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WEEKLY

WILL INDIA'S STRATEGIC GIANT AWAKE?

Pages 3 and 8-9

UTTAR PRADESH

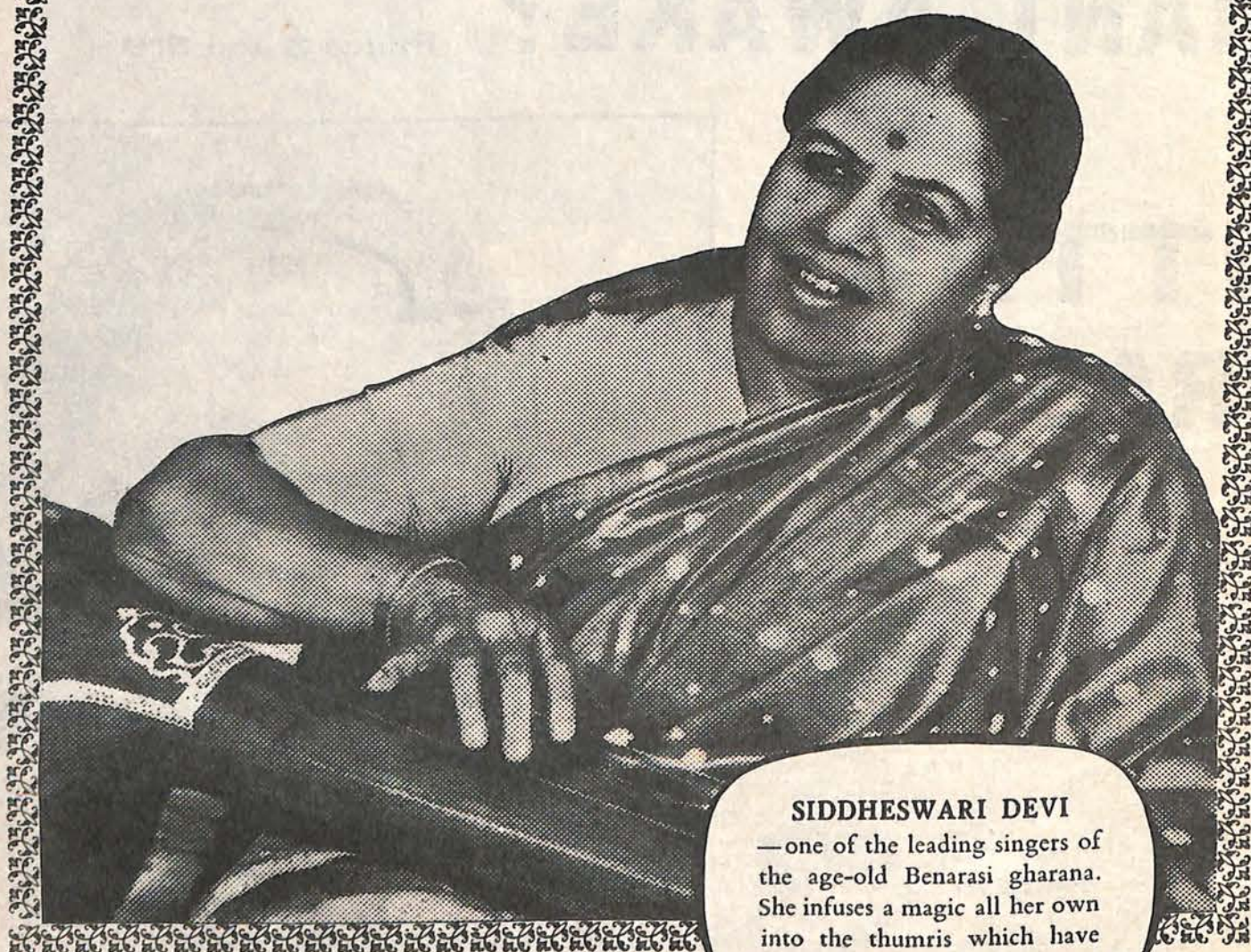


Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani
Chief Minister of U. P.

Friday
May 28
1965

NEHRU'S TRUE HEIRS Page 3

"Singing Thumris, Chaitis and Kajris is my first love. They represent the songs my people have been singing for ages. I also love to listen to the songs of other peoples, other places...on my Philips radio"



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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, May 28, 1965

Vol. I No. 30

Nehru's True Heirs

WE LOVE to worship great men rather than follow them. We place them on a pedestal, give flowery speeches in their honour, at times snatch a holiday on their birthdays and think we have done our duty.

At the stroke of the midnight hour on August 14, 1947, when India awoke "to life and freedom", Nehru said that the future "is not one of ease or rest but of incessant striving so that we might fulfil the pledges we have so often taken... The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer."

To Nehru, "serving India" was not an abstract idea. It meant that when a file came to him one evening, by next morning it was on the desk of the official concerned duly initialled with his comments. He passionately loved India and in every human way tried to heave it forward. Of course, he did go wrong sometimes. But they who blame a leader, want him to change and yet continue to follow their own narrow pursuits, are a weak people.

If Gandhi made the world aware of India, Nehru made India aware of the world. He saw the struggle for India's freedom and her future advancement in the context of the larger issues of our times.

Nehru felt fully responsible for what happened in India decades before he became Prime Minister. That's why when Gandhi died he was not guided by "what would Gandhiji have done?" but asked himself what was needed. His was a spirit that quested. That is how Nehru expects his heirs to work.

The greatest tribute Nehru can be paid would be in the growth of an army of India's young and old, who may or may not hold office or power but who feel passionately for India, work ceaselessly for her and assume total responsibility for remaking her.

They will be the true heirs of Nehru—the patriots of today, the prophets of tomorrow's India.

Men and Mountains

IMAGINE A TEAM of "ministerialists" and "dissidents" of Uttar Pradesh making an assault on Everest! What height would they reach?

Last week when the Indian expedition was winning laurels on the peak of Everest, telegrams were being sent from the U.P. to the Prime Minister, the Congress President and others, warning of a revolt in the ruling ranks of the State.

That only a few days earlier there was Chinese danger at the Mala Pass on their Himalayan border appeared to miss the attention of the politicians.

The disturbance in Aligarh University was fortunately investigated by an all-party committee of State Legislators who issued an intelligible report. However, what weight can such reports carry with recalcitrant students whose interests after all are no narrower than those of their warring elders?

Tough "ministerialists" and leather-faced "dissidents" war with each other whilst Mrs. Sucheta

Kripalani precariously rules as Chief Minister over India's largest state. Great are the needs of the U.P. in education, health, agriculture and industry, as a special article elsewhere in this issue points out. The tragedy is that while the attention of U.P.'s leadership is focussed on small issues, smaller states have marched ahead of it.

The strategic importance of the U.P. is emphasized with the creation by the Indian Army of a Central Command, with headquarters in Lucknow, to protect primarily the 600-mile border of the state. But to expect our troops to defend us while we reserve the right to tear down our fellow countrymen is not only unpatriotic. It is suicidal.

Surely, the State that threw up the two Nehrus, Sapru and Pant, can produce leaders determined to want nothing for themselves—or their groups—but to clean up the State and take it forward.

Bonn's Red Carpet

AS QUEEN ELIZABETH's plane touched down in West Germany last week, millions knew an unmatched moment of history had arrived. *The Times* of London described the 11-day State visit as "the final touch to the reconciliation between the British and German peoples".

Coming a week after the 20th anniversary of the allied victory over Germany, the Queen's visit wrote a new document in the long history of the two peoples. The unfeigned affection shown by her hosts sealed it.

Not since 1909 had a reigning British Monarch visited Germany. In the intervening years the two nations were locked in two of the bloodiest and bitterest armed contests the world has known. As the German guns boomed in salute to Her Majesty millions marvelled at the speed with which old wounds have healed and harsh memories have faded.

In his airport welcome, President Luebke said, "The affection shown here for Your Majesty and the Royal Family inspires us with the hope that the alliance between our two nations will grow into true friendship."

Referring to the two wars, Queen Elizabeth replied, "This tragic period in our relations is happily over. In the tensions and uncertainties of the modern world the peoples of Europe can no longer afford the clashes and divisions of earlier ages. If we wish to preserve the best of our great heritage, we must make common cause."

One main architect of this common cause was unable to attend the welcome due to ill health. He is former Chancellor Adenauer, the man who, more than any other, gave post-war Germany a new image and national purpose. The Queen sent 50 red roses to the elder statesman at his residence.

Queen Elizabeth's visit betokens a coming century of Anglo-German harmony. Indeed the two old enemies, linked for so long by ties of kith and kin, have shown a way for warring brothers everywhere.

Briefly Speaking...

It is well, when one is judging a friend, to remember that he is judging you with the same god-like and superior impartiality.

ARNOLD BENNET 1867-1931

Summit

ALTHOUGH bordered by the world's highest mountains, India is young in the tradition of mountaineering. Not till Everest was scaled in 1953 by Tensing Norkay and Sir Edmund Hillary, did India wake up to the challenge of her mountains. That she scaled the highest mountain within 12 years of taking an active interest in mountaineering shows there is nothing our people cannot do if they set their minds and their hearts to it.



"You are the 26th person who says he has seen the CBI secret report."

**** 2,500 village officials of Delhi Administration are accused of conniving with other villagers in disposing of Rs. 1 crore worth of Panchayat public land to private parties. The Indian stunt act involved villagers claiming land from the Panchayat and officials readily testifying to the claims.

It appears the Government is not only losing territory in NEFA, Ladakh and Kutch but also 10 miles from the capital itself!

"The Redeemer"

NO ONE can accuse Ghana's President Nkrumah of undue modesty. Dr. Nkrumah did not miss the opportunity of the Afro-Asian Conference to unveil a gigantic 75-foot statue of himself.

