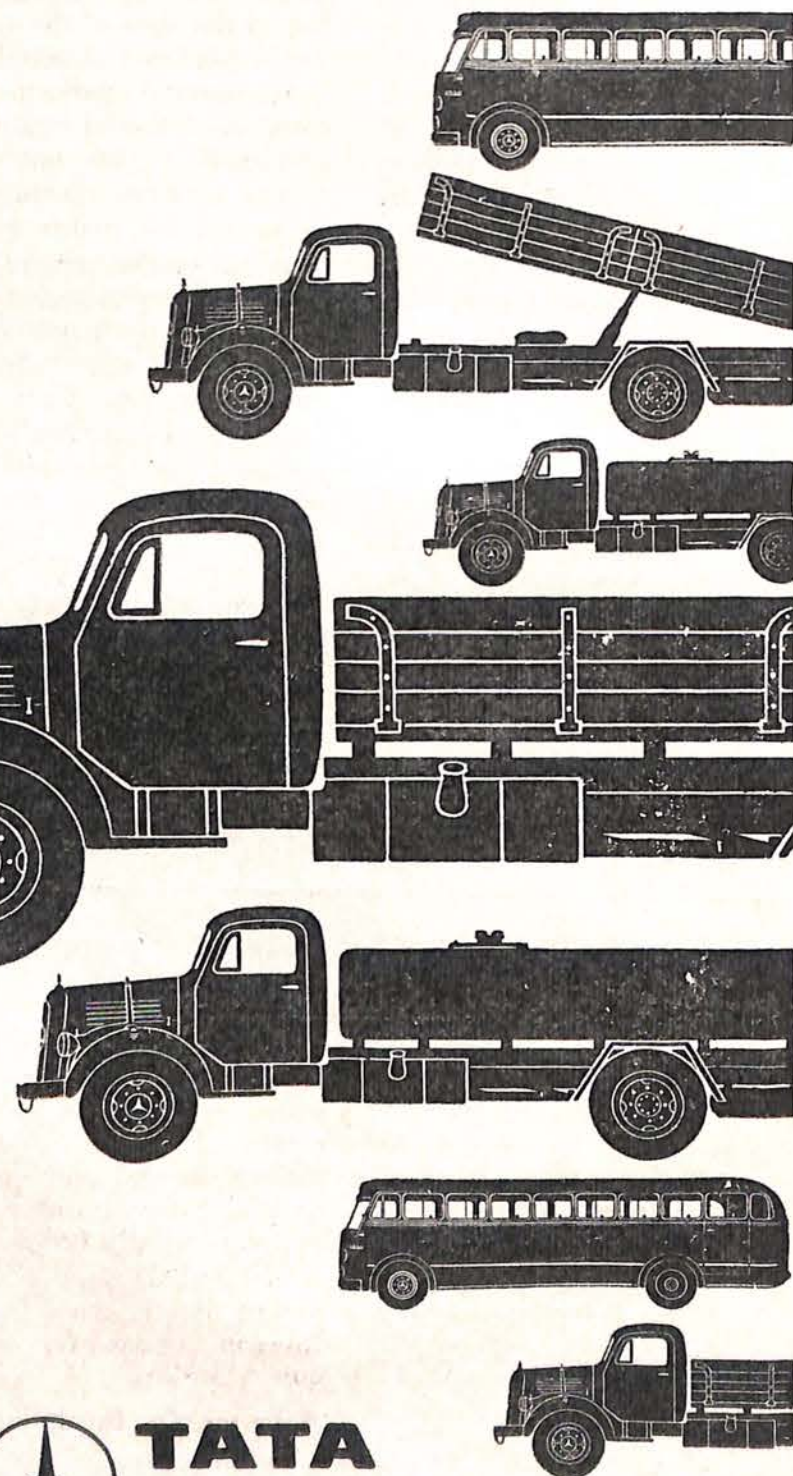
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ma. 1 1980

flag discrimination. The sequel would be inefficiency and subsidies. Can India afford to do that?

The real need is for the Government to do all it can to enable Indian shipowners to compete successfully in the open world market, and to win its share of the carrying trade by its own efficiency and economy.

Some countries reserve their coastal trade to their own flags. I am against India even doing that. She has a huge and growing coastal trade, a long coastline, and no large shipping powers on her borders.

The best guarantee of adequate earnings for the increased Indian merchant fleet of tomorrow is a healthy, strong and free shipping industry.

More Personnel

If India can achieve adequate finance for her shipping industry, there must be an equivalent expansion in manpower and services.

Take seagoing personnel first. India has a long and proud sea tradition, and this is of more importance than might be thought. Morale is as important on a merchant ship as it is in the armed services, and the traditions of a shipping company or of a seagoing people eventually show up in hard cash in the balance sheet. Moreover, India has a vast pool of seamen already. The majority serve under foreign flags.

Officers are another matter. There is an excellent nucleus being turned out by the present training establishments, and the quality of these officers is well regarded internationally. But even today Indian owners are searching abroad for captains and officers. The present facilities for training should be trebled immediately. No reduction of standards should of course be tolerated. Ships and cargoes worth crores of rupees, with all the lives on board, cannot be entrusted to second-rate men.

A less obvious need is that of trained management. Some of the Indian companies today are working with less than the absolute minimum of experienced managers. The few good men are often harassed and overworked.

There is only one place where shipping management can be comprehensively learnt, and that is in the U.K. Only in London is there a real international chartering market.

where ships of all flags find their cargoes. There, also, is by far the greatest marine insurance concentration.

The best training is practical work in a shipping office. Academic study is also important, but the applications which should be given top priority for the sake of India's merchant marine are those for a spell of one to three years with a British shipowner, shipbroker, shipbuilder or kindred firm, and at least 50 should go each year for three years.

In addition to personnel, Indian shipping needs services in India. Expansion of the Indian shipbuilding industry is in my opinion a grave mistake. Shipbuilding is an international industry, and there is too much of it now. India cannot hope to compete with Japan or the U.K. in price or quality for years to come. To press forward with this scheme may provide prestige for some, but will saddle Indian owners with dearer and less-advanced ships than their competitors.

Ship Repairing

Shipbuilding is a very sophisticated industry, difficult to run. Indians are perfectly capable of running such an industry, but it would be wiser for the relatively small number of trained men now available to be used for other more essential industries.

Ship-repairing, on the other hand, is vital for a maritime nation. The present facilities are hopeless for a fleet three times today's size. If they are not improved and expanded, and dry-docks provided for the 30,000-ton bulk carriers which are becoming commonplace, every major repair will be done abroad, with the crews having to be flown home and replaced in many cases. The cost in foreign exchange will be serious. On the other hand, good repair facilities will earn foreign exchange from foreign vessels repairing in Indian ports.

An ancillary service which has been neglected is salvage. There is no real ocean-going salvage vessel stationed in Indian waters. This would be a worthwhile task for the Indian Navy; and if they claimed salvage awards from ships in trouble, it might even be profitable.

