

Asia's new voice

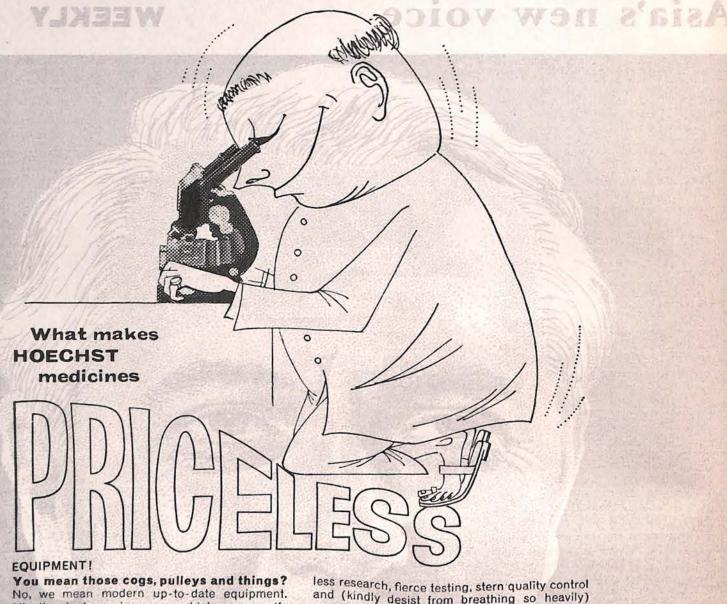
WEEKLY



June 25

AXE AT ALGIERS





Like the electron microscope, which can magnify a virus several thousand times. And the electrochromatograph.

Electro what?

ELECTROCHROMATOGRAPH. Then there are giant antibiotic plants which are so completely automated that there's hardly an operator to be seen. And great gleaming-

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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, June 25, 1965

Vol. 1 No. 34

Axe at Algiers

AHMED BEN BELLA came and went, suddenly. The man who was to host the vast gathering of Afro-Asian leaders in Algiers next week won't be there.

Ben Bella's solution to opposition was execution and imprisonment. Some of his closest comrades were

dispatched in this way.

Those heads of state who think today that legitimate opposition can be met with the gaoler's chain or the hangman's rope are not in reality "President for life". They are President pro tem.

Some will bob uneasily in the wash of Ben Bella's ouster, recalling the several attempts on their own lives and the storms of rebellion they have ridden out.

Ironically, those who shout today most vehemently about neo-colonialism run their newly-independent lands as autocratically as did any old colonialist and with even more intolerance of opposition.

For too long, self-styled redeemers have led the cheering and the jeering at Afro-Asian meetings. Now

the call is to men of integrity and high purpose.

Over 60 per cent of the world's population lives in Africa and Asia. We have been and have felt like the underdog for generations. But history is fast moving into our hands to shape and remould. Could we not now grasp aims that are greater than antithis and anti-that?

While the nations of the West, led by the USA and the USSR, punch holes in the frontiers of space, could we not pioneer in modernizing man on earth?

Is it not the opportunity (and the responsibility) of those who have most directly felt the gripe of hunger, the cold of homelessness, the despair of unemployment and oppression to show the world the answer to these things—available to all and not just for a new chosen few? We could make hate and bitterness and want the object of our attack rather than the fuel of our revolution.

Which of those leaders who would have greeted President Ben Bella in Algiers will now put their people before their position and plan to secure the future of humanity rather than the future of their rule?

It will need more than sincerity, more than the wish and the dream. It will take a passion, a revolutionary will, to rearm morally the whole world.

Ibw by T.T.K.

INDIAN CRICKET has been caught, bowled and hit in the stomach by the Finance Ministry's refusal of foreign exchange to enable the West Indies Team to repatriate their share of the gate next October.

For the moment the tour is off. Members of the Cricket Board will meet officials of the Ministry this week in an attempt to have the decision reversed.

Indian citizens in the U.K., and even British cricket lovers, have actually offered to launch a "Save Indian Cricket Fund" to raise the £35,000 need-

ed! Apparently even our cricket needs foreign aid. Has the Government overlooked the fact that these tours are reciprocal? This year the West Indies would take their share of the proceeds in sterling.

At another time an Indian side brings back sterling. Then there is the publicity and goodwill for India that attaches to these sporting exchanges. Surely Delhi does not imagine that the dividends are any less than those obtained by the many touring teams of politicians who go abroad when Parliament rises.

Play the game, T.T.K.

Loop Ring Circus

WE ARE A NATION of panacea hunters. The Union Education Minister says that all our efforts are frustrated because the birth rate is not restricted. He presents his panacea in the form of legalized abortion. "We have to face the realities of the situation," he says, pointing out that our population will be 800 million in the late 1980s and a billion by 2000.

Not many in India will argue against the need to control the population. Many, however, will dis-

agree with the methods used.

HIMMAT in a special article by two medical experts (Feb. 12, 1965), pointed out the medical, moral and social dangers of legalized abortion. The experts, Dr. Ernest Claxton and Colonel Watson, quoted the example of Leningrad where, after the revolution, abortions increased six and a half times and out-ran live births. After a ten-year experiment, abortion was illegalized once more.

If there is legalized abortion, an estimated four million operations may take place annually in India. The mortality rate is one to ten per cent. With the backward medical conditions in India the percentage would be nearer ten or even more, resulting in the

death of up to 400,000 mothers a year.

Can it really be true that a panacea for all our ills lies in a loop, a ring, a pill or a surgeon's knife? To dangle these delusions before the public is cheap, utopian and dangerous. It is inviting men and women to escape from the consequences of indulgence.

The logical result of such propaganda is a situa-tion where some device or trick will enable the lazy student to pass his exam without studying, the shirking worker to win wage increases without working, and the shady businessman to multiply his hoardings without real enterprise.

Today our society stagnates for want of individual responsibility. Such fanatical preaching for this cult of abortion, which sane and rational men have for centuries regarded as a sin against society, can only result in rewarding irresponsibility in all fields of national endeavour.

Fortunately, it is known that Mr. Chagla's views do not represent those of the Ministry of Health. He should confine himself to Education in which field his statements on English are supported by HIMMAT.

Briefly Speaking ...

Vanity dies hard; in some obstinate cases, it outlives the man.

R. L. STEVENSON 1850-1894

Wait or Work

IT WILL TAKE one hundred years to achieve cent per cent adult literacy in India according to a U.N.I. report. The present rate of literacy is only 23.7 per cent. The states of Gujarat, Kerala, Madras and Delhi have over 30 per cent literacy, while some of the northern states like Kashmir, U.P. and Himachal Pradesh have less than 20 per cent.

If the Government cannot undertake the task, should not an imaginative scheme be worked out for over a million of our university students to take part in literacy campaigns during the summer? They have long vacations with time on their hands for unlike Western countries, hardly anyone takes a job during the period.

"Each one teach one" can be a practical proposition.

Confidence and Content

IN BRITAIN experiments are being conducted in how to design houses and public places so that those who are disabled for one reason or another can fit in easily with their surroundings. For example, at Nuffield Orthopaedic College, Oxford, in a bungalow with raised flower beds, the possibilities of gardening from a wheel-chair are being studied. So much is being done in other lands to

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"No, I haven't bought any furniture yet. I'm waiting to get it on my next mission abroad."

give confidence and content to the lives of the physically disabled.

A Japanese friend tells me that in his country, those whose hands are crippled are taught in institutions to assemble even sensitive electric equipment and radios with their feet.

Surely some enterprising regionalists and linguistic fanatics could concentrate on how to heave India forward in these creative fields.