His other statue in Accra bears his words:

"Seek ye first the political kingdom"

If the cost of maintaining this "political kingdom" is the incarceration of the country's ablest men and his own former colleagues like the late Dr. Danquah, millions would prefer the Kingdom of God where man's body is respected and his spirit is free.

R.M.L.

Nadir

ON SUNDAY night after the news, Bombay put on a speaker on India's Everest expedition. He rattled off in English at breakneck speed, almost panting, as if he had just scaled the summit himself. To make it worse, his pronunciation was unintelligible in many parts. My companion suggested we switch off the radio. We did, with relief.

DOES All-India Radio give a voice audition before a speaker is put on the mike?

Wonder-World

LIFE IS FULL of wonders.

Last week:

* French experts lifted the Nubian rock temples in Egypt as a single unit, transferred them a mile and a half and raised them to a height of 215 feet to avoid the Aswan Dam waters.

** An Egyptian mummy, dead for 2,000 years, was issued a death certificate and a health report before it could be flown in its embalmed state from London to Australia.

*** The U.S. Federal Aviation agency has declared it illegal to jump out of moving planes without parachute. Dare-devil Rod Pac jumped at 14,600 feet from a plane, collected his parachute from a companion at 4,000 feet and floated safely to earth.

The week in India

KATHMANDU — An all-Indian team under the leadership of Lt. Commander K. S. Kohli successfully conquered Mount Everest. The two men to unfurl the Indian and Nepalese flags on the 29,028-foot peak were Captain A. S. Cheema and Nawang Gombu. The feat was repeated twice by other teams in the assault party. India now joins Britain, Switzerland and America among the nations whose teams have conquered the world's highest peak.

NEW DELHI — Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri has invited Russian leaders L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and A. M. Kosygin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, to visit India. He has also renewed the invitation to President Mikoyan extended by Dr. Radhakrishnan last September.

AHMEDABAD — The Gujarat Government decided to give rifle training to the civil population of Kutch from the first week of June.

NEW DELHI — An overhaul of both internal and border security is planned by Union Home Minister G. L. Nanda at a special conference of State Home and Chief Ministers he is convening on June 6. Recently there have been many complaints about slackness in the nation's security arrangements. The State Home Ministers are expected to ask for additional special powers for dealing with leakage of vital information. **NEW DELHI** — Official figures of the casualties in the border fighting in the Rann of Kutch read as follows: killed 15, missing 37, wounded 41. Total Pakistan casualties are estimated at 350.

CALCUTTA — An attempt by Calcutta dockers to boycott ships carrying cargoes to Pakistan was ended on the intervention of the Union Ministers of Transport.

BOMBAY — Labour leaders of three major labour federations of India have jointly appealed to workers to give a day's salary to the Nehru Memorial Fund.

PANJIM — Two rallies were held on the Goa merger issue. One supported merger of Goa with Maharashtra and the other appealed for the maintenance of the status quo of Goa as Union territory.

NEW DELHI — The Prime Minister declared after returning from Moscow that he would not say the Kutch border question was now nearer solution.

CHANDIGARH — Punjab, the granary of India's wheat, has suffered considerable damage to the newly harvested crop due to widespread and untimely rains. Seventy-five per cent of the crop is estimated to have been lying in the open for threshing and winnowing operations when the rains came.

Preparing for Algiers

JAPAN—India's Natural Ally in Asia

By R. M Lala

IT IS WELCOME news that Deputy Minister Dinesh Singh is going on a mission to the Far East and Minister of State Mrs. Lakshmi Menon is heading for West Asian and African countries. Missions by these two Ministers of the External Affairs Ministry indicates that India is launching a diplomatic offensive in preparation for the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers a month from now. India will watch their progress with considerable interest.

It is going to take more than pious recitations of *Panchsheela* to counter Peking, Rawalpindi and Djakarta at Algiers. We face a new and tricky situation and we will have to think of new ways to meet it.

Japan's ruling Party Vice-President, Mr. S. Kawashima—also tipped as leader of the Japanese delegation to Algiers—has exposed how the Djakarta meeting last month was stage-managed. Speaking to foreign correspondents in Tokyo, he said that the Bandung anniversary celebrations turned out to be a conference to hear Chinese-led Communist leaders and the Indonesian President speak against "imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism".

Djakarta Episode

Delegates from countries holding moderate views and those who did not fall in line with President Sukarno's so-called "emerging forces" were ignored and not allowed any opportunity to speak and re-affirm the principles of the Bandung declaration.

Thailand's Foreign Minister wanted to speak, but was suppressed. "He walked out in anger," Mr. Kawashima said. He reported that Communist leaders were allowed to control, conduct and monopolize the show. President Sukarno spoke every day. Mr. Kawashima himself was not allowed to speak. The Japanese leader said that the Djakarta episode foreboded what the coming

Algiers Conference would turn out to be if allowed to slip under "their control".

The Japanese Ambassador to India said in Tokyo last week that to offset the danger of Communist China and Indonesia running the Algiers Conference, India intended to cooperate with Japan. The vast major-



Prime Minister Sato

ity in this country welcome Japan's emergence on the Asian scene. As a democratic country alert to the menace of China, we look upon her as a natural ally of India in the future.

Certain elements have made attempts to raise the ghost of Japan's past in order to keep her small. But Prime Minister Sato, from his inception of office, has refused to be black-mailed by Japan's past. In his first press conference of November 1964, he declared Japan must play a more positive role in Asia. He chided the Japanese Foreign Office for regarding South East Asia too much as a market. He emphasized that diplomacy and aid must be carried out to establish "peace and freedom" as the main objectives.

The strategy of Communism in Asia is to combine the manpower of China with the industrial might of Japan and the vast natural resources of Indonesia. In the last months In-

donesia has veered distinctly towards China. Interestingly enough, Indonesia has at the same time retained close relations with Japan. Japan may be the one nation that could help Indonesia to adopt once again a truly non-aligned policy.

To be lasting and effective, any association between Japan and India needs to be based on ideology and not opportunity. These two nations can and should take on the task of giving the millions of Asia a life and society more just and more attractive than that of Peking.

Both India and Japan need to recognize that there is a growing force of African nations, including the former French-African bloc, who are adopting a sound policy on many world issues.

Chinese Pressure

Nigeria has shown statesmanship of a high order at OAU meetings, and India and Japan will do well to find common ground with her. Kenya too is worth cultivating. With 75 tons of Chinese arms seized by Kenya's police this month, and with Chou En-lai visiting its neighbour, Tanzania, shortly, President Kenyatta may welcome working closer with nations who are resisting Chinese pressure.

President Nasser is planning to use his seniority to bring about reconciliation on the eve of the Conference, so as to keep the deliberations on an even keel. Whether his efforts will succeed is anybody's guess.

Both Japan and India are in a transitional period and their objectives have yet to be crystallized. Japan is emerging on the Asian scene in her own right for the first time in 20 years. India, shaken by aggressive neighbours, is reaching out for new friends. The compulsion of events is drawing the two countries together. The Algiers Conference is providing the focus.

CHANGE NATION'S EATING HABITS

By Our Staff Correspondent

IN REWA AND SATNA Districts in Madhya Pradesh, it is estimated that there are almost three cripples for every hundred persons. The cripples are mostly young men, they are all incurable, and their lameness could have been prevented. They are suffering from a type of paralysis called *Lathyrism* which is found over vast tracts of Central India, incapacitating thousands in the prime of life.

The disease is caused by eating large amounts of the pulse *Lathyrus sativus* (Khesari dal). This crop grows easily, needs little irrigation and yields a luxuriant crop. There are no harmful effects when it is taken in moderation (25 per cent of the diet). But when it becomes the staple diet, as it often does for the poor landless labourers, it is dangerous food.

After a few weeks, those who eat it are liable to feel the cramps and stiffness in the legs which are the first signs of *Lathyrism*. The final stage means complete paralysis of the legs.

Eating Wrong Food

At the Nutrition Research Laboratories in Hyderabad, scientists and doctors are doing research into *Lathyrism* and many diseases caused by malnutrition and eating the wrong food. They are pioneering in new fields of knowledge. But for this knowledge to be effective there must be a determination to root out the evil which leaves millions to suffer from diseases that could be prevented.

In the case of *Lathyrism*, for example, there must be a widespread agricultural extension service which will teach the farmers what alternative crops to grow, and how. There must be education which explains the dangers of eating large quantities of *Lathyrus sativus* and teaches people to recognize the early symptoms. But above all there must be the spirit in the agriculturists, the educationists and the farmers which says: *this disease will be stopped*.

One of the most interesting features of the Nutrition Research Laboratories is the museum, and above its doorway are written the words: "The

State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and improvement of public health as among its primary duties." (Directive Principles of State Policy, Constitution of India, Article 41.)

It is to this task that the Laboratories, which are maintained by generous grants from the Indian Council of Medical Research, are dedicated. Their work started when Col. McCarrison, a retired officer,

stories are collecting this information through several careful studies.

For one survey, dietetic officers have enlisted the help of 50 families. To each family they give seven bottles of salt a week, one for use every day. At the end of a week they see how much salt is left and assess the daily average salt consumption. They also analyse the salt content of pickles and preserves used by the family. This experiment is being done in winter and summer to take



The crippling disease of *Lathyrism* can be prevented. Here a research assistant injects *lathyrus* extract into a baby chicken.

was given the use of one room in the Pasteur Institute, Coonoor, to conduct an enquiry into the disorder *Beri Beri*. After 30 years of expanding work in Coonoor, the Laboratories moved in 1959 to a spacious two storey building, set in well laid out grounds between Secunderabad and Hyderabad. Here over 200 people are employed, fifty of them scientists and doctors with an imposing array of degrees.

