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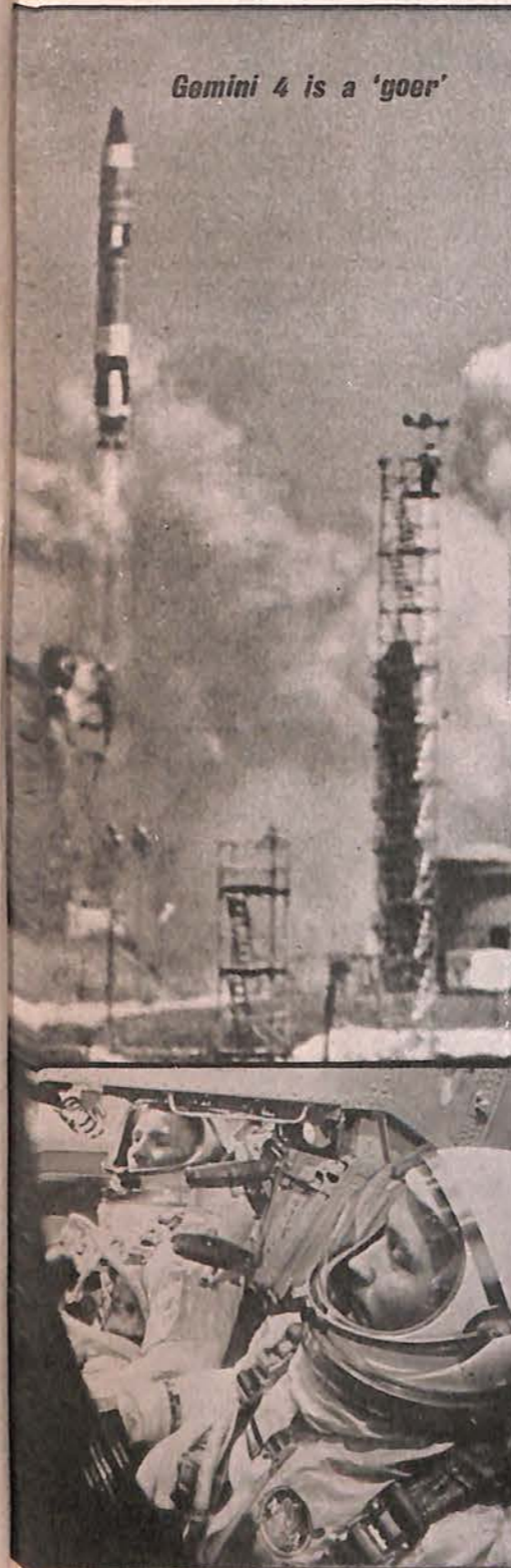
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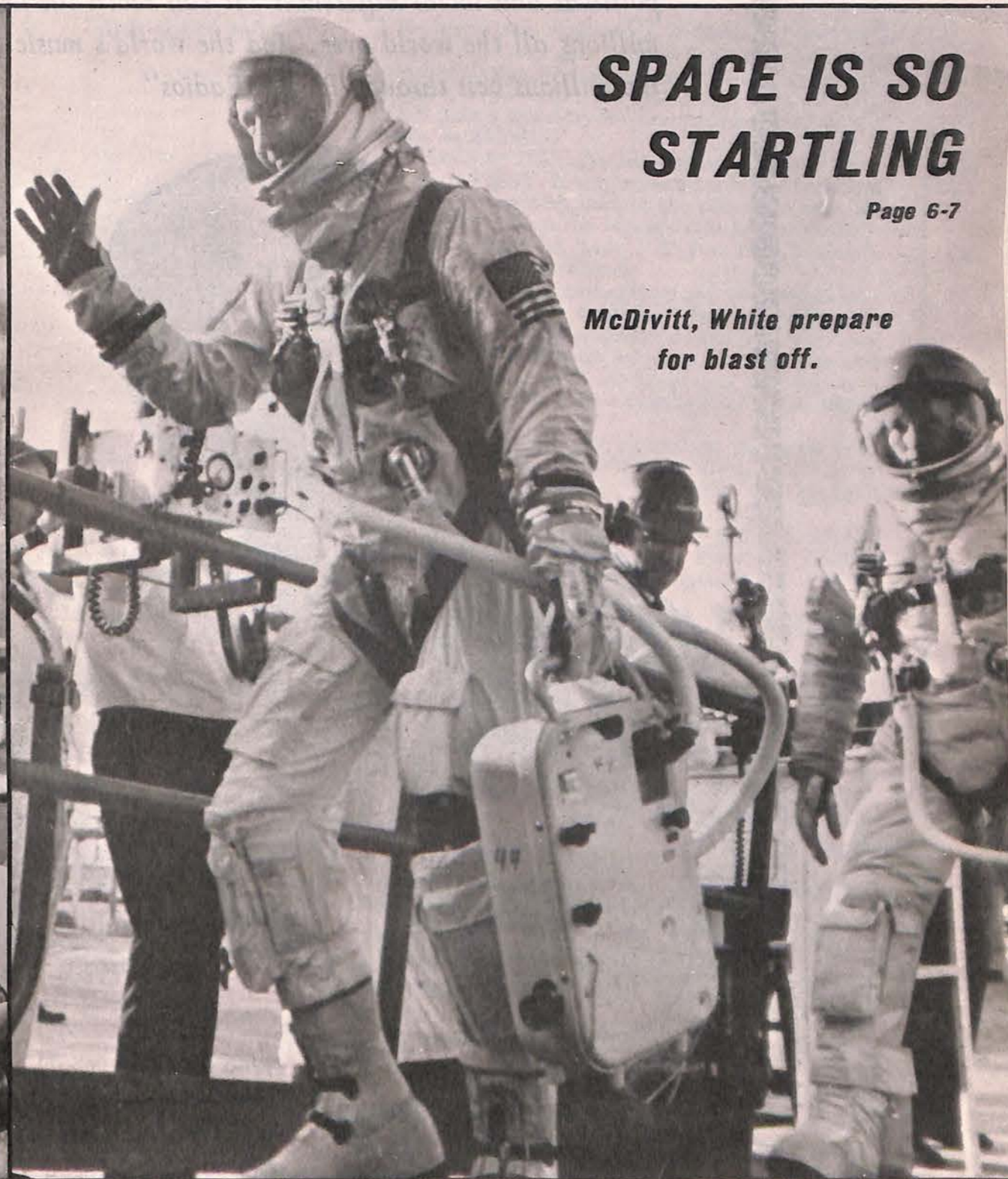
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Gemini 4 is a 'goer'



SPACE IS SO STARTLING

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McDivitt, White prepare for blast off.

Friday
June 11
1965

K.M. Munshi
S.N. Dwivedy M.P.
A.B. Vajpayee M.P.
Prakash Vir Shastri M.P.

ON

**SHASTRI'S
FIRST YEAR**

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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, June 11, 1965

Vol. 1 No. 32

Shastri's Destiny

ON MR. SHASTRI'S completion of one year as Prime Minister, HIMMAT invited national figures of varied shades of opinion to write their assessment (Pages: 8-10). Two Congress personalities were invited to participate but their contributions were not received by the time of going to press. The opinions quoted do not necessarily represent HIMMAT's views.

In the sum total of the first year, Mr. Shastri has fared as well as could be expected of most men in his position. He has gathered a grip on the sprawling party machinery and worked closely with Congress President Kamaraj. With a few deviations, and in spite of "dissidentism", the colossal party organization still functions as one. Union Ministers claim that for the first time they have free discussions in the Cabinet.

Mr. Shastri's first year, however, was merely a period of transition. Now that period ends. With his visit to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and the Afro-Asian Conference at Algiers, Mr. Shastri will no longer be looked upon only as "the man who succeeded Nehru". He will be judged as a man who leads 450 million people.

At home Mr. Shastri's plank is the success of the Five Year Plans and his ability to maintain the unity of India. He has spoken recently of our being "buried in the burden of aid." He has seen our people do not produce enough. The Prime Minister will need to do more than explain his policies. He must enthuse the nation with a goal big enough for millions to work and sacrifice for.

In foreign policy, Mr. Shastri appears to lean on the Soviet Union even more heavily than his distinguished predecessor. Whilst it is true that we need their friendship, the Soviet Union needs ours. It is surely going too far to state, as the Prime Minister did on landing from Moscow, "Both India and Soviet Union have accepted non-alignment as one of their basic policies." Mr. Shastri might as well have called the United States "non-aligned".

If we were truly non-aligned, Mr. Shastri would demand that subversion and infiltration into Vietnam, Thailand and other nations of Asia and Africa be halted, as firmly and as often as he calls for the ending of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

India has in the past decided issues on the basis of her own interests. Then India has gone ahead and invested her policies with high-sounding moral virtues. Could Mr. Shastri set a new pattern where India really decides issues on the basis of what is morally right rather than what is politically expedient?

New Frontiers

SPACE IS STARTLING. But man's capacity for overtaking every obstacle in his path to other planets is more so.

Millions on every continent, of every race and political colour, hailed the U.S. Gemini twins as they rode their Titan rocket into orbit last week.

No peace-time venture has involved so many men all wedded to one aim. Apart from the thousands engaged in designing, building and lifting the capsule into space, it was estimated that 10,000 men, 26 ships and 139 planes stood by for the "splashdown" in the Atlantic on Monday.

In October 1957, the first space vehicle (Sputnik-I) soared aloft. It was unmanned but it launched a new era of discovery and, in the process, a race for *astro-laurels* between the world's two largest powers. Some assert that the latest U.S. feat puts it ahead; others that Russia still leads.

Space race there certainly is and ideological bar-racking will no doubt continue. But for millions in Africa, Asia and Latin America—millions who may never know the difference between a cosmic gun and a retro-rocket, who will not likely own or even see a TV set—these frontier developments in space represent a greater dream.

Could not man, clever enough to unshackle himself from the pull of gravity and thrust millions of miles through the universe, also solve the pressing problems of hunger and poverty on earth?

Solutions can be found if man's genius is applied to them as urgently and intently as it is to this exciting research beyond the frontiers of space.

A Car In Your Future

THE WAITING time for delivery of India's most popular motor car is at present 19 years. One bright mathematician calculates that, given the patience and the capital, a citizen can get the car free by investing the purchase price of Rs. 13,000 at 5 per cent. After 19 years the investor—if still alive—would retrieve his capital plus the purchase value of the car.

Such a scheme, however, holds little attraction for those who are looking to the Government to permit the production of a small car, manufactured in sufficient quantity to make it an economic proposition. Periodically, the Ministry of Industries, needled by some questioner, makes some vague statement on the matter. But it is obvious to the public that the Minister has a closed mind. He occasionally talks of proposals made by foreign firms and rumours abound of excellent offers being squashed by vested interests.

In one year India produces as many cars as the United States makes in a day. No one suggests that India should become a major motor manufacturer overnight. What is suggested is a more practical approach.

At present India imports millions of tons of grain and other food which she is equipped to produce while restricting the imports of car components which she is *not* equipped to produce.

The total production of the three makes of car built in India is so small that no manufacturer can achieve a reasonable costing. The Government must permit mass production of a 4-5 seater car which could be put on the road for Rs. 7,000 or less.

Briefly Speaking ...

The man who makes no mistakes does not usually make anything.