Royalists?

ONE SOVIET READER asked the editor of his local paper whether chess is a

bourgeois game and whether he should therefore give it up.

Now comes the news that a Russian chess player got so engrossed in the game he picked up his queen and swallowed it.

The surgeon in Southern Russia who removed the queen has his own museum of objects that have been swallowed, which includes various coins, buttons, ball-bearings, pins, needles—and a wrist watch.

Sorry Surplus

HARASSED CITIZENS of Delhi struck at the same time with a shortage of water, diesel oil and kerosene, woke up on June 14 to find that Delhi had at least one surplus.

Its Directorate of Employment, Training and Technical Education, Delhi, announced with a mixture of pride and distress, that it had 1,107 post-graduate and 1,004 trained teachers seeking jobs.

Problem of Leisure

Conscientious Japanese workers now being put on a five-day week are getting bored. Employees of Matsushita Electric Co. told an interviewer that they found the extra day of leisure an expensive luxury. "It costs so much money to amuse yourself in Japan, that many of us spend the additional time just hanging around the company dormitory. We would be better off working."

Japan is running into what is called "the problem of leisure". India has many problems but this is not one of them. In Maharashtra State there are seventeen public holidays, and we know how to fill them all.

One nation wants more holidays and the other wants less. One wants aid; the other is in a position to give it. Is it any surprise?

Space Co-operation

PLANS are now under way for setting up an international laboratory on the moon within 10 to 20 years according to an American space expert, Dr. Frank J. Malina. This project is going to be an international venture sponsored by the International Academy of Astronautics, based in Paris. If the U.S. and the Soviet Union could have the wisdom to work together in their race to the moon, astronomical sums could be released for advancement on earth.

R. M. L.

VIETNAM: Everyone's Problem

By R. M. Lala

CARTOONIST Laxman portrays a Congressman with his khadi cap addressing a meeting of attentive Indians: "And now we come to some of our own problems. The Vietnam crisis must be ..."

Humorous but true.

Prime Minister Shastri calls it "the problem of problems".

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers place it at the top of their agenda.

Meanwhile in the foetid rivers and leafy jungles of Vietnam, the choice

leafy jungles of Vietnam, the choice before the United States is narrowing down.

First, the U.S. can withdraw and hope to come to a settlement with the Communists. This will mean the end of an independent South Vietnam.

Second, President Johnson can increase U.S. commitment on a limited basis short of an all-out military effort. He can thereby play for time, hoping that the South Vietnamese thus would gain the strength to block the Communists and open the way to peace negotiations.

Third, he can intensify the air attacks on North Vietnam, strengthen U.S. troops and convert South Vietnam into a second Korea. (The New York Times reports that Washington authorities privately say that at least 300,000 U.S. troops will be needed to have a chance of ground victory.)

At present President Johnson is following the second course. The U.S. understandably wants the Vietnam war to be the responsibility of other nations too. In the last weeks South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines have sent troops.

Meanwhile whether he is well or ill, Mao's temperature is rising. Nothing appears to be acceptable to him. If India proposes an Afro-Asian peace-keeping force for Vietnam, Mao rejects it outright and Hanoi follows. Hanoi has alleged that such a move would maintain South Vietnam as a separate country.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front (political wing of the Viet Cong guerrillas) has condemned India and Britain last week for shirking their responsibility under Geneva Agreement of 1954 and for defending U.S. policy in Vietnam. For what efforts Mr. Shastri has made, he has received little thanks.

Escalation Danger

The peace offer of President Johnson for unconditional talks and his plan for a billion dollar economic development of the Mekong River Delta has been dismissed by Peking.

Whether the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' mission succeeds or not is too early to say. The first question is whether it will get off the ground. In any event it is likely that some

peace efforts will continue to be made by the Commonwealth countries.

Shaped like a hooked fore-finger, two-thirds of South Vietnam is under the control of the Viet Cong. Viet Cong guerrillas are determined to "free" the rest of the country.

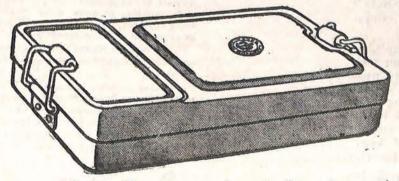
Against them are ranged forces of the South Vietnam Government, 16,000 U.S. combatant troops and a further 38,000 non-combatants. The U.S. strength will presently be raised to a total of 70,000. Seven hundred million dollars of additional U.S. military expenditure has been sanctioned.

Early this month it was announced in Washington that U.S. forces are prepared to give active combat support to South Vietnam forces. From being "military advisers" U.S. troops have moved in as full participants. The U.S. has expressed its readiness to pour into South Vietnam, if need be, up to one million men. So far President Johnson has restricted bombing activities to strategic defence and communication projects in North Vietnam.

Vietnam is more than a war for the survival of a nation. It can, if it continues, alter the shape of world politics. In the wake of the Nuclear Testban Treaty, the cold war between the

Continued next page

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VIETNAM -Continued

Soviet Union and the U.S. has considerably thawed. The continuation of the Vietnam war, and most certainly its extension, puts the Soviet Union in a very difficult position.

If it gives more support to North Vietnam, the present detente between the Soviet Union and the United States is likely to terminate, resulting in considerable tension once again in Europe and throughout the world, with increased risks of a nuclear war.

If the Soviet Union does not back North Vietnam adequately the Soviet Union loses to China in its leadership of world Communist parties.

China is exploiting the discomfiture of the Soviet Union to the fullest. China is egging on the Soviet Union and parading her before world opinion as a socialist brother who is not carrying his share of the battle. China undercuts, at the same time. any Soviet efforts to send war materials or gain a position of strength in North Vietnam.

Playing for Time

China is ready to send volunteers "promptly" to Vietnam if the Viet Cong guerrillas call for Chinese help. "We have made all preparations."

Moscow reports that Russian volunteers are ready to fight.

Western diplomats see no imminent likelihood that Soviet manpower will be released in North Vietnam. Reports, however, are available of Chinese troops being withdrawn from far-flung areas with their families and being concentrated on the Vietnamese border. The immediate danger of escalation can come if China marches her "volunteers" across the Vietnam border.

On the other hand China may hope to keep the Vietnam war going long enough at the present pace, to wear out the U.S. "will to resist". The psychological victory to Peking of a U.S. defeat in Vietnam would be incalculable. She could then emerge as the unchallenged master of Asia.

The ultimate responsibility for the survival of South Vietnam will be that of the South Vietnamese leadership and people and their strength, unity and integrity. Other nations can play for time, but unless this leadership is forthcoming from South Vietnam, no amount of military support from outside can guarantee the survival of that state.

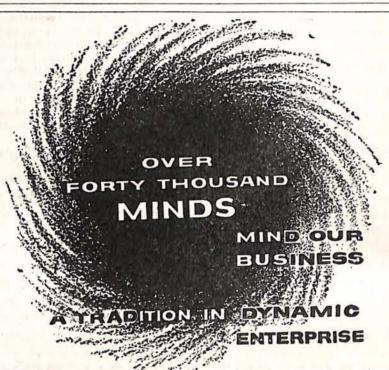
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The Compulsions of Democracy CIVIL SERVANT VS POLITICIAN

A seminar on productivity was recently discussing the problem of our growing industries, their location, etc. The experts who were meeting were having an excellent time until their academic exercise was interrupted by the forthright Chief Minister of the state who told them that he was not concerned with all their formulae about the technical feasibility of industry in his state. etc. "I will have my industries because my constituents want them," he is reported to have said.

