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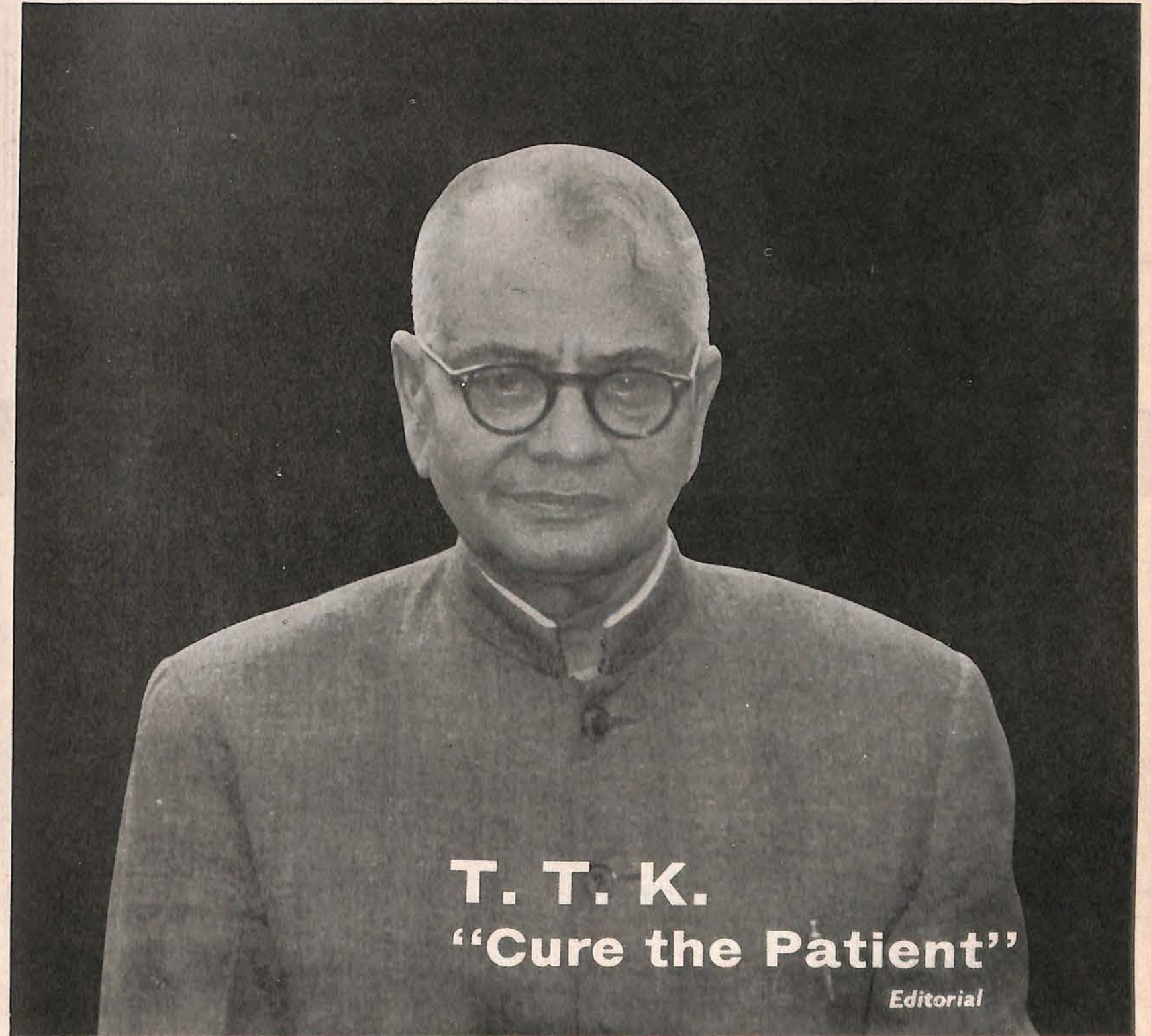
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# HIMMAT

25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



**T. T. K.**  
**"Cure the Patient"**

*Editorial*

Friday  
February 26  
1965

WANTED : A BUDGET  
WITHOUT TEARS

NEW START FOR  
INDIAN SOCIALISTS ?



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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, February 26, 1965

Vol. I No. 17

## Cure The Patient

TOMORROW the nation will know what economic prescription Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari has compounded. The patient is ill. The family and neighbours have known it for some time. "Dr." T.T.K. is not the first physician to be called in. A high fever or a binding pain can often be cured with dramatic suddenness. But there are chronic conditions which seem to take an age before improvement can be discerned.

The patient needs vitamin injections (crores of foreign exchange), plenty of good food (7 million extra tons a year), and freedom from the anxiety of unemployment (15,000,000 jobs) and other terrors. But what is needed above all is the *will* to recover.

T.T.K.'s task is thankless. No Finance Minister tomorrow could possibly produce a budget which all will like. India wants a budget backed by an administration of integrity—one which makes people want to sacrifice where necessary. Then, instead of collecting 40 per cent of income tax and only 20 per cent of sales tax, T. T. K. might find people paying up because they saw officials wasting less and producing more.

India may be short of rice, short of dollars. But she need never be short of a great national purpose. "Dr." T.T.K. can be assured that the nation would be behind him if, as well as a wise budget, he offered a new incentive, a great concept, an invitation to build Asia's most progressive and dynamic society.

## Watch The Left

THE STATEMENT of the Home Minister, Mr. Nanda, on the "anti-national activities of pro-Peking Communists and their preparation for subversion and violence" is welcome.

The Left Wing Indian Communist Party who met at Calcutta last year formally decided on plans for an armed struggle to synchronise with the aims of militant Chinese Communism. The arrest by Mr. Nanda of the pro-China Wing may well have upset their timetable for a Telangana type of revolution.

Yet the Home Minister must know that ever since the Communist victory on the mainland of China in 1949 a sizeable section of the Communist Party of India have pinned their faith on the "Chinese way", that is the establishment of a "Yenan" on the North Eastern borders of India and pockets of armed resistance which would weaken, disrupt and ultimately destroy democratic government.

The Home Ministry statement declares that the pro-Peking Communists, are "firmly committed to the cause of promoting Chinese designs in furtherance of her grand strategy of establishing her hegemony over Asia and her declared aim of world revolution."

The Government of India thus acknowledges that the Communist plan of subversion in India, the war of attrition fought by the Viet Cong in South Vietnam, the Pathet Lao advance in Laos, are all part of the master plan of Chinese Communist strategy. Is it not

folly then for Mr. Nanda's colleagues in External Affairs to repeat parrot fashion that foreign forces should withdraw from Vietnam?

Is our Prime Minister certain that China, which has proved itself so unreasonable over the Co'ombo proposals, will prove otherwise over Vietnam at the conference table in Geneva? Obviously the External Affairs Ministry and the Home Ministry have two different views of Communist designs in Asia. As long as the truth so clearly presented in the Home Ministry document does not impinge on Indian policies vis-a-vis South East Asia, any number of arrests of Left Wing Communists will be useless.

## Salute The Youth

ONE OF THE unfortunate features of Indian political life in the past years has been the tolerance, even by respected leaders, of violence as a last resort.

While student agitations against the imposition of Hindi turned violent in some parts of the South recently, in Kerala the demonstrations were orderly. HIMMAT pays tribute to the students of Kerala for the peaceful nature of their state-wide general strike.

No one would deny the right of citizens, to express publicly their genuine convictions on issues like language. But students have an even bigger task: to carve out, in unity with their elders, a new path for India. Their patriotism and discipline can be infectious.

## Free The Press

THE PRESIDENT of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society, Mr. K. M. Cherian, has called on all member newspapers to suspend publication of their March 3 issue in protest against the decision to restrict newspaper imports to last year's level. The Government's attitude to newsprint quotas is short-sighted beyond belief. Short-sighted or deliberate?

Like any imported commodity, newsprint should be subject to some control in our present dollar-short economy. New publications need not immediately be granted a licence. But there is a strong case for the granting of newsprint to any paper with a circulation above 5,000 copies which has completed three months of publication. At present even established daily papers are hardly able to expand circulation.

In 1963, only 90,000 tonnes of newsprint, costing Rs. 6.51 crores, was imported—barely 1 per cent of total imports. In contrast the Government releases foreign exchange for pornographic paperbacks.

Where newspapers are, however, still forced to use local paper, HIMMAT urges rebate of central excise. This sometimes amounts to as much as 22 to 40 paise per kilo and is an unfair penalty.

In all this debate the Government pleads a shortage of foreign exchange. But control of newsprint is, in effect, a subtle curb on the freedom of the press.

Such a freedom is worth fighting for, even if to do so means diverting part of the foreign exchange wasted on visionary aspects of our Five Year Plans.

## Briefly Speaking...

*Man was not born for himself but for his country.*  
PLATO, 429-347 B.C.

### Conscience of India

WHEN OTHER politicians are involved in denying circulars or in discovering that Hindi has become the first official language, Vinoba Bhave holds to the principle that violence is wrong and so is the imposition of one language over another. The fast was typical of him. His words when he broke his fast were, "I leave the results to God." In heeding a personality like Vinoba, India pays a tribute not only to a man of God—she pays tribute to herself as a nation that still respects personalities like him.

### Embassy Strengthened

A UNI REPORT states that the construction of the new Chinese Embassy in Delhi will resume shortly and that the Embassy staff has been considerably strengthened lately. It will be good for the public to know how many officials of the Chinese Embassy are stationed in New Delhi compared to the number of Indian officials stationed in Peking.

### Interference

MR. TSHOMBE is apparently gathering support against African leaders interfering in affairs of other states. President Philibert Tsiranana of Malagasy has warned Ghana to stop "aiding the Congolese rebellion" and the opponents of certain African states.