One service more important than most is marine insurance. A list of any ship's daily costs shows insurance as one of the highest items. This

is a London speciality, but in March 1965 the Indian companies writing marine insurance initiated a new system whereby rates and conditions are decided in India. They will still have the backing of the London market, but the Indian companies will ensure that the special needs of Indian shipowners are closely considered.

One of the biggest issues I have left until last, the provision of adequate ports. Much money and effort has been expended on Indian ports, and many able men work hard to make them efficient. But if the men of Delhi would take a stroll through the cargo working areas they would see what still needs doing. If they would also stroll round a port like Singapore or even Karachi, the contrast would shock them.

To give one very small example, I was told in Karachi that export cargo is brought straight to the ships' side in special railway wagons after clearance, whereas in Bombay it must be delivered to the dock shed and fully examined by Customs just before loading. This of course means more handling, more damage and much more delay and expense, all to India's detriment. Similarly, there is great room for simplification in Customs arrangements for inwards cargo.

Decisions Needed

In Bombay and Calcutta, major developments in the future must take place miles from the present centres of activity. To have all Bombay's cargo pouring into that over-crowded island is self-destructing.

Some major re-planning decisions are needed, but meanwhile notice should be taken of the resistance by the labour unions to any improved system of working. In Calcutta, for example, I was told that a large part of the coal is loaded in baskets, because the labour unions insist on it. This kind of bottleneck needs to be broken. The union attitude, of course, springs mostly from a fear of unemployment. The only people who can remove the fears are the employers. If employers and workers began to cooperate a vast amount of bad feeling, waste, disorder and inefficiency would vanish overnight, and the ports would be much more something of which India can be proud.

To sum up: India needs a larger merchant marine, and should have it.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Vietnam Debate Builds Up in the U.S.

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Los Angeles

A SMALL but vocal minority of American students and professors who oppose the Government position on Vietnam are making themselves loudly heard. A new tactic called the "teach-in" is being used where a group of professors "hole-up" in a classroom or college auditorium for 24 hours and hold a mock debate on foreign policy. All speakers take the same side.

The largest "teach-in" was carried out in the luxurious Sheraton Hotel ballroom in Washington, D.C. Professors of like views were collected from scattered colleges across the country and flown to the capital.

Their 12-hour harangue against United States Vietnam policy was piped over a special telephone circuit to 60 college campuses. McGeorge Bundy, President Johnson's foreign affairs advisor and former Dean of Harvard College, was invited to present the Government position. Bundy declined as he was too busy with White House duties.

The college "free speech movement", a group characterized by their unkempt beards and unwashed appearance, staged a 36-hour "talkathon" with entertainers and dance bands on the California University campus at Berkeley. When asked where Vietnam was, one demonstrator was not sure but said he "got a thrill out of defying the Government".

Students Want the Facts

Bertrand Russell, known for his lifetime campaign against established marriage laws and punishment for moral offences, got into the act by sending his protest on tape.

The official student leadership and the vast majority of American students support the Government's foreign policy and disassociate themselves from these "extremist" elements on their campuses.

Mr. Thomas F. Conlon of the State Department, who led the Administration's team to explain policies to the students, said, "We met three basic groups on the campuses. There are the confirmed opponents, a small group, a few of whom may be

Communist or Communist-sympathizers. There are others who have no doubts that the United States action is correct and support the President fully. Then there is the middle group that wants to know what is happening, to get the facts. Most of these people want to support the Government, but they have doubts."

A professor of psychology at the University of Illinois, Mr. Earl Davis,



A South Korean Army contingent arrives in Saigon.

says that most professors opposing the Administration's policy "do not advocate unilateral withdrawal. That would be an absurdity. We are for better courses of action than the present policy." That may be the professor's ideal, but the practice so far has not been cool discussion but hot tirades, bordering on hysteria. At the University of Wisconsin, demonstrating students refused to listen to professors presenting the Administration's position. They shouted, "Don't confuse us with the facts." Students of Cornell University hooted, jeered and screamed "Liar" at diplomat Averell Harriman who had come to present the Government's position.

The responsible elected student leaders have begun a different kind of revolt—not against Government policy but against the cynicism, moral de-

cadence and pacifism of the ranting minority opposing the Government.

John Sayre, an Olympic gold medal winner, told a thousand students and faculty on the Berkeley, California, campus last week, "America must stay in Vietnam to save millions of people from tyranny.

"As well," he continued, "we must demonstrate a way of life that changes Communist and non-Communist. We must demonstrate before the world that free men can cure what is wrong faster by a revolution of character than by one of hatred and violence.

"Peace and freedom will not be preserved by merely protesting in the streets. They are going to be achieved by the way we ourselves live and think. We must not only raise the level of education, but raise the

character of people. Sex and violence have become commonplace when what is needed is a greatness in the living of men to match the crisis of our time."

While debate and discussion builds up in the free society of America, a high Administration official asked the students, "How much public challenge to Government policy is there in North Vietnam?"

Australian Support Sparks Debate

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS

Canberra

THE AUSTRALIAN Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Hasluck, made a significant statement at the recent meeting in London of SEATO Foreign Ministers. Dealing with the controversial decision to send Australian troops to Vietnam, he said, "We cannot win with military power alone. We must also win the battle of ideo-

logy. We have something better to offer than Communism. We offer the people a life worth living."

Mr. Hasluck put his finger on a tender spot in current Australian thinking. The Menzies' Government's decision to involve itself in Asia whatever the risk is generally supported, but more and more people are asking themselves how, in fact, they can help ensure Asian peoples a life worth living.

Mr. Hasluck's statement may touch off a national debate. Few Australians would be better qualified to lead such a discussion. A former lecturer in History in Western Australia, Mr. Hasluck has one of the best-trained minds in national politics. A member of the Cabinet for 13 years, he spent a long time as Minister for Territories, in which his particular charge was Papua and New Guinea. He has been credited with hastening their progress towards independence.

Realistic Approach

Mr. Hasluck came to the portfolio of External Affairs just over a year ago after a short period as Minister of Defence. The realism of his approach to Australian involvement in Asia may have a vital part to play in the maintenance of freedom in Asia.

The Government's decision to send troops to Vietnam has been the subject of a major Parliamentary debate. The Opposition, the Australian Labour Party, opposes the decision to send troops but has firmly declared that they will not tolerate any subversion that would deprive the troops of essential supplies.

Mr. Arthur Calwell, Leader of the Opposition, said, "Our minds and reason cannot support those who have made the decision to send you to this war, and we shall do our best to have that decision reversed. But we shall do our duty to the utmost in supporting you to do your duty."

Official Labour Party policy on Vietnam clearly states what is generally agreed in this country: "The demand of the Soviet Government for the immediate departure of all American and other foreign forces from South Vietnam would be in the interests neither of the people of South Vietnam nor the people of Australia."