This represents the essence of the political approach in our country to almost every problem. Recently the Planning Commission, which had allocated to the states a ceiling of Rs. 7,660 crores in the draft of the Fourth Plan, found that the outlays in fact proposed by the states involved nearly Rs. 9,800 crores. Some states proposed Fourth Plan outlays three times as much as those of the Third Plan. Obviously, the state planning ministers had not put any restriction upon their wishes or their ambitions







Their administrators either chose to connive with them in this tragic irresponsibility or found themselves overruled. Herein lies the crux of the administrative problem.

A civil servant chosen for his competence is expected to be impartial in his decisions. He must have no other criteria except the rights and wrongs of the case, no yardstick except what is just and proper, practical and feasible. He must be impervious to pressure, immune to influence, above the lure of money and the greed of gain. But necessarily he has to take orders from his political boss who is a party man.

Climbing the Ladder

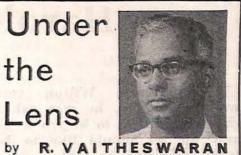
The party man may use many methods to climb to success. "He cannot kick away the ladder by which he has climbed so far," said one administrator. He is dependent on the machine that gives him the party ticket, influential constituents who provide blocks of votes, and the pressure groups that grant him the money that his party needs. Thus, the administrator is accountable to an authority which is itself subject only to the exigencies of the periodic persuasion of a certain number of people to vote it back into power.

Three-quarters of the politician's success at present consists in the patronage he dispenses, favours he can do, and the power of decision he has over the food, jobs and various other important aspects of the pecple's lives. Democracy has therefore meant the steady erosion of the many rights of the individual and a constant increase in the power of the party which controls the Government.

Thus, the community development idea which started as an intensive programme to enlist the masses in their welfare has ended up largely as a vested interest to distribute seed, fertiliser and credit to the favoured few or many.

The Panchayati Raj, which is ostensibly intended to build a grass roots democracy, creates another vast area of exploitation-power to grant employment, dispense contracts, build schools, appoint or dismiss teachers, etc.—for the local politician and the

Under the Lens



wherewithal to maintain a prosperous party machine.

The Co-operative Movement has become, in many cases, the exclusive preserve of the local baniva and the well-to-do peasant against whom it is supposed to protect the poor farmer.

There is thus a conflict between the demands of good administration and the compulsions of political expediency, between the necessity for firm authority and the need to satisfy the people of all the influential groups. There is a clash of interest and objective between the politicians and the civil servants, added to the already wide divergence in culture, background and social upbringing between the two.

The best of our political leaders resolve the problems by the theory of a minimum interference. That is by allowing freedom to the civil servant in all cases, except those which directly involve the power or group interest of the politician or his party.

Selfish Collaboration

The best of our administrators have to be content with uneasy compromise, a sullen acquiescence in one's own wrong-doing as well as that of others. But between these two groups there is a vast area of selfish collaboration for the short-sighted politician who is out for the immediate gain and the selfish administrator who has chosen the road of convenience. The patronage-dispensing politician and the civil servant of easy con-science find a ready field for exploitation as they mutually reinforce each other's power and advantage.

Just as the demands of political power puts a premium on the purely Machiavellian in the party machine, the increasing tendency to follow the easy road blunts the sense of service of the administrator.

The result is abuse of power and greater corruption. It is true that the

Continued on page 16

Harold Wilson, Audacious

From Gordon Wise

When Harold Wilson was twelve years old, he was asked what he wanted to be when he grew up. "I should like to be Prime Minister," he said.

Because few British are so honest about their real intentions, Harold Wilson is distrusted by some for revealing his so frankly.

Mrs. Wilson says of her husband, "A lot of people think he is cold and calculating. It is just that if he decides to tell you what's in his mind, he really does tell you and he doesn't mind if he sounds devious and cal-

mind if he sounds devious and calculating. He's not a hypocrite, you see." She added, "After a first class fracas he comes in looking as if he has had a day off on the golf course."

Wilson was expected to favour the Left. In 1951 he followed the fiery Nye Bevan out of the Cabinet on an issue of "Socialist principle". He was the Left-wing candidate against the late Hugh Gaitskell for the Party leadership. The issue at stake seemed to be for or against unilateral disarmament. Gaitskell was outspokenly against. Wilson was not so emphatically for.

Some Right-wing critics said at the time that it was not a matter of principle on Wilson's part, but a long range calculation on how to become Gaitskell's successor. And since he has become Prime Minister and dropped the modified nuclear policy outlined in the election programme, his Left-wing critics are repeating the slander

Surprised Right

In office, too, he has surprised the Right and infuriated the diehard Left by supporting American policy in Vietnam.

Nevertheless he cannot be considered a "Rightist" for, despite a wafer-thin majority in Parliament, he has pushed on with such controversial legislation as nationalization of steel. This may be calculated, but it also shows courage.

Is the Steel Bill a sop to the Left because Wilson believes the British economy demands his standing by America in foreign policy, thus ensuring sympathetic treatment for Britain by the American financial men? Nobody knows. Perhaps the truth lies in what Mary Wilson says: "He doesn't mind if he sounds devious." To lead the Labour Government with so slim a majority, all his great skill is certainly needed.

Towards India and Pakistan, the Prime Minister has shown sincere regard. He is to visit these countries this year, perhaps in September, and may go on to Japan. He has stood by Malaysia by dispatching troops and ships to Singapore. He and President Johnson are said to be anxious to make it unnecessary for India to make her own nuclear bomb in answer to China's atomic challenge. In a talk with U Thant, Wilson is understood to have talked of a nuclear umbrella for India and Pakistan.

He exudes confidence. He has impressed the Americans. When he addressed the Economic Club in New York, one of President Johnson's advisers commented, "We have not heard anything as impressive since Mr. Kennedy talked to us here." After the applause died down, the British pound rose in value.

Favoured "Eggheads"

Wilson likes the word "tough". Conservatives charge that the weaker his position, the tougher his talk. Ordinary people feel he talks sense.

On a nationwide TV broadcast Wilson said, "Everyone whatever his position must do a full day's work for a full day's pay from now on." He spoke of "ruthlessly modernizing our traditional industries no matter who gets hurt". He also said that it means change. "Britain achieved greatness and stayed great because throughout our history we accepted change."

Science fascinates Wilson. He has favoured "eggheads" in some of the appointments. Some say a few of them are addled. But Wilson's own mind is clear when he says, "We need to produce ten million new jobs, a 50 per cent increase by the mid-70s. We cannot avoid this challenge by burying our heads in the sand and refusing to join the automative age; unless we are in the van of technological progress, we shall rapidly become a stagnant, economic backwater."

He was reared in the northern tradition of family churchgoing. He got to know a young lady, Gladys Mary Baldwin, by walking home with her from church. Later he married her. Throughout his three years at Oxford, it is said, he never missed Sunday worship-a remarkable record, if true. From the beginning he was pragmatic about his principles. Since taking office, he has several times announced that he is "no puritan"-a statement which, in Britain today, generally means that one does not necessarily draw the line in moral questions. Whether this is a deep conviction-or an attempt to go with the tide of public opinion, I do not

Teased Mikoyan

At Oxford University Wilson made no attempt to study Marx because he felt it would be a waste of time—although he has since read a little about Marx. When in Moscow on a trade mission some years ago, Wilson used to tease Mikoyan by quoting Marx. Mikoyan knew his Marx well but not quite well enough to be sure whether Wilson was inventing the quotations—which he was. Mikoyan, observed, after some hard bargaining, "When an Armenian is dealing with a Yorkshireman, what chance is there of an agreement?"