EDWARD JOHN PHELPS 1822 - 1900

China Smuggling

COULD SOMEBODY enlighten the Indian public whether there is or there is not large scale smuggling over the Bihar-U.P. border between India and China? And if there is, what is being done about it?

Recently the Chief Minister of Bihar, Shri K. B. Sahay, alleged that Bihar rice was being smuggled into China. Union Food Minister Subramaniam declared it was "a mere scare started by somebody". Chief Minister Sahay replied, "Shri Subramaniam is free to say whatever he likes, but I stand by what I have said."

The Chairman of the P.S.P. Party speaking from Patna, says that according to his information, not only food grains, "but other vital commodities, like petrol and steel, are finding their way into China". He adds, "It is not a one way traffic and China's good are being smuggled freely into our country."

It is time that the Union Home Ministry stepped in.

Temper Cure

THE CURATOR of the New York Zoo has a cure for temper. Keepers were getting alarmed when four zoo gorillas became bored, edgy, nervous and were continually wrangling with each other. Someone had a bright idea. A television set was installed outside their cage. The effect was staggering. The gorillas just sat and stared, transfixed by the screen.

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"Gentlemen, you will be pleased to know that our fertilizer unit which was inaugurated in 1957 will definitely start production by next January... or January '67."

Boredom and fighting are now just bad memories.

Everyone is free to imagine in what tense local or national situations television could thus be employed in India.

Tradition

IT IS a tradition of British democratic procedure that when a casting vote has to be cast by the Speaker of the House of Commons, his vote always goes against his own party. Last week Conservative M.P. Sir Herbert Butcher who was in the Chair, found the House equally divided with 281 votes on either side. He cast his vote for the Labour Government and saved their Bill.

Scarcity Conscious

IN WATER-SCARCE India urchins delight in showers under water hydrants. They always seem to have the key to hydrants.

Recently, authorities of the Delhi Corporation inspected 289 houses in various areas and detected unauthorized use of filtered water. Proof of use were the luxuriant lawns. Sixty-eight per cent of those investigated were served with a notice for unauthorized use. It is estimated that there are 700 undetected cases for each one detected.

Patrotism lies in little things.

Noteworthy

A FAR-REACHING decision that has not received enough publicity is the announcement that Australia is to grant preferential treatment to exports of selected manufactured goods from developing nations. India has widely urged that the industrialized nations in Europe, America, Japan and Australia should encourage exports of developing countries. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's visit to Canada will, it is expected, result in Canada following Australia's example.

The initial list of preferences proposed by Australia are soap, leather, carpets, electric fans, sports goods, etc. Duty on these goods will be reduced by Australia from 7.5 per cent up to 20 per cent.

Cigarette Casualties

DR. LUTHER L. TERRY, Surgeon-General of the U.S. Public Health Service, said in Chicago that at least 125,000 premature deaths and perhaps as many as 300,000 are caused in the U.S.A. each year by smoking cigarettes.

Mortality ratios indicate that premature death is caused by diseases clearly and definitely associated with smoking, such as cancer of the lung, larynx, oral cavity, oesophagus and bladder as well as bronchitis and coronary heart disease.

Dr. Terry said that "major obstacles" to getting people to accept the idea that smoking harmed them personally included the "continued pressure of cigarette advertising".

I wonder if any sample survey, if not a national survey, has been undertaken in India. It would be interesting to know how many premature deaths result from cigarettes, cigars and bidis in this country.

Watch Out!

GERMAN SCIENTISTS have discovered that if you are lazy on Sunday, there is a good chance that death will catch up with you on a Monday. Two West German doctors in Hamburg have examined 5,000 persons who died of heart attacks since 1935. Most deaths occurred on Mondays, the first day of the working week. Those who work hard during the week are, according to these doctors, not advised to sleep late on weekends. Physical activity is strongly recommended over weekends.

R.M.L.

HIMMAT, June 11, 1965

INDIA and CANADA

MR. LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI's visit to Canada is a welcome recognition of the steady friendship that has marked the relations between the two countries for many years.

Strategically situated between the United States of America and Arctic Siberia, linked historically and emotionally to the British Crown, often pulled between the pressures of her powerful southern neighbour and the desire to preserve her individuality, Canada has amazingly maintained the vitality of her U.S. and Commonwealth ties without sacrificing freedom of manoeuvre.

About three-quarters of Canada's imports come from the United States. The U.S.A. takes about 60 per cent of Canada's exports. About a third of all U.S. foreign investments are in Canada, creating a thorny problem of economic nationalism, exploited alike by Right and Left.

Communist China, in recent years, has been a principal buyer of Canadian wheat and there has been much discussion about the invisible pressures this is likely to exercise on foreign policy.

The Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Lester Pearson, a Nobel prize winner, is more a diplomat than a politician. Yet, he seems to be weathering the separatist storm (dramatically manifested during Queen Elizabeth's visit to Quebec) and the protracted and acrimonious debate over Canada's new national flag (a red maple leaf on a white background with red bars on either side).

"Quiet Revolution"

The historical division between British and French Canada remains potentially explosive, but there are signs that a cautious understanding is emerging as the province of Quebec obtains greater autonomy and power in what has been described as "Canada's Quiet Revolution".

Canadian aid to India in the past fifteen years has been significant, though selective. Up to the end of 1962-63, India had received nearly \$240 million over a twelve-year period, or more than half of the total contributions of Canada under the Colombo Plan.

Canada has helped to modernize our railways; and the locomotives received from that country in the early fifties relieved an acute shortage of traction power. Canadian money has helped to finance important

power projects like the Mayurakshi and Kundah hydro-electric schemes. Cobalt beam therapy units provided to hospitals in Vellore, Ludhiana, Jaipur, Calcutta and Bombay have enabled treatment of cancer.

Canada has put much know-how of the peaceful uses of atomic energy at our disposal. She is providing the material, the services as well as the equipment for the nuclear power station at Rana Pratap Sagar in Rajasthan State.

In recent months, when acute food shortages were aggravated by the dockers' strike in the Atlantic ports of the United States, Canada provided us wheat on an emergency basis.

Indians will remember the prompt and effective assistance that Canada, along with U.S.A., Britain and Australia, rendered to India at the time of the Chinese invasion in 1962. India has worked for many years with Canada on disarmament and in the International Control Commission on Indo-China. Unlike our own part, however, Canada's role in the I.C.C. has been free of equivocation.



Mr. Shastri

da's role in the I.C.C. has been free of equivocation.

Referring to Vietnam in a speech at Philadelphia, U.S.A., on April 2, 1965, Mr. Lester Pearson stated, "The dilemma confronting us is acute and seems intractable. On the one hand, no nation could feel secure if capitulation in Vietnam led to sanctification of aggression through subversion and spurious 'Wars of National Liberation'. On the other hand, progressive application of military sanctions can encourage stubborn resistance, not produce a willingness to negotiate."

He therefore suggested a pause in air strikes by the United States (implemented by President Johnson later with no effect) that might "provide Hanoi with an opportunity to inject some flexibility into their policy".

He, however, made it clear that he is not "proposing any compromise on points of principle nor any weakening of resistance to aggression in South Vietnam" and that "few would quarrel with President Johnson's view

Under
the
Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

that an honourable peace should be based on a reliable arrangement to guarantee the independence and security of all in South East Asia".

One immediate result of Mr. Shastri's visit should therefore be a reappraisal of Indo-China policy with a view to co-ordinating the Indo-Canadian role in Laos, Cambodia, North and South Vietnam. It should be the aim to achieve an even broader understanding. Both the countries will be more effective if they can agree on the facts of the South East Asian situation, the aims of policy in relation to the total thrust of Communist China and the means of settlement of the issues in the region.

Blue-Print for Commonwealth

It is worth repeating that India cannot expect anyone to take seriously our professions of the threat to our borders from Communist China, if we discount by our policy the gravity of China's aggressive designs in the whole of South East Asia.

Both President Johnson and Mr. Pearson have spoken sincerely and eloquently about the possibilities of co-ordinated development of the Mekong delta if North Vietnam agrees to leave it in peace. This plan, when it materializes, cannot succeed without a simultaneous programme to train local cadres in integrity, hard work and leadership. There is no reason why India should not take on this job. She can draw many other nations, including the Soviet Union if she were willing, into a positive programme, economic and moral, for the area.

Mr. Shastri will go to Canada expecting many things in return. He may hope for Canadian endorsement of the Indian case on the Sind-Kutch border issue. He will also want a modification of the immigration policy, a more generous allocation of wheat, and economic and military aid. He will get some of these.

But India can and must offer Canada, besides her friendship, a blue-print for a new type of Commonwealth which will be a pattern of a multi-racial family and an example of a voluntary partnership of independent nations who are equal, just and free.

HIMMAT, June 11, 1965

STARTLING SPACE

by Anthony Reynolds

BEHIND SCORES of glass windows and rows of instruments, hundreds of men sat quietly, methodically watching indicators, turning dials, flicking switches with practised precision. An atmosphere of cold determination pervaded everywhere. No panic, no outward expression of excitement, though millions throughout the world watched and listened to their efforts. Each man geared his will-power to get that ship up. "Go fever" again gripped Cape Kennedy.

Astronauts Edward White and James McDivitt had been strapped into their 3½-ton Gemini capsule atop a Titan II booster rocket. The countdown had begun, a methodical final check of every instrument to leave nothing to chance where human life is involved.

"T (lift-off time) minus 36 minutes, T minus 35 minutes, T minus 34 minutes 59 seconds—hold on!"

An electric governor failed to lower the giant service tower standing alongside the missile to a horizontal position behind the launch-pad. The

technicians watched their panels in anxious frustration. Radio and television broadcasters held onto their audiences. A handful of engineers worked feverishly to correct the governor, hopeful that nothing else in the thousand-fold mass of instruments would give way.

Seventy-six minutes later a subdued, tense voice announced, "Countdown to continue." Now everything was "green go". "T minus 1 minute—30 seconds—10—5—3, 2, 1."

The gleaming white, 10-storey rocket rose straight into a cloudless sky, powered by its twin engines thrusting 11 million horsepower. After it raced jet fighters capturing its flight-path on film. Within minutes it became a pinpoint of light in the skies and then disappeared from view. Six minutes nine seconds after leaving the launch-pad, Gemini IV attained its orbit at 17,500 miles per hour, ranging from 103 to 180 miles above the earth.

One hundred miles above Hawaii, on the third of 62 orbits, Astronaut White opened his hatch and stepped out into the void. He fired his jet gun

and began manoeuvring in space. He "walked" across the United States at five miles a second. For 23 minutes he remained outside the ship, eight minutes longer than scheduled and the longest any man has been exposed to space's harsh conditions. He returned only after repeated advice to "get back in" from ground controllers. "It's the saddest moment in my life," White commented to McDivitt as he complied.

The jubilation White's "walk" caused was tempered by the failure of Gemini IV to manoeuvre close to the spent second stage of the Titan booster rocket orbiting below her. It was to have been the world's first attempt to bring a spacecraft close to another orbiting object.

The aim was to steer Gemini to within 20 feet of the rocket to gain experience in "spacedocking." White was to have propelled himself across the gap and made contact with the rocket. McDivitt braked the spacecraft to decrease its orbit and bring it closer to the Titan, but having used up half his fuel to get within 16 miles, he was ordered to abandon the attempt.