Patient Research

The research undertaken requires great patience. Salt is an important vehicle through which several nutrients can be supplied. For instance, in the goitre-affected areas, iodine can be incorporated in salt; similarly in the southern parts of the country where calcium deficiency is prominent, salt can be enriched with calcium. But to plan policies regarding the amount of iodine or calcium to be incorporated, basic information on salt intake is required. The Labora-

into account the seasonal variation in salt consumption.

Another experiment is being conducted with sixty white rats to ascertain the relationship between stomach ulcer and spicy food. Thirty rats enjoy a bland diet; another thirty, with equal relish eat a spicy diet. It is hoped that dissection of these rats after a year will give valuable information about the causes of stomach ulcer in human beings.

Recently the Laboratories have conducted a survey of diets provided in different hospitals all over India. It has been found that only a third of the hospitals supply fruit to the patients and that in many cases the diets are deficient in Vitamin A and other vitamins. Similarly, the full number of calories required (2,400 for a sedentary man) are often not supplied.

The scientists are recommending to these hospitals how they can improve

Continued on page 9

Don't Overlook Soviet Motives

MR. LAL BAHADUR Shastri's visit to the Soviet Union has been a personal triumph for him. For India it has acted as a much needed morale booster.

Soviet friendship and support is reassuring at this time when in addition to meeting the constant threat all along our borders we have to win the understanding and help of our friends. The Soviet Union's commitment to India economically and to a lesser extent politically is therefore an important and immediate advantage to us.

The nature and scale of economic aid promised in the Shastri-Kosygin communique for the iron and steel, non-ferrous metals and coal industries and power supply will not only add greatly to India's heavy industry but will make India the biggest non-Communist beneficiary of Communist aid.

Insult to China

In the context of the increasingly acrimonious dispute with Communist China the latter is bound to interpret enthusiasm for India as an insult to its prestige. The calculated demonstration of friendship with India therefore indicates the growing confidence and strength of the Soviet leadership in the struggle with that country. It certainly involved a major ideological decision on the part of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Of course, the Soviet Union has taken care not to attack or even criticize China directly. They have maintained this silence despite many provocations from China. But there is no doubt that the Soviet leadership has decided to continue the Khrushchevian foreign policy without its anti-Chinese overtones.

Perhaps Brezhnev and Company felt that a cautious policy towards India would lose them this secure sphere of influence without placating Communist China. In any case, the post-Khrushchev attempts at rapprochement with China have definitely yielded to the older policy dictated by the power interests of the Soviet Union. The Soviet attitude towards India which was a major issue of the later stages of the Sino-Soviet controversy may once again be expected to prove fundamental to the polemics between the two Communist camps.

India's interest has been subverted by the present Soviet policy. However, the Soviet Union has deliberately kept the door open to China as well as Pakistan. Mr. Kosygin took care to declare, "There is nothing in the development of the Soviet-Indian ties directed against other peace-loving countries. Whenever the Soviet Union improves its relations with a third country it does it without prejudice to Soviet-India friendship." Thus Mr. Kosygin keeps the lines open to Karachi and Peking as well as New Delhi.

Soviet leaders have scrupulously avoided any reference to the merits of the respective claims of the two



Soviet Premier Kosygin

sides on the India-Pakistan border issue. India has therefore to assume that the Soviet Union is non-aligned between India and Pakistan.

It would be folly to overlook in the aura of Indo-Soviet friendship the motives of Soviet policy. These are:

1. To use the leverage of substantial aid and political support on issues like Kashmir to convert India into a Finland type of neutral whereby we become a satellite, though with greater freedom than the East European satellites.

2. To make India a test case for the Soviet thesis of national liberation which lays stress on "economic independence" from Western powers and peaceful transition to the Socialist state by economic measures such as nationalization, action against foreign monopoly

Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

capital, etc. and political infiltration.

Russia hopes to use the anti-colonialist, pro-Soviet bias of our non-alignment policy to isolate us from our Western allies and push India along the path of eventual communization.

3. To build India as the Soviet spokesman in the non-aligned, Afro-Asian world and in the councils of the great powers on issues such as Vietnam.

Bogey of "Neo-Colonialism"

Mr. Shastri is probably not unaware of these dangers. He has, though with not as much success as he would wish, attempted to improve relations with Sikkim, Bhutan, Burma, Nepal, Japan and Australia and New Zealand. But there are indications that India is in danger of being pushed into ideological positions such as against U.S. policy in Vietnam or the bogey of what Communists call neo-colonialism.

If we are not careful, we shall antagonize quite unnecessarily important and needed friends like the U.S. and Great Britain. Soviet friendship is valuable but there is no need to lose the goodwill of other nations in the process of stabilizing it.

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UTTAR PRADESH: The Strategic Giant

By S. K. Rau

UTTAR PRADESH with nearly 80 million people contains one fifth of the country's population. In Parliament, U.P. has a solid representation of 85 members out of a total strength of 509. No other state sends so many members. In all respects the state is a huge sprawling giant. From Meerut in the west to Mirzapur in the east it stretches nearly 600 miles.

During the freedom struggle, the state, then known as the United Provinces, was the nursery of patriots. With the advent of freedom, U.P. became a kind of "ruling state". At one stage 40 per cent of the Indian Cabinet was drawn from U.P. men. The state started with many advantages and best of wishes. But its very assets proved to be its liabilities and cause of undoing. Today, 16 years after freedom, the state is one of the most backward in India, in education, public health, industry and outlook.

Food Minister Subramaniam has nicknamed the state "sick child of India". In fact it has become the problem state of the country, next only to Kerala, and is the greatest headache to the Congress High Command.

Tragedy of Leadership

If the leadership in U.P. considered itself as the ruling race there was nothing wrong in it. It is a common human frailty. But the tragedy is it failed to give the correct lead and began to do the right things in the wrong way. It felt that unless the country switched over to Hindi overnight there could be no salvation and took upon itself the sacred task.

One fine morning the Lucknow University switched over to Hindi from English and the Government followed suit. This sudden transformation was profoundly disturbing. It brought about a steep fall in standards and in the last 15 years a generation has grown up which is proficient neither in Hindi nor English. By the time the state woke up it found that the rest of the country had made tremendous progress leaving U.P. far behind.

The greatest tragedy of U.P. is that

its leaders who rose to great heights in the days of the independence struggle and established a name as national leaders, became parochial in outlook in post-independence India. From the great giant Govind Ballabh Pant, first Chief Minister of the state, to the present Chief Minister, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, U.P. had a varied type of leadership, but none of them have managed to give a filip to progress. Pant was a towering personality as a freedom fighter but his contribution to the state's progress was practically nil. Zamindari abolition was his greatest achievement. Unfortunately the reform did not bring that "glow of ownership" for the tiller of the soil. And the follow-up reforms were all tackled in a half-hearted manner.

Ganga and Yamuna

Pant's successor, Dr. Sampurnanand, was so much interested in industrialization that he totally neglected agriculture, the life blood of the people. In spite of his enthusiasm very few industries were set up in the state. Maybe in despair, he elevated bigness and backwardness of the state to the level of a virtue and wanted the Planning Commission to allot more funds on that ground, a contention which that body refused to entertain.

Mr. Chandra Bhanu Gupta, who succeeded Dr. Sampurnanand, was so steeped in group politics that his regime which lasted two and half years was spent in fighting his opponents in the party until he was "Kamaraj-ed" out of the office by Pandit Nehru. Dr. Sampurnanand had broad vision but no passion for details. Whereas Mr. Gupta had a passion for details, he appeared to lack vision. As a result, both politicians and civil servants made capital of the weaknesses of these two leaders. And today in no state in India has politics penetrated so deep into the services as in U.P.

Fusion of Races

Although India is now divided on linguistic basis, each state is composed of its own distinct racial stock. In Maharashtra, the Maharashtrians form the main race, Bengalis in Bengal,

Punjabis in Punjab and Tamils in Madras. U.P. has no distinct racial stock of its own which can be called a U.P. race.

It is the land of the confluence of Ganga, Yamuna and mythical Saraswati. Even so, it is also the confluence of the various races of the country. The Pans, Khares and Khers trace their ancestry to Maharashtra. For all practical purposes they are UPians. The illustrious Govind Ballabh Pant said that 200 years ago his ancestor came from Maharashtra and settled in Almora. A large number of Bengalis and Punjabis have made U.P. their permanent home. They have lost all link with their ancestral province. Pant pointed out that at one stage the majority of the heads of departments in U.P. Government were all Bengalis. He cited this to show how cosmopolitan U.P. was. Of late many are dropping their caste suffixes to their names. There is a good deal of inter-marriage among these settlers. No other state is bringing about a fusion of races as U.P. is. It is a slow but steady progress, apparently not visible.

Too Many Stunts

On the economic front the state has, since independence, indulged in too many stunts which often recoiled on itself. Till very recently the state produced 70 per cent of the country's sugar requirements. But when the southern states, situated in tropical climate admirably suited to cane cultivation, began to take to cane growing, U.P. found that its monopoly was being broken. The state could have maintained its monopoly but the canegrowers became a pawn in the game of politicians. The motto of cane cultivators became: "Minimum exertion and maximum profit". The Socialist opposition agitated for higher prices irrespective of the quality of the cane grown and the Congress in power could not overlook their claim lest it might lose its stronghold in the cane belt.

The agricultural labourer in the state is known to be lazy and lethargic. He is satisfied with one meal a day if it could be had without any exertion instead of working hard to earn an

additional meal. Acharya Kripalani who inquired into famine conditions in eastern districts of U.P. discovered that the labourer would starve at his door rather than walk half a mile and work at the test works opened for him!