### Indomitable

PRESIDENT KEKKONEN's visit to India is a matter of special interest because the nation he represents has an indomitable spirit. Neighbour of powerful Russia and invaded by her, Finland's courageous people fought and safeguarded their freedom. When Russia imposed reparations on Fin-

land, thinking they were too heavy to be borne, the Finns worked extra hard and paid the reparations before the time. She may be a small nation but India can learn a lot from her spirit.

### Donations to Parties

ALL SAID and done, when the official figures of donations to political parties came to light, it was revealed that the "socialist" Congress Party commanded over 85 per cent of the donations from firms in India (Rs. 98 lakhs out of Rs. 115 lakhs total).

The so-called "rightist" Swatantra Party could collect only Rs. 15 lakhs of the total donations. Other figures are so ludicrously low that one even wonders whether one-tenth of the contributions have actually gone through the regular books of firms.

### Venture Abroad

MR. K. P. GOENKA, outgoing President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, referred to the importance of establishing joint ventures in Asia and Africa and other regions, "so as to provide greater outlets for Indian talents", as also to exports of machinery and spares.

Industry, Government and the nation can benefit from this suggestion.

### Enter Space Age

RANGER 8 SPACECRAFT has covered the distance between Cape Kennedy and the Moon's Sea of Tranquillity in less than 66 hours. Meanwhile, the Railway Board of India announced with pride that they have reduced the time of goods delivery from Bombay to Delhi from ten to five days.

R. M. L.

### WIN Rs. 100 FOR YOUR "GRAND DESIGN"

The Editor of HIMMAT announces a competition for the best article on "A Grand Design for India." In 1000 words it must cover what should be the national objectives of India's policy at home and abroad. The best article will be awarded a prize of Rs. 100. Closing date is March 20. Best entries will be published at HIMMAT's usual rates. Entries should be sent to:

The Editor, HIMMAT, 13 Advent, Foreshore Road, Bombay-I.

## The week in India

NEW DELHI—Home Minister G. L. Nanda, has submitted to Parliament a statement, in the form of a 45-page booklet, on the arrests of the Left Communists. The document, while not being as exhaustive as the promised White Paper, substantiates that these elements constituted "a threat to national security". It makes the points that the Left Communists believe that India, not China, was the aggressor in October 1962. NEW DELHI—The Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, has introduced a Bill in the Lok Sabha which seeks to empower the Government to seize and search for black money and articles. This would legalize searches now being conducted under an Emergency regulation. The Bill would give wide powers to authorized officers. Evidence necessary for search?—that undisclosed assets are "believed to exist".

NEW DELHI—The total value of articles, gold and unaccounted money detected during 343 Government raids and searches of 862 premises amounts, so far, to Rs. 44.81 crores (£33.7 million) the Finance Minister told Parliament.

NEW DELHI—Food Minister C. Subramaniam has thanked the Australian Government for a gift of 150,000 tons of wheat which will arrive in time to ease the difficult supply position caused by the U.S. dock strike which has held up the loading of wheat ships for India. French Prime Minister Pompidou, while on tour in India, promised 70,000 tons of French wheat to ease the crisis. BHUBANESWAR—A new 15-member Ministry headed by Mr. Sadasiba Tripathi was sworn in following the resignation of Chief Minister Biren Mitra on charges of impropriety. It is the third Ministry in Orissa since the mid-term elections of 1961.

AGRA—Air Marshal Arjan Singh, Chief of the Air Staff, said the Indian Air Force would soon achieve its target of 45 squadrons.

JAMMU—Mr. Justice N. Rajagopala Ayyangar, will constitute the one-man Commission of Inquiry into allegations of corruption and misuse of power against former Kashmir Premier Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed. The State Intelligence Chief will present a charge-sheet of 38 charges. Senior counsel from Bombay and Calcutta have been briefed by both sides. Prosecution costs alone are expected to reach Rs. 60,000 a month. The Inquiry is to submit its Report within six months.

## NEW DELHI: Search for a Grand Design

by R. M. Lala

THE EIGHT-MONTH-OLD Shastri Government has just passed through its first baptism of fire. In terms of sheer fury and cruelty, disturbances in Madras State have shocked the world.

Now it is time to assess where the Shastri Government stands and what is the extra plus it needs to shoulder its immense responsibility.

As January 26, 1965, approached and Hindi was to become the national language, the Indian Cabinet should have anticipated at least some resistance in the South. It is reported that the Indian Cabinet did not discuss the issue of Hindi till four days before the trouble broke out in Madras. As the President observed, it should have anticipated events.

Once the trouble did break out the Central Government showed pathetic lack of coordination. Ministers went about busily denying knowledge of the circulars their departments had issued, and two Ministers, who would have sailed with the Government had no trouble arisen, suddenly resigned without the courtesy of first informing the Prime Minister. Chief Ministers who till then had agreed on the changeover changed their positions, not only in Madras but also in other states including West Bengal.

### Public Feeling

The Madras correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* put a relevant question: "One must ask," he wrote on February 17, "how top Congress leaders including Mr. Kamaraj and Mr. Bhaktavatsalam failed to assess the extent of public feeling that was steadily mounting to a breaking point?"

Are the Central Government, the State Governments and the Congress Party in touch with the feelings of our people?

Not to prepare for the language trouble is one thing. Not to prepare for China's second atomic explosion is another. The event has been heralded and one of these days the bomb will burst. On January 1 HIMMAT wrote:

"Public opinion in India is already worrying the Shastri Government.

Whilst the present decision not to manufacture the atomic bomb remains, the inner circles of the Cabinet are not sure how long the Indian Government will be able to hold its line with the Indian public."

One of these days the demand for India to manufacture the atomic bomb will be raised vigorously. When the second Chinese atomic bomb bursts, Mr. Shastri will be well advised to take up President Johnson's offer of October 18 to guarantee U.S. protection against the threat of Chinese nuclear warfare. India's economy cannot bear the burden of manufacturing atomic bombs.

### Arrest of Left Communists

Observing their strength in the country, Mr. Nanda's move to arrest 700 leftist "pro-Peking" Communists was a bold step. On the occasion of the arrest six weeks ago, Mr. Nanda stated: a) that a White Paper would be issued at the end of January giving detailed facts which would convince the public; and b) that, although the Leftist Communists were free to stand for election in Kerala, none of those Communists in prison would be released to take part in any Government.

The promised White Paper did not materialize at the end of January. In the middle of February came an announcement that no White Paper would be issued and only a statement would be tabled before the Parliament. No explanation was given. The statement put before the Parliament does not state many new facts and figures known to the Government, and so deprives the Indian people of information which it is their right to know.

Could the Indian public be blamed if they now feel insecure about the implementation of the second announcement concerning the possibilities of the Left Communists ruling the State of Kerala in a week's time?

With all its sincerity in wanting to remove a Chief Minister charged with improprieties, the Central Government has emerged rather poorly out of the Orissa investigation. The nation was promised action on the

report at the end of November, but it was six weeks later that the Chief Minister of Orissa was "requested" to step down.

On the larger issue of corruption, Mr. Nanda continued his crusade in July and August with renewed gusto. Last week his Cabinet colleague, Mr. Manubhai Shah, told the Advertising Club in Bombay that India is "the least corrupt country." What is the attitude of the Indian Cabinet on corruption?

There is insecurity at large in the country today—insecurity because, although the Indian nation has given its goodwill to Mr. Shastri and his Cabinet, the impression that they now have of the Central Cabinet is of a group of men in a boat tossed by rough waves, without the humility to use the rudder or to read the North Star.

The people of India want their Prime Minister to be an anchor. Some say that Mr. Shastri and his colleagues are the captives of their own policies. If this charge is true, Mr. Shastri is a practical enough man to acknowledge it. The two planks of policy he has inherited are non-alignment abroad and Socialist planning at home.