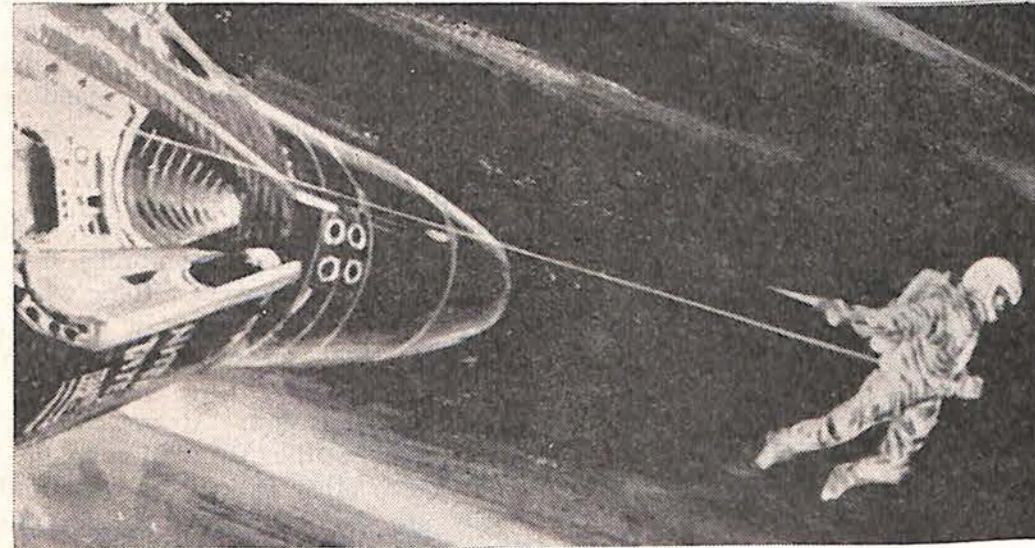
Up For Two Weeks

The next flight, Gemini V, scheduled for this autumn—a seven-day, 112-orbit flight—will attempt docking. The capsule will enter the orbit of an Agena rocket launched the previous day and will manoeuvre its nose cone into a socket in the rocket. Both vehicles will be travelling at 17,500 miles per hour, but for docking purposes Gemini will add 1½ m.p.h. to her speed. Gemini VI will put two men in orbit for two weeks.

Manned space flight, while the most dramatic, is but one aspect of the American and Russian space programmes. Of far greater immediate effect on the life of the ordinary man are the scores of other satellites shot aloft practically every month.

Russia recently succeeded in placing two scientific stations in two different orbits from the same rocket. An American nuclear reactor is circling the globe producing enough electric power to keep it in orbit for 3,000 years. The Pegasus satellite, weighing 3,200 pounds with a surface area of 2,300 square feet, was recently launched from Cape Kennedy. Its object is to test the frequency of

micrometeorites. Early Bird, the American communications satellite, is poised 22,300 miles above Brazil's coast to transmit telephone, telegraph and T.V. pictures between America and Europe. It can handle 240 two-way telephone calls simultaneously. Another satellite still in the planning stages can concentrate the sun's rays on some stretch of sea such as off the Indian coast and cause such increased evaporation that rain will fall well inland regardless of the seasonal conditions.



An artist's conception of Major White's "walk" in space

The most awesome of all unmanned satellites, about which the least is said, are two American objects. They orbit at opposite ends of the earth, 60,000 miles in space. Their purpose is to detect deep-space nuclear explosions 100 million miles away.

The Gemini Project is the mid-way mark of a three-stage programme to put an American on the moon by 1969. Technical failures and a reluctance of the U.S. Congress to earmark sufficient funds has retarded the Gemini Project by 18 months. At the time of Voskhod's 16-orbit, 24-hour flight last March and Cosmonaut Leonov's ten-minute space "walk", the Americans gloomily predicted that they would be able to expose only their astronaut's head and shoulders for a few seconds during Gemini IV's flight. However, their timetable had been radically revised enabling White to spend 23 minutes outside his ship during the 97-hour, 50-minute flight.

The flight itself is almost three times as long as any previous American flight. Sir Bernard Lovell, Director of Britain's Jodrell Bank Observatory, commented, "The U.S. Gemini opera-

tion coming so quickly after a similar one by the Soviet Union demonstrates how closely matched they are for a manned lunar landing."

The Russians have always led with their propellants. Voskhod's rocket was twice the size of Titan II. The capsule itself weighed 11,731 pounds and had space for three people.

With this thrust-power, some experts believe the Russians will attempt a four-manned circumlunar flight long before 1969. Such a flight would involve a fraction of the risk

earth's gravity and speed him on to an orbit of the moon will be needed. That rocket, Saturn V, is under construction in the third stage of the lunar programme, Project Apollo.

Already rocket-testing hangars boom to the roar of Saturn's engines, each with a thrust of 1.5 million pounds. Five of them will be needed to launch the 360-foot, six-million-pound ship. Gigantic barges are today towing components of the Apollo spacecraft through inland waterways and the Panama Canal to test launching sites on Cape Kennedy.

Project Apollo will land two men on the moon, while a third will remain in orbit around it so as to rendezvous for the return to earth. The journey will last seven days. America is investing \$20 billion and employing 300,000 people in 20,000 different companies to keep that date.

"Go Spirit" Counts

Beyond, lie limitless possibilities. Once it is known how man fares in a condition of prolonged weightlessness, the only hold-back to extensive space exploration will be the question of propulsion. Experts predict a breakthrough in propulsion by 1971 that will radically increase a spacecraft's speed.

The morale of the space industry is very high. These scientists live in an atmosphere where the "go spirit" is the thing that counts, where imagination and hard work are a man's greatest assets, where the phrase "it can't be done" is forbidden. "As long as these guys can keep their families alive on sandwiches, they will work their heads off," says the director of one corporation responsible for the Apollo Project.

Today 28 men stand ready for space flight as trained astronauts. All have had extensive training as military pilots. Most are in their mid-thirties. All have children, an unwritten condition for selection, apparently, so as to keep rash and un-called-for adventures while in space to a minimum.

Congress has just appropriated \$1.2 billion for the construction of the Voyager, an unmanned craft that will be able to land on Mars or Venus by 1971 and carry out experiments to determine what type of life exists on these planets. Beyond that it will probe Jupiter, Saturn, the outer planets, comets and asteroids. By 1986 it is estimated that ships carrying crews of six to ten men will be able to land on Mars, spend twenty days exploring, and return. Their flight will last 450 days.

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STEPPING OUT TO TOMORROW

Day by day, month by month, the face of India changes fast. Mighty steel penstocks guide the rushing river waters to turn the turbines to produce electric power. Massive generators, dotted across the country, send this power vibrating along wires to turn the wheels of industry. Electric lamps are switched on in village homes. Long lines of steel pipes girdle vast stretches of land, carrying water to thirsty villages and liquid gold to refineries. Automatic signals guide rolling wheels along a criss-cross of steel tracks. Radio waves race across the skies to help mighty Jet planes land on our soil with their precious cargo. And thus a nation steps out to tomorrow.

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WANTED: CLEAR-CUT POLICIES

By Dr. K. M. Munshi

The glamour and domination of Nehru were so overpowering that any man who succeeded him would be at a disadvantage.

Shastriji had for some time been catapulted into such a psychological position in the country that I was sure that he would succeed Nehru.

Though unobtrusive, he had carved out his own place in the Nehruvian hierarchy. He had all along been shrewd, capable, courteous, clean, and not one of those who disliked him could point a finger at his misdeeds, real or imaginary.

When Nehru's grip over affairs began to falter, Shastriji, with his tact and strength, had achieved positive results. Nepal became friendly. In Kerala, the Communists got a setback. The Punjabi-Suba agitation petered out. The strike of the Government employees was scotched.

Kamaraj's skilful manoeuvre in securing consensus for Shastriji naturally led to the setting up of a diumvirate, two-man rule in the country, constitutionally a very unhealthy practice in creating a conscience-keeper or super-adviser of the Prime Minister outside the constitutional set-up of Parliament and Cabinet.

No Easy Job

However, Shastriji's job as the Prime Minister was not an easy one.

Shastriji had had to deal with Ministers who, till yesterday, were his colleagues, some of them his seniors. The senior Ministers who had been "Kamaraj-ed" were certainly not happy at his being chosen.

With the relaxation of Nehru's grip over the country, the Chief Ministers of the States, consciously or unconsciously, have been trying for some years to weaken the authority of the Centre and of the Parliament.

The hypnotic presence of Nehru had created the illusion that India was internally strong and externally irresistible. On his death, the reality sprang into view that the country was faced with internal dangers from the Communists, fanatical regionalists and linguistic patriots; that the Congress in every State was dominated by

power-driven groups; that externally we had become a "poor relation" in the family of nations.

China, having emerged as a world power, had its finger in the pie in every State in the four continents and created enormous difficulties for us.

The NEFA debacle destroyed the myth that we are a militarily power-



DR. K. M. MUNSHI is one of the architects of India's Constitution. Lawyer, author and educationalist, he was Union Food Minister and Governor of U.P. He is Vice President of the Swatantra Party.

ful country, able to defend ourselves. The Pakistani aggression in Kutch has further showed up our lack of strength.

The Naga problem was handed over to a committee of three, two of whom, I am afraid, are advocates of peace at any price, and if more than State-autonomy is conceded to Naga-

SHASTRI'S FIRST YEAR

land, every State in India would like to have it in practice, and the strength of the Union would have gone.

The handling of the language problem and the status given to all regional languages for the U.P.S.C. Examinations, carry the seed of further disintegration of the country. It is significant that the Communists alone have wholeheartedly hailed

the Congress decision on the language issue.

India, under Nehru, endeavoured to avoid becoming an unabashed political satellite of Russia or U.S.A. But the reported recent negotiations for "tying up" our Five-Year Plans with Russia's Plans would end up in our becoming an economic satellite of Russia.

Nandaji's action with regard to a few Ministers restored to some extent the reputation of the Congress for turning a blind eye to corruption in Ministerial ranks. But the bungling about Orissa has proved, if necessary, that where powerful Congress hierarchies are concerned, the Shastri Government is incapable of standing up to high moral standards.

The explosion of atomic bombs by China has brought down India's prestige a little more. The report that we wanted a nuclear umbrella from the three Great Powers, a thing which is not within the range of practical politics, was an exhibition of our weakness.

First things first: At any cost, we must resist the temptation to give advice to other nations. I am afraid we are being laughed at for our moral snobbery with regard to others. What is wanted are clear-cut policies which can be understood by the people and the world—implemented with dexterity and forthrightness.

Where are we in international politics?

We want to avoid estranging the U.S.A., keep Russia on our side, and please the Afro-Asian nations, all of whom are unwilling to take a strong attitude against China and Pakistan.

The Western Democracies wanted not merely delicately-balanced verbal friendship from us, but active unequivocal support. We would not give it. As a result we were not able to influence decisions of our friends with regard to Pakistan and China.

At the Cairo Conference, our demand, however just, was talked out; there was no condemnation of China.

At Moscow, where the reddest of red carpets was spread out for Shastriji, the Kremlin would not openly support us against China and Pakistan.

We have proved ourselves incapable of conducting a pragmatic diplomacy. We have yet to learn that every nation conducts its foreign affairs to serve ITS national interests, as it conceives it.