The state lacks dynamic leadership. Its agrarian economy has failed to bring about prosperity. Although 85 per cent of people live on the land, educated children of farmers do not want to stick to the land. They want to come away to towns and cities at the earliest opportunity. The present writer, during a recent survey of rural areas, put this question to about 200 children of farmers: "If you are given a choice, say a job fetching Rs. 100 a month or five acres of land, which would you prefer?" All of them said, "The Rs. 100 job."

Claim on Centre

Despite all the propaganda and publicity, cottage industries and traditional occupations are slowly on the way out in the rural areas. Government's own figures bear ample testimony to it. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh recently admitted that the State Government had not been able to supply more than 10 per cent of the raw material needed for cottage industries. Khadi which inspired the freedom movement is now confined mainly to ministers. During the freedom movement almost every home in rural areas used to have a spinning wheel. All that is gone now.

Scarcity and shortage have brought a boom to the cultivator. He is quite satisfied with the ruling prices. How long will this prosperity last? It is a big question mark.

The U.P. is making a strong claim on the Central Government. How can the Centre allow a backward state to continue. The state has now thrown the ball in the court at Delhi.

NUTRITION —from page 6

their standard of nutrition. One simple recommendation is to increase the amount of leaf vegetables served as leaf vegetables supply Vitamin A in abundance.

Apparently, many consider leaf vegetables "low prestige food" while potatoes, with higher price and lower food value, are considered "high prestige food". One paisa worth of spinach can meet the daily requirement of one person for Vitamin A. So the nutrition experts are faced with the challenge: how to give a new set of food values to the nation.

The doctor who is responsible for the 32 beds maintained by the Nutrition Research Laboratories in two Hyderabad hospitals spoke of similar difficulties. His department treats patients suffering from diseases caused by nutritional deficiencies. Particularly tragic are the diseases of children which he described. In cases of protein malnutrition, the child becomes apathetic, there is massive swelling of face and limbs, discoloration of the hair and dermatitis. With good diet and doses of proteins and vitamins, a child can be restored to normal health. Less fortunate are children who develop keratomalacia and eventually become blind due to lack of Vitamin A. If this disease is caught in the early stages, the patient can be cured. Fifty per cent of blindness in children could be prevented if the children were given proper diet.

In many cases, the doctor said, the parents know what is good for the children but they just do not have the means to supply it. However,

these deficiency diseases also occur among the middle classes who do have the financial means to supply an adequate diet. Here it is often out-of-date traditions and superstitions which are to blame. The doctor may advise a certain diet, but when the child gets home it is the grandmother who controls its feeding, and the doctor's advice is put on one side.

In a village a few miles from Hyderabad, the Laboratories maintain a field unit where medical officers run a clinic. Here several epidemiological, anthropological and nutritional studies on the population have been conducted. Here, too, nutrition and public health workers come face to face with nutritional problems in their natural setting. They teach nutrition through the Mother-Child Health Welfare Centres and demonstrate the use of new recipes and preparations which give a better balanced diet than the old ways. The dieticians are also anxious to teach more scientific methods of cooking. For example, in many families there is a surplus of water after rice is cooked; this is thrown away, together with much of the Vitamin B content of the rice.

Utilizing Knowledge

The results of the research done at the Laboratories are published in medical and nutritional journals all over the world. In addition, training courses are given, notably a three-month course every winter for students from eastern countries, with the support of the WHO and UNICEF. Thus the scientific knowledge gained is widely available. The next step is to create a society where this knowledge is properly and fully used.

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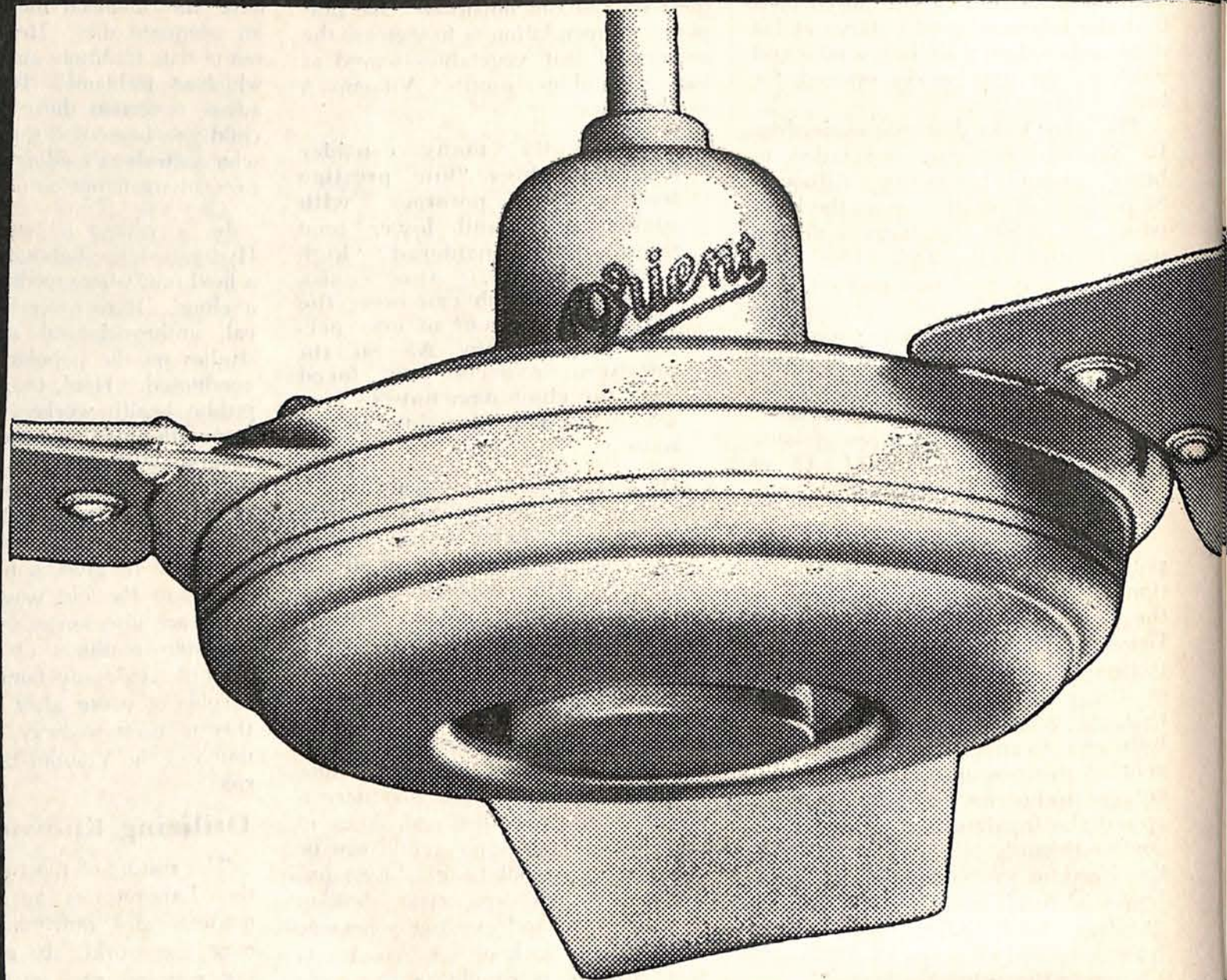
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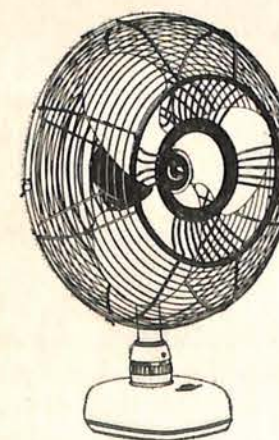
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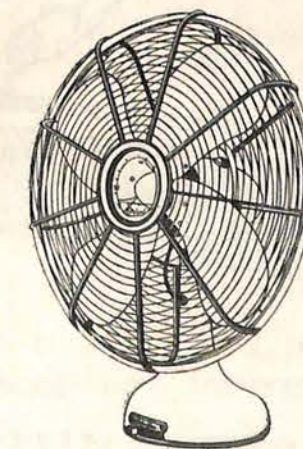
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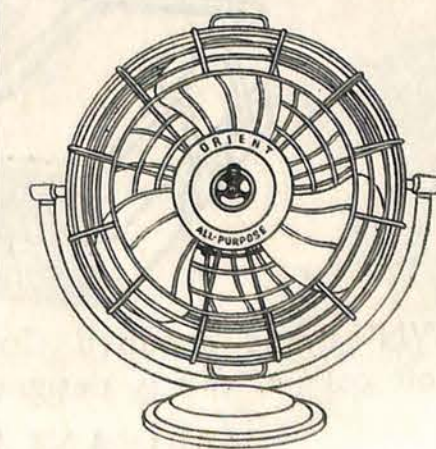
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Washington Hopes for Strong and Stable India

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Washington

AMERICANS PERHAPS do not comprehend the seriousness of the battle over the sandy strip of land separating India and Pakistan called the Rann of Kutch. They see it as an extension of the old feud over Kashmir. They shy away from getting involved or in being compelled to take sides in a dispute between two nations regarded as friends of the United States.

The American Government hopefully looks to the monsoon to separate the two armies facing each other over the disputed border.

Both Pakistan and India have received aid from America in large amounts; Pakistan mostly in military equipment and India largely in food stuffs. Unfortunately Pakistan used American-made tanks in the recent border dispute which caused an understandable outcry from Indian authorities. But it must not be forgotten that Prime Minister Nehru reportedly asked United States air protection when there was a threat of a Chinese invasion in November 1962. In that crisis America was ready and willing to offer all support.

There seems to be a dualism in India's view of the world scene when she asked protection against a Chinese invader over her border and criticizes a United States effort to repel

the Communist invader over the South Vietnam border.