### Take Stock

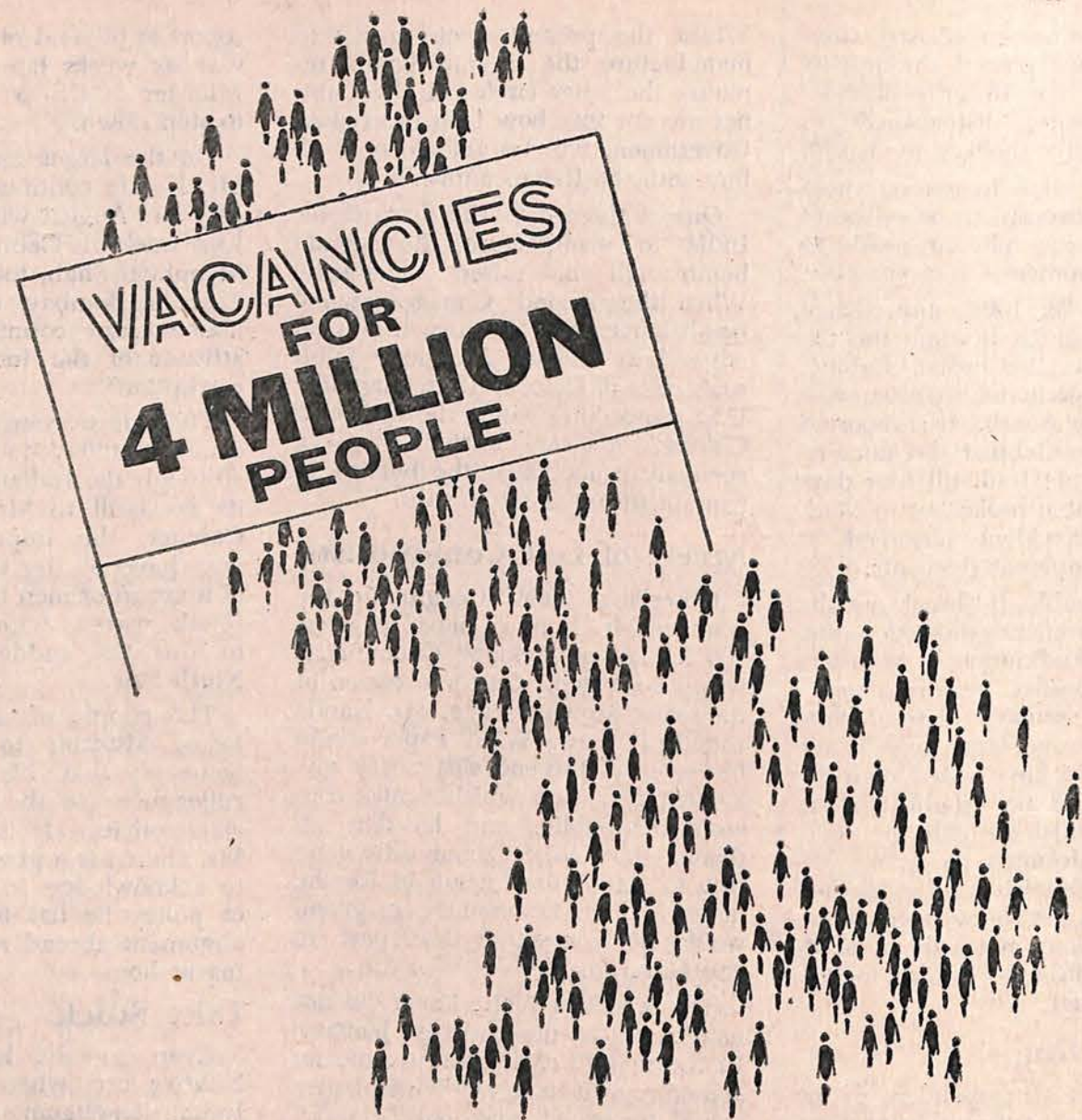
Even in the last years of Mr. Nehru's life, when China attacked India, non-alignment as a policy was put aside but nobody dared say so. The presence of the Chinese threat might well press Mr. Shastri to abandon it altogether.

National economy is a wide subject, but the fact remains that the large defence expenditure and developmental plans, are bound to land us in "crisis after crisis", as the Finance Minister put it last week.

It is time to take stock of the situation. No "little" budgets or big budgets, no makeshift loans or stray defence missions will solve India's problems. A major re-thinking of our policy is imperative.

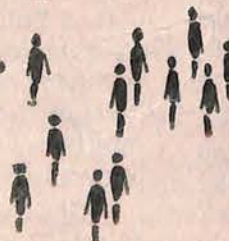
India wants Mr. Shastri, Mr. Nanda, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and Mr. Chavan to take bold deci-

Continued on page 15



**The development of roads is a potent weapon in the fight against unemployment. An economic study of road building undertaken by the National Council of Applied Economic Research reveals that each crore of rupees spent on road construction and maintenance provides employment for no less than 12,000 persons. If Rs. 400 crores are set aside for roads during each year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan as against Rs. 80 crores allocated during 1958-59, the additional employment capacity in road building and maintenance would be around 4 million annually. Road development also leads to expansion of transport services, vehicle production, industries and fuel supplies.**

**MORE ROADS HELP TO FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT**



**Gabriel**

## A New Start for Socialists?

THE MERGER CONFERENCE of the Samyukta Socialist Party at Varanasi has resulted in the inevitable break-up of the short-lived marriage between the old Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party. The split can be the beginning of a new road which may yet take the Socialists far. Up to this time, however, they have had a hard struggle even to survive. The reasons are worth analysing.

Socialism in Europe was the humanitarian reaction to the iniquities of developing capitalism. It found a natural base in the growing working class concentrated in great industrial centres. It grew in strength in opposition to the capitalist class. It was led by the logic of necessity to seek power. It gained respectability as it eschewed violence and used the right to vote to displace the representatives of the *bourgeoisie*. Social democracy in the West is the product of industrial development.

Socialism in Asia has no similar roots in the economy. It represents the rising expectations for a better life of which the demand for freedom is the political expression. It is as vague as the nationalist movements are amorphous. Its distinct personality is blurred both by the lack of its own individual political base and by the incorporation by the national liberation movement of its programmes and slogans.

### "Sukarnoism"

Indonesian Socialism is thus submerged by "Sukarnoism". U Nu's curious amalgam of Buddhist humanism and Marxian Socialism prevented the emergence of a strong Socialist Party in Burma and has in turn given place to the stern combination of nationalism and orthodox Marxism of the Ne Win regime. Singapore has a fairly strong Socialist movement based on the working class but in Malaysia as a whole it does not have the same significance. Only Japan with its powerful industrial base can boast of a strong Socialist Party.

In India also the Socialist policies of the Congress Party have prevented the emergence of a strong Socialist Party. Jawaharlal Nehru was more Socialist than Gandhian. He was

more Marxist than most Socialists but he was a realist too. He accepted Gandhi's leadership of the independence movement because it was the most practical thing to do. He knew that the progress of Socialism in an underdeveloped country depended on the pace of economic development.

Nehru realised, what most Asian Socialists failed to see, that social welfare is meaningless without increased production. He therefore did not allow the dogmas of Socialist theory to hinder economic growth. He believed in democracy enough to

### Under the Lens

understand the need to carry along private enterprise. Without pushing his Socialism too fast he gradually fashioned the Congress as an instrument to achieve his aims. He carried with him a large section of the nation, advancing when he could, wise enough to withdraw when necessary.

He was, however, more concerned with efficiency than integrity, with getting the job done than how it is done. Like many Socialists, he shifted the emphasis from the Gandhian ethic to the materialist ideal of standard of living.

Though the Congress Party was always pulled between the Socialist orientation of Nehru and the resistance generated by the evils of growing statism and local interests, its direction has always been as Panditji wanted. It has therefore been difficult for the Indian Socialist Party to find its separate role. It has not been able to adopt an unambiguous position on policy. There has been no unity of approach towards national and international questions.

The Congress Socialist Party of the pre-independence era was an informal group inside the Indian National Congress and made up of Communists, Marxists and Gandhians who believed in an egalitarian society.

When the Socialist Party was formed in 1947, it was mainly composed of Marxists who had not joined the Communist Party and Gan-

dhian Socialists who had not chosen to remain in the Congress. The Marxists gradually moved to the left and by 1952 the Praja Socialist Party emerged as the nucleus of a democratic Socialist opposition to the Congress. Led by a group of able and brilliant individuals it seemed to have all the potentialities of an effective alternative to the ruling party.

But from the beginning, the party was handicapped by the erratic nature of its individualist leaders, each with his own peculiar brand of Socialism, Gandhism and nationalism. Ram Manohar Lohia, with his strange theories of caste war and linguistic chauvinism and the strong tendency to build personal loyalties over-riding moral and ideological considerations, was bound to conflict with the cool, sober, intellectual theorising of Asoka Mehta. Both found Jayaprakash Narayan's non-conformist independence of conviction that defied all compartmentalisation (which made him successively into Bhoodan disciple, crusading fighter for Tibet and now peace-maker who counsels understanding even with aggressive China), extremely difficult to confine within the bounds of party policy.

### Failed to Learn

The result has been division and frustration. Jayaprakash Narayan goes his own way. The logic of constructive co-operation in the task of national development led Asoka Mehta and his men into the Congress. Frustration has taken Lohia and his men more and more into a purely negative and opportunistic position. The Socialists in general have failed to learn from the mistakes of Nehru Socialism and have been unable to offer a better alternative.

The present P.S.P. leaders have never had anything in common with Lohia and were merely outmanoeuvred by a more shrewd tactician into the Samyukta Socialist Party earlier. They were bound to part company with him sooner or later. Despite handicaps and difficulties attendant on a fresh split they have chosen the path of conviction rather than compromise at Varanasi. They are

*Continued on page 12*

# WANTED: A BUDGET WITHOUT TEARS

by M. S. Dabke

EVERYWHERE budget is the topic—in homes and at places of work, in streets and in local trains. Only recently the writer overheard a cryptic remark of a fellow traveller in a local train. "Taxes are high. So, what does it matter?" Leaving alone its cynicism, the remark at once set thinking apace, in retrospect and prospect.

Quite true, a high level of taxation in itself is not a vice as such. If the investment climate is good, if production is rising leading to satisfactory employment level and prices are well within check, there is no ground for fears. Because, then the gross national product and the per capita income would also be on the rise. All sane citizens would pay their taxes, smiling.

However, during the last 15 years or so things have shaped so miserably that a talk of self-sustaining growth sounds absurd though not fantastic. A quick table depicting the course of principal taxes for selected years is compiled and given below.

pay income tax. In other words the average incidence per assessee works out to Rs. 705.

The collections from Corporation Tax were Rs. 40.49 crores in 1950-51. They rocketed to Rs. 306 crores in 1964-65—an increase of over 750%. Against this, the gross national product making up the incomes of individuals and companies increased barely by 10% per annum.

## Indirect Taxes

In the matter of indirect taxes, too, the situation is by no means encouraging. Customs duties registered an increase from Rs. 155.35 crores (1950-51) to Rs. 336.37 crores (1964-65). During the same period collections from Excise duties swelled from Rs. 63.43 crores to Rs. 769.54 crores. The object of Planning was to achieve a 5% annual rise in the national income. But what has in fact happened is that in 1964-65 levies of Union Excise amounted to about Rs. 17 per capita (5% of the per

stantly mounting. When domestic capital is not forthcoming, how could foreign private capital move in?