The country feels that the Shastri Government suffers from an obsession that to take a strong attitude or to take adequate military steps, is sinful. It may be untrue, but all the same, it is the impressions which agitate the minds of men. Seemingly, deft diplomatic manipulations can never inspire a country to disciplined, heroic actions.

It is no wonder that Shastriji and his colleagues, in spite of doing their best, have, in the aggregate, failed to rescue the country from frustration. By and large, people feel that internally the leadership is weak; that internationally we have been losing our position.

Shastri's Government has still to learn that there is something like

morale and that it cannot be maintained within the country or in the world except by firm decisions and unambiguous and clear-cut, long-term objectives, implemented in a forthright manner.

It is necessary to realize that all told the situation is such that internal peace and external aggression can only be met by imaginative, firm and strong actions which hearten the people.

Can we not make up our mind to be realistic, self-reliant and firm, not in words but in deeds? We may have temporary setbacks. We may lose a few friends. But a man who wants to have every one as a friend, has no friend to help him in a crisis.

We should formulate specific objectives, and not get lost in a wilderness of pious goals, and our policies, internal and external, should be geared to achieve them. Then alone can we hope to get control over circumstances—the *sine qua non* for firm and purposeful policies—instead of, as now, circumstances controlling us at every stage.

POSITIVE DECISIONS LACKING

By Prakash Vir Shastri, M. P.

Our country's freedom is 17 years old. Our problems are immense and therefore can be solved only gradually.

Nehruji left so many problems behind him that it would require a lot of common sense and will power to solve them. He probably believed in the policy of avoiding the problems as much as it was possible for him to do so.

When Shri Shastri took over the prime ministership a year ago, stark problems faced him from all sides. We cannot say emphatically that we have been successful in solving a single important problem during the last 17 years. To quote Smt. Vijayalaxmi Pandit: "From Kashmir to Kerala and from Vietnam to Sheikh Abdullah, there are only problems and problems—problems which have defied all solutions devised by the Government."

To be fair to the new Prime Minister, Shri Shastri, he did take a decisive step during his one year regime. This related to the agreement about Indian settlers in Ceylon, which he made with Smt. Bandaranaike, the

ex-Prime Minister of Ceylon. But the trouble is that India neither gained anything out of this agreement nor



MR. PRAKASH VIR SHASTRI, M.P., Independent from the U.P., is reputed to be one of the finest Hindi speakers in Parliament.

did it provide an honourable conclusion to this long-standing and difficult problem.

Burma, Zanzibar and Tanganyika and other countries are also following Ceylon's lead and are asking Indian settlers in their countries to go back to India.

One of the weaknesses of our foreign policy has been to neglect our small neighbouring countries at the expense of the friendship with big countries. It was bound to make our neighbours angry. The Shastri Government *did* try to pay more attention to our neighbouring countries, but their relations with us have worsened to such an extent that it will require a long time to restore normal relations. We did not send first or second class ambassadors to these countries. Such ambassadors were sent only to big countries. Now the Shastri Government has acted wisely in selecting the ambassadors for Ceylon and Nepal.

The food problem created such a crisis during the one year of the Shastri regime that the country would surely have gone into the jaws of famine had not nature come to our rescue. The last two crop yields have been wonderful and will go a long way in making the country self-dependent in the matter of food. But the amazing thing is that prices of foodgrains have not shown any downward trend

By creating food zones in the country, the Government has not only created an atmosphere of restrictions but also of hoarding, scarcity and apprehension. India is not as deficient in food as is made out, but its distribution policy is certainly very defective. If it decides on trading in foodgrains, then it is bound to lower its administrative efficiency and the capacity to defend the country's borders.

Young Generation

Fortunately, Shastriji hasn't got an "international personality"; he is more confined to India and her problems. That is why the country expected that he would give priority to national problems. But regrettably, so far, he has not fulfilled these expectations. The corruption rampant in the Government and the internal fights within the ruling Party are hitting a new low.

When the young generation sees the national leaders clashing with each other in this fashion, they are also apt to deviate from the straight path which these leaders are expected to show them.

Our problems—both national and international—will never be solved unless we base our solutions on moral

foundations. Our leaders expect the people to be moral and straight, but themselves act as if they are divine figures who have the right to do anything they want.

Prime Minister Shastri had declared, some time back, that the Chief Ministers would listen to all complaints about corruption of their Ministers and he himself would listen to all charges of corruption levelled against any Chief Minister. He has been given many a lengthy memorandum, in which charges of corruption against several Chief Ministers have been listed, but so far they are only lying in cold storage. As long as the Government do not possess high

RESOLUTE LEADERSHIP NEEDED

By Atal Bihari Vajpayee, M.P.

Notwithstanding anything that Nehru's devotees may say, the plain fact is that the bulk of the problems which enmesh the Shastri Government today are not of its own making, but have been inherited by it from the predecessor regime.

Nehru seldom solved problems. Like a deft snake charmer, he was wont to muffle them up inside his bag. If today after he is gone we have these snakes shaking their fangs menacingly at us, the blame certainly cannot be totally attributed to his successor.

The "tragedy" of Lal Bahadur Shastri is that he has had to step into the shoes of a "hero". As a faithful disciple he dare not tread a new path. And if he sticks to the beaten track, he just cannot give the correct lead to the country.

Immediately after assuming Premiership Shastri spoke of checking the rise in prices. But no sign is yet visible of this spurt being restrained. The fact is that unless a radical re-orientation is effected in the objectives, strategy and priorities of planning, no government can successfully hold the price line.

The biggest weakness of the Shastri Government has been a failure to foresee events and take necessary steps to forestall them. If only the Government had educated public opinion in the country that even after January 26, English was going to continue and

moral character, it is futile to hope for the administration and society to be incorruptible.

As an individual, Shri Shastri is a modest person, with profound thinking, and very sincere in his duty towards the country. Nobody who occupies as responsible a position as he does can function without these essential virtues. But if he were to add the virtue of taking bold and positive decisions to these existing virtues, it would benefit immensely both him and the country. Our country would march forward very quickly if our leaders also begin to discover their own weaknesses and limitations and act accordingly.

MR. ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE, M.P., is a leading spokesman of the Jan Sangh in the Upper House. He is a journalist and was Private Secretary to the late Dr. Shyam Prasad Mookerjee.

that Hindi was not going to displace regional languages, the violent outburst in Madras over the language issue might have been checkmated—at least their viciousness could have been lessened.

In the matter of action against the pro-Peking Reds, Government's delay

BOLD BREAK WITH THE PAST

By S. N. Dwivedy, M.P.

Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri inherited a regime which had shown no firm determination to face India's problems, both internal and international, and had completely lost any positive mission and objective.

Under the shade of the "banyan tree" that was Nehru, not only the Party could not grow, but the entire country by the charismatic hold that he had, could not throw out any alternative leader so imperative in the development of democracy.

Shastri's regime has not made any remarkable change in any sphere, although some credit goes to him for carrying on the administration and his Party rather smoothly in spite of severe stress and strain. Mr. Shastri came to power as a compromise bet-

and drift only provided critics with an opportunity and plausible justification for alleging that the Government's crack-down was politically motivated.

By rejecting the demand for a Commission of Enquiry in the Orissa affairs, the Shastri Government proved that despite its flamboyant promises of rooting out all corruption, it was not a wee-bit different in this regard from the preceding Government. The grant of a passport to Sheikh Abdullah despite clear warnings, and again, the Government's obtuse insistence on a policy of nuclear abnegation in the face of China's threatening postures are further examples that this Government is prepared to learn nothing and forget nothing.

The biggest setback for the Shastri Government has been in regard to the Kutch affair. Its handling of this episode has been thoroughly inept and indefensible, and proof that it sadly lacks foresight, statesmanship and firm resolve.

The vast fund of good will which came to Shastri on his ascendancy to the Prime Minister's office is running out fast. His forte was humility and gentleness and that put him into office. But to become a successful Prime Minister he needs other attributes too. He has to be resolute and he has to lead, or else he will fade away in the pages of history as a "prisoner of indecision".

MR. S. N. DWIVEDY, M.P., Praja Socialist Party, is known for his vigorous campaign against corruption in Orissa State and last March, moved a no confidence motion against the Shastri Government.

ween different warring groups inside the ruling Party and that is his greatest handicap. India's progress and development and even its political complexion would have been different had the country won her freedom through revolution and I believe if there was contest for leadership in the ruling Party after Nehru on the basis of some well-defined policy issues, probably the picture today would have changed.

Mr. Shastri asserts that he is not

Continued on page 20

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

U.N. on Collision Course in Africa

FROM VERA JAMES

Lusaka

IN SPITE OF the costly and tragic experiences of military intervention in Katanga, the United Nations seems to be set once again on a collision course in Africa. The U.N. Special Committee on Colonialism has been holding its first meetings on African soil in Lusaka, capital of Zambia. The Committee of 24, as it is now tagged, is being airlifted around Africa to what are described as the "crisis areas" in the campaign to end colonialism.

One significance of Lusaka as a venue for the investigation is that newly independent Zambia has common frontiers with four of the territories at issue—Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa.

On their way to Africa a spokesman for the Committee stated that if necessary the United Nations could use force to help Africans take control in countries like Southern Rhodesia. Great Britain has come under heavy attack for refusing to intervene in the internal affairs of that country. This she has every right to do if the rule of law is to be maintained.

The British delegate told the Committee that he was sad to hear that "bloodshed, killings and military intervention" were being advocated instead of peaceful negotiation. "If there is anybody here who is ready to say that peaceful negotiation is wrong and that killing is right, let him say so openly," he added.

Obviously Rhodesia, Portugal and South Africa would strongly resist such intervention. With well-equipped and well-trained forces now at their command, the result would be a far more terrible conflict than the U.N. experienced in Katanga.

Rival Claimants

A key figure in the Committee is a political heavyweight, Mr. Jacob Malik. He is the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister and formerly the principal Soviet representative at the United Nations.

The Committee moves next to Dar es Salaam and Addis Ababa. Sources in Tanzania suggest that this move is to coincide with the visit of Mr. Chou En-lai. The Chinese Prime Minister is apparently anxious to

counter any success that Mr. Malik may be having in the U.N. Special Committee.

Not all the delegates have engaged in "cold war" propaganda and tactics. The representative of Sierra Leone spent some time trying to ascertain from the rival claimants for leadership in Southern Rhodesia why they themselves could not agree.

The two opposing factions are ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union), which is led by Joshua Nkomo, and ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union), headed by the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole. Both are at present detained by the white minority Government.

It is time that their followers demonstrated that they are capable of uniting and leading an independent Zimbabwe. Otherwise the Smith Government might well ask, "To whom could we hand over Government?"

Accord Elusive at Arab Meeting

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

THE "LITTLE SUMMIT" Conference of heads of Arab governments held their regular meeting in Cairo recently with Tunisian representatives absent. Although the conference refused to expel Tunisia from the Arab League, it did pass a resolution condemning President Bourguiba's plan for a Palestine settlement.

The Tunisian Foreign Minister, Habib Bourguiba, Jr., in a note to the Secretary General of the Arab League, recalled the attack on the Tunisian Embassy in Cairo and said Tunisia therefore did not consider Cairo a proper venue for the Conference. "Whatever the case might be," the

Continued on page 14

The week in Asia

TOKYO — The death toll in the worst mining disaster since World War II rose to over 200 in Fukuoka on Japan's southern island.