Columnist Charles Bartlett in the *Los Angeles Times* points out that "the Indian Ambassador to the United States, B. K. Nehru, became the target of similar indignation recently when he spoke of his country's aspiration to have its security guaranteed by the nuclear powers. . . . India's proud attitude of independence has not been blurred by her need for military support," Bartlett states, "but it's hoped she will become more pragmatic than she was in the past."

End of Moralizing

It is believed here that Prime Minister Shastri has put a stop to India's "moralizing in world affairs". India appears to be learning under Shastri that her "pious advice will contribute much less to peace than her internal stability". The American view of the Indian crisis is one of hope over experience. There is a longing to see soon a development of

a strong stable government which has the respect and support of her neighbours. Such a development would secure peace in South East Asia in a way American or Russian military might could never do.

U.S. in Dominica : Wisdom or Folly?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Los Angeles

TWENTY-TWO thousand American Marines, soldiers and thousands of tons of equipment were in a few days landed in the Dominican Republic by huge Globemaster air transport planes. Only the Berlin airlift compared with it in skill of operation. Close offshore stood 40 U.S. warships carrying 11,000 sailors. It was a chilling spectacle to the other Latin American countries, particularly Cuba, of the awesome might of the American military machine.

There were outcries from many of the Latin American capitals citing Article 17 of the OAS (Organization of American States) that the territory of any state "may not be the object, even temporarily, of military occupation or of other measures of force taken by another state directly or indirectly on any grounds whatsoever."

The U.S. State Department maintained that international law permits the use of armed forces to protect its citizens in a land where disorder disrupts ordinary guarantees, for their safety.

The Dominican revolt can be traced to a crippled economy, a re-

duced sugar crop, corruption, misrule and 30 years of Fascist dictatorship from 1930 to 1961. Juan Bosch, the legally elected President in 1963, inherited chaos tempered with hope. He was strong in promises but weak in results. When his power began to dwindle he courted the small but cohesive Communist group to strengthen his position. The business community and the military mistrusted his shift to the Left and formed an alliance to overthrow him.

Anarchy is always the master recruiting sergeant of Communism. Parliamentary tradition, never having had a chance to develop, was no stronger than an eggshell. Communists trained in Cuba reportedly gained the upper hand in this most recent revolt that started out as a genuine uprising of the people to restore the constitutional government overthrown by the military in 1964.

President Johnson, on the basis of intelligence reports and the word of the American Ambassador, ordered American Marines to intervene in the rebellion of this small Caribbean Republic.

Swift Action

Johnson's pretext for such swift and drastic action was the protection of American citizens and the prevention of another Cuba in the Caribbean. Communist forces, weapons and supplies had been years in the building. American Marines attempted to match that build-up in one week. Checkmate was called. Now comes the ticklish task of getting out both invaders.

The first test came at 2 a.m. in the morning in the emergency conference of the Organization of American States when 20 Latin American Ambassadors, after examining the evidence of the Communist take-over of the rebellion, voted 14 to 5, with one abstention, to approve an inter-American armed force to restore "normal conditions".

The special American emissary to the OAS emergency conference was the former U.S. Ambassador to India, Ellsworth Bunker. He succeeded in getting the OAS to take over responsibility in the Dominican Republic, at least in intent, from the U.S. Marines.

Time will tell the wisdom or folly of this most recent intervention in the defence of freedom, but one thing is

certain—over the long haul, something stronger than airlift armadas and aid alliances will be needed to immunize corruption-infested governments from Communism.

Wilson Closes Labour Party Ranks

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

THE FUTURE direction of Socialism is in question in Britain. Harold Wilson, however, is determined to maintain



Mr. Harold Wilson

the unity of the party, and will go to great lengths.

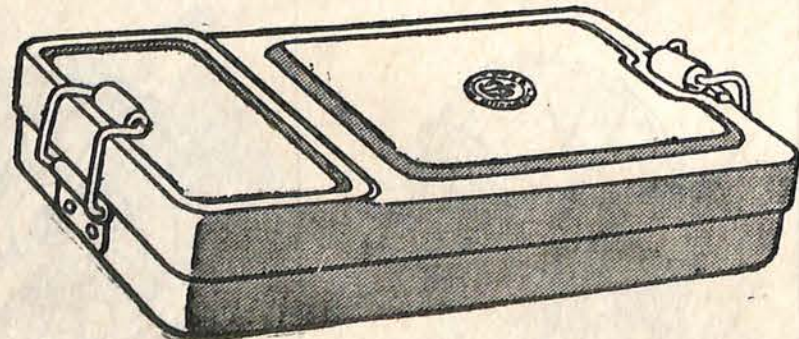
On this he talked privately some years ago with Hugh Gaitskell, then shortly to become the party leader.

One night the two men sat in Gaitskell's car and were frank. Wilson said, according to a friend, "I'll back you wholeheartedly—so long as you stop trying to force every issue, by always trying to get a majority decision on everything that crops up. If you'll try to work with the whole party, take a unifying not a divisive view of your responsibilities, you can count on my complete support."

In this spirit Wilson called for a closing of party ranks after the recent row over the steel nationalization White Paper. Economic Affairs Minister George Brown was severely criticized by some M.P.s in the Labour Party for impulsively jeopardizing the Government's steel nationalization programme. It nearly became the night of the long knives for Brown. In the very last minute of the steel debate he compromised the Government's firm position on total steel nationalization, his critics said. In a successful effort to win over the rebels in the party Brown said the Government would "listen to" suggestions coming from the steelmasters.

The conduct of the steel White Paper through the Commons produced a temporary crisis. This doubtlessly played a part in the sharp fall-off of Labour votes in the recent local government elections. But this is not the most important issue facing the Labour Party and the future of Socialism in Britain. It is not an issue that could permanently divide the

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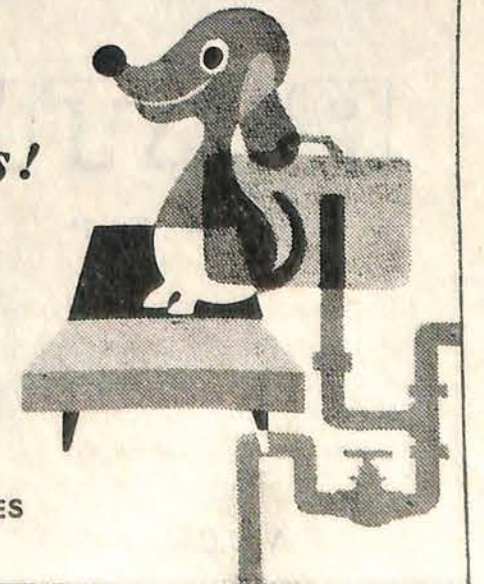
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Labour Party. Indeed, Wilson has been able to unite the party again.

The break if it comes will be on the nature and task of Socialism at home and in foreign affairs. It is a question that Wilson may yet have to resolve, although the different positions are not by any means hardened.

Tory Morale After Local Elections

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

THE MORALE VALUE to the Conservatives of the recent Borough Council election result is enormous. It has shored up their faith in victory and dented the image of politically astute Harold Wilson. The Tories had a net gain of 901 seats and Labour a net loss of 590 seats.

This is no conclusive evidence that a General Election would produce a similar swing because then there would be probably twice as many voters. But it has robbed Wilson of a useful weapon—the threat of an early General Election—and it has also tempered critics of Sir Alec's continued leadership of the Conservative Party.

On the latter point, Derek Marks writes in the *Daily Express*, "There is a growing school of support for those rather solid and uninteresting, old-fashioned virtues of straight dealing and plain talking."

Europe: 20 Years Later

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Zurich

ON MAY 8, 1945, Hitler's Germany capitulated. But already on May 1, two soldiers of the Red Army had planted the Red Flag on top of the German Reichstag in the heart of Berlin. A few days earlier the American and Russian troops had met for the first time at the river Elbe. All of Europe breathed a sigh of relief and welcomed with enthusiasm the end of the most terrible war in her history.

The celebration in Europe of the twentieth anniversary of the war's end, showed how much the world scene has changed since 1945. In Moscow, the Western ambassadors, with the exception of the French, refused to take part in the celebrations on Red Square because of their anti-German and anti-American flavour.

At the official reception in the Kremlin, when Party Secretary Brezhnev mentioned the name of Stalin, the audience broke into prolonged applause. At the same time, Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin was guest of honour at the celebrations in East Berlin along with the Polish Prime Minister and other prominent guests. Again, bitter words were said against the Western nations. In Paris, however, Russian troops marched alongside French units in the official parade.

The most quiet capital of all was

Continued on page 15

The week in Asia

TOKYO — Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio has been consulting with Japanese leaders prior to the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers. They predict a stormy conference. Dr. Subandrio has explained the failure of President Sukarno to meet Malaysian Premier Tunku Abdul Rahman in Tokyo in a Japanese mediation initiative. Dr. Subandrio still wants Japanese mediation "some time in the future".

KARACHI — Two major disasters struck Pakistan recently. Official toll-figure of the cyclone is disclosed at an estimated 12,116 killed and up to 5,000,000 homeless in East Pakistan. The final death toll may well be higher. Following this came news of the crash of a Boeing 720-B plane of the PIA as it was approaching Cairo. Among the 121 who perished was a party of more than 20 journalists headed by Major General Hayaud-din, the newly appointed Chairman of the National Press Trust of Pakistan.

SAIGON — The six day lull in American air strikes against North Vietnam ended with the renewal of daily bombings of selected targets. American planes dropped bombs and thousands of leaflets urging the people to seek a settlement or face worse destruction.

COLOMBO — The Government of Premier Dudley Senanayake faces an acute economic crisis because of the virtual drying up of foreign exchange. Negotiations for U.S. aid suspended in 1963 have been resumed.