The "Conversion" of Britain

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

COLONEL BLIMPS will stir fitfully in their graves, schoolchildren may let out a whoop of joy, Common Marketers will rejoice—for Britain is catching up with the inevitable. She has decided to adopt the metric system in weights and measures.

This was announced in the House of Commons by the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Douglas Jay. It will strengthen Britain's ties with Europe, and also bring Britain into line with countries absorbing more than half her exports.

Conversion will cost the country millions of pounds. But the Federation of British Industries has long been pressing for this move. Not everybody backs it. The *Daily Express* fears for the housewife out shopping who, if she got the decimal point wrong, "would need a three-ton lorry to carry the shopping home". It quotes Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Winston's father, who "never could make out what those damned dots meant".

Yet that revolutionary protagonist of change, *The Times*, says there must be no delay "if Britain is properly to re-equip herself to improve her place in international commerce".

Best Foot Forward

Currency will follow where weights and measures have dared to lead. Already a Government appointed committee is investigating decimal coinage. The *Daily Sketch* is keen about this. "Let the Government put its best foot (now 30.48 centimetres) forward."

The switch was made by South Africa in 1961. And next year, on February 14, Australia changes its pounds and pence to dollars and cents. However, it is doubtful whether the British Government will go to the lengths of the Australian Decimal Currency Board who have put out a song over radio, "Let's hear everybody holler, Ten bob's a dollar."

Children who think their sums will be made easier by this decision will be disappointed. The change-over will take at least ten years. It is their children they should envy.

The week in India

DHANBAD—In the worst disaster ever to hit the mining industry 250 miners and staff were killed in the Dhori colliery 60 miles from here when explosions rocked three seams. No survivors are expected. Trees and shrubs over a 2½-square mile area were charred and covered with black dust, observers reported. The blast was so strong that a flying stone hit and killed a labourer three miles a way from the pit-head.

TRIVANDRUM — The Central Government will invest Rs. 30 crores in the fishing industry of Kerala, said Mr. S. V. Ramaswamy, Deputy Minister for Commerce. The State Government will invest a further Rs. 10 crores. This would help Kerala's exports to reach Rs. 100 crores per year instead of Rs. 65 crores as at present.

BANGALORE — During the construction of a new runway at the Hindustan Airport here, workmen unearthed 250 silver Roman coins believed to be 2,000 years old. The coins bore the profiles of Augustus Caesar and Maxim Pompeh.

NEW DELHI — Tourists to India in 1964 totalled 156,673, representing an increase of 11.3 per cent over 1963 figures.

CALCUTTA — Bihar's Minister for Irrigation and Power, Mr. Mahesh Prasad Singh, revealed here that a large quantity of rice and other grain was being smuggled into China from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh via Nepal.

NEW DELHI — It is expected that Prime Minister Shastri will head India's delegation to the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers due to open on June 29.

JAMMU — Radio-active particles were reported to be found in samples collected by the High Altitude Cosmic Research Laboratory in Gulmurg during last week's rains.

BOMBAY — The National Shipping Board Chairman, Mr. Raghunath Singh, M.P., advocated here a national shipping policy that would treat shipping as on a par with defence and foreign affairs. He believed shipping is "a second line of defence". He said India was carrying only 15 per cent of its cargo in her own ships while spending Rs. 155 crores with foreign companies for freight and other charges.

NEW DELHI — Prime Minister Shastri has been invited to visit Japan. This was conveyed in a special message from Prime Minister Sato handed over by the Japanese Charge d'Affaires. It is regarded here as a further sign of the new awareness of the need to evolve a continent-wide approach to the question of Chinese expansionism.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS—cont'd.

Watch That Tiger

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

THE TIGER is on the prowl. On June 3, Chou En-lai was due to arrive in Tanzania en route to the Afro-Asian conference opening in Algiers on June 29. During the intervening three weeks he is expected to visit other African countries.

Chou's last African tour coincided with army mutinies in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, and the successful revolution in Zanzibar. When the mutinies were put down, he cut short his tour.

His present visit has been well prepared.

The Chinese Foreign Office has been reorganized with departments for East, West and North Africa. China now has 14 embassies in Africa, a consulate and a legation—one-third of all Chinese missions in the world. She has trade agreements with 11 African states, and broadcasts 108 hours weekly to the continent compared with 71 hours in 1964. In the first nine months of last year, 99 Chinese delegations visited Africa, and 115 African delegations went to Peking.

Some intelligence reports say that China's final goal is colonization.

In March, Chou conferred with President Ben Bella in Algiers. On his way home the Chinese Prime Minister visited Cairo and Karachi where he met President Ayub.

China and Egypt are reported now to be discussing joint production of a supersonic fighter. In Cairo, *Al Ahrām*, the official newspaper, has announced an agreement between the two countries on sharing atomic secrets.

Turkey and Pakistan are other targets of Chinese diplomacy.

Does Chou view these nations as a red bridge to the black continent? If so, divisions between India and Pakistan, Arab countries and the West, play into his hands.

"Right now," said a Chinese diplomat in Africa who defected to the United States, "Africa is a great deal more important to Red China than South-East Asia."

A "Throwaway" Car

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

A CAR you throw away when it wears out has been designed in Britain. Its chassis is made of glass fibre. It will carry five people at 40–50 miles per hour and will cost £200 (Rs. 2,650). Worn parts are thrown away and replaced with new ones more cheaply than they could be repaired.

The engine (750-1000 c.c.) can be changed in ten minutes. It will give 40–50 miles per gallon. The car is just under seven feet long.

The prototype which will soon begin its trials is the idea of ship-designer John West who helped design the P & O liner *Canberra*.

West's technical director, Mr. Reuben Bouverie, said the design de-

veloped out of studies they had made of motoring needs in under-developed nations—particularly Pakistan, where the company maintains an overseas office.

Mr. Bouverie described the West car as "something cheap to replace the scooter-and-trailer type rickshaw". The car will be made in Britain and shipped abroad for cheap assembly.

Rewriting History

BY A CORRESPONDENT

THE FAMOUS battle of Stalingrad during World War II has been "objectively" rewritten by Soviet military historians according to *Red Star*, the Soviet Defence Ministry newspaper. The new version calls it the Battle of the Volga. Stalingrad has been known as Volgograd since 1961 following Khrushchev's de-Stalinization policy.

Mr. Khrushchev, who served as a leading Party representative on the Stalingrad Military Council during the battle, blamed Stalin for mistakes made during the war. Though the *Red Star* report makes no specific reference to Stalin, it says the role of the Supreme Command Staff (headed by Stalin) has been treated objectively in the new version. "Mistakes" made in earlier appraisals of the battle have been eliminated.

The new book, "The Great Victory on the Volga", has been compiled under the editorship of Marshal Rokossovsky who was Stalin's commander on the Stalingrad front.

SOUTH AFRICA—Boycott Repercussions

FROM VERE JAMES

Cape Town

ONE UNEXPECTED outcome of the boycott on trade with South Africa is the unprecedented boom in its economy. What is considered interference in the internal affairs of the country, has intensified the spirit of independence in the white people.