SAIGON — It is reported here that President Johnson has ruled out attacks on the Soviet installed anti-aircraft positions around Hanoi to wipe them out before they become operational. It is believed that the U.S. would rather have the Soviet presence in North Vietnam than the Chinese.

CAIRO — Arab foreign ministers met to co-ordinate their strategy for the Algiers Conference. All will give support to the seating of Malaysia though their stand on the Soviet Union's seat is not yet known.

HONG KONG—The island of Hainan 200 miles off the Vietnam coast has been turned into an armed camp. Jet interceptors have been moved in large numbers. A string of airbases has been constructed along the Chinese-North Vietnamese border and on the island.

COLOMBO — Most of the 3,642,808 lbs. of tea that China purchased from Ceylon last year have been shipped to French Somaliland, Malaysia and Zanzibar. Tea and coconut oil from Ceylon have been among major items the Chinese have offered African states under aid programmes.

CAIRO — An Arab weekly quoted Chou En-lai saying, "China is prepared to go to war with full force in Vietnam if the United States imposes war on China." He also said that if war developed between China and the U.S. it would not be a world war because it would not extend beyond China.

CAIRO — South Vietnam has not been invited by Algeria to attend the Algiers conference despite the fact that she participated in the Bandung Conference ten years ago. This is due to severe Chinese pressure. The Chinese intend to make the Vietnamese conflict a principal issue.

TOKYO — Japan and India have co-ordinated their approach to policies at the Algiers Conference. Japan has withdrawn her opposition to Soviet participation which was one of the conflicting views between them.

KUALA LUMPUR — Indonesia has moved two battalions into the Rhio islands off Singapore to "liberate" several Malaysian islands in the vicinity before the Algiers conference.

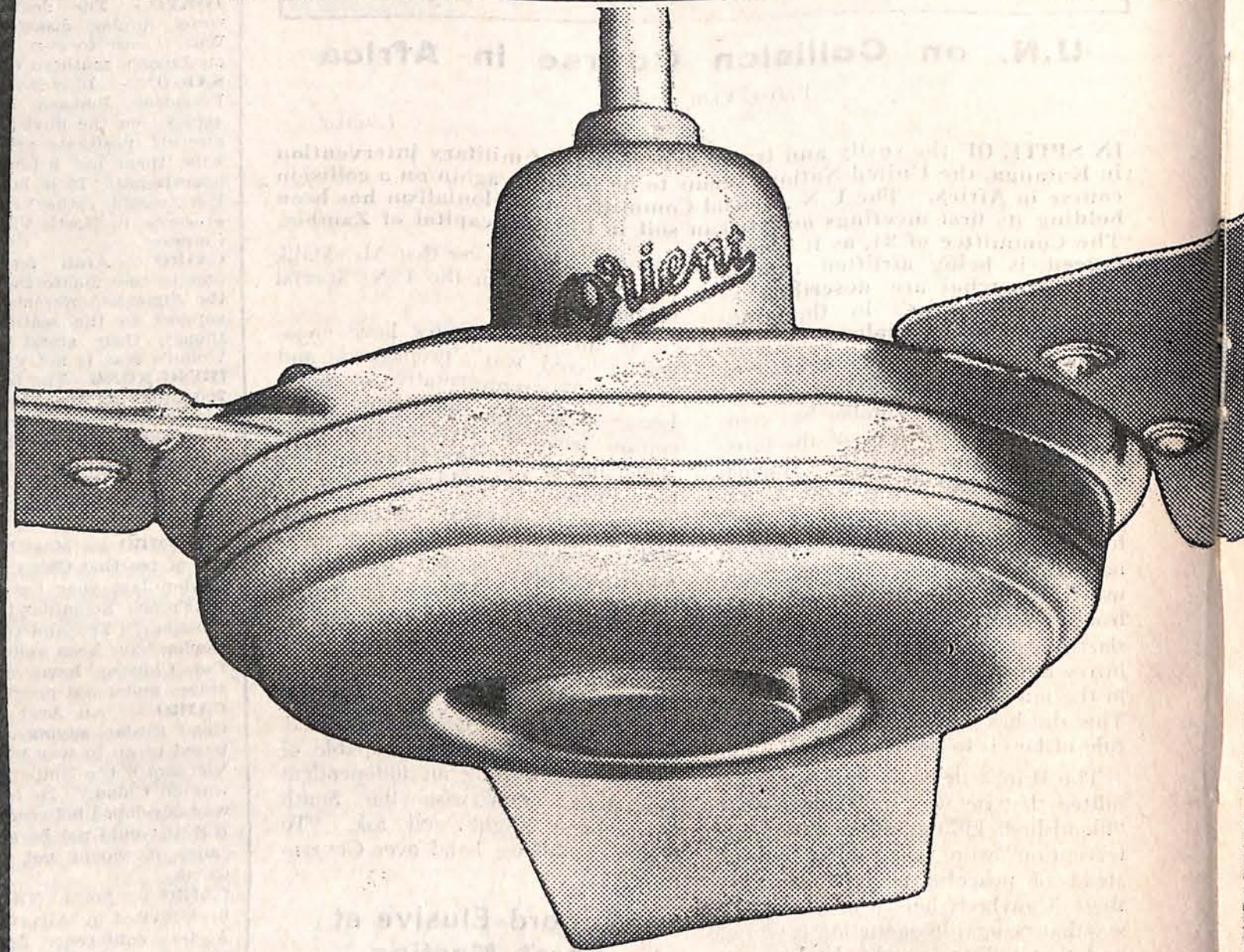
TOKYO — Prime Minister Sato removed all 17 Cabinet members he inherited six months ago save Foreign Minister Shiina, who was retained due to his key role in negotiations with Korea for diplomatic normalcy.

SAIGON — Two dozen Ilyushin twin jet bombers have been supplied by the Soviet Union to North Vietnam. It is possible that they are piloted by Russians.

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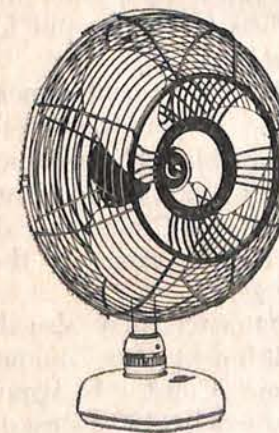


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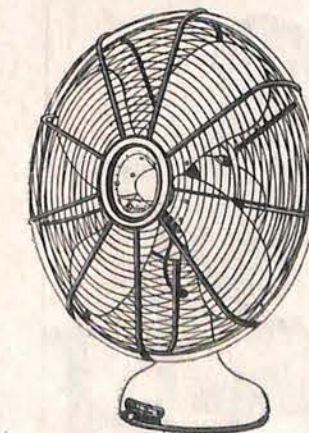


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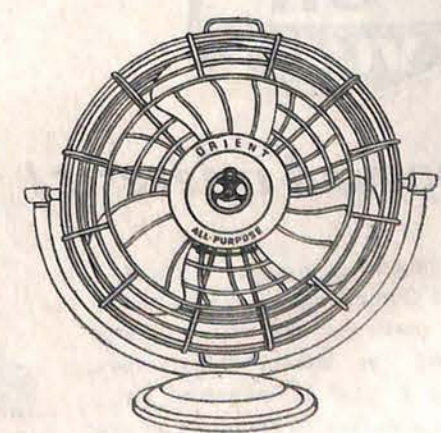
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Tunisian Foreign Minister continued, "Tunisia confirms its pledges concerning the Palestine question and the Arab projects for diversion of the Jordan headwaters."

Ahmed Shukairy announced his resignation as President of the Palestine Liberation Organization when the conference turned down his request for expulsion of Tunisia. The resignation was refused.

While the heads of governments were seeking to heal the splits in their ranks, Israel conducted armed raids on Jordan territory. Major General Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's Chief of Staff, said in Tel Aviv that the objectives of the 3-pronged attack were limited and intended to serve as a warning. He said units of the Arab "al-Fateh" had carried out nine raids in Israel in the last six months.

Tense Atmosphere

In this tense atmosphere, press headlines spoke of mounting dissension at the conference. Syria accused the other Arab states of not having come to her aid when Israel recently attacked her work on the division of Jordan water. Jordan stated she did not want troops from other Arab states in her territory. Lebanon insisted on the need to reinforce air defences, while her Foreign Minister stated: "Nothing has been decided."

No man with a conscience can deny the injustice suffered by the Palestine Arabs who, under circumstances beyond their control, had to leave home and for 17 years have

been unable to return with any security. Nor can any man suggest that the answer to the first injustice is to push the State of Israel into the Mediterranean. The culpability of the West is also clear.

Human planning fails to answer

the problems created by hate and fear. A solution could come through Jews who live in the true tradition of Moses and Isaiah, through Muslims who seek and obey God's guidance, through Christians who crucify their hate and pride.

A Commonwealth Parliament

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

THE CHOICE of a Secretary General for the new Commonwealth Secretariat has been deferred to the Prime Ministers' Conference in London beginning on June 17. The 21 Governments have failed to agree on a nominee so far. African members want to counter the influence of older Commonwealth countries by appointing an African. The older members fear that an African would use the Secretariat for propaganda.

A 49-year-old Australian may be chosen. He is Mr. George Ivan Smith, who since 1947 has worked for the U.N. and was for two years personal assistant to Dag Hammarskjold. During the war, Mr. Smith was Director of Pacific Services for the B.B.C. In 1961 he was appointed U.N. representative in East Africa.

The Prime Ministers' meeting ends on June 25, enabling Afro-Asian members to go on to the Conference in Algiers. Vietnam and Rhodesia are likely to be major topics at both meetings.

Tunku Abdul Rahman is expected to seek the other Prime Ministers' support for Malaysia in her confrontation with Indonesia—a situation which occupies 50,000 British troops. The West Indian Prime Ministers will be anxious to discuss immigration.

The British Government hopes the Rann of Kutch dispute will be settled before the conference.

Four heads of government are not coming to London. President Kenyatta, cautious about leaving Kenya because of the security situation, has nominated his Foreign Minister in his place. President Makarios of Cyprus, Mr. Senanayake of Ceylon and Sir Alexander Bustamante of Jamaica will also send representatives—the first two because of domestic pressures. The Jamaican Prime Minister is ill.

New Ideas

Mr. Arthur Bottomley, the Labour Government's Commonwealth Relations Secretary, has long advocated the establishment of a Commonwealth Secretariat. At the Prime Ministers' Conference he may carry the idea further. He is expected to propose the setting up of a Commonwealth Parliamentary Assembly with twice yearly meetings and representation based on population.

Mr. Bottomley's model is the Council of Europe, conceived by Robert Schuman of France as a laboratory where new ideas could be put forward and examined.

Mr. Bottomley's argument appears to be that if the 17 countries of the Council can assemble 144 parliamentarians to speak for 300 million Europeans, surely the 21 Commonwealth countries can do the same for their 715 million citizens.

The Prime Ministers may also discuss the establishment of a Commonwealth Supreme Court of Appeal. This was proposed by 100 Conservative M.P.s in a recent House of Commons' motion. Such a court, they believe, could advance the rule of law internationally.

"Hit Lax Law for Six"

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

FIELD MARSHAL Viscount Montgomery is usually blunt, always provocative. He was true to form when he spoke in a House of Lords debate against a Bill which would legalize homosexual practices between consenting adults in private.