Where will Wilson take Britain? An active Labour Party worker in Coventry says of his chief, "Many people say he has changed in recent years. That whereas before he could never be trusted—'slippery' was one description of him—now it is said he is reliable. But I think the fault has rather been in us, the Labour rank and file."

When in America not long ago Mr. Wilson said that his favourite bedtime reading was a biography of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln said, "When the Almighty wants me to do or not to do a particular thing, He usually finds a way of letting me know it." If Harold Wilson sought and lived that truth in all his dealings, he might yet rank with England's greatest sons. But to do this he might have to risk being called "a puritan"—for were Lincoln alive today, he would not, for all his humility and humour, escape that charge.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Japan's Role at Algiers

FROM TOSHIO HARA

Tokyo

Much significance is attached to the part the Japanese delegation will play in Algiers this time. Whether Japan should send delegates at all to Algiers has been much discussed here. Mr. Shojiro Kawashima, Vice President of the Liberal Democratic Party—Japan's ruling party—vill head the Japanese delegation

will head the Japanese delegation to the Second Afro-Asian Conference to be held in Algeria.

The eleven-member government delegation will include Foreign Minister Shiina, Kiichiro Sato, Chairman of the Mitsui Bank, the ambassadors to Algeria and other countries, as well as representatives of the opposition Socialist and the Democratic Socialist Party.

It is going to take more than political manoeuvre to counter Peking and Djakarta. The Japanese Foreign Ministry has come out with the basic policies Japan will stand for at the Conference. First, to respect and stand for the United Nations' Charter and the original Bandung spirit. Second, to make the Conference a pattern of unity based on the spirit of patience and harmony.

Japan will take a definite stand against the expected anti-Djakarta group. On the Malaysia issue, Japan believes that Malaysia should naturally take part in the Conference as an Asian nation. It would be against the original Bandung spirit if any member of the Asian nations, whether it be the Republic of Korea or any other nation, should be excluded from the Conference.

Sake, Whisky and Vodka

The Djakarta newspaper Bintang Timur criticized the Japanese plan as being a "mixture of sake, whisky and vodka". The paper said, "How can one apply the spirit of harmony to the colonized and the colonialists, especially in Vietnam?" Mr. Sukarno declared that the Afro-Asian countries who supported Malaysia's entry into the conference had better stay outside the conference. But it would be difficult to expect Japan to go along with this line.

The original idea of the Afro-Asian Conference appeared to be a cooperation between the member nations without any political dispute. Now the situation is different. Mr. Kawashima sees that the main struggle at Algiers would be between the so-called "newly emerging forces" and the older established countries. He also sees that Japan's role will be in doing everything possible to prevent the conference from splitting into two bodies or forming a new United Nations.

Search Africa

What is most needed now in Algiers seems to be a new leadership based on an ideology bigger than materialism and class war. Foreign Minister Shiina said at the preparatory meeting in Tokyo recently that merely pushing anti-Communism for Japan's part will not answer the situation.

Mr. Sato feels a need to establish teamwork with some of the African nations. He has recently ordered the Foreign Office to search for such a possibility and investigate who are the sound leadership.

Mr. Sato is searching for a new concept on the part Japan is going to play. The Algiers Conference will be a testing ground for Mr. Sato.

After Sato's Reshuffle

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Tokyo

Prime Minister Sato's new Cabinet gives a clean sweep to the old Ikeda administration he inherited last year.

In the Cabinet reshuffle, the Prime Minister's main concern was to disregard factional ties and appoint the right man to the right post. Several new men were appointed, the Prime Minister said, to inject a fresh spirit into the Cabinet. Foreign Minister Shiina and the Chief Cabinet Secretary retained their office.

The Foreign Minister has steered a steady course in foreign affairs and he has still to complete the normalization procedures with the South Korean Government and fulfil the promise made to attend the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers on June 29.

The appointment of Takeo Fukuda as Finance Minister is regarded as very significant. His critical views toward former Premier Ikeda's high



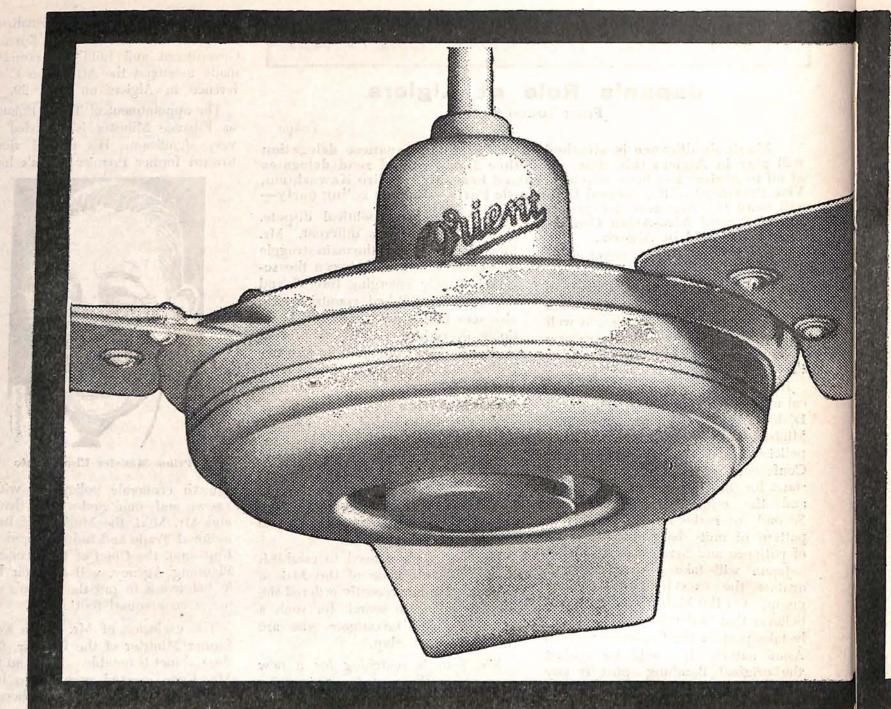
Prime Minister Eisako Sato

growth economic policy are widely known and some circles hope that he and Mr. Miki, the Minister of International Trade and Industry, and Mr. Fujiyama, the Chief of the Economic Planning Agency, will do their best in teamwork to put the nation's economy on a sound footing.

The exclusion of Mr. Ichiro Kono, former Minister of the Interior, from the Cabinet is notable. It is said that Mr. Kono exerted pressure to have his men in the Cabinet, but when the Prime Minister did not agree, Mr. Kono refused to come into the Cabinet. If the Prime Minister stands up to the pressures presented by different factions, which have been the main cause of division and inefficiency in the Government, he should be congratulated for showing a new statesmanship.

Both Peking's official New China News Agency (NCNA) and Radio Moscow received the news of Mr. Sato's reshuffle with sarcastic comment. The NCNA said, "Prime Minister Sato of Japan formed a new and even more reactionary cabinet."

Sato is not likely to be deflected from his new Asian initiatives by such pressures from Peking.