More determined than ever to become self-sufficient and economically independent, South Africans have applied their technological skills and rich natural resources to replace previously imported products with goods manufactured within the country. At the same time their export trade continues to expand.

This economic evolution may prove to be the forerunner of unexpected social changes. There are already sufficient jobs for all who want to work in the industrialized urban areas. The "non-whites" enjoy a standard of living higher than elsewhere in the African continent. The rapid expansion of industry and commerce is creating an acute shortage of skilled manpower.

In spite of the country's immigration policy of attracting technicians from European countries, Africans, Asians and Coloureds have now to be moved into jobs previously reserved for Europeans only.

South Africa's ultimate solution to the racial problem is the policy of separate development (as *apartheid* is now called)—the establishment of separate states for the Africans. These "Bantustans" will eventually be self-governing territories in the African "home areas". Militant African nationalist leaders, who with certain reservations have accepted the new Government policy, are now believed to be moving into the Bantustans. These are likely to become platforms for a new phase of African nationalist agitation and resistance.

Rigid Policies

In two years the British Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, will have become independent African states within the borders of the South African Republic. The Government will no doubt have to modify many of its present rigid policies in order to create a working relationship with the new countries. This will apply particularly in economic development, dip-

lomatic relations and mutual security arrangements.

Meanwhile, some African nations, aware of these fresh trends, are carefully reconsidering their positions. The boycott has merely spurred South Africa along its pre-determined policy. Certain African states have even suffered financially from the boycott while others have secretly continued trading with South Africa. The clamour for military action against the Republic and the subsequent arming of "liberation" forces is now being questioned in certain nationalist African quarters. It is feared there that these "armies" might rebound and jeopardize the internal security of their own newly independent states.

New alignments emerging among independent African states are in turn provoking a re-appraisal of South Africa's attitude to "black" Africa.

Hopeful Signs

It has been comparatively easy here to point to the "Congo debacle" as sufficient justification of South African policies. But some policy-makers in this country are beginning to ask why the stability and progress of countries like Kenya and Nigeria should not also be taken into consideration when formulating policy and attitudes to the north.

On both sides there are hopeful signs of change taking place. South Africa has a vast economic potential that it could share. The countries in the north have practically demonstrated that, where the issue is freedom or tyranny, race becomes secondary.

Increasingly, the choice confronting Africa involves issues of character, integrity and ideology. Not race, class and tribe. In this direction a solution to the South African problem is more likely to be found than in resorting to measures which only tend to stiffen the already intransigent positions adopted by both north and south.

The week in Asia

HANOI — North Vietnam has rejected India's proposal for an Afro-Asian peace-keeping force in Vietnam, a Foreign Ministry spokesman told the North Vietnam News Agency. He said the proposal "supported the U.S. imperialists' scheme to perpetuate the division of Vietnam".

WELLINGTON — Prime Minister Keith Holyoake told the New Zealand House of Representatives that an artillery battery comprising about 120 regulars would be sent to South Vietnam.

PEKING — The Chinese Government is settling large numbers of young Chinese in sparsely-settled areas near the Soviet border. The aim is believed to be the creation of a "human bulwark" along the poorly-populated Sino-Soviet border. In ten years over 30 million people have been resettled.

DJAKARTA — President Sukarno installed seven new Ministers including two Communists. There are now 86 Ministers in office.

PEKING — All military ranks in the Chinese People's Liberation Army are to be abolished. The Government announcement did not explain how differences of rank among the 2,500,000 servicemen will be designated.

KARACHI — The *Morning News* has raised the question of sabotage in connection with the crash in Cairo recently of a PIA Boeing 720-B. The daily newspaper asks who were the seven Chinese officials on board the ill-fated plane. Pictures taken at the airport here during their stop-over on a flight from Shanghai were not released "presumably under strong pressure". The newspaper reported, "Speculation was rife that they could well be high ranking officials master-minding Chinese diplomatic activities in Africa and the Middle East."

KARACHI — A nuclear power station with generating capacity of 137,000 Kw and costing Rs. 32 crores will be established here under an agreement signed between the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission and the Canadian General Electric Company.

SAIGON — The number of American troops in South Vietnam is expected to reach 60,000 this month with the arrival of a U.S. Army combat division.

SAIGON—Head of State Phan Khac Suu refused to sign a decree enabling the Premier, Dr. Phan Huy Quat, to reshuffle his cabinet replacing the Ministers of Economy and the Interior. Army leaders later announced that the armed services would "take all necessary measures to ensure maintenance of existing institutions and personalities".

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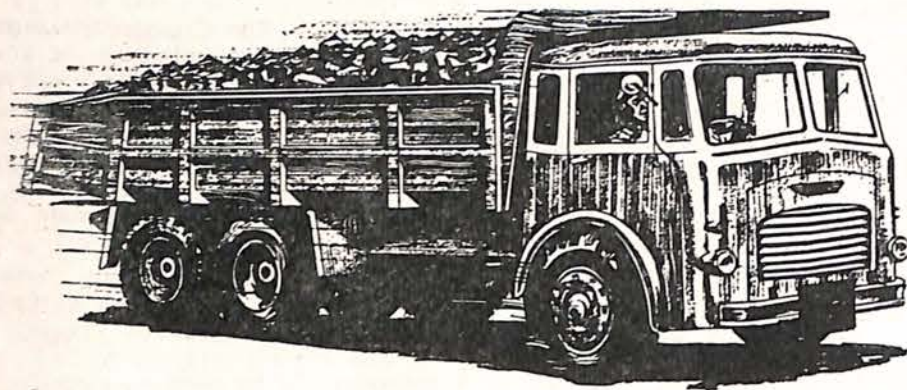


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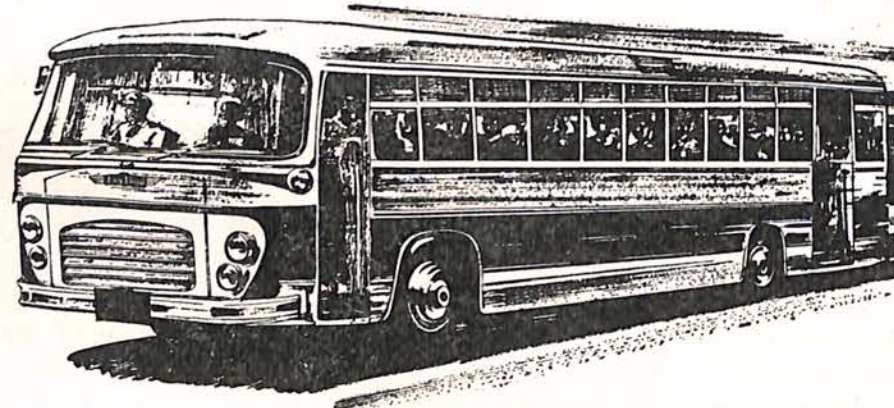
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VIEWPOINT

We Are Brilliant Armchair Critics

By Shrikant Bhat

PEOPLE GET the government they deserve. If, after 17 years of independence, after spending 10,000 crores on planning alone and about 20,000 crores in annual budgetary expenditure, we have one crore of the population without jobs, and 20 crores of men, women and children living in squalor and starvation, if inefficiency and red tape are endemic in government, then for this we, the citizens of India, are as much responsible as the Government.