KUALA LUMPUR — According to Premier Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia is still hopeful of joining the second Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers next month, despite her exclusion from the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Conference in Winneba, Ghana.

SAIGON — An unsuccessful coup was silently and efficiently put down by the civilian government of Dr. Phan Huy Quat. Its leaders included some of those who had attempted to oust General Nguyen Khanh last February. The coup leaders this time were reputed to be acting in conjunction with the Communist Viet Cong.

KARACHI — Kashmir is likely to figure on the agenda of the Afro-Asian meet in Algiers next month. This is the view of Suturo Kusumowindago, Indonesian Deputy Foreign Minister who was visiting Pakistan last week. It will occur, according to Mr. Kusumowindago, in the context of a resolution about the right of self-determination for people everywhere.

FOR WOMEN

"Quite often we have good meals but at times there is nothing to eat"

—SAYS A BOMBAY DHOBI'S WIFE

SMILING and cheerful, Radevi Subersadan is the 32-year-old wife of Bhula a Bombay dhobi (laundryman). They have four children. They live in a small, crude tin shack. Their only furniture consists of two tables.

Radevi's life is hard and difficult. Her day starts at 5 a.m. and often she does not get to sleep till after midnight. She works at the washing, drying and ironing with her husband, plus doing all the work for the family—from marketing and cooking to minding the children.

Radevi gives a lot of care to her children. Her pride and joy is their 5-year-old daughter, Shikumari. Shikumari who sparkles with joy is a very intelligent child. Her mother's deep longing is that this girl does not end up by being just another dhobi's wife. "We must send her to school

and teach her all she must know," said the proud mother.

Radevi's mother died when she was a little girl, and so she was brought up by her father. Most things she learnt by herself, the hard way. This has made her independent and confident and able to stand on her own two feet.

Radevi's husband earns approximately Rs. 130 per month. "Quite often we have good meals, but there are times when there is nothing to eat," she said. Asked what she did for the family at such times, I got the simple answer—with a smile and a slight shake of the head, "Nothing. We go to sleep without eating."

Bhagwan (God) has a very special meaning for Radevi. She believes very firmly that He is her maker and

that He gives her what He feels she ought to have. With this simple philosophy she is content and happy. Her's is a life built on basic down-to-earth faith and trust.

I asked Radevi if she turned to God with her problems. The answer was simple. "Yes, where else can I go?" Then I asked if she believed God could speak to her. Did she ever try to listen to God's voice? "No, I've never listened to Him, but I'm sure He speaks to me anyhow. I always turn to Him." Then very thoughtfully she added, "I will listen to Bhagwan and see what He wants to say."

The pattern of Radevi's life alters very little from one day to another. Her life is typical of millions of women in India. How many women have her simple, straightforward values? To her a thing is right if it's right and wrong if it's wrong. There is no in-between.

Radevi is only 4 feet 11 inches tall, but as you see her walk by, with her head held high and her slightly shy smile and all the confidence in the world in her eyes, you cannot help but think that here is a woman her country can be proud of.

JINI TALEYARKHAN

EUROPE—from page 14

Bonn. There was open disappointment over the failure of the Western powers to agree in time on a declaration on the future of Germany. Chancellor Erhard spoke of the anniversary with well-chosen words about the events of the last years and about Germany's final and clear decision to give up the use of military power to achieve her political aims.

But all the celebrations could not hide the fact that none of the alliances built up during and since the war are very secure today. Nobody is quite sure who is friend and who is foe. In Paris one often gets the impression that the real enemy now is America. In Washington, President de Gaulle certainly has lost the position of a favoured ally.

What seems to be most needed is for some European statesmen to step out of their limited visions and concerns to say what direction Europe wants to take in the world of today.

HUBERT



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"Did you forget to say 'Good morning' to mother?"

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**RURAL LABOUR EXCHANGES
A New Perspective**

By Suresh R. Aranake

INDIA lives in villages. The lot of the Indian villager is the lot of the country. Of our 480 millions, 88 per cent constitute our rural population. Of those 88 per cent, agricultural labour comprises 30 per cent—half with land and half without. This huge labour-force must be utilized to meet the needs of a new age. How to utilize it? How to mobilize and organize it? That is the stupendous task before the nation ever since Independence.

unions, security of jobs, terms and conditions of work, and above all, an obligation to give a minimum of output during the year. As a result of these rights and obligations, our industrial labour has to abide by certain rules and cannot behave as it pleases.

Rural Economy

Agricultural labour, on the other hand, has no organization, no labour unions, no security of jobs, no terms and conditions of work and, worst of all, no obligation to give a minimum of output during the year. The farm labourer is his own master but a master at the mercy of forces beyond control which virtually make him worse than the worst of slaves.

A sort of gap is created between workers who work and eat and workers who work either less or not at all and have yet to be fed, clothed and sheltered. This gap is widening day by day accentuating the breakdown of our rural economy.

Need for Organization

Proper utilization of unproductive labour force in rural areas is a supreme necessity. The State has an obligation to provide jobs for those who are unemployed or underemployed and a right to demand from them a minimum of labour during the year. It is apparent that our Government cannot provide jobs for all but the ice has to be broken somewhere. And it is here that some attempt must be made to organize unproductive rural labour.

Labour Exchanges

The establishment of labour employment exchanges has helped a great deal in organizing much of industrial labour. Would not the establishment of labour exchanges in rural areas serve the same purpose and speed up the organization of tremendous rural labour force for the development of our economy? Such labour exchanges would not only help casual wage earners in getting jobs but also prove to be extremely useful to those who desire to employ them.

Thus a link could be established between casual workers and casual employers. They would also help in regulating the supply of labour and in fixing minimum and maximum wages, conditions and terms of work, output expected and so on. The proposed agro-industries would also be benefited by these labour exchanges. Lastly, the labour exchanges would provide exact statistical data about the rural labourers which are merely rough estimates at present.

To keep the mammoth labour force unutilized and to deny it the basic standards of life, labour welfare, economic and social justice is to invite Communism. Our country can make a fresh move in this direction.

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

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This was a life

**VICTOR LAURE
1890—1960**

VICTOR LAURE was a French merchant seaman. He was one of the founders of the Seamen's Union of Marseilles. He came of a long line of seafaring men. He was for 45 years a Marxist trained by Marcel Cachin, the veteran Frenchman who trained generation after generation in the class struggle.

Between the wars Victor knew severe hardship. He was out of work for months on end and was persecuted for his trade union activity. In spite of all this he and his wife, Irene, brought up nine abandoned children as well as their own.

In the last war Victor, with Irene, was a leader in the Resistance movement against Nazi Germany. He nearly died. He lost 90 pounds. He came out of the war with a hatred of all Germans. He had seen his own son suffer under torture.

One day he came, suspicious, to an international conference of Moral Re-Armament at Caux in Switzerland. In his own words, "It opened my eyes. I questioned it. I watched. I thought. I was won. Before my eyes was the answer to all I despaired of. I felt myself pushed by an inner force. I rose. I stood at the side of others to help with the rest of my strength to rebuild the world."

Later that year Victor went to Germany with Irene. They lived in the homes of the Germans. They spoke to millions on the radio and at over 200 mass meetings. They addressed 10 of the 11 state parliaments of West Germany. They asked forgiveness for their hatred. They were invited to Berlin by the Lord Mayor. The head of 350,000 trade union workers of Berlin told them, "You have come to me and to Berlin like a storm of humanity."

Chancellor Adenauer said later that the Laures were more responsible than anyone else for the unity built between those two old foes, France and Germany, since the war.

Victor travelled to 37 countries in Asia, Africa, America, Europe and the Middle East. His familiar figure, the jaunty angle of the hat, the Marseillaise accent, the Gallic shrug, added spice to the lively discussions he held with trade union officials in all these countries. He knew that many of them, like himself, had accepted Marxism because they had never known any alternative. Many of them today say that through Victor they realized the class struggle was out of date in the age of atom bombs. He showed them a bigger idea which included every class, and which meant change for Marxist and capitalist alike.

Q and A

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

Q—Who will come to our aid when we are in danger, Russia or America?

N. CH. VEERACHER, Hyderabad.

A—I hope both will. Each will calculate what suits her most at the time.

God, they say, helps those who help themselves. Nations, likewise, help those countries that help themselves. If we make a systematic, day to day bid to strengthen the unity, economy and defence of our land, both America and Russia will help us when danger strikes. **If we don't, they may feel it is not worth their expense in money, men and material to aid us.**

We ask if Russia and America will help. Our State Governments ask if the Centre will help. Municipalities want the States to help. Some want fathers and uncles to help. We all demand that the Government should do this, that and the other.

Splendid. But do you recall the old saying, "Ask not what your country will do for you, but rather what you will do for your country?" Similarly, if India (and this means individual Indians like you and me) does something relevant and practical for the world, the world will not let her down.

Q—To be outspoken is to be called indisciplined. Is that fair?

HARINAKSHI, Hyderabad.

A—Quite unfair. Yet it does take place. For a man to seal his lips because of this would be cowardly.

But frank talk is not enough. It has to be backed by dedicated, revolutionary living. And by revolutionary I don't mean a screeching, shouting style of life but a selfless life that spends itself in making others great.

A man who was a supreme revolutionary by this test, Frank Buchman, used to say: "For forty years I have been pre-

pared to lose my relationship with all my friends. That is why I can speak the truth to them."

But his motive was to build greatness into his friends, not to assert his virtue or wisdom. Therefore he was prepared always to be silent and say nothing, if that would help the other person more. Sometimes if we talk too much the person next to us is unable to listen to his conscience.

Q—Whose naval strength is greater, ours or the Chinese?

P. RAMESH, Coimbatore.

A—The Chinese navy is considerably bigger than ours. So is their air force and army.