Fortunately other countries like the U.S.A. and U.K. have so far been very generous and hence we could manage without caring much for private foreign capital. In a developing economy foreign capital has traditionally played a crucial role in setting up highly technical industries and increasing production of commodities having export markets. If profits have to be repatriated, have no fear. For foreign investments enlarge considerably the recipient country's profit packet out of which some profits are repatriated as the fees for the employment of the capital. Moreover, foreign industrialists plough back large sums in the host country by way of expansion. Even the industries in the Soviet Union were set up by the Americans during early days and notions about foreign domination coming along with foreign

PRINCIPAL TAXES (Figures in Rs./lakhs)

Head of Revenue	Accounts				Budget Proposals	
	1950-51	1954-55	1958-59	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65
1. Taxes on Income & Expenditure						
a) Taxes on Income ..	6343	10454	16699	17938	12005	14155
b) Corporation Tax ..	15535	18220	5433	22150	22700	30600
c) Expenditure Tax ..	—	—	64	20	10	200
2. Taxes on Commodities & Services						
a) Customs ..	4049	3733	13486	24177	30859	33637
b) Union Excise Duties ..	8277	11881	30730	59051	69057	76954

Since we launched on Planning, our tax structure has grown horizontally as well as vertically. Horizontally, it has confronted us with some novel taxes like the Bonus Shares Tax, Super Profits Tax and the Dividend Tax. Vertically it has cut deep and sharp by exceeding the figure of 70% on the income in the field of Corporation Tax and 80% in higher individual income brackets.

When we look at the Income Tax collection figures we find that the amount collected increased from Rs. 32.77 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 141.55 crores in 1964-65. The sharpness of the rise can be recognized by the fact that barely 2 million people out of our population of 443 million

capita income of just over Rs. 300). So suffocating are the strings of the Excise duties that every article of the common man's use—cloth, kerosene, matches, tobacco, vegetable oils, tea, motor spirit—all are knitted in them. A look at the steep rise of the scales of Excise duties explains the mystery of soaring prices of commodities.

The effects of this "load as you please" tax motto are not far to seek. The saddle is already larger than the horse itself and, instead of the economy, prices are galloping. Investment climate is worse, capital is lacking and individual initiative killed. Then could production be rising? It is crawling. Unemployment is in the vicinity of 15 million and is con-

capital are out of tune in the present context. Besides, a calculated risk has to be taken somewhere, for a bow without any "string" whatsoever is no better than a walking stick!

As limits to the assistance by international financial institutions like the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and assistance on government-to-government level are being reached, foreign private capital remains the only substitute. This explains Mr. Shastri's eagerness in inviting private foreign capital at the meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce held in New Delhi recently. Here is an

Continued on page 12

# Work, Share to Feed the Millions

by Philippe Schweisguth

Mr. Schweisguth, a father of ten, has been farming near Paris for 34 years. After World War II he founded, with a group of friends, La France Agricole which has now become the leading farmers' weekly in France. For nearly 20 years he has been writing a frontpage column.—Ed.

THE AKUTSU family farms in a village sixty miles north of Tokyo. Theirs is not a large farm as can be seen in some parts of America or Europe. But three acres of good land make quite a large farm in Japan. Akutsu is farming in a very intensive way with plenty of fertilizers and the best modern methods. He gives a simple but good standard of living to his family and makes a valuable contribution to the nation's economy. Besides vegetables and rice, he produces silk and milk. For the European visitor, it is staggering to find on such a small acreage 9 Friesian cows producing 10,000 gallons of milk a year!

Visiting Akutsu's farm and some of the 1,100 farms in the same village, I came to understand that a world free from hunger lies in two words: *work and share*.

President Senghor of Senegal, in a statement recently given to the magazine *Afrique-Express*, said, "The decolonization of their minds and thinking had a clear meaning for the Japanese people a century ago: to see themselves as they really were, an undeveloped nation, but rich in potentialities... And today the Japanese standard of living remains a very frugal one. But the Japanese have confidence in themselves, in their old and brilliant civilization. Foreign ideologies do not control their policy. That is why they prefer to take the most effective methods and techniques from Europe and North America, instead of anti-imperialistic slogans of which they know the vanity."

## All the Rice She Needs

In my view, Japan is not only taking from abroad, but initiating herself the most effective modern methods.

Japan has twice the number of people per square mile as India and three times that of France. France has one-sixth the area of India, yet she has less than 50 million people. Japan has one-sixth the farm land of France and, despite that, she produces at home all the rice, vegetables and a large part of the wheat, meat and milk for her 100 million people.

We in France need to learn from the Japanese farmers. We use a lot of machinery but I am afraid we have not retained the love for the land and care of the soil which we had in the past and which can be seen in Japan. Many farms in France are not as productive as they could be. In the poor and hilly parts of the country more and more fields are just not cultivated.

The population of France, however, is growing and the experts say it will grow faster after the year 1965 because of the tide of young people born after the war who will marry and raise a family. At the same time, the acreage of farmland is decreasing at the rate of 150,000 acres a year as towns, roads, airports, etc., are quickly expanding. The same is happening all over Europe, where the need for food is growing faster than farm production.

## Work More, Work Better

On the other hand, we buy from several nations in the tropics a lot of sugar, corn, oilseeds and even meat, often at very low prices, which makes it impossible for these nations to develop their economy.

We farmers of Europe must face all these facts and bring a change in the situation. We must improve the production of each acre of land to the highest level. In this way we shall be able to feed our own people and sell abroad *at the right price* what is needed in the world market. In return, our country must buy *at the right price* coffee, tea, cocoa, jute, cotton, groundnuts and all the goods we cannot grow in our climate.

In Europe we have some very rich areas like the north of France, Belgium and Holland. But we also have some very poor parts like the south of Italy. The Common Market by itself will never force the rich to share with the poor.

Working more, working better, sharing prosperity, this is the secret for Europe. But it may be also the secret for Asia and for the whole world.

The farmers of the world have a big task ahead. Experts say that the population on the earth is going to double in the next 40 years and will reach at least 6,000 million by the year 2,000. Every man should enjoy the life God has given. Each man and woman, with his hands, heart and mind can have a part in creating a new world of justice, freedom and peace.

## 40,000 Million People

My third grandchild has just been born. It is a girl. The world she is going to live in will be very different from the world we know. But I have no fear of the future for her. I have the deep certainty that we are going to create, before the end of the century, a world in which each child—black, brown, white or yellow—will grow up without fear of hunger or exploitation.

Some folk think it is impossible to win the battle against misery and hunger without birth control and they go about preaching this. Maybe they do not like the idea of sharing!

The modern scientists say we can feed not only six but maybe thirty or forty thousand million people by putting to use all the fertility of the earth and sea.

Looking nearer at hand, the farmers of the world have to triple the global food production during the next thirty years if hunger is to end. It means doubling the acreage of the land in use and improving the productivity of that already cultivated. It means a lot of work for the scientists as well as the farmers. But it is not impossible. The most difficult job may not be to produce enough but to share enough and to make sure each human being will have enough to eat, enough work to do and an idea big enough to fill his heart and mind.

To make a world free from hunger, each country and each farmer is needed. Each nation can and must grow enough for the needs of her own people and share intelligently their surpluses in the world market.

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### TANZANIA: Freedom or Tyranny?

FROM VERE JAMES

*Dar es Salaam*

THE REVOLUTIONARY Council Eleven and the Team of Ministers fought it out before cheering crowds in the Mao Tse-tung Stadium. Their football match was part of the celebrations marking the first anniversary of the Zanzibar Revolution—postponed for a month during the fast of Ramadhan.

The Ministers won—three goals to nil.

In spite of state guests passing through Dar es Salaam on their way from China, Russia, Cuba, East Germany and Ghana to attend the ceremonies it is clear that the larger East versus West game has not yet been decided.

A year ago Zanzibar threatened to become another Cuba. With President Nyerere's patient and restrained handling of the merger between Tanganyika and Zanzibar the complete Communist annexation of the Island has so far been prevented.

Many of the more mature and responsible leaders are reconsidering the situation. The assassin's bullet that brutally struck down the Prime Minister of neighbouring Burundi has also hit the conscience of those who could be similarly eliminated.

Aid programmes are beginning to convince the most sceptical. Out-

side Dar es Salaam a magnificent University begins to tower above the countryside—paid for and staffed by American and British money. The West German housing project, one of the most progressive in Africa, is mushrooming on the city outskirts. Built mainly by Indian craftsmen, these are two tangible signs of the generous assistance Tanzania is receiving.

Seventeen miles away on the island of Zanzibar it is reported that the one major Communist aid project, the East German housing scheme, has come to a halt. The East Germans are having a wage dispute with their labourers.

Meanwhile the Tanzania People's Defence Forces, under the very able leadership of Sandhurst-trained Brigadier Sarakikya, has recovered from the mutiny which threatened Tanganyika with a Congo-type insurrection and is providing the country with

stability ensured by a well trained and disciplined army.

In addition to the much publicized seven Chinese army instructors, Canada is now providing a training mission of 50 specialists. The West German Government is helping build-up the technical and flying potential of the Tanzania Air Force. Recently Pakistan made its fellow Commonwealth member an offer to assist in military training.

The question is asked here, "Why all the fuss about a few Chinese when there are obviously so many from Commonwealth countries and the United States assisting in the development of the country?"

The Chinese have an aggressiveness about their ideas that non-Communist countries lack or ignore. Their influence is out of all proportion to their numbers—or to their aid.

An awareness of this war of ideas is growing in East Africa. President Nyerere could turn the needs and dangers of his country to good account—particularly during his current visit to Peking—demonstrating that Tanzania chooses the way of freedom and not tyranny.