Is it not the essence of democracy that even whilst the fault lies with the Government, the remedy lies with the people?

How have the citizens failed? The citizens have failed to throw up ideas and suggestions to any branch of the Government. The tragedy of the Indian democracy is that its citizens are brilliant armchair critics. They are ceaseless fault-finders. They repeat *ad nauseam*: "Our Government is hopeless." Yes, it is, but what have we DONE about it?

In the 1962 General Elections (which cost us 10 crores of rupees), over 21 crores of us voted. This constituted half of the nation. How many, out of these 21 crores, know even the names of the persons for whom they voted?

How Many Take Action?

The conclusion is unmistakable: the citizens of India are living both in ignorance and apathy.

The tragic irony is that these very citizens are whining away, "The Government is hopeless." How many of them have communicated their complaints to their elected representatives? How many have written to the press? How many have written to the Ministers or the Secretary of the Department? Thanks to our laziness, the pressure of public opinion is not felt *directly* on any branch of the Government; nor does it profit from any expertise.

The public affairs of the city of Bombay are a warning signal to all democrats. Bombay has an "educated" electorate of 18 lakhs. To its

Municipal Corporation, business-minded Bombayites shelled out 23.5 crores in taxes and fees in 1962-1963. Every year, for their salaries and expenses, its 131 Councillors take out ten lakhs of rupees from taxpayers' money. A single meeting of the Corporation costs the citizens Rs. 3,000. Do the Councillors give their citizens their money's worth? In their meetings, they discuss American bombing in South Vietnam, Presidential rule in Kerala, aggression in Kutch, Russia's launching of spacecraft—everything else except their business, which is to improve the city of Bombay.

Not Interested

Is there a single Bombayite who has not been annoyed with the Municipality for permanently dug up roads, overflowing gutters, unlicensed hawkers, dirty markets, traffic jams, water shortage and what not? Yet how many have seen their Corporators with their complaints, or written to them, or have complained to the Mayor or the Municipal Commissioner?

Expenses depend upon prices. Prices are determined, largely, by our tax structure. When a housewife pays Rs. 15 for a 4-kilo Dalda tin, she straight away pays Rs. 3 to the Government. When a poor girl purchases a cheap sari costing Rs. 10, she pays to the Government Rs. 2 in taxes. When an average Indian middle-class family spends Rs. 350 in such necessities as wheat, rice, dal, milk, tea, sugar, medicine, transport, education, etc., about Rs. 80 out of Rs. 350 are eaten up by taxation at various stages. Even when the harassed citizen tries to forget his misery by seeking an innocuous escape like a cinema, the Government does not leave him free. For a cinema ticket of Rs. 1.75, the entertainment tax is 85 p.

There are "educated" citizens who realize these points but, when called upon to take a constructive interest in public affairs, exclaim, "Oh, no! I am not interested in politics." Is this not confusing politics with good government? Democracy demands of each citizen to contribute his in-

formed judgement to the agencies of the Government. It demands of him to take jealous care that his elected representatives best serve the public good.

Unless we, the citizens of India, take our elected representatives to task, unless we do something *concrete* to improve the administration, this nation will continue to march towards disaster.

Let not the historians of tomorrow say that, in India, order and democracy gave way to anarchy and dictatorship because the citizens failed in their primary duties.

Let not this be the epitaph of our nation.

Contributions to VIEWPOINT, representing the personal views of readers on important topics, should not exceed 500 words. A fee will be paid for those accepted.—Ed.

LETTERS

EAST PAKISTAN HAVOC

SIR: It is distressing to read in newspapers that nearly ten thousand people were killed and ten million people were rendered homeless in the recent disaster caused by a cyclone in East Pakistan. We Indians must forget differences and strained relations now and do our bit to help those affected. Will HIMMAT take the initiative and organize a fund for this purpose?

S. P. SANKARANARAYANAN
Bombay 71

* It is recommended that any donations for this purpose be sent to the Indian Red Cross.—Ed.

PATRIOTIC BEHAVIOUR

SIR: From various issues of HIMMAT, one factor stands out distinctly. All problems of India can be attacked, whether they be economic or relative to corruption, by individual patriots. An individual patriot is one who is "for his country", not only in ideals but in every single act of his.

It is not enough that people who understand this truth put it into idealistic phrases in papers and make an average citizen merely meekly conscious about his duty. It is the duty of the educated ones to go out among the backward and the uneducated and make them understand how honesty in tiny acts—like not buying things from the black market—is patriotic behaviour. If people become steel honest, black market will disappear. Students of colleges can become leaders in this type of campaign.

SURYAKANT PATEL

Mbale, Uganda

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FOR WOMEN

Every Mother's Child Her Own

By Jini Taleyarkhan

KASTURBA GANDHI was mother to the whole of India. Throughout the length of the country she was called "Ba" (Mother), as her husband, Mahatma Gandhi, was called "Bapu" (Father).

To her every mother's child was like her own. Whatever difference she might have felt was never shown in her behaviour. Every man and woman who fought the freedom struggle became her son and daughter. She would go from village to village and from hospital to hospital—and, whenever permitted, visit the jails—encouraging, cheering and consoling, never discriminating between her own sons and others.

Kasturba was a true Hindu wife. Her faith in Gandhiji's judgement was implicit. She did not always want to know *why* he wanted her to do a thing and often she did not like to do what he wanted. But, because he wanted it, she would do it willingly and wholeheartedly.

She was a very simple woman, but with her simplicity went an inborn naturalness, dignity and poise which made her feel at home and unaffected by glamour and wealth. Frequently

she had to meet maharajas and their sophisticated womenfolk. To them she would give the message of *khadi* and the benefit of her wealth of wisdom.

To live alongside a great man like Gandhiji must have been more than difficult. To Ba it was a challenge she rose to time and again, till the day she died. She made no claim on her husband's life. Her actions proved that the 400 million of India had as much claim on his time and affection as she had.

Prison Hardships

Prison life Kasturba took in her stride. The hardships never bothered her and she never complained. She was the perfect example of a non-violent soldier of freedom and, of course, for her this was an opportunity to care for and mother all those who needed good cheer and help.

The times Kasturba loved most were those spent at the Ashram with her husband and all the other inmates. Every day she was up by 4 a.m. for the morning prayers. After that she would prepare Gandhiji's breakfast and sit with him whilst he ate it.



Kasturba Gandhi

Much of her time was spent in the kitchen, where she would supervise the cooking and the washing and cleaning. Cleanliness and tidyness were part of her nature, and she would be most exacting. Often, to set an example, she would herself re-wash utensils that were not absolutely clean.