The reason is simply that for 16 years the Peking regime has built up a military economy. Mao Tse-tung has said, and always believed, that "power grows out of the barrel of a gun".

While the Chinese were amassing this kind of power, we concentrated on other things. Today we are miles behind. Fortunately we have strong friends and our own power plus the strength of our friends deters the Chinese.

It will be foolish to imitate every Chinese move. Our economy will be wrecked if we try. We must choose certain key lines of defence for solid expansion and for the rest devise arrangements with our friends and allies.

R.G.

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The Gulf Between Indians

by Rajmohan Gandhi

"WE HATE YOU. You are fed and clothed by the Government and treated like kings. You rise on our sweat." In these words a group of Maharashtrian villagers recently assailed N.C.C. cadets.

"How can you prove that Chinese rule will make our condition worse than it is now?" asks a Kerala clerk. "I have been here four years, and never once felt at home. I hate these surroundings," declares a Nepali medical student in Trivandrum.

Let's face it. A large number in our land do not feel they belong to India.

Right or wrong, exaggerated or not, their feelings are real and strong. Those in power and prominence will disregard these feelings, at serious and early danger to themselves and the country.

In truth, our leaders are aware. Mr. Shastri, Mr. Nanda, Mr. Kamaraj and Mr. Chavan realize the need of maintaining their links with the under-privileged masses of the country, and are on the look out for new ways of enlisting them.

Gathering Resentment

Mr. Nehru, too, was conscious of the gathering resentment. His exhortations for emotional integration were aimed at welding people of all our languages, religions, castes and classes into one family. Gandhiji early understood the reality. He knew that sections of Indians hated other castes, classes and religions far more passionately than the British. And while the opposition to British rule sprang mainly from the simple conviction that Indians should rule themselves and was not based on personal experiences with individual Englishmen, the hatred of the fellow Indian was based on decades of individual encounters.

There is a great gulf between intellectuals and the common man, students and the common man, government officials and the common man.

Last week in New Delhi a senior Cabinet Minister told me of an interview between a European reporter and Gandhi. "Do you sometimes get pessimistic in your struggle?" Gandhi was asked. He replied, "When I think of our Indian intellectuals, their tall talk and self-centred and lazy living, I do. But when I think of our

common people, their diligence and sweat, the pessimism disappears."

Communists are realists. I disagree with their aims and methods, and also with their explanation of exploitation, division and hate. Yet they have a habit of looking squarely at facts and discussing them soberly, especially when these discussions do not have to be broadcast to a larger audience.

Thus they have always realized the deep divisions among the languages, races and castes of India.

Look Facts in the Face

The same credit, in all fairness, is due to the British who, too, looked Indian facts in the face and saw clearly the diversity in our land. Doubtless they made use of it to extend and consolidate their power, but the heated attempts of some of us to prove that all the differences the British saw were imaginary created illusions in the hearts and minds of our new generations and formed a part of the up-in-the-clouds living from which we have been jolted down to earth.

Two facts seem plain to me. One, it is impossible to change 480,000,000 people, their habits and prejudices, by the effort only of a few men, howsoever determined and great they might be. Even the unquestioning obedience and loyalty that Gandhi and Nehru commanded did not alter the deeper beliefs of our people. Many joined processions, shouted slogans, went to jail, gave money and jewellery and left family and comfort. But they did not surrender their hates of people of other languages and religions, even if they were prepared to forget them for a while.

Gandhi and Nehru gave unsparingly their sweat and toil to unite our heterogeneous masses. Yet they failed. We are as disparate, divided and compartmentalized as ever. Some, deploring what they believe to be a fall in the calibre of our national leadership, have satisfied themselves that where men like Gandhi failed there is no hope.

The second plain fact is that appeals, seminars, exhibitions, and festivals for national integration will not take us far. Our state of society—the way we treat the "lower" classes and castes—is not much better than the feudal and slave system that existed in other lands. Changing that system

meant battle and sacrifice for thousands of individuals. In our own country we had the Harijan movement which, with all its inadequacies, won the active participation of thousands. The toil required now to give all our people equality and the feeling that they belong to one family, will be much greater.

Service is one of the words whose meaning a corrupt society has killed. "He is in service" means that he is not serving anyone, that he has a secure job, most probably with the Government, and that he is free from the risks and dangers of business.

How many of those who enter Government service do so to serve the Indian public? Many, undoubtedly, are able, efficient and courteous. But few will pretend that their main aim in taking a Government job is to serve the Indian people.

25,000 Dedicated Workers

"Give me twelve men wholly dedicated to do God's Will and I shall change the world," said St. Ignatius.

"What I want most to create is a band of selfless workers," said Gandhi.

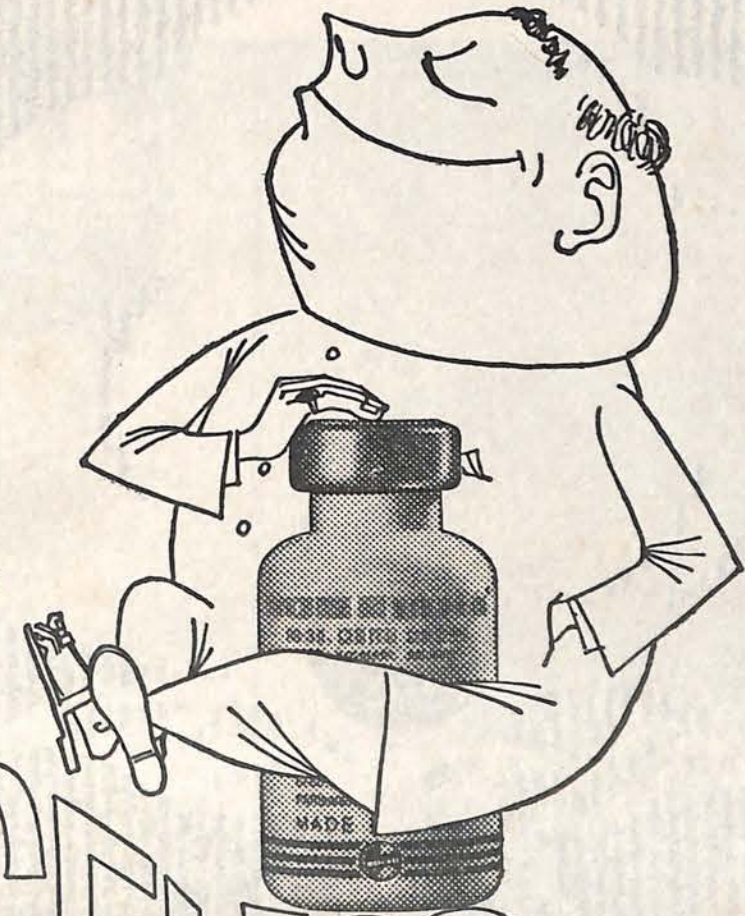
"We need men who will serve India," said Gokhale.

"Dedication, dedication, dedication is what India cries for in her sons and daughters," said Vivekananda.

Today we need not a thousand but 10 or 25 thousand committed, dedicated men and women. Some of them to go and build a new climate in the cities, educating, training, changing men one by one. Others, in their thousands, to live and work and sweat in the villages, removing false pride, hate and inertia from our hundreds of millions. And yet others to go to foreign lands, near and far, to show the world that India is capable of serving and giving.

An extreme of selflessness, ending not in vacant meditation but in a detailed care for specific people, is the only cure to the extreme of our self-absorption.

There is good news. In Delhi, Bombay, Poona, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Madras, Trivandrum and a number of other places solid beginnings have been made in the battle to raise an army of bridge builders and barrier breakers.



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What's more, this experience goes behind every medicine we make—wherever we make it. Whether in Germany or in our plant in Mulund near Bombay.