### Peking's Trade Clash

FROM TOSHIO HARA

*Tokyo*

THE COMMUNIST Chinese trade issue is on the agenda for the Diet session. The heated argument and division between the Liberal Democrats and the Socialists is sharpening rapidly.

Trade with China has increased 2.2 per cent in the last fiscal year, and with the exports of heavy plants it is expected to increase more this year. Despite the Government's reluctance to open formal relations with the Peking Government, pressure from certain elements in the business circles is high and the Government faces a dilemma: how far can the theory of "separating politics from economics" go?

The Government had sanctioned the export of a vinylon plant to Communist China on the basis that it would be a private enterprise. Now China wants the money to come from the Government bank and Peking's leaders are attacking Japan, saying, "The Sato Government is discriminating against China by not giving Gov-

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS—cont'd.

ernment aid, thus regarding China as her enemy." They are threatening to withdraw the request unless Japan does what they want. The tragedy is that, while Peking puts ideology before profit and they are ready to go hungry if necessary, Japanese businessmen tend only to think of making money, whatever the cost.

One may recall the incident when Finland's trade with Russia reached 11 per cent of her total trade. Russia demanded that Communist leaders be taken into the Cabinet and threatened to withdraw her trade if Finland refused.

Making money and acquiring higher standards of living is all right. But Japan must be ready to withdraw her trade if Communist China uses it to interfere with her principles or policy.

### Kosygin in Hanoi, and After

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

*Washington*

THE UNITED STATES is in no mood now to accept total defeat in Vietnam. Washington is embarrassed by the successful attacks of the Viet Cong through its security lines. To save face there will be more air raids on strategic targets in North Vietnam.

The North Vietnamese are apparently not convinced that the United States means business. They feel

that the United States has been seeking a way to end the war rather than win it. This has made the Viet Cong very bold. American "purpose and will" has been challenged. The bluff has been called.

Kosygin's surprise visit to North Vietnam has aroused much speculation. Some high-placed United States officials say Ho Chi Minh asked Kosygin to visit Hanoi to restrain big brother Mao Tse-tung's proliferating ambitions for satellite lands.

Some Washington experts believe that the Russian Premier's visit to Vietnam may be more anti-Chinese than anti-U.S. They believe he will try and get Ho Chi Minh to follow the Moscow peace policy rather than Peking's war policy.

President Brezhnev's quick acceptance of President Johnson's proposal for exchange visits of the top leaders may mark the start of United States—Russian collaboration to separate the Vietnam Reds from the Peking Reds.

Kosygin's plan in Hanoi appears to these Washington officials as aimed at getting Ho Chi Minh to accept something short of total United States withdrawal which is Communist China's demand.

What Kosygin gets in Hanoi he can offer to President Johnson in the forthcoming summit meetings in Washington and Moscow.

## The week in Asia

**TOKYO**—Japan has announced its decision to participate in preparations for the forthcoming South East Asian Foreign Ministers' Conference. The preparatory meeting is to be held in Bangkok at the end of the month. Peking has charged that "an anti-Communist alliance in Asia" is being formed.

**SAIGON**—Coup and counter-coup marked the end of a week where war casualties were a record: 1,555 Government troops killed and missing, 232 Americans and 900 Viet Cong. General Nguyen Khanh successfully put down a coup led by Colonel Phan Ngoc Tao. The Colonel claimed to be acting on behalf of the South Vietnamese Ambassador in Washington, General Tran Thiem Khiem. However 15 of the 20-member Armed Forces Council later supported a no-confidence motion against Khanh. He was replaced by General Tran Van Minh ("Little Minh").

**COLOMBO**—The numbers of Chinese entering Ceylon has become an election issue. While denying persistent press reports of large numbers of Chinese unofficially entering the country, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, confirmed that visas had been granted for the entry of Vice-Foreign Minister Liu Hsieu-chuon and other high officials "to inspect the Chinese Embassy". Mr. Dudley Senanayake, former Leader of the Opposition, meanwhile challenged the Prime Minister to deny that a secret deal had been made permitting China to use the Trincomalee Naval Base in the event of renewed Sino-Indian hostilities. There were also reports that Chinese had smuggled into Ceylon a large amount of counterfeit Ceylon currency.

**SEOUL**—Japanese Foreign Minister Etsusaburo Shiina arrived in South Korea in an attempt to bring to a conclusion the long-drawn-out negotiations for a normalization of relations between the two countries. The Foreign Minister left Japan amid student rioting and an Opposition motion of no-confidence against him—both opposing reconciliation.

**KATMANDU**—The sister of the Queen of Bhutan and of former acting Prime Minister Lhendup Dorji, Miss Tashi Dorji, suddenly fled to Nepal to join the rebel Bhutanese. She announced that Lhendup Dorji would shortly be joining her in Nepal.

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## BUDGET—from page 8

example of what our previous policies on foreign investments have cost us:

A recent study of the U.S. Department of Commerce revealed that the American private investment in the Far East Asian countries totalled \$1,289 million in 1962. With her population of 60% of the Far East Asian countries, India received only 15% of this direct investment while Philippines with 6% of India's total population bagged 30% of the U.S. private investment.

During the budget speech last year the Finance Minister had to confess that India's economy was not progressing up to expectations. By the

recent announcement of the "Letter of Intent" for the prospective foreign investors, the Government of India has declared its own intent to improve things. This is a good omen. It has to be followed up by a chain of rational and practical steps.

Jawaharlal Nehru often said, "It is not the money nor the moitar but the will that fights the battle against the aggressor or poverty." India today is engaged in fighting both. Surprisingly, however, the previous budgets have dealt very severe pricks. The result; morale is at a low ebb.

Budget in a developing economy is the pilot lever of the monetary apparatus. It cannot afford to harm the economic climate. It has the singular role of propelling the nation to the "sunlit plateau of abundance," as Mr. Ashok Mehta, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, put it.

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## SOCIALISTS—from page 7

worse off in terms of their strength but better off in terms of principle. They have the opportunity of a fresh start from smaller beginnings, but on sounder foundations.

What distinctive part can the renewed P.S.P. play? It does not lie in mere opposition to the Congress, necessary as that may be. It does not lie in demanding more Socialistic measures like a ceiling on incomes, nationalisation of banks, for apart from the fact that more extreme and less democratic parties to the left can beat the P.S.P. at this game, their utility in achieving more rapid economic development is doubtful.

### Task Ahead

Democratic Socialism is called upon to achieve the following tasks in India:

1. Unite the nation in a common effort to achieve industrialisation more rapidly than in a totalitarian system.
2. Ensure that the fruits of development accrue in higher living standards to the mass of people without impairing the incentives to development.
3. Inspire the nation to the sacrifice which is the basis of greater investment and the hard work which is the foundation of rapid growth.
4. Offer a moral and ideological alternative to the purely materialist basis of Communist appeal.
5. Seek a global foreign policy which is non-aligned in the sense of refusal to commit ourselves either to the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. in advance, but which combines justice and morality with the country's interest.
6. Make the Socialist Parties the basis of international understanding rather than mouthpieces of narrow nationalism.

As long as they are in the opposition, it is the duty of such a party to co-operate with any others in the nation, including the Government, who will join them in this task. It is only by the record of an honest, unbiased, principled opposition that the nation can judge its fitness for power.

R. VAITHESWARAN

## VIEWPOINT

### Not Only Economic

by S. Venkatesan, Madras

EVERYWHERE there is cynicism and growing frustration. It is not solely due to the economic factor, though its importance and impact cannot be over-emphasised. Youth is aghast when those who mouth the virtues of leading a moral and disciplined life are themselves leading immoral and undisciplined lives.

Take corruption. There is so much hesitancy and trepidation in taking effective measures against those charged with corruption. The Government has to do a lot of cajoling, persuading, in fact, everything short of begging, before an unwilling Chief Minister, charged with gross impropriety and corruption, would condescend to step down from office. But the same Government seems to be all mighty and potent when dealing with a corruption charge, say, against a

peon who might have taken a rupee or so, as a bribe.

Gandhiji taught us the supreme importance of leading an austere and simple life. But the lives of the leaders ruling our country are nothing if not ostentatious. A Chief Minister's birthday is enough for Ministers from all parts of India to congregate at a particular place, praise the Chief Minister to dizzy heights and disperse, wasting a lot of time, expense and energy in the process. The annual *tamasha* of Congress session costing lakhs of rupees every year is nothing if not a criminal extravagance and a big hoax.

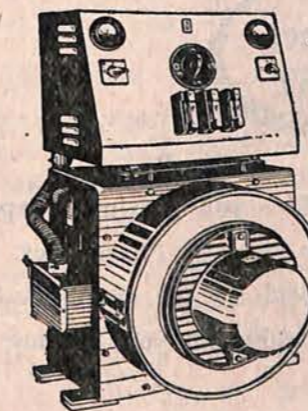
Instead of blaming the youth and others for the unrest that prevails in our country, the leaders, the Congress leaders in particular, would do well

to do a bit of heart-searching and try to discover whether there has not been some blemish in their own conduct which also contributed its share to the muddle in which the country finds itself today.

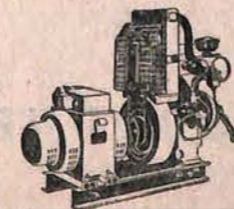
The youth of our country, on their part, should shake off their despondency and cynicism and try to regenerate our country on a new model with God-inspired ideas for other countries to see, admire and emulate. This is the onerous task that has fallen on the shoulders of young men and women of India and in the efficient discharge of this mission will they be judged for their greatness and nobility.

Contributions to the Viewpoint Column representing the personal views of readers on important topics should not exceed 500 words.—ED.