Her delight was to serve her husband and his friends their meals. After all were attended to, she would take her place opposite him.

During the day Ba would find at least an hour to study the Gita and Ramayana. And every afternoon she would sit at the spinning wheel and spin 400 to 500 rounds (4 feet makes 1 round). Even on the days when she was not well she would not spare herself. Gandhiji had said, "Swaraj hangs on the thread of the spinning wheel." To Ba, spinning was as important as prayer. It could never be missed.

Happy to Serve

Late every evening Ba would hold her *Darbar* (court), as it were. All the ladies of the Ashram would sit with her and they would discuss their problems and spend a pleasant half-hour or so chatting. Then she would be off to get her husband's bed ready for the night.

Gandhiji once said, "Ba never complains about anything. I can take away from her anything I like. I can impose on her any guest I like. She always bears with me cheerfully and

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willingly. That is how it should be. If the husband says one thing and the wife another, life becomes miserable. Here the husband has only to say a thing and the wife is ready to do it." This in a nutshell sums up the philosophy and life of this great lady.

In order to protest to the Government, Gandhiji would often go on a fast. His fasts were sometimes quite long and often dangerous to his life. But his wife knew they were right and would keep perfectly calm. She would herself stop her normal meals and take only milk and fruit, just the bare minimum which would enable her to keep going and minister to her husband's needs.

Throughout life Ba had a hunger for learning. At 74 she used regularly to learn history and geography, and her teacher was her husband. Gandhiji had a musical ear and he used to teach her songs as well. Sometimes the old couple would sing together, a unique sight. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu jokingly used to call them the honeymooning couple.

In February of 1943, Gandhiji, his wife and a few others were prisoners in the Aga Khan's palace in Poona.

He was contemplating going on a 21-day fast to force the Government to take heed of his constant protests against ill-treatment of the freedom fighters. This was the time when his wife, who had carried a heavy load all her life, was beginning to lose her strength. His friends tried to dissuade him. "Your fast will kill Ba," said one of them.

To this Gandhiji replied, "You have no idea how brave she can be. I know her better than all of you. At the time of my Harijan fast Ba was with me. When I had lost all hope of life, I decided to distribute my few belongings amongst the hospital staff. Ba carried out my wishes and distributed the things with her own hands. And her eyes were dry."

Undaunted Spirit

Bapu talked to Ba about the necessity of the fast. To the surprise of everyone she said, "How else can Bapu protest against the Government's terrorism except by going on a fast?" Her body was feeble but her spirit remained undaunted.

By December 1943, Kasturba's health was worse, but she stayed on

in jail with her husband. From her sick bed she would care for all the inmates of the prison.

February 22, 1944, was the last day of Kasturba's life. She said to her husband, "Bapu, do not sorrow after my death. It should be an occasion for rejoicing." Then she closed her eyes, folded her hands and began to pray. The last words of her prayer were, "Lord, I pray for Your grace. I want to be Your devotee and love You with all my heart. I want nothing else."

The last person to visit her a few minutes before she died was her brother, Madhavdas. Ba recognized him and was very moved to see him. Then she quietly passed away with her head in the lap of her beloved husband.

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This was a life

SIR THOMAS MORE
1478—1535

SIR THOMAS MORE was one of those people who believed that there are some things in life worse than death. Betraying his most deeply-held principles and the voice of conscience was one of them.

More never courted martyrdom. He did his utmost to avoid it. But in the last resort he was fully prepared to go through with it.

He did not lack the graces of the world. He would never have been Speaker of Henry VIII's Parliament or the successor to the mighty Cardinal Wolsey as Lord Chancellor of England if he had.

He was a many-sided man: author of the famous *Utopia*, friend of the renaissance scholar Erasmus, diplomat, parliamentarian, courtier and family man.

As a lawyer he was popular in the City of London and long remembered by its citizens as a friend and benefactor. In his household flourished "More's School" where, untypically, girls were given the chance of education equally with the boys.

More's offence was that he could not bring himself to go along with "the King's great matter"—the plans of Henry VIII to divorce his Spanish Catholic Queen, Katherine of Aragon, and marry Anne Boleyn.

For More, a sincere Catholic, it involved a repudiation of the Papal authority and the authority of the international Christian community.

He never tried to persuade anyone else about his views. He only demanded the right to hold them himself. With all his power he tried to act as a true servant of the king, but ultimately there was a superior authority. He was "the king's servant, but God's first".

For refusing to take the Oath of Succession in the form administered to him More was confined to the Tower of London in 1534. He was executed just over a year later under a new Act of Treason. Typically, More went to his death with a jest. Removing his beard from the block, he explained to the waiting executioner that "at least that was not guilty of treason".

Repeatedly he could have saved himself, but conscience was stronger than convenience.

Sir Thomas was made a Saint in 1935.

Q and A

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

Q—Why is President de Gaulle advocating neutralization of Vietnam? Will it not lead to Communism?

A SHAH, Poona

A—He perhaps hopes that a neutral Vietnam will accept a certain amount of French influence. The French felt deeply about Indo-China, and would like to play a part in that region's affairs. President de Gaulle may feel that a neutral (and anti-American) Vietnam will trade more with France.

De Gaulle also reckons that confronting China in Asia pushes her more towards Russia; his aim is to keep the two red giants glaring at each other. He does not want Russian pressure on Europe.

I agree that a neutral Vietnam today will not long remain non-Communist. What we must try to find is a way of strengthening Vietnam from the inside so that its freedom does not forever have to be protected by war.

Q—Everyone in power is speaking about streamlining of administration, but so far nothing has materialized. Why?

S. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, Bangalore.

A—A government job is no more a "service". It is a security against unemployment, an insurance against starvation, so Government servants draw salaries without doing too much work.

A capable minister or an executive in our country will soon get frustrated with the slow pace, indecisiveness and inefficiency of our administration. They naturally want to improve it. They get experts to study the problem and suggest methods of increasing efficiency. Good reports are produced from time to time like the Gorwala and Appleby recommendations, but nothing much happens afterwards.

Mr. Nanda has now appointed another committee. They will also produce a good report. The Home Ministry has also an "Organization and Methods" department whose only job is to suggest speedier means of disposal of work.

But reports and rules can do only a certain amount. The streamlining of administration can come about only as the result of a new type of government "servant" who wants to work instead of just wasting his time, and who is not afraid of making decisions because they might prove to be wrong.

We need to get back to the original meaning of "service". This applies as much to the peon as to the head of the department, the clerk as much as the cabinet minister.

Q—If our young men are not given opportunities at political and administrative levels, how can our country expect future leaders?