"One might as well condone the devil and all his works," he said. The Bill should be "hit for six right out of the House".

But the good Lord and his team—which included two former Lord Chancellors and a former Lord Chief Justice—were bowled out by 94 votes to 49, and the Bill was given a second reading. Two days later, however, the House of Commons rejected a similar move by 19 votes.

In 1957, the "Wolfenden" Commission set up by the Government had recommended the change. But there was and still is strong opposition.

The *Church Times* hoped that "it will be made crystal clear that homosexual acts are not thereby being condoned; that the moral responsibility of a man for his actions is not being called in question; and that the doors are not being opened to the easier corruption of the young."

Rejected by Commons

Indeed the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ramsey, who supports a change, was at pains in the debate to point out, amid current talk about a new morality, that "just as fornication is always wrong, so homosexual acts are always wrong".

Anyway, the Law is not to be changed—at least, not yet.

Sir Cyril Osborne, M.P., who spoke against a similar Bill in the Commons, said members who supported the proposal should tell their constituents where they stood. "Many on both sides of the House would get a shock as a result."

He could not accept the claim that homosexuals could not help themselves. "This excuse of inevitability could be used to justify the Oxford students who are drug addicts, the kleptomaniacs or the habitual drunk-

en thug. It could be used to excuse every crime in the calendar.

"Royal Commissions over the years," he held, "had often made unwise suggestions, and bishops over the centuries had been guilty of being tragically wrong. This is an age of lawlessness, of violence and of crime. What we need is sterner discipline and not more licence.

"The greatest harm," he believed, "would be done by sending out a message to Britain's friends and allies abroad that somehow the character of the English people was going wrong. It was not true."

On a free vote, after a twenty minute debate, the Commons rejected the example of the Lords by 178 votes to 159.

Computers Help Diagnose Disease

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

"THE COMPUTER will emerge as a major tool of the medical fraternity," writes David Sarnoff, head of the Radio Corporation of America, in an article in *Science Horizons*.

A recent example is the use by British doctors of a computer to diagnose thyroid disease.

A conference in London last week organized by Elliott Medical Automation was told how doctors at Glasgow Royal Infirmary "trained" a computer to recognize three types of the disease.

Symptoms of 88 patients were then given to the machine and to human clinicians to decide which type of thyroid disease each had. The machine was right more often than the men.

Computers, says Sarnoff, will make it possible to keep an up-to-the-minute health record of the whole population. They will warn of possible epidemics, facilitate research, and help doctors keep abreast of new medical information.

But in the final analysis, writes Sarnoff, what computers produce depends on what men put into them. "Far from downgrading the political, social and spiritual leader, the rapid progress of the computer places a higher premium upon his abilities, understanding and courage."

The week in India

CHANDIGARH — Chief Minister Ram Kishen has expanded his Cabinet from six to seventeen in an effort to end the crisis between ministerialists and dissidents in the party.

NEW DELHI — 1,979 people have come forward divulging Rs. 518,761,243 in black money during the three months' period of grace initiated by the Finance Ministry under which those who declared hidden incomes could keep 40 per cent, surrender 60 per cent and have no questions asked.

NEW DELHI — Complete agreement has been reached between India and Pakistan in Karachi for the initiation of the second phase of the Indus Waters Treaty under which water supplied to Pakistan from Indian rivers are to be further curtailed.

BHUBANESWAR — Congress President Kamaraj began a week's tour of Orissa to attempt to unite warring Congress factions. The dissident group called for the expulsion from party and administration of all those implicated in corruption charges.

CALCUTTA — India's freedom to construct an atom bomb will depend on the arrangements under which her third nuclear plant at Kalpakkam will be built. The reactor at Trombay was installed with Canadian help under an agreement precluding its use for military purposes.

NEW DELHI — An Indian medical team in Laos has just completed one year of overseas service. It treated 88,000 outpatients and 600 indoor patients through its permanent and mobile dispensaries. The unit is now running two hospitals. Drugs and stores worth Rs. 21 lakhs have been distributed.

PATNA — State S.S.P. leaders charged that 10,500,000 people in Bihar are faced with famine conditions with rice selling at Rs. 60 a maund.

NEW DELHI — Prime Minister Sato of Japan and President Ben Bella of Algeria will visit India some time later this year.

NEW DELHI — Prime Minister Shastri rejected any system of State quotas for appointment to the Central services as they would "impair efficiency and shut out talent".

NEW DELHI — With Mr. Shastri's scheduled departure abroad negotiations for a settlement to the Kutch dispute may be postponed. He is unlikely to discuss the Kutch question with President Ayub Khan during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London.

NEW DELHI — It is reported here that Britain and America are likely to give unilateral assurances of protection against any nuclear threat to non-nuclear nations. Approaches have been made to France and the Soviet Union for joining the Anglo-American move, but their response to date has been negative.



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China Readies for War

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

APPLICATIONS to hire charter aircraft in the United States have been turned down, according to reports reaching London. The planes were said to be standing by for military use—the possible airlifting of large American reinforcements to Vietnam.

Reports from China and Nepal this past week bear out the gravity of the crisis in Asia.

The *Scotsman's* correspondent wrote: "The Chinese Communist regime is preparing for war. The Peking Communist hierarchy is slowly moving towards total conscription of its 750,000,000 population. Evidence of this is strikingly apparent in recent statements by Government leaders and in the domestic press and radio channels. The theme constantly dinned throughout China is that the United States, beaten in South Vietnam, is now bombing North Vietnam and threatens invasion of Communist China itself."

According to the *Sunday Telegraph's* Peking correspondent: "The Chinese are being steadily prepared to face the possibility of American bomber raids, including nuclear strikes, if the Vietnam crisis flares into an open confrontation between Washington and Peking. Speeches and articles increasingly refer to the support China will give Vietnam whether or not 'United States imperialism bombs our country'."



From India's Leather

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The danger was underlined by U.S. nuclear physicist Dr. Ralph Lapp, who was quoted in the *Daily Mail*: "Mao Tse-tung and the men under him show signs of being under the delusion that their country might survive a nuclear war. Thus, for them the unthinkable conflict is thinkable."

The *Daily Express* carried a report from a correspondent in Nepal, Stephen Harper. "Eight hundred Chinese engineers—prodding on a labour force of 12,000 Nepalese—are cutting a modern two-lane highway through the heart of the Himalayas," wrote Harper. "The road—capable of carrying the heaviest military equipment—is aimed straight at India."

Five new river bridges were being built, said Harper, capable of taking weights up to 30 tons. "Military strategic experts insist that bridges of such strength can only be meant to take tank transporters."

"This £3,500,000 road was offered to King Mahendra during a state visit to Peking three years ago when India was backing rebels trying to overthrow his direct royal rule."

Noose Across Vietnam

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Los Angeles

A "PENINSULA" type of war such as was fought in Korea and Malaya is now being considered in Washington as the solution to the Vietnam military stalemate.

The idea is to stretch a steel noose of combat troops, aerial bombings and naval bombardments across the narrow neck of both North Vietnam and Laos about 50 miles north of the 17th parallel demarcation line. It would cut off the "Ho Chi Minh trail" which is used to supply Viet Cong troops with Chinese arms.

Meanwhile, the U.S. naval coastal blockade would progressively strangle the Communist sea infiltration routes.

Once effected, the resulting "military peninsula" would be subjected to the capture and mop-up of the estimated 135,000 Viet Cong who have infiltrated into the south.

Such a solution would require committing 100,000 American combat troops above the 50,000 already in South Vietnam. It is hoped in Washington that allies would contribute troops.

South Korea has already sent a contingent of 2,000. Australian troops have arrived and New Zealand has decided to send help. The Philippines is also expected to contribute troops. It is expected that the Communist world, and even some "friendly" powers, will react strongly to such a solution.

Mao Tse-tung told journalist Edgar Snow in an interview recently that China's armies would not go beyond its borders to fight and only if the U.S. attacked China would the Chinese fight.

Some observers point to the Chinese crossing of India's border, but it is hoped here that a clearly defined manoeuvre aimed solely at containing and then eliminating the Viet Cong would not necessarily draw China into the war.

N.Z. Commits Troops

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS

Wellington

THE NEW ZEALAND Government, after one of the hottest controversies for decades, has decided to send an artillery unit to Vietnam. The South Vietnam Government requested this support a month ago.

The wish by New Zealanders to find a role in Asia is demonstrated by the attention given to Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi's recent suggestion in *HIMMAT* that New Zealand and Australia be invited to join the Afro-Asian bloc. One of the leading newspapers, *The Auckland Star*, carried a long passage opposite its editorial page reporting Mr. Gandhi's suggestion, with the headline "Afro-Asians Urged to Include Us".*

Prime Minister Keith Holyoake encouraged all groups to express their opinions about the sending of troops and waited until Parliament re-assembled on May 27 to announce his Cabinet's decision.

In a carefully-worded resolution he confirmed the principle of collective security, stated that his Government

Continued on page 18

* Mr. Gandhi's article was also widely commented upon in the *Australian press*. The *Herald of Melbourne* and *The Australian*, the national daily, quoted extensively from it.—Ed.

VIEWPOINT

This, Then, Is My India

By Indu Hingorani

BOMBAY IS NOT India. A foreign tourist who comes to Bombay and sees a perennial stream of shining cars, is baffled as to what all this talk about poverty-stricken, under-developed countries is. A foreign dignitary, entertained to a private sumptuous dinner in the Capital, wonders whether the Indian austerity is a myth created to fascinate the western mind.

But an Indian, who returns home after an absence of few years in the West, knows well. He puts it very plainly, "When I take a pound to St. Michael's in London, I know I will get my pound's worth. In Berlin, you can actually feel the mark. But in Bombay, the rupee hardly buys a thing. And this you can anticipate right at Aden, while changing your money."

He is right. Economic progress should mean that money has good purchasing power. It should mean necessities for all, comforts for many

and luxuries for a few. After years of promise and planning we have progressed in a sense which is: luxuries and comforts have increased and even become necessities for some, but for others, necessities have become as expensive as luxuries.

In this highly sophisticated modern metropolis—Bombay, a decent man knocks at my door and asks for a loaf of bread. "I am hungry," he says. An able bodied man scours garbage bins for rotten vegetables, bread crumbs and meatless bones and savours them with delight. This could not happen in a village.

A vast undeveloped country dotted with a few highly concentrated industrial areas is bound to experience chaos of some sort. Any sudden and unbalanced change is likely to create a host of problems; and these have been created in India by a quick scramble for industries and neglect of village and agriculture. This could

have been avoided by maintaining a balance between the rural and the urban, the agriculture and industry, the village and the city.

This is what Gandhiji had planned and dreamed about,—betterment for the masses without crushing their natural spontaneity and immediate goals.

Meanwhile a village remains a village, a promise only a hope, a dream still a dream; and a little uneasy thought comes to mind, "Have we failed Gandhiji?"

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

LETTERS

BLACK MONEY

SIR: Black money is still lying underground. The Government wants the public to declare it, but very few have.

There is a terrible shortage of accommodation and housing in many states. The Government should give encouragement to black money holders to get a vacant plot and build houses without any question asked. After completion, the Government could collect taxes on whatever income is derived from the building. Also, the flat rents could be fixed by the Government according to the accommodating area. Such flats should not be kept unoccupied, otherwise the Government should arrange to put in tenants or charge taxes on unoccupied flats.