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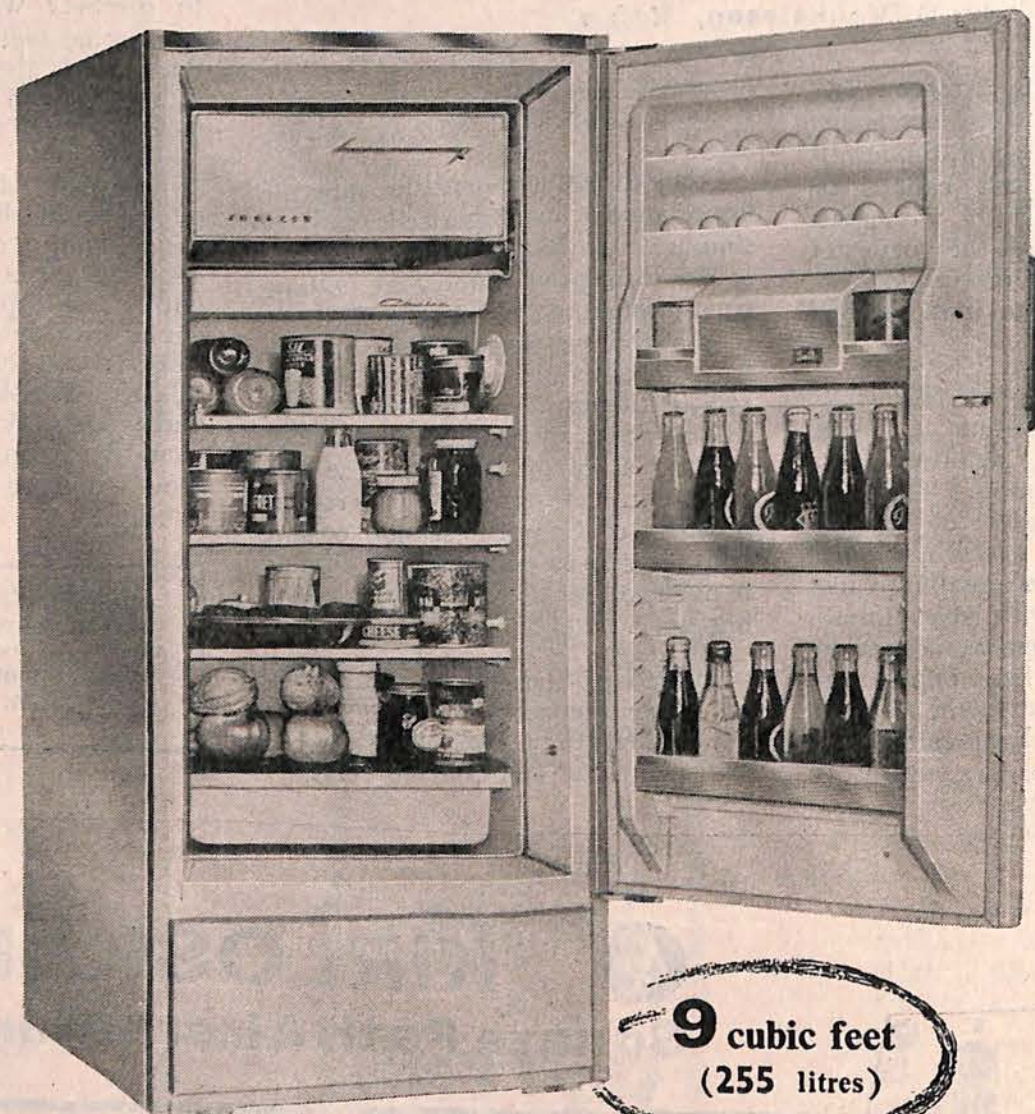
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## FOR WOMEN

### Families and Nations—

by Mrs. Roland Wilson

*Mrs. Roland Wilson is author of "God's Hand in History" and a number of other books, mainly for children. Her father, Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, was Commander-in-Chief of the East Indies Fleet responsible for the naval defence of India.—Ed.*

HUMAN BEINGS are very interesting creatures. In one way they are very much alike. In another way they are all completely different. Without them the world would be a desert. With them it is very often a lunatic asylum. It can also be a battle-field or a concentration camp.

But there must be something between these extremes. There must be a way of making the wealth of the world available to all and for the exploitation of none. That is really the point of being a human being. They are God's answer to chaos. They are not meant to create the chaos.

A few weeks ago a great human was laid to rest. Sir Winston Churchill had the capacity to evoke willing service from men and women widely different. Now he has died at a time when the whole world is again threatened with destruction. Men, however great, can only stay a

**GRAND DESIGN**—From page 5  
sions in national interests, not loaded with the dead weight of dead philosophies but with the freshness of men seeking new ways to meet new situations.

What is needed is a grand design for India, not a design which promises comfort or a higher standard of living—though both will be fruits of this design, but a "design for dedication", as Kennedy would have called it—where a people decide on broad national objectives, at home and abroad, and go for it. If we do not plan these broad objectives, if we do not grab hold of them and pursue them vigorously, we will be condemned to sorting out one petty, regional issue after the other till anarchy, dictatorship or conquest overtakes our country.

What should this grand design be?

**NOW TURN TO PAGE 4**

short time on earth. The next generation has to carry on.

No one is ever the last great man. God constantly raises up new ones. But if men of goodwill do not respond to His challenge, leadership will be taken by those who want power for themselves.

Our resources are God and humanity. Humanity is human beings, and human beings are you and me.

We all belong to families. Some of us are parents. All of us have parents, or have had them. We have husbands, wives, children, brothers and sisters. When one of our family gets into a jam we don't say, "Johnnie is a Fascist or a Communist, or a neo-colonial," or whatever term of abuse comes in handiest. We try to help.

At least, we generally do. Sometimes, of course, people wash their hands of the black sheep, and say "He's hopeless. Let him go to the dogs in his own way." Others make excuses for him, and say it wasn't really his fault, he was just unlucky. So crime goes up, order breaks down, and everybody thinks it is somebody else's fault.

### Easy to Blame

It is terribly easy to blame the past for what is wrong in the present. All our families have a past history—some good, some bad. My grandparents were none of them perfect. But if it hadn't been for them I shouldn't be here today. The same is true for all of you.

I wasted a lot of my life blaming my mother for certain things she did when I was young. There were times when I thought that if only she had been more understanding, I should have turned out a much more satisfactory character. It was an atti-

tude that cut me off from real friendship with her for years. I deprived myself of many of the riches of association with an older person until I saw how stupid it was, and started to take responsibility for my own mistakes.

As I look round at the world I see it as a divided family. It's black and white, East and West, rich and poor, management and labour, husbands and wives, old and young.

What are we going to do about it? Are we going to go on stockpiling hate? Why in an age of division should we go on breaking the links that do exist rather than planning how to strengthen them?

**Point one: we're all here.** Now, is this association a power house or a gas-ring? A debating society or a training course? Are we here going to plan as definitely and concretely to get rid of hatred in the world, as we do to rid it of typhoid, cancer or leprosy? And when I say get rid of hatred, I don't mean putting in its place a wishy-washy sort of goodwill that never tackles anything unpleasant or difficult

### Too Big to Tackle?

I mean a militant all-out decision to bring the power of God to bear on the most resistant places of the human spirit. You cannot have the brotherhood of man without the Fatherhood of God. At this point someone will say, "But I don't believe in God." That doesn't make any difference to Him, because He has survived being disbelieved in for a long time. But for the moment let's accept that there is some doubt about Him.

Let's find something we do all agree on. What about honesty? Everyone thinks everyone else ought to be honest, so we might see what are the logical results of honesty in a society.

Poverty may breed revolution, but plenty does not seem to cure it. Everywhere you look, in countries rich and poor, there is the same disease. It looks a vast problem. Not enough policemen, not enough prisons, nothing is safe. And of course everyone says its nothing to do with them.

So that brings me to point two. Whose responsibility is it? Is it too big for ordinary people to tackle?

**TO BE CONTINUED**



# LETTERS

## HINDI-ENGLISH

Sir,  
Tamilnad was in fury and flames. Authority and crowds fought one another. Troops were brought in by plane. The number of persons killed by firing was in scores and scores. Public property worth crores of rupees was destroyed.

All this was a sequel to the official decision declaring Hindi as the link for binding Bharat as one unified nation. The remedy became worse than the disease. Here is a lesson for those who think that things unwanted could be thrust down people's throats.

The great achievement of Sardar Patel is in grave danger of being destroyed.

In this context, any attitude of self-righteous indignation on the part of Authority will not solve anything or heal the wounded feeling of the people. These are sad facts. Better face them squarely.

If and when Ministers under democracy lose influence, moral defeat is implied. Political institutions which we desire to develop and grow will instead wither. Without resort to constant self-criticism and correction the ruling party cannot discharge its onerous duties.

Those who are at the helm of the country's affairs must show broad-mindedness, tolerance and statesmanship. Dismissal of the great protest of the South as being merely politically-engineered will be at once unfair and unwise. In the nation's march towards the long-cherished unity, this is the crucial hour.

C. R. NARASIMHAN,  
Madras-17.

Sir,  
Today the problem is not of language but of character. I know Hindi, English and Tamil-speaking families which are deeply divided. Today there is disunity amongst caste and caste, families and families, mother and father, children and parents, although all of them are speaking one common language.

Today we cannot afford to point our finger at anyone, but begin to bring a change in our own lives in order to bring a dynamic change in our nation.

(Miss) A. CHINAI,  
Bombay-1.

Sir,  
Abraham Lincoln once said, "The best way to get a bad law repealed is to enforce it strictly." It seems that the best way to get a good language like Hindi classified as a dead language, is to teach it forcibly!