N. CH. VEERACHARY, Hyderabad.

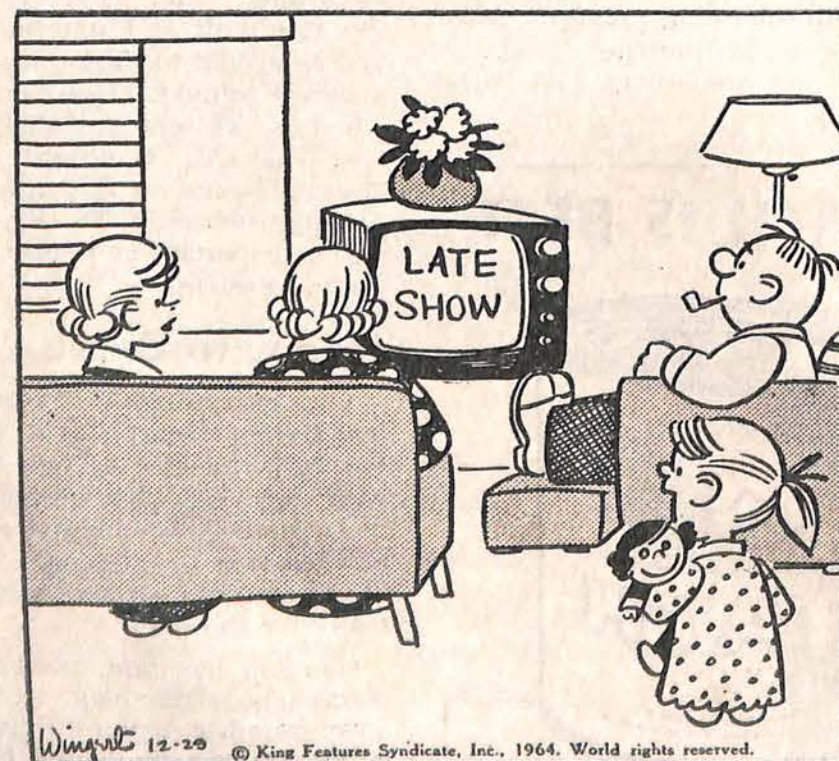
A—Your assumption that young men are not given opportunities is not true. Even secretaries of government departments nowadays are fairly young. Many industries are run by young men. Even in politics, power is shifting, though more slowly, to the lower age groups.

If our young people do not develop into leaders, it is not due to lack of opportunity: It may be due to lack of aim.

Many able, hard-working youth, because of their social and economic background, do not have opportunity even to enter into business, administration and politics. However a majority of those who do get the jobs will want the glory of the better job without the sweat.

A large number of the ablest young men and women of India have been trained during the last year by Moral Re-Armament. They are not perfect. But they are learning to be industrious, straight, selfless and responsible. Many of our national leaders who have met them say that in the hands of such people the future of India is bright and secure.

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NEPAL AND CEYLON

by Rajmohan Gandhi

TWO NATIONS that need a lot more of our attention are Nepal and Ceylon. Winds of derision continue to blow across our Chinese and Pakistan frontiers—last week Peking called our regime “a reactionary Government of duds” and it has become doubly important to firm up our ties with Colombo and Kathmandu.

Her size belies the value a friendly Ceylon has for India. A hostile Ceylon would force a heavy deployment of our army, navy and air force in the south, reducing greatly our defence power along our borders.

A Nepal that feels one with India will considerably relieve our defence effort. On the other hand, if Nepal went Communist or became Peking's military ally, we would lose our strongest barrier against Chinese attacks—the Himalayas.

What do Nepalis and Ceylonese feel about India? In talks last week with an editor, social workers and a group of students from the two countries I gathered some information.

Nepalis are happy, even proud, about their connections with India. Their nine million are 60 per cent Hindu and 40 per cent Buddhist. King Mahendra rules over the world's only Hindu Kingdom. The Nepali language, like most Indian tongues, has descended from Sanskrit and Pali, and is similar to Hindi. Their food, family, marriage and social customs do not vary much from Indians'.

Achievement on Everest

Nepali students study in large numbers in Calcutta, Bihar, the U.P., Delhi, Bombay and also in the south. Indian teachers, professors, lawyers, doctors, technicians and businessmen work in Nepal.

Our impressive achievement on Mount Everest would not have taken place without the help of the Government and citizens of Nepal.

There are, finally, the Gurkhas. Year after year our army is joined by these redoubtable fighters. Heedless that some of us are, we take this for granted. Think of it, these men from another nation are willing to fight and die for us.

Compared with these links Peking has little to boast of. And yet every now and then a question mark arises in Nepali and Indian minds.

“Indians constantly remind us that we come from an underdeveloped land,” a Nepali student of medicine in Trivandrum told me. “We are made to think we are backward, crude, raw and uneducated,” continued the student, who is obviously better at his studies than many of his Indian colleagues.

The Nepali is a citizen of no mean country, and feels that way. He is aghast at the ignorance he finds here about his country, and bitter at the unconcern.

In short, the Nepali sees the Indian as an Indian—or any other “Afro-Asian”—sees the European or American. I have often heard harsh complaints by Asians in America about the lack of knowledge about their country they run into. Indian unawareness of Nepali conditions exceeds it.

Angry and Awed

“Indians must understand that we are non-aligned with all, including the non-aligned,” the student emphasized. He was both angry and puzzled that Indians should expect automatic Nepali support on every issue.

Ceylonese are awed by India's size and population and a few of them are genuinely afraid that some Indians may one day have designs on their country. Fortunately, their leaders know this to be an inane view.

Yet we must realize that Ceylonese are as proud and sensitive about their independence as we; if anything, prouder. Being mistaken for Indians in Europe or America is not for them a matter for elation.

We are naturally unhappy over Ceylon's wish to send back men and women of Indian origin who do not qualify for Ceylonese citizenship. Yet the Ceylonese feels that very few Indians are aware that Ceylon is the only country where the non-citizen has received and receives rice at an extraordinarily low, subsidized price, free education (up to the university level if he proves his merit in competitive examinations) and free medical treatment.

In the Ceylonese view, Indians in Lanka have kept themselves separate and their hearts in India. However, the Colombo editor gave his opinion that if a key were found for Ceylon's rapid development, all the hands and brains (including Indian) would be needed.

The number of Chinese in Ceylon is small, but in Colombo alone they run over a hundred restaurants, the editor told me, adding that most of them are centres for propaganda. Mr. Dudley Senanayake's Government will be more cautious in its dealing with China than Mrs. Bandaranaike's was, but there is little likelihood of a sudden alteration in the rice-for-rubber barter contract.

Ceylonese, like Nepalis, are irked if we assume instant and complete support whenever we have a dispute with a neighbour.

The fault, I submit, lies not in Ceylon but in India.

America has been described as a giant with a big, firm stick and a big, generous purse, but without a big idea that can attract and keep the partnership of other nations. To countries like Nepal and Ceylon, India is a giant with a stick neither big nor firm, a purse generally empty but often filled with loans or gifts from others and also without an ideology that could help them solve their problems.

India Needs Both

We need, immediately, a systematic and unbiased interest in, and study of, Ceylon and Nepal. Our schools and universities have a part in this, and also our radio and newspapers.