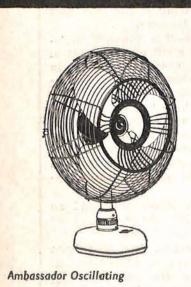


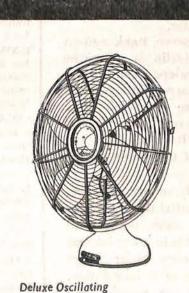


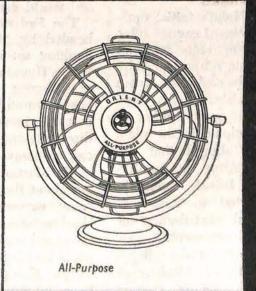
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Storm Warning for Arab Gulf Sheikhs

FROM HARRY ALMOND

The Arab Gulf Sheikhdoms have recently been the objects of both threat and blandishment from other Arab states. General Amin al-Hafez, Chairman of the Syrian Presidency Council, urged the Palestine Liberation Organization to warn "Arab oil princes" that if they failed

to raise the money required for the liberation of Palestine "the battle will be first with them before firing a single shot in Israel".

General Hafez continued, "Let the rulers of Kuwait and the princes of oil know that Kuwaiti wealth belongs to all Arabs. If they fail to pay willingly, then they will be forced to do so." Kuwait Radio quickly asserted its Government's refusal to be blackmailed: "Officials in Kuwait have often heard it said, 'Pay and silence them in Damascus,' but Kuwait does not pay bribes."

This rough talk by Syria was in striking contrast to the Arab League offer of a £5,000,000 programme of technical assistance to the Sheikhdoms announced in Baghdad by Assistant Secretary General Sayed Nofal after a tour in the Gulf. The proposal called for a highway linking the tiny states along the Western littoral of the Gulf between the Qatar peninsula and Oman, medical and cultural services, power stations, irrigation and economic development. Dr. Nofal claimed that five (out of the seven) Trucial Sheikhs "were most anxious to receive Arab League aid".

Confrontation Ahead

In spite of Dr. Nofal's initial optimism, however, the League offer seems to have run onto financial rocks. Saudi Arabia refused to help. Cairo's official daily al-Ahram writes that most of the Sheikhdoms "had gone back on their word" either to finance or to participate in the plan. Al-Ahram further alleged that the British were preparing a counterscheme, and the British Agent in Dubai was reported to have announced an initial contribution of £200,000 by his Government.

Whether or not the Cairo allegations are correct, British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs George Thompson declared on his return from a Gulf tour: "I found a warm

welcome for the role Britain is playing in the area, both in peace-keeping and helping with economic develop-

Opinions vary considerably, depending on to whom one has talked!

Syrian threats and rival aid programmes offered by Britain and the Arab League highlight a Yemen-like confrontation in the Gulf with British and Saudi interests on one hand and Cairo policy on the other.

Wall Street Nosedive

FROM STEWART LANCASTER Los Angeles

There was excitement on Wall Street and in the world money market last week, when the New York Stock Market took a temporary nosedive and then righted itself. The speech of one man was largely responsible for it.

Mr. William McChesney Martin Jr., Chairman of the powerful Federal Reserve Bank, warned against excesses that could repeat the 1929 cycle of boom and bust. He raised questions about policies followed by President Johnson and his economic adviserson their insistence upon tax-cutting and "easy money"-that this could affect the delicate balance on the U.S. and world economies.

The Federal Reserve Bank system headed by Mr. Martin is a unique banking set-up, independent of the White House and largely independent of Congress, whose chief job is to keep a sound hand on the supply and cost of money. Its decisions can direct the course of the whole American economy.

Mr. Martin boldly sounded a warning about the potential danger of the "new economics" now popular in Washington-which is to lower interest rates and make money easier to get while keeping up an artificial inflation.

The Europeans for months had been advising higher interest rates. They say it will not hinder but en-Continued on page 13

The week in Asia

CAIRO-Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai expressed his unconditional support for the army regime of Col. Boumedienne in Algeria. SAIGON-The military have set up

a three-man national leadership council following the ouster of the civilian regime. Heading the council is Maj. Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu, formerly Defence Minister in the civilian government.

DACCA-According to reports, Chinese experts are engaged in East Pakistan in training para-military organizations in weapons handling and guerrilla warfare.

HONG KONG-Peking has invited pro-Communist businessmen, journalists and actresses to form a "Hong Kong" delegation for the Afro-Asian conference.

PEKING-The People's Daily, organ of the Communist Party, launched its latest and bitterest broadside against Soviet leadership accusing them of revisionism and cooperation with America to dominate the world. They were pursuing a more covert, cunning and dangerous form of revisionism than Mr. Khrushchev, it

KARACHI-Canada will assist Pakistan in the construction of a nuclear power plant near here.

DJAKARTA-President Sukarno, in a speech to his Chiefs of Staff, ordered that all foreign vessels overating in Indonesian waters that did not stop on demand should be fired upon. He threatened to destroy Singapore if Indonesia were attacked.

PEKING-China and Pakistan will open a new air route north over the Karakoram ranges by-passing Indian

KATHMANDU-King Mahendra has reshuffled his cabinet removing the Defence Ministry from his own hands and placing it for the first time under a Minister.

RAWALPINDI-The Finance Minister announced a cut of 5 per cent in Pakistan's development budget in order to rechannel the funds to military preparedness.

COLOMBO-China has turned down a request by the Ceylon Government that their maritime agreement be revised. The agreement gives Chinese warships and other vessels freedom to land and use full facilities in Ceylonese ports.

SEOUL-South Korea will send an additional 15,000 troops to bolster South Vietnamese forces.

SAIGON-American jets shot down two MiG fighters 50 miles south of Hanoi marking the third air fight between the Russian-built and possibly Russian-piloted planes and American ones.

U.S. The European and Japanese economic booms are slowing up. The most solid boom is in the U.S. If that falters, repercussions could come fast in other parts of the world.

President Johnson's advisers do not want to risk deflating the U.S. boom by raising interest rates in America. It looks at this moment like President Johnson and Mr. Martin are heading on a collision course.

The stock market dip was a crisis in confidence, not only in the economic policy but the President's foreign policy in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic.

Vietnam Peace Mission

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Prime Minister Wilson's proposal for a Vietnam peace mission is a brilliant manoeuvre to silence his own Left-wing critics temporarily among the Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

If the mission succeeds, commented the Evening Standard, "the political situation would be transformed in Britain as well as in Vietnam."

The British press welcomed the proposal, but is doubtful of its success. The Guardian said, "Most people will wish the mission well. But the question remains whether the Viet Cong and the North Vietnam Government want to call the war off on terms short of those they think they can get by continuing it."

Wrangles over the aims and composition of the mission suggested the Commonwealth Premiers needed to solve their own divisions before trying to solve the world's.

North Sea Oil Fever

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

In Britain's North Sea ports men talk oil but the oilmen say nothing. This is an old storyinterest is feverish, pay is high but security is tighter than in war.

There is now a Klondike-scale rush for oil and gas suspected hidden under the mud and sand of the North Sea bottom.

Twenty-three oil and petroleum companies are now investing an estimated £100 million to search out oil and gas in large quantities. The

courage the economic boom in the British Government, which controls the mineral, oil and gas rights of half the North Sea has granted licences to American, Canadian, French, Italian and British companies for its exploration and exploitation. The British Government will collect 12½ per cent on all oil and gas found.

Each oil well costs between £500,-000 and £1 million to set up and operate. Oilmen estimate that only 1 in 50 drilling wells will be successful. The drilling is done from floating platforms or ships.

The belief grew that oil and gas existed below the seabed of the North Sea when gas was discovered in large amounts in northern Holland and off the German coast.

What will be the impact of the discovery of oil and gas upon the energy pattern of Western Europe and Britain? There is a growing demand for all forms of energy in the highly industrialized countries of Europe. It has been increasing at about 4 per cent per annum. This means an increase of about the equivalent of 40 million tons of coal a year. But one ton of oil provides as much energy as 1.6 tons of coal.