G. M. JAGTANI,  
Bombay-1.

Sir,  
The remedy certainly is a joint heart-to-heart talk on all the basic issues of the Anti-Hindi controversy. Nothing can be achieved substantially, unless persons in power and Leaders of Parties (brushing aside self-appointed and irresponsible student leaders) meet, discuss, own up to their faults openly, bury the hatchet and agree to a common formula over this All-India issue. Nothing short of the Moral Re-Armament spirit can fortify the youth of this country, which has to build her future on the absolute standards of non-violence and strict Ahimsa in thought, word and action.

IGNATIUS ABSALOM,  
Principal, Hajee Karutha Rowther  
Howdhia College,  
Uthampalayam, (Madras)

## VIETNAM

Sir,  
With Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia and other States now under the "sphere of influence" of Communism, South Vietnam alone remains the last barrier. President Johnson has said that he is determined to remain in South Vietnam, but whether he will be able to keep his word is debatable.

If Johnson can hold out against world opinion, he would not only have kept his word, but done something greater. Though war is not the answer to South Vietnam's troubles, getting out of South Vietnam is not the answer either.

But what moral resistance does the U.S.A. or India have that can stem the wave of Communism? What part has India played to make all nations on this planet work together? It is time we stopped saying, "Oh it is fate" and started working hard to answer the food problem, language problem and every other problem that remains unsolved.

JAGDISH H. SHAHANI,  
Madras-28.

Sir,  
The Viet Cong guerrillas draw their strength and temerity from North Vietnam. Now, if North Vietnam in repeatedly subjected to selective aerial strikes the Communist Bloc will either have to continue to suffer humiliation or come out and confront America militarily.

Cut off from North Vietnam, the Viet Cong will crumble like a pack of cards. This should pave the way for political stability in South Vietnam and give the Americans much-needed respite to go ahead with plans of economic reconstruction of the country.

M. M. MOOSA,  
Bombay 3.

## This was a life

### WILLIAM PENN

1644-1718

IT HAS BEEN said that the colonization of America was God's last chance to make a new world.

This was certainly in William Penn's dreams when he embarked on his "Holy Experiment"—the founding of the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania.

Sent down from Christ Church, Oxford, for his unrepentant Quakerism, Penn's outspokenness several times led him to prison. However, due partly to the influence of his father, the famous Admiral, Sir William Penn, and partly to his own compelling personality, he managed to remain in favour at Court. Penn thus enjoyed the protection of two rather surprising patrons—the dissolute Charles II and his Roman Catholic brother, James.

In 1682, armed with a Royal Charter appointing him Governor, Penn set out to establish his new colony. "I have led the greatest colony to America," he wrote, "that ever man did upon private credit." On the banks of the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers he built his capital, Philadelphia—"the City of Brotherly Love".

Penn perceived that the only lasting foundation for a society that worked lay in the character of its citizens. "Though good laws do well," he wrote in his *Frame of Government*, "good men do better; for good laws may want good men, but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones."

Of one thing Penn was clear, in his new colony there would be complete religious freedom. He wished to guarantee to others the liberty he had demanded for himself.

If the "Holy Experiment" did not turn out as perfectly as planned, if quarrels and intrigues soon developed, the colony prospered in an amazing way. Few would dispute that the stress on freedom, character and industry that Penn implanted have left their mark on American history.

William Penn died in England, a somewhat disillusioned man, fighting for the rights of his colony. Yet he saw and struggled towards important truths.

"Men must choose," he once stated, "to be governed by God or they condemn themselves to be ruled by tyrants."

## Q and A

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

Q — Why is the emergency being continued to this day and is there any justification for it?

B. S. RAGHAVENDRA RAO,  
Bangalore

A — The emergency continues to exist because the threat of Communist China, far from receding, has actually increased. If deeds are a proof of intentions, the Chinese have amply demonstrated by their reinforcements on the border and by their open and secret acts that their desire to take over India is as strong as ever.

For this reason, the continuation of a state of emergency stands justified.

However, neither the leaders nor the people have lived in these past years as if an emergency existed. The leaders indulge in the dangerous luxury of quarrelling over Hindi and English, over Goa, over water rights and over numerous other issues as if everything was secure and peaceful.

The people, for their part—and this applies to big men and small, rich and middle and poor—continue to demand the very maximum in terms of comfort for themselves and their families.

By the way we are living we are creating a second emergency inside the nation.

Q — What are your suggestions to improve administrative efficiency?

HARINAKSHI, Hyderabad.

A — The administrator must decide first of all that he will make all decisions on a basis of the best interests of the country. He must have the courage to make and carry out his decisions, without allowing extraneous influences to deflect him.

Every officer must have his own "area

of decision" within which he is free and competent to act. He should act expeditiously, accept responsibility for what he does and not shirk the duty of making even difficult decisions.

Efficiency is a result of ability to decide without undue delay, immediate action once a decision is made, and hard work to ensure full implementation.

One of the simple reasons for delay is postponement of work. A simple rule is that each day's work must be completed on the same day.

Politicians, friends, relatives and businessmen have the duty of helping the administrator to do his job impartially. This means that they stop interfering in the administration. The business man who offers a bribe to get an unfair advantage over his competitor, the politician who wants to interfere in the interest of friends or constituents, the relative who wants to obtain a special favour are all as wrong as the administrator who allows these temptations to impair his sense of justice.

Q — Please comment on why some countries are reconsidering their participation at the Algiers Conference of Afro-Asian nations?

T. P. SATYANARAYANA,  
Hyderabad

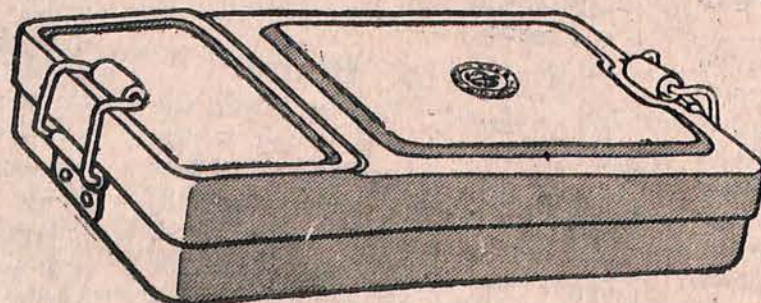
A — The situation is not yet fully clear. But there is no doubt that many Asian and African countries are not keen on taking sides in the Sino-Soviet conflict, or allowing themselves to be involved in the extremist and aggressive policies of China, Indonesia and their allies.

Even the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Nations exposed the deep division between the militant, so-called "emerging forces" headed by President Sukarno and the more moderate elements headed by the U.A.R. and India.

The withdrawal of Indonesia from the U.N. and subsequent events presage a showdown between the extremists and moderates at Algiers.

Some countries understandably want to keep out of this unpleasant situation.

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# Epidemic of Violence

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THREE is a state of emergency in India. I do not refer to the situation created by the Chinese attack two years ago.

The real emergency has been caused by the invasion of the country by the forces of corruption, cowardice and hate. More serious than the advance of the Chinese soldiers has been the retreat of character.

The murder of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon is not a stray incident. It is a symptom of our national ill health.

Kairon's regime in Punjab was certainly corrupt. It was also efficient—and ruthless. He made many enemies.

Guts he had. There are those who feel that had he been as firm with his relatives as he was with his political opponents, he might have consolidated his position—and saved his life. I don't know.

People feared and hated him for his toughness. Yet this toughness did not always come from a determination to keep power. Frequently he found himself in a position where to be ruthless was the only way to get things done.

He was not responsible for everything that was wrong in Punjab. People around him, his supporters as well as enemies, also played their part.

## Shatter the Dreams

We who work with or under men in power force them to be autocratic if we are lazy, fearful, indecisive and unreliable. Kairon certainly enjoyed power, but the weaknesses of others around him made him more authoritarian than he wanted to be.

Hate, violence and crime have increased in our land in the last years. We need to see why, and we need to find a cure.

The rise in violence is not confined to India. It is a world-wide trend. Look at Vietnam and Laos.

The Congo murders are still fresh in the world's memory. Whites and blacks were killed with a brutality that should shatter the Utopian dreams of those who believed that freedom, education and the spread of the United Nations spirit would heighten men's character.

Children were drugged and successfully directed to murder whites and blacks in Stanleyville. White Imperialism's days are over. And thank God for that. But it is a cruel betrayal of mankind's hopes when political freedom is followed by the splattering of innocent blood with torture.

Blood is being spilled all over the world. And if we in India find a way of changing our society—really transforming it in practical ways—without violence and hating and feuding, we shall have something to teach all nations.

## Fools to Forget

We shall be fools if we forget that we can be violent. I imagine one reason why Mahatma Gandhi talked day in and day out about non-violence, was his awareness of our less noble passions.

The Hindu-Muslim killings of 1947 will always stay with us. Millions are reminded daily of them as they think of the loved ones they lost or saw insulted, humiliated and killed.

We cannot forget these wounds. But we can understand them and, with God's help, forgive those who caused them.

In cities and in villages I have talked with people who feel that blood alone will solve our problems. "Non-violence may have been all right to get freedom from the British, but only violence will secure justice within India." This is the kind of statement quite a few have made to me. I disagree, but understand.

Hunger and destitution can fill a man with hate and anger. A man who is insulted, ignored and left out, hates. Frustrated ambition and frustrated lust create hate. Self-absorbed men who meditate on their virtues—or vices—and have no time to think, care and plan for those around them make them bitter.

There is a cure for the selfishness that creates hate. Not all hate-filled men will change. Most of them can, and will, if enough of us live a selfless, revolutionary life of care and vision for others.

That remarkable fighter for a new society, Frank Buchman, used to say, "If you want to cure hate and violence, forget yourself and

go all out to meet the needs of other men." Thousands, lakhs, millions of them. He trained himself and many others to be intensely pre-occupied with the hearts, minds and souls of others.