Thus, the ownership-basis flats, which are lying unoccupied at present in hundreds and thousands, owing to the exorbitant prices demanded in the way of *pagree*, will come into use.

Is it not a good idea to encourage the black money holder to come out and freely invest money in buildings to the mutual advantages of himself, the Government and public?

Thus black money will be in circulation and there will be no shortage of accommodation and housing.

S.M. WADIA

Bombay 1

NOT LOUIS XIV

SIR: With reference to your report entitled "Hum Janata Hai!". It was Louis XV and not Louis XIV who made the prophetic remark: *Apres moi, le deluge.*

K. MAHADEV

Madras 4

HUBERT



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"Are you getting ready to hibernate?"

New Zealand—From page 16

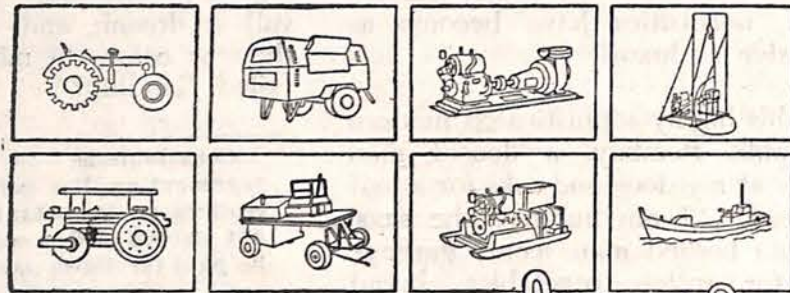
hoped for a negotiated settlement but believed that, while the North Vietnamese showed little inclination to negotiate in good faith, strength was needed in freedom's defence. The resolution was passed after a few hours' debate.

Some Left-wing pressure groups

oppose what Parliament decided. A group of squatters made their way to the Prime Minister's suite and sat on the floor until police ejected them bodily one by one. A committee decided to telephone every subscriber in the Wellington telephone directory. Mr. Holyoake's decisive action forestalled them.

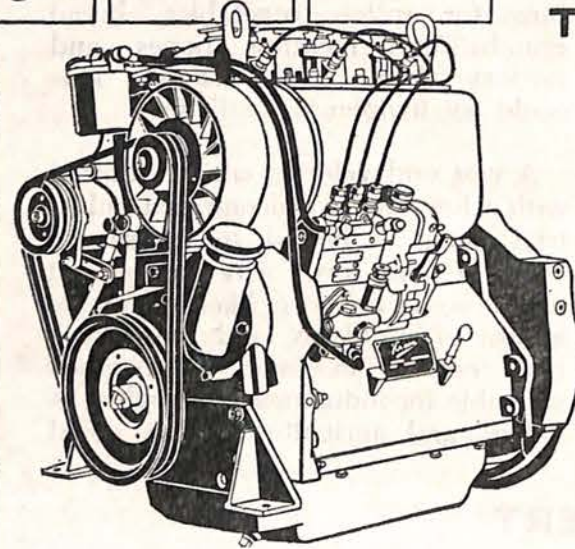
There may still be attempts by

trade union organizations to boycott supplies and men being sent to Vietnam. They may heed an article in the capital's morning paper by leading Australian Opposition Member of Parliament, K. E. Beazley. He told how the Australian Labour Party, while opposing the sending of Australian troops, refuses to countenance any industrial action against it.



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FOR WOMEN

**"Married" to the Himalayas
EVEREST HERO'S WIFE SPEAKS TO HIMMAT**

The whole world has heard of Nawang Gombu, the only man who has scaled Mount Everest twice. Sita is his charming wife, and they have two lively children — Yangdu, the four-year-old daughter, and Kursung Phinjo, their son, who is just two.

Sita first met her husband in her own home town, Tungsung, which is on the road halfway up between Siliguri and Darjeeling. On February 8, 1960, Sita Lamu married Nawang Gombu. Both their families are originally from Nepal, but now India is their home and they love it deeply.

Sita, who comes from a mountaineering family (her two brothers are mountaineering instructors), has her heart and soul with her husband's adventurous living.

Often Anxious

The Gombus' home is in the grounds of the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, which is situated high up on Birch Hill very near Darjeeling. They have an apartment in a house called Sherpa Villa, which looks like a very large alpine cottage. Sita's home, besides being attractive and having a warm, friendly atmosphere, is a symbol of her pride in her husband's courageous adventures.

As one enters the livingroom with its colourful Tibetan carpets, Sita has placed on the front table the photograph of her husband presenting the ceremonial white scarf to the late President John F. Kennedy on the lawns of the White House. Across the hallway on the wall hang the keys of the City of Richmond (U.S.A.), in the shape of an ice axe. On either side of this are photographs of mighty Everest and Nanda Devi and again on either side of these photographs are brackets which hold a trophy and a cup presented to her husband when he was on the Indian Expedition to Everest which fell short of success by just 700 feet due to bad weather.

Asked how she felt when her husband went on expeditions, she replied, "I feel very anxious and



Mrs. Gombu waits for news

lonely," and added, "I am no different from the army wives who also feel the same way about their husbands' absence." About this last expedition she said she felt very unhappy at letting him go. "He has already been so many times to Everest," she said. "But he was chosen and it was for our country's honour." Now Sita is very happy and very proud.

Sita Gombu's most treasured possession is the handsome "Hubbard Medal". This medal was presented to the successful 1964 American expedition to Everest, of which Nawang was one of the men who made the final ascent. Gombu's American friends generously presented this

medal to him as a token of friendship and appreciation. Her other precious possession is their photograph album.

According to Sita, Nanda Devi, the highest peak in India, is the most hazardous to negotiate. Her husband climbed this on June 26, 1964. "It is a very difficult peak to climb and the route is bad. Moreover, the final assault was made without oxygen masks," said Sita with an anxious, faraway look. The time her husband was on this expedition was the most anxious time she ever remembers. She claims she was never more relieved than when the Indian expedition to Nanda Devi was over.

Sita Gombu is a brave young woman. She is perfectly content with her life, which is busy and full. Their home, the two lively children and keeping up with her husband's adventures leaves time for little else. Her life is completely woven around her husband—whether he is with her or atop a snow mountain.

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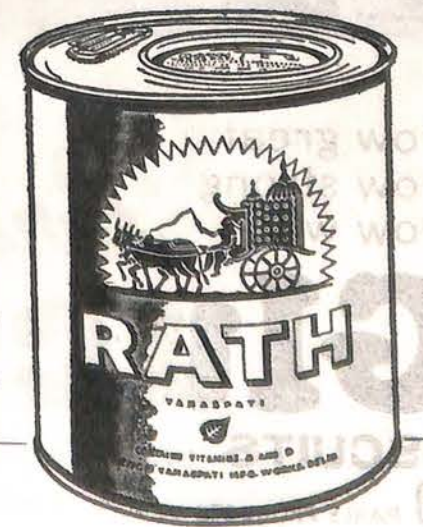
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SHASTRI—From Page 10

deviating in any manner from Nehru's policies. Those policies, in order to be worthwhile, must get a new orientation and must subserve to the national self-interest of the nation as a whole. It is an uphill task, but if stability of India's democracy and the country—not merely stability of the Party in power—is the aim, then a bold break with the past on many matters is absolutely essential.

the beginning showed some awareness and promised some changes, no drastic change in the fourth Five Year Plan is contemplated nor the much-needed reorganization of the Planning Commission is undertaken. In the administrative sphere, the bureaucratic stranglehold remains intact. In the political sphere, central authority is gradually losing control over the states and corruption at the top levels both at the centre and states has not been grappled with effectively due to political reasons and there is moral degeneration. I am afraid the Shastri Government has not shown any dynamism and boldness to approach the country's basic and fundamental issues.

In the international sphere, the pursuit of the faulty implementation of a basically sound policy of non-alignment has brought the country national humiliation. In the economic sphere, although Mr. Shastri at

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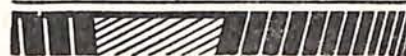
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This was a life

SRI AUROBINDO

1872—1950

REVOLUTIONARY, yogi, writer and a fighter for national freedom, Sri Aurobindo Ghose was one of those very few Indian national leaders who saw the struggle for India's freedom in the wider context of humanity. "India has always existed for humanity and for herself, and it is for humanity and not for herself that she must be great," he said once.

Aurobindo was born in Calcutta on August 15, 1872. He was educated in England and grew up in complete ignorance of India, her people, religion and culture. He was a brilliant student and passed the open competition for the Indian Civil Service, but disqualified himself deliberately by not turning up for the riding test, because he had in the meantime gained an understanding of India's cultural heritage and decided to serve his country.

When he landed in India in 1893, he claimed "vast peace and calm" descended upon him. He experienced a transformation.

Impressed by his talents, the Maharaja of Baroda offered him the high post of Settlement and Revenue Officer of his state. Later he became the Vice-Principal of the Baroda College. During the 13 years which he spent in Baroda, he prepared himself for the great work awaiting him. His aspirations to realize God made him take interest in Yoga. He also wrote poetry and translated many Sanskrit epics and classics into English.

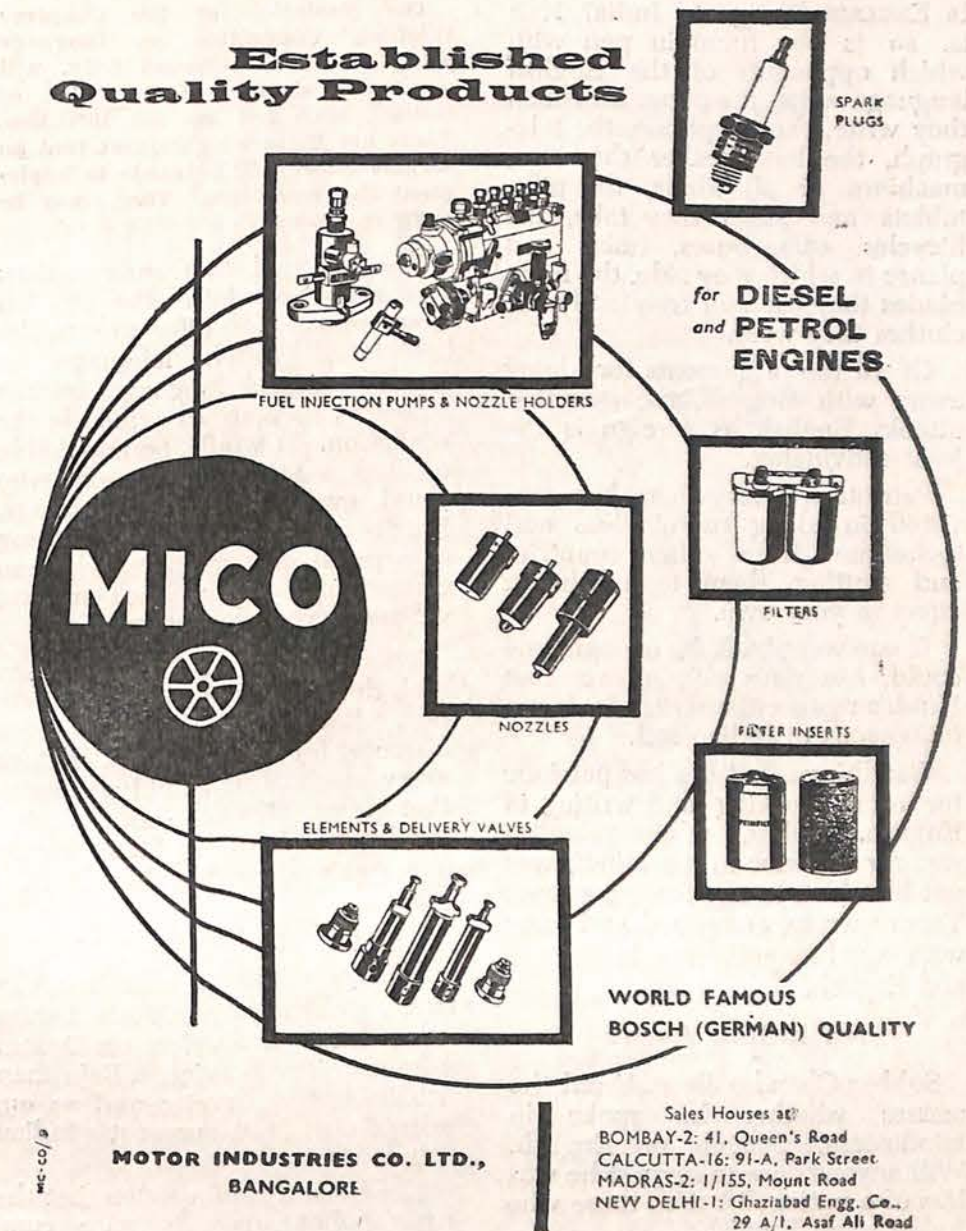
Although he carried on revolutionary political activities in secret at Baroda, when Bengal was partitioned he left Baroda and openly joined the national movement. Through the columns of **Bandematram** he began to preach "Swaraj"—total independence.