Threat to Coal

These developments hold small comfort for Britain's coal mining industry. The National Coal Board faces competition for the future from gas. Last week Minister for Fuel and Power Frederick Lee announced the establishment of Britain's second nuclear reactor for generating electric power. It will be gas cooled. By the seventies its cost will be 10 per cent lower than the coal-fired electric generators.

Lee described this gas-cooled nuclear reactor as "the greatest breakthrough of all time in this sphere".

If oil and gas are found in the North Sea, Western European and British industry may be powered in a way similar to American and Soviet industry. These industries are close to large supplies of oil and gas. Although £100 million so far has been invested, the discovery of oil or gas is still not a certainty. Shell exploration general manager George Williams called it "a difficult and costly gamble, an exciting one which it is hoped will be rewarding both for Britain and the companies concerned".

The week in India,

NEW DELHI-1,800 miles of new roads, essential for defence and development, have been cut through the Himalayas from NEFA to Ladakh in the last few years. The new Hindustan-Tibet road, 120 miles long, was completed despite the loss of 136 people killed and 250 wounded during its construction.

SHILLONG-The Rev. Michael Scott asked the Union Government to extend the Nagaland ceasefire for three to six months when it expires July 15. A.Z. Phizo, leader of the Naga underground, is reported to be seriously considering the peace mission's prcposals in talks with his brother in London.

NEW DELHI-It is reported that differences between India's and Pakistan's positions on a ceasefire in Kutch and the establishment of the status quo ante have been narrowed considerably.

NEW DELHI-India will oppose Indonesia's bid to establish a permanent Afro-Asian secretariat. India has informed Algeria that South Korea and South Vietnam should be invited to any Afro-Asian confe-

NEW DELHI-America released a 190 million dollar loan for the import of a wide range of commodities and a 3.8 million dollar loan for the purchase of 21 diesel locomotives in the United States.

BOMBAY-Los Angeles will send technical aid and heavy equipment to construct low-cost housing in Bombay's suburbs provided the Municipal Council makes the needed land available.. This is the result of a sister-city relationship which will begin between the two cities.

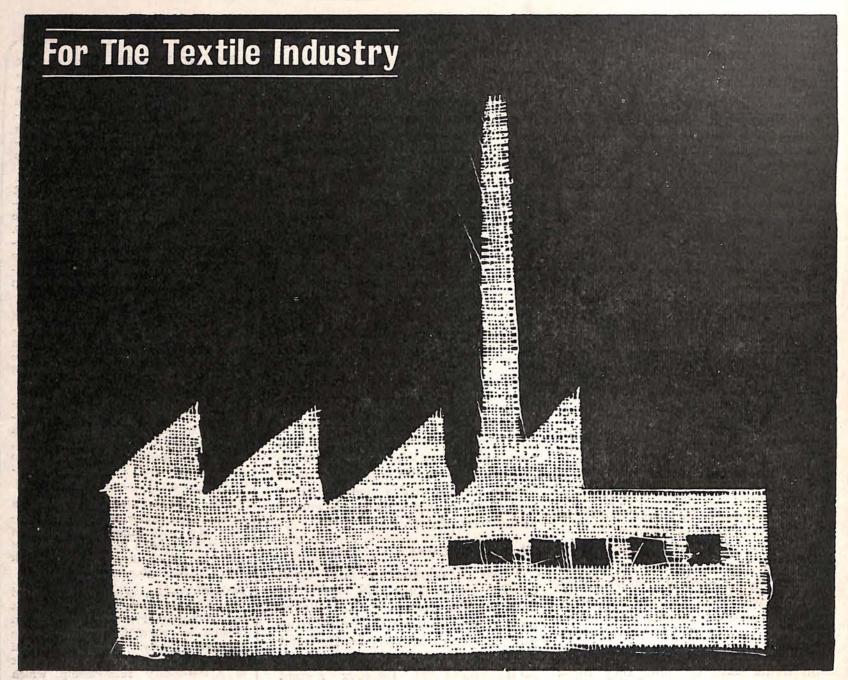
NEW DELHI-The National Cadet Corps giving military training to university students plans to increase its strength to three million by 1971.

CALCUTTA-Indian Army personnel left for Vietnam to begin replacing the 300-man contingent now serving there with the International Control Commission.

BOMBAY-It is estimated that thefts and damages to goods in Indian ports and the loss in foreign exchange incurred total Rs. 15 crores annually. Activity of gangs operating in the ports is increasing. One insurance company is even investigating the theft of a crane.

NEW DELHI-India may buy Soviet Ilyushin-18 passenger planes for use by the Indian Airlines Corpora-

U.I.JAIN-Scientists have discovered archaeological remains of a village dating back to 3000 B.C.



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FOR WOMEN

Growing Up in Japan By Fujiko Hara

A JAPANESE baby spends most of his first two years on his mother's back. He is carried around while she cooks. washes, does the laundry, goes on family errands or works in the fields. However, this practice is becoming less popular as babies carried in this position tend to have bowed legs and ill health, to say nothing of the unhealthy burden the mother must bear.

Japanese babies are welcomed with great pomp and ceremony. When a boy baby is 32 days old and a girl 33 days old, the child is taken to a Shinto shrine. The "first eating ceremony" takes place when the baby is four months old. The mother sits with the baby at a tiny table holding a rice bowl and helps it eat with chopsticks.

When the children reach the ages of three, five and seven, they are taken to a shrine on November 15 in their best kimonos, while the parents give thanks for their happy growth.

Once a year on March 3, ceremonial dolls representing the emperor and empress and court ladies and courtiers of ancient times are displayed

on rows of red shelves and the girls are reminded that they must grow up gentle and well-mannered. On the Boy's Festival on May 5, every family with sons sets up a flagpole with flying carps. As the boys watch the fish dart and twist in the air, they learn that their parents want them to be strong and brave like the carp, which struggles upsteam, leaping the waterfalls.

"Losing Face"

At about four years old, boys realize they receive special treatment from their elder sisters and younger brothers. It is important to parents to have sons to carry on the family name and a father expects much from a boy. He is brought up with the obligation to do nothing to harm the family reputation. Although the new Constitution issued after the war has



destroyed such family system and has given equal rights to every child, the old tradition still lives.

Children are brought up to dread ridicule, and this fear of being laughed at or making mistakes develops into the adults' dread of "losing face" which greatly influences Japanese society.

Children are taught from an early age to be thrifty and are expected to participate in the family work.

Despite the mounting flow into city offices and factories, half of the population depend on farming for their livelihood. To raise enough to earn a living they must work hard on small farms, averaging less than 21 acres.

Early to Work

The Japanese housewife and her daughters-in-law rise very early to set the rice cooking for the morning meal and are very often the last to get to bed. In the early days women were brought up on three principles set by Confucius:

- (i) Absolute obedience to father when young;
- (ii) Absolute service to their husbands when married;
- (iii) Submittance to their sons when widowed.

The sense of sharing in community life is specially strong in the villages. The men may work together at ploughing or building houses or bridges while the women supply the rice bowls. "To sacrifice your desire for the good of the family and society" has been the ideal, and such a spirit has, no doubt, helped to rally the people in time of war or in achieving such a rapid and remarkable industrialization in a few years.

Growing up in Japan one learns that mounting population can be the greatest wealth, not the reason for poverty, and that no one nation alone can hope today to prosper and live in peace while her neighbours are left in need.



"Well, fried chicken is better than nothing, I guess."