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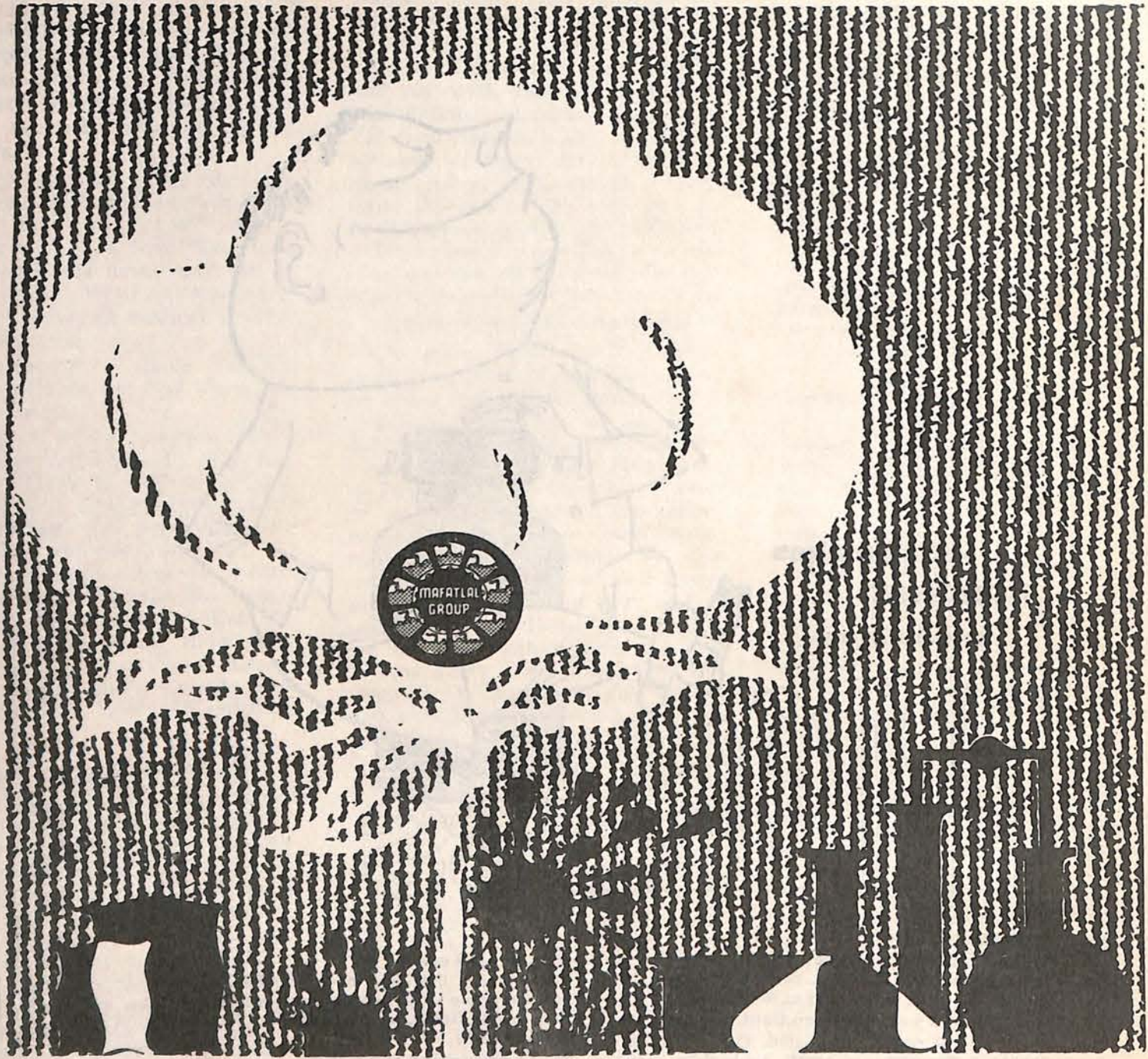
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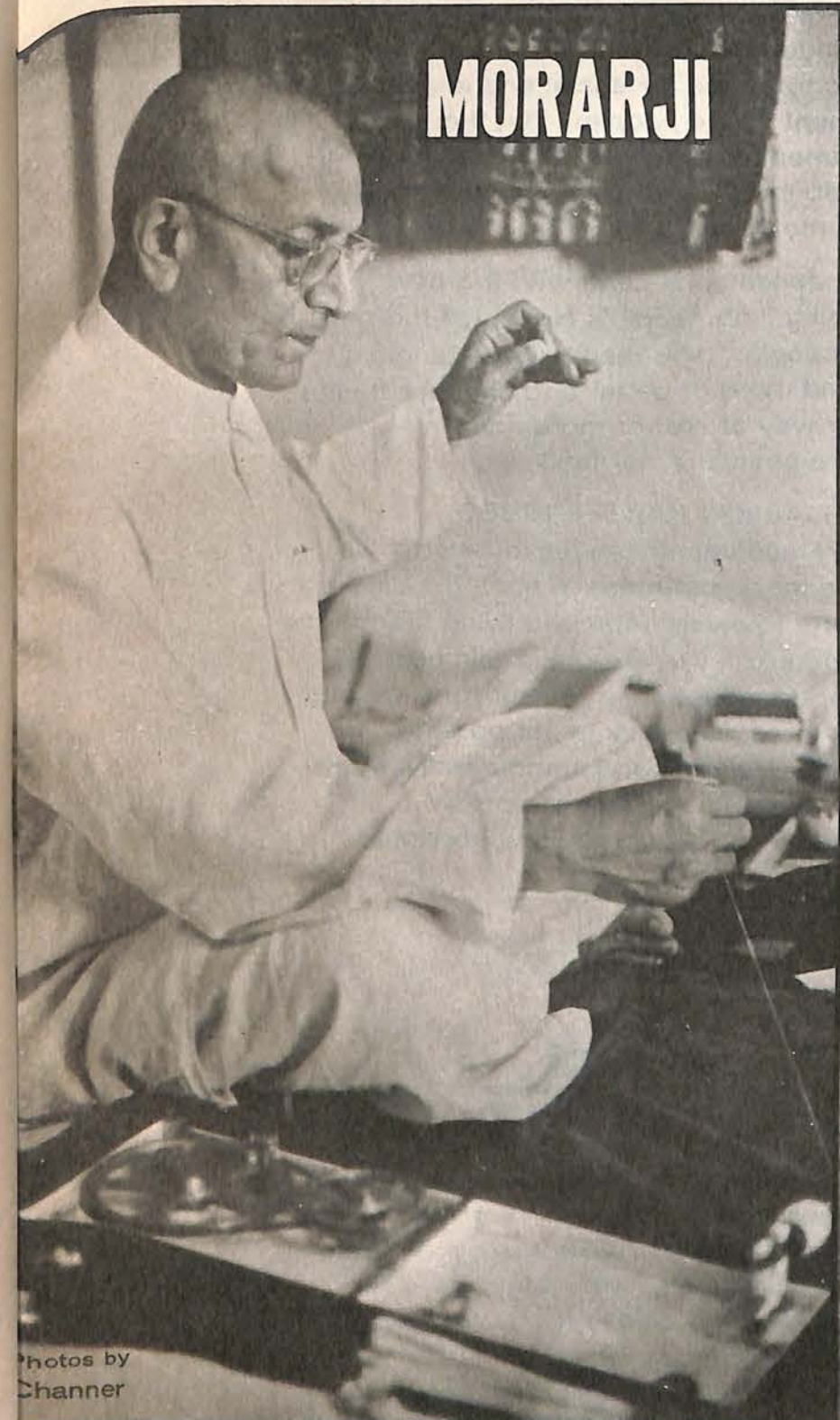
GROWING BIGGER EVERY DAY

That's us. Always trying to do a little better than yesterday. Always doing it. Textiles, jute, dyes and chemicals. These are the interests we have today. Tomorrow? The possibilities are endless. The future is wide open.



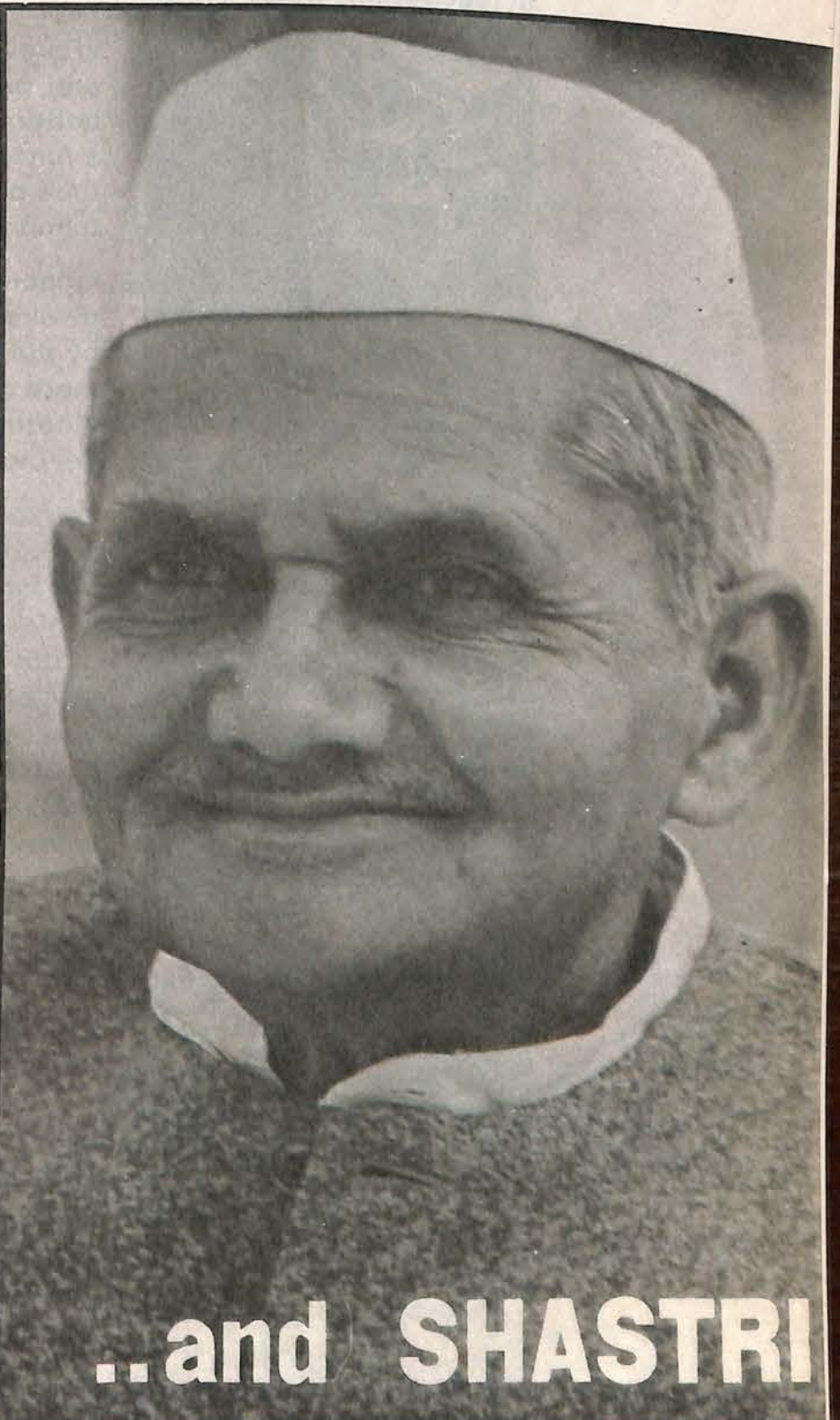
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INDIA, NEPAL and CEYLON
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