We should send a corps of Indian men and women to the two countries. Men and women who are selfless, disciplined and united, armed with techniques of medicine, industry and agriculture and with the secret of answering hate and corruption and inertia.

Nepalis like and respect their King. They do not want Communism. But they want a revolutionary change in their society.

Ceylonese do not want Peking's rule, but they want their island to pioneer in Asian affairs.

Will Indians help them? Both Ceylon and Nepal may need India. Indian definitely needs them.

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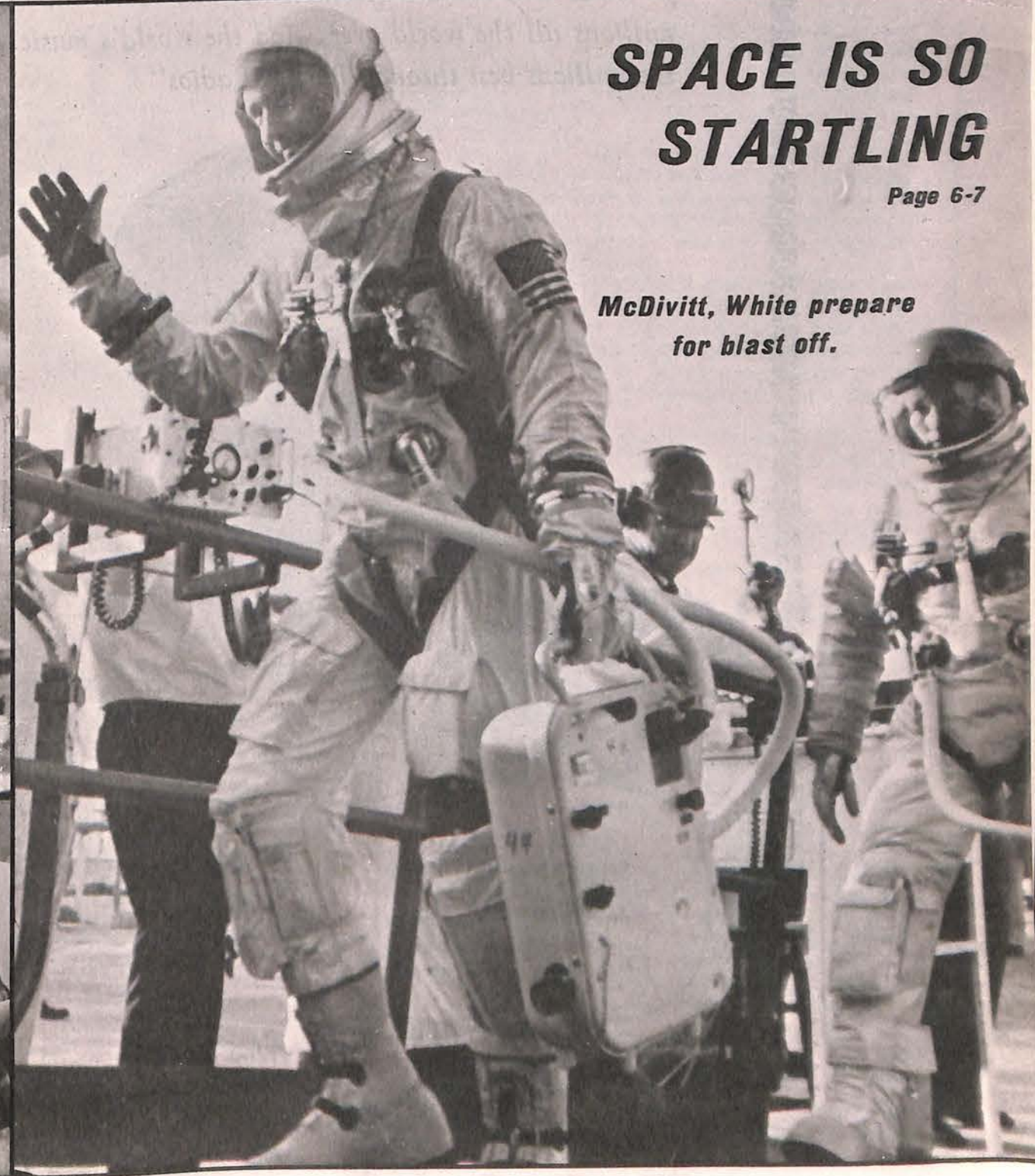
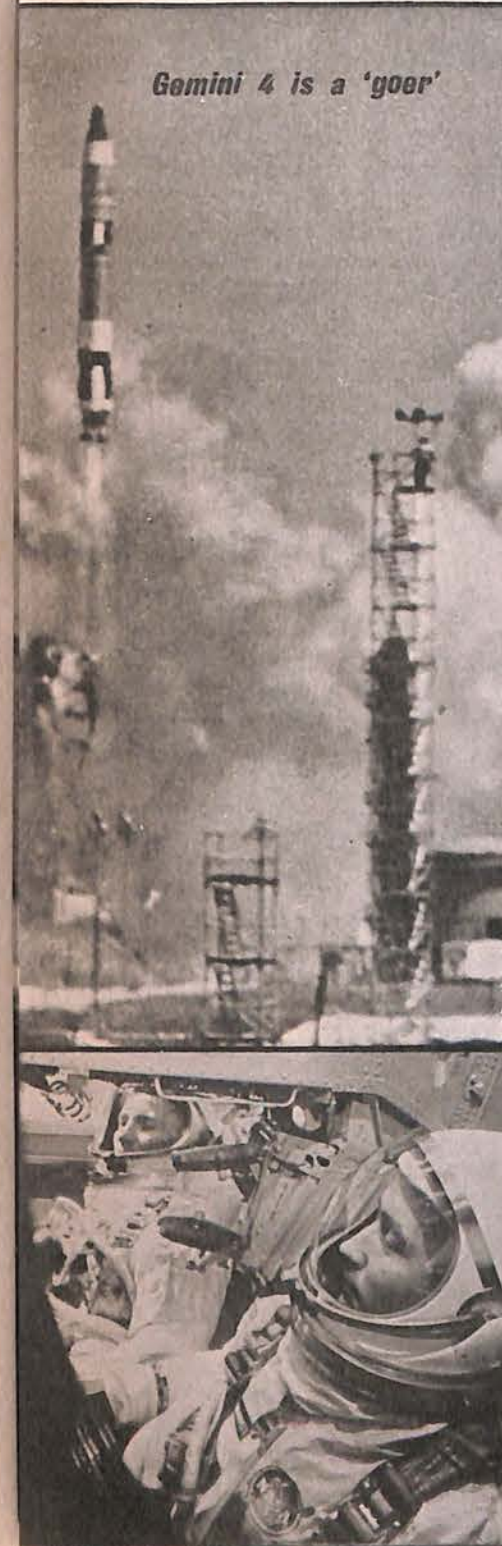
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