LETTERS

AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND AND AFRO-ASIA

From the Prime Minister of New Zealand

SIR: I was very interested to read the article by Mr. Gandhi in which he proposed that Australia and New Zealand should be officially invited to join the Afro-Asian family.

I would suggest that although there has been no official recognition of this fact, nor perhaps need there be. both Australia and New Zealand are already de facto members of this family. Certainly we in New Zealand recognize and value our close relationship with Asia and also with Africa. Our concern for these areas of the world has, I feel, been amply illustrated by our activities not only for ECAFE but also under the Colombo Plan, and by our participation in the Special Commonwealth Aid to Africa Programme.

It is our hope that New Zealand's relations with the countries of Asia and Africa will continue to grow, fostered by the spirit of understanding, friendship, and cooperation; a spirit which, I would suggest, your journal can do much to encourage.

Rt. Hon. KEITH HOLYOAKE

Wellington

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

"Should India Make the Atomic Bomb?'

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- Not more than 500 words
- Rs. 5 will be paid for each excerpt published from other entries.



"ENGLISH IN THE DUSTBIN"

For the best letter of the week Mr. Krishnama wins Rs. 10 prize SIR: I read Shri Rajmohan Gandhi's article, "English in the Dustbin" (HIM-MAT, June 11) with growing interest. Indeed he expresses what many of us feel but have not put into words.

It was my privilege to teach English to university students for several years. I would not have done it if I had felt that there was anything anti-Indian about this language. I found that many of my students loved English and possessed a gift for learning it.

English, like Sanskrit (from which many of our Indian languages are descended), belongs to the Indo-Germanic family of languages. A comparison of words in common use (in English and Sanskrit) like the words for "father", "mother", "brother", etc., proves that Sanskrit is like, let us say, a very much older sister than English.

English has become our very own in two other ways:

- (i) We have studied it for a very long time and most educated Indians today have acquired a certain mastery of this language which it would be a shame to waste.
- (ii) There are many Indian words which by constant usage have become a part of the English language.

Finally, I agree with Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi's remark: "Those who would throw English out are ridding themselves of the prospects of modernizing India." English is the golden key to a bright future. If we throw it away we are immuring ourselves in a prison of false sentimentality.

B. G. R. KRISHNAMA

Secunderabad

SIR: Your article "English in the Dustbin" is excellent. HIMMAT is the only way to educate these politicians. Keep it up. C. R. PARTHASARATHY

Lucknow

PLEA FOR ACTION

SIR: I have read your article about Vietnam and the one about our relations with our neighbours and about a "new Asian bloc" including New Zealand and Australia. In all these matters, this kind of new revolutionary thinking and acting is necessary.

I plead for action: a "goodwill youth mission" including youth from all Asian countries, to tour Asian countries to promote friendship and co-operation. GEORGE MATHEW

Kattanam, Kerala

HIMMAT announces a prize of Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be received by Friday. They should be brief and exclusive to HIMMAT. Carbon copies will not be considered.

-EDITOR

Under Lens-From page 7

top civil servant is often an honest, efficient, though cynical man.

Not unusually, the national politician or Central Cabinet Minister is fairly honest, reasonably efficient and less subject to local pressures and controls. But it gets steadily worse at lower levels where parochialism, pressure groups, corruption and inefficiency have their hey-day. At many levels there has developed a professional corps of liaison men who are either politicans themselves or are linked to them for mutual advantage.

An intolerable burden is placed on the common man who begins to hate the administration which he-feels can only be influenced by the ruling party. Many see the democratic institutions and the men who control them as a dispensable wall between them and the administration. There is often only rejoicing, as in the state of Kerala, when the politician is removed from the scene.

Pact of Convenience

"We politicians are only partly to blame. The civil servants and businessmen have an equal burden in the deterioration in the country," I was told by a Congressman of Andhra Pradesh. And he is right. It is equally true that civil servants find themselves endowed with vast powers of decision, even as the party grants itself great facilities of patronage. The political class, in the process of increasing its own power, has also created a vast bureaucratic machine with vested interest in its own power. At present there is a pact of convenience and an uneasy truce between the two, but the equilibrium will be broken as the nation grows tired of the demands and the delays of the bureaucracy and the selfishness and hypocrisy of the political aristocracy.

Unless the civil servants and the political leaders can find a solution that will ensure good government to the country, democracy itself is in

The longer does power last the more fairly it is exercised. The longterm interests of democratic stability therefore demand:

- (i) An agreement on the respective areas of control and decision between the political and administrative authorities;
- (ii) Mutual non-interference;
- (iii) A subordination of constituency or party interest to the national

This was a life.

ALBERT EINSTEIN 1879-1955

WHEN EINSTEIN died at 76 in 1955. President Eisenhower said: "No other man contributed so much to the vast expansion of twentiethcentury knowledge yet no other man was more modest in the possession of the power that is knowledge, more sure that power without wisdom is deadly. To all who live in the nuclear age, Albert Einstein exemplifies the mighty creative ability of the individual in a free society."

Nobel prize-winner and father of atomic' physics, Albert Einstein was born in the south German city of Ulm, on March 14, 1879. At school his teacher thought him rather dull till he was 14, when he began to show his genius at mathematics. In 1894 his family moved to Italy due to anti-Jewish prejudice. He received his Ph.D. in Zurich. When Nazis came to power, Einstein fled Germany for the U.S.A. There he taught at Princeton, New Jersey, and conducted his research.

CHEQUE AS BOOK-MARK

Many-sided as were Einstein's achievements, they have all been overshadowed by his famous "Theory of Relativity" and his law of the transformation of matter into energy (E=Mc2) which led ultimately to the atomic bomb. In 1939 he urged president Roosevelt to make the atomic bomb before the Nazis. But he later regretted it. Einstein hoped that atomic power would be used for the good of mankind and campaigned for its peaceful use.

In some ways Einstein was a typical "Professor". He once used a \$1,500 cheque as a bookmark-and then lost the book. He loved music and children. He was known to help his neighbours' children when they had difficulties with arithmetic.

He won the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1921 for his work on photons and the quantum theory, and was awarded the Copley medal of the Royal Society in 1925 and the Gold Medal of the Royal Astronomy Society in 1926. In 1950 he published his unified field theory.

Einstein, once said: "It is embarrassing to earn so much love and respect for doing a thing which my nature drives me to do. Arrows of hate have been shot at me too, but they never hit me because somehow they belonged to another world with which I have no connection whatso-

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

Q - What are the achievements of Indian democracy?

B. S. RAGHAVENDRA RAO. Bangalore.

A - About the most we can say to pat ourselves on the back is that we have stayed democratic and free. Poverty is the same as before, perhaps worse. Inequality is the same as before, maybe worse. Unemployment is worse. Corruption is worse. Hates and divisions among classes, castes, languages, and religions are worse.

When compared with the story of other nations in our corner of the world. having stayed free and democratic is no mean feat. But only a lazy, complacent and ignorant man consoles himself by saying, "There are others worse than

We, the Indian people, have enough intelligence and capacity to make for ourselves one of the world's finest societies. What we can do we now must do, before it becomes too late.

Q-What can be done to unite students and lecturers?

HERBERT W. HARI, Hyderabad.

A-Your handwriting tells me you are a student. Here are my suggestions.

1. Apply to your life the standards of honesty, discipline and intelligence you wish your lecturer to possess.

2. Invite your lecturer to your home for a cup of tea.

3. Tell him how you have changed and found a new aim. Seek his help in uniting all students and lecturers in your school or college.