Can we not raise an army of tens of thousands of Indians who are intensely pre-occupied with the material, mental and spiritual needs of the millions around them? The answer is yes, we can.

Thousands have, in fact, already made this decision. Hundreds of schools, colleges, offices, homes and factories are feeling their vigorous and hope-giving impact. These men and women are not faultless. They have made and will make many mistakes. They frequently yield to the temptation to be lazy, soft and self-centred. Yet they represent a new vital factor in free India's life.

What has happened is, of course, not enough. This revolution must become the programme and passion of many more. When the hungry and the hate-filled see a great force of men and women working ceaselessly to right society's wrongs they will find hate needless.

## Hate Evil, not Men

Most of us, if we are honest, have hated men. We can decide to hate evil and change men instead.

Violence and crime will end when the right revolution changes the motive of men and the character of Indian society. And it is plain that if we can't have a civilian population that lives in peace and unity our soldiers will not be free to defend our borders.

What we need now is a bold approach to this true emergency. It might be an excellent beginning if the Prime Minister, or the President, were to invite leaders of different parties and sections of national life to gather together and seek a way out of the crisis of character. They could ask the hundreds of students all over the land who have found a new discipline and patriotism to tell how it happened.

If they want to, the leaders of today's India can do more for the nation than yesterday's leaders of the Freedom struggle.

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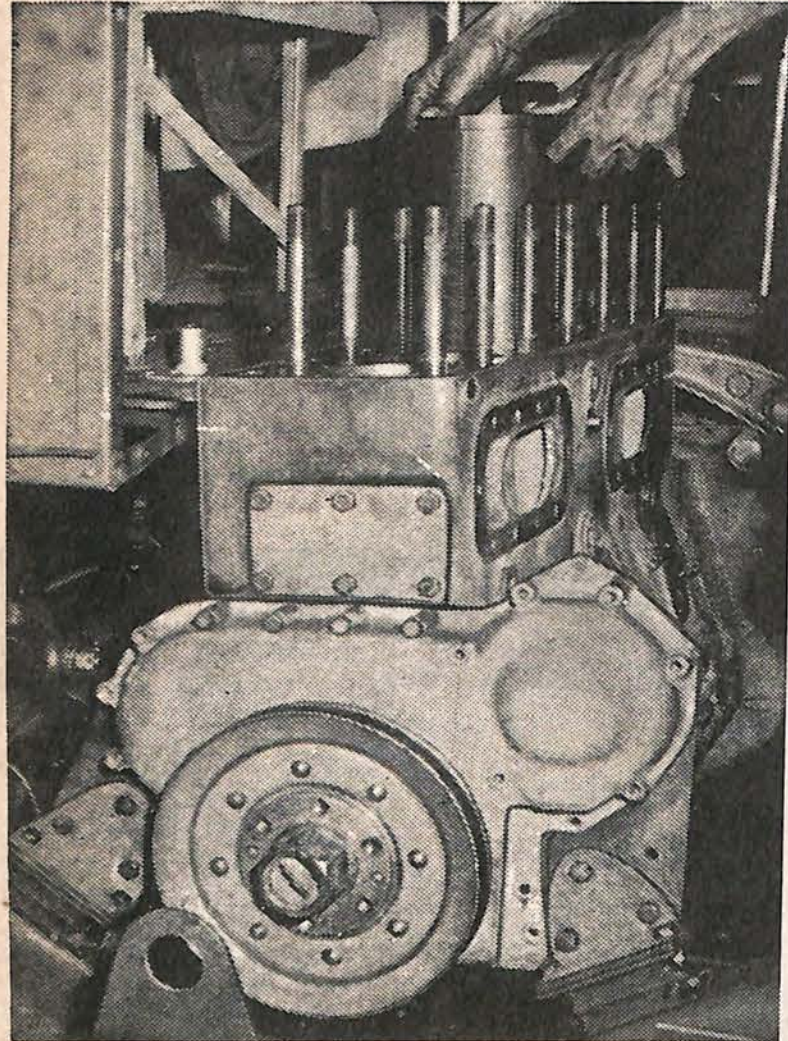
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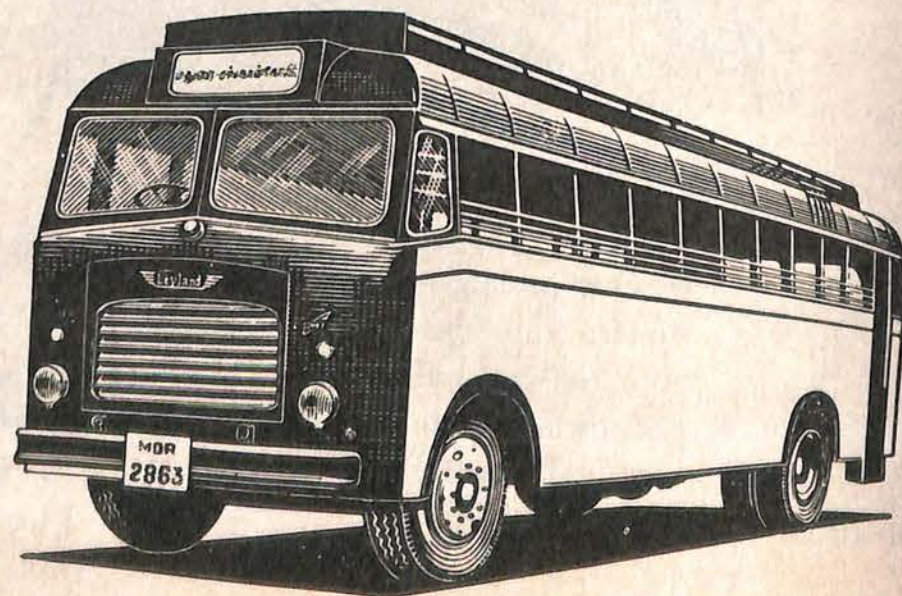
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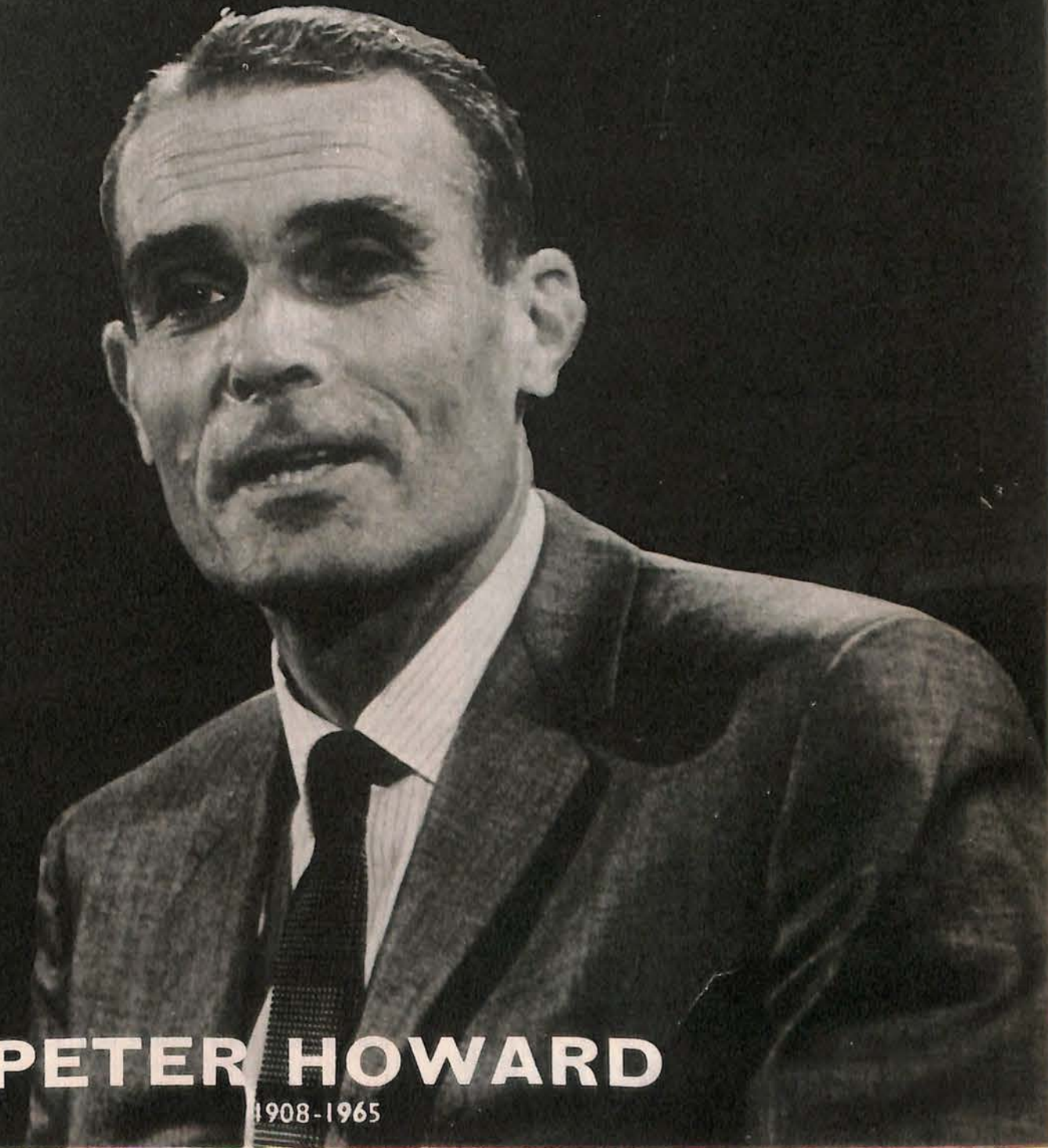
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