The British Government arrested and detained him in Alipore Jail for one year on a charge of sedition. It was in this jail that he had another significant spiritual realization. "...His strength entered into me and I saw God everywhere and in everybody."

After being released from the jail, Aurobindo had another divine command to quit Bengal forever. He went to Pondicherry and founded his well-known Ashram. Here he carried on his spiritual experiments.

Aurobindo, who passed away in 1950, was not merely a spiritual aspirant for divine life, but also a passionate revolutionary who strived to heal the agony of mankind.

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ENGLISH IN THE DUSTBIN

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Is ENGLISH foreign to India? If it is, so is the fountain pen with which opponents of the English language write, the paper on which they write, the telephone, the telegraph, the loudspeaker they use, machines of all kinds, the pills, tablets and shots they take, the bicycles, cars, buses, trains and planes in which they ride, the razor blades they use and frequently the clothes they wear.

Of all the arguments for doing away with English, the one that attacks English as foreign is the least convincing.

Patriotism everywhere has consisted in taking useful ideas and techniques from other countries and putting them to maximum effect in your own.

If one went back far enough, one could, historians say, prove that Hindi's mother Sanskrit, too, is not indigenous to Indian soil.

Gandhi was not the less patriotic for often speaking and writing in English. Nehru, whose English was far superior to his Hindi, was not beholden to any foreign power. Tagore wrote, composed and sang with equal magnificence in Bengali and English.

An Indian Asset

Subhas Chandra Bose stirred the masses whether he spoke in Hindustani, Bengali or English. Will anyone dare to suggest he was less of a nationalist than those who today scorn English?

English, I submit, is an *Indian* asset. By now it is far more native to our soil than the fans, air-conditioners, chairs, tables and desks that the antagonists of English are content to use. It is, in fact, an important part of the wealth of our poor land, and throwing it away would be an act of major callousness towards our common people. It gives us an advantage in trade with foreign lands over many Asian and African countries and even over quite a few European lands. Through it India will always be able to see and comprehend the new vistas of science.

Supposing Indian military officers were forced to consult non-existent dictionaries of military and space-and-nuclear-age terminology! It would give our enemies an insurmountable gain.

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee on language policy, if it is enforced fully, will expel English from India. This, of course, may not be the intention. There are those who suggest that no serious effort will be made to implement the resolution. They may be right or wrong.

We are told that examinations for the best jobs the Indian Government can offer are to be held in all Indian languages—or in the national languages of the States, as they are described in the resolution. It would be impossible to find a set of examiners who could evaluate all the answers. Hardly a man exists, to say nothing of a panel of examiners, who can competently assess the answers written in the 15 languages.

There would no longer be any such thing as an all-India competition. Each State would be given a quota for each Central service every year. This would also mean that most, if not all, selected candidates from a State would live and work within their State.

End of the I.A.S.

With or without a change in the name, we shall have a Maharashtra Administrative Service, an Assam Administrative Service, a Rajasthan Administrative Service and so on, instead of the present Indian Administrative Service.

Nor must it be forgotten that the new policy may detonate campaigns for the acceptance of a national language status on behalf of vernaculars not yet included in the official schedule—Konkani, Tulu, Jaunpuri and Vrajabhasha, perhaps.

Those who would throw English out are ridding themselves of the prospects of modernizing India.

Members of the Congress Working Committee, I am convinced, are not against India's progress. They are politicians, and have to figure out what the people will support. It must be admitted that the resolution is a remarkable political achievement. Both in the South and the North, Congress had suffered a substantial loss of prestige on the language issue. In the South, the D.M.K. spearheaded a most successful opposition to what was regarded as the imposi-

tion of Hindi, and in the North, Congress was accused of betraying Hindi.

The new resolution tells all the States that their language is as important as Hindi, that it is going to be the medium of instruction in schools, colleges and universities and the medium of examinations for Government jobs, and that Hindi-speaking candidates will have to take a compulsory paper in a non-Hindi language.

The Hindi-speaking North is assured by the resolution that Hindi will be a subject for compulsory examination for every single Indian. And the North is being openly told that when English declines and is pushed out, Hindi will naturally become the nation's link language.

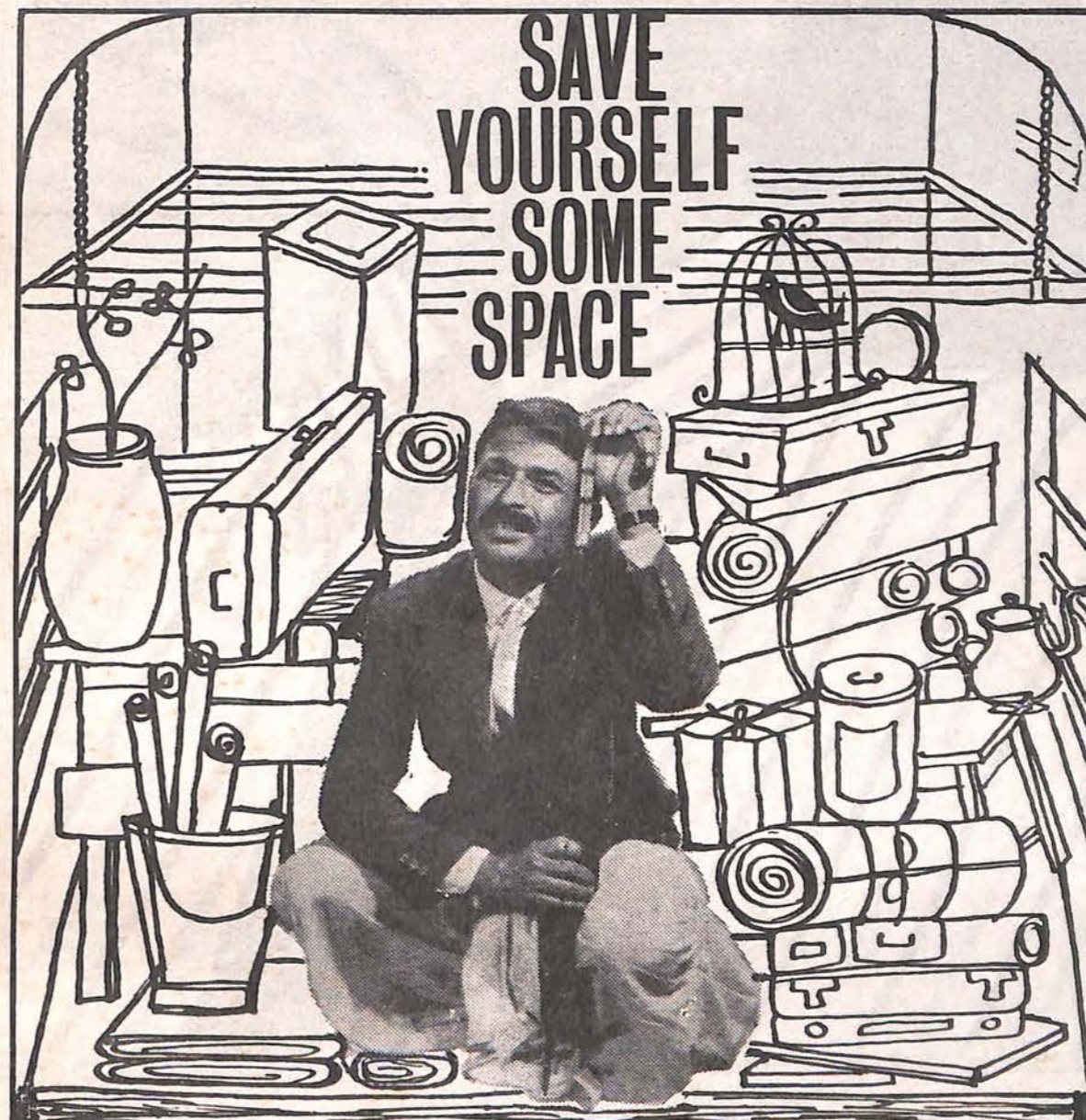
But the choice is between political expediency and the good of the nation, particularly its underprivileged masses. Congress leaders must choose.

English is a means to modernize India and has proved to be an instrument towards unity inside the nation. At the same time, it is a sign of privilege. A decent house, a bicycle, a car, a fan and an adding machine are useful means. Yet a man who owns them immediately becomes a man of privilege, and in a nation where scores of millions sleep hungry and rise without any hope the following morning, it becomes essential for those who possess these instruments of privilege to have and show a revolutionary way of living. Otherwise the tide of anger will one day swamp them.

Work Hard to Survive

Exactly the same is true of those of us who speak the English language and are aware of its value. If we don't back it up with a life of dedicated service to our people, the hurricane of history will tear us apart.

It is essential for the English-knowing, privileged and fortunate Indians to show the millions that they are the nation's truest patriots. They must, first of all, make themselves proficient in their own mother tongue—be it Tamil, Marathi or Bengali—and also, if possible, in Hindi. For many, this will mean hard work. But hard work is a must for their nation's survival and their own.



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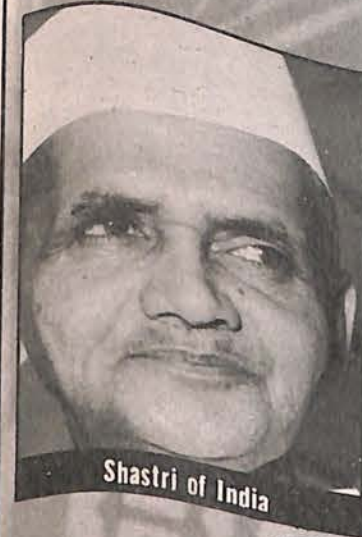
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