4. Plan with him a new kind of education in India where lecturers and students think for and plan for one another and are preoccupied with the other person and not with themselves; where to attend lectures, to study hard and to write examination answers without cheating are respectable practices;

where the lecturer prepares his subject with care and patience because he is. above all, interested in the future of the students; where the teacher realizes that his students have a means of finding out not merely what he says in his lectures but also what he does when he is not lecturing; where lecturers and students unitedly plan for a new India.

Q-What do you say about the reported decision of a section of Madras students to resume their anti-Hindi agitation on August 15?

N. CH. VEERACHARI, Hyderabad.

A-Whether they are planning another wave of agitations I do not know. I fully understand their feelings. To these students, and many like them in different parts of the South and East, Hindi is strange and difficult. They stand to lose if Hindi is made the test of their ability.

Personally I do not see how India's unity will be strengthened either by an imposition of Hindi or by violent and divisive agitations against it. I do not ask the South Indian students to swallow what they regard as injustice. I want them to be more passionate than ever, but can they not take on the task of uniting and strengthening India and making it the world's pace-setter?

If they did this, North India would follow them and throughout the world men and women will marvel at India's new spirit.

-R.G.

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Our newspapers currently are excited about a tiny Beechcraft which made a forced landing at Bhubaneswar when it was scheduled to land at Calcutta.

High officials of the Calcutta Customs and senior officers of the Union Home Ministry have been rushed from Delhi and Calcutta to Bhubaneswar to investigate. The pilot, Mr. E. B. Davis, is in custody.

It is, of course, possible that the pilot is a smuggler. It is equally possible that his plane did run into bad weather, as planes are apt to do sometimes, forcing him to land at Bhubaneswar. Even if he were a dangerous spy, that would not justify the frenzy that comes out of the newspaper headliness and reports.

Cry "Wolf"

You almost get the impression that a combination of the world's mightiest powers have, in the person of Mr. E. B. Davis, landed five divisions of paratroops on India's eastern coast.

Most officials of our Government and a majority of our people know that the Davis incident can be, as of course it must be, dealt with naturally and quietly and with firmness if need be. Yet a minority in the press, aided perhaps by some Government officials, seem to believe that strength is conveyed by feverish shouts and seem all set to cry "Wolf" every time they spy a mouse or a rat.

Would that our nation displayed the quiet strength of the truly brave and the maturity of the united.

I don't think we realize it, but word is spreading abroad that Indians act like ill-tempered crybabies who blame the umpire or curse the manufacturers of their bat or racket or accuse the opposing side of all manner of vile and unjust tactics.

The danger of this style of living, of course, is that when the wolves are on the prowl and if we have enough guts then to cry "Wolf" others may not come to our aid.

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Another target of a witch-hunt last week were the foreign oil companies in India. They have not been able to distribute enough kerosene and high-speed diesel and Government spokesmen have threatened them with dire consequences if they do not "co-operate".

I do not know the facts in this affair. It is entirely likely that the companies were inefficient or negligent. If an honest inquiry shows this, they should be suitably reprimanded. It is equally possible that there is some truth in the statement made on behalf of one of the companies that they have not "deliberately withheld supplies of kerosene and diesel oil to dealers" and that the Government had failed "to properly schedule their supplies and arrange for their distribution".

However, in no event can this hate campaign be right. It is so easy, so cheap—and so dangerous. Dangerous, above all, to the careers of our politicians.

For it is not difficult for a people, trained, goaded and inflamed to hate a particular class, to shift gear and start hating a particular party or its leaders and making them exclusively accountable for the country's difficulties.

Can any honest man doubt that India's lamentable state is the result of the shortcomings of all of us? Can anyone honestly state that if Government officials were to manage all companies that today are private, production would increase? I am sure not.

Need Number One

Under the Own-Your-Home scheme of the Maharashtra Co-operative Housing Finance Society, for instance, not a single loan has been sanctioned in the last 18 months, in spite of 225 applications, just because there is a disagreement between the Government-owned Life Insurance Corporation of India and the Government-owned Reserve Bank of India over the rate of interest the L.I.C. could charge the housing society.

Only a man blinded by hate or a stubborn point of view will insist that either Government control or private control is always best. It seems clear as daylight that in each case efficiency will depend on the quality of the men who manage the show — their integrity, courage, drive and sweat, be they "private" or "public".

Need number one today is for each Indian citizen to understand his responsibility.

We seem often to be telling our population that there is enough food to go round, that there is enough oil and kerosene to go round, that there are enough homes for all, that there is enough cloth for all—that, in fact, all would be well if money and influence were wrested from a few crooks.

Instead of challenging and inducing the masses, by our own sacrifice, sweat and devotion, to produce more bread, we are feeding our millions with huge quantities of the bread of bitterness.

Honest, Large Heart

Those who raise the sword of hate cannot control on whom it will ultimately fall. It may be intended for the necks of others. It may fall on those who raise it.

We could have become prosperous, today we are impoverished.

We could have been united, today we are more divided and parochial than ever.

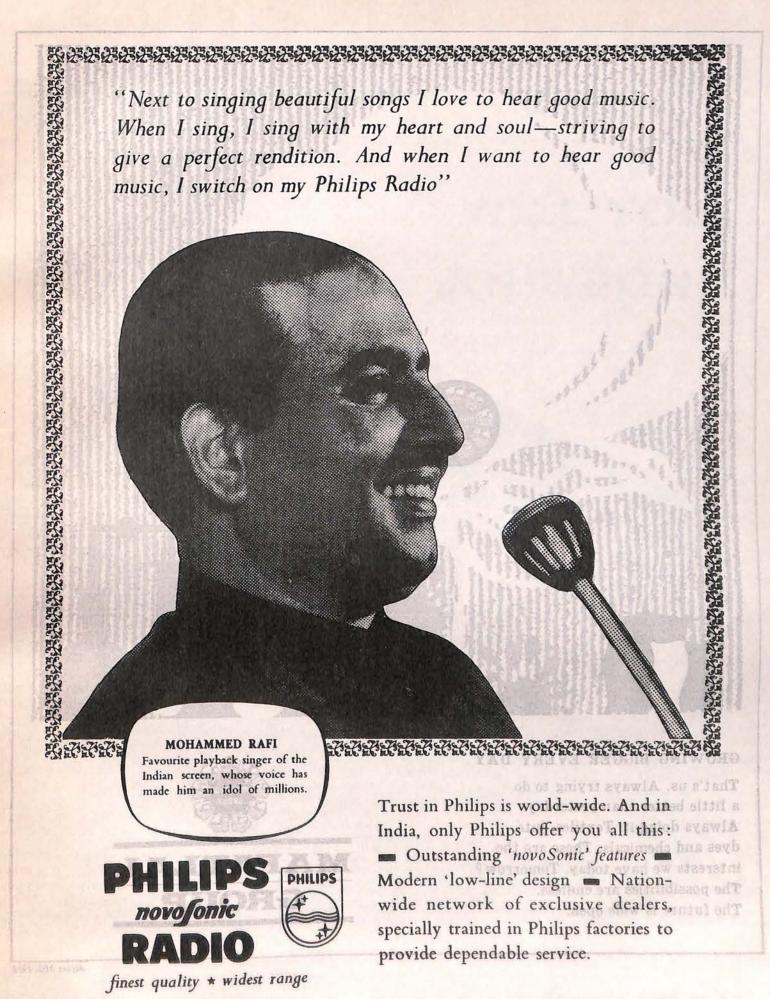
We could have been strong, today we are weak.

We could have been the envy of nations large and small, near and far. Today we are the recipients of scorn and abuse, forced to send our highest representatives to pay court, hat in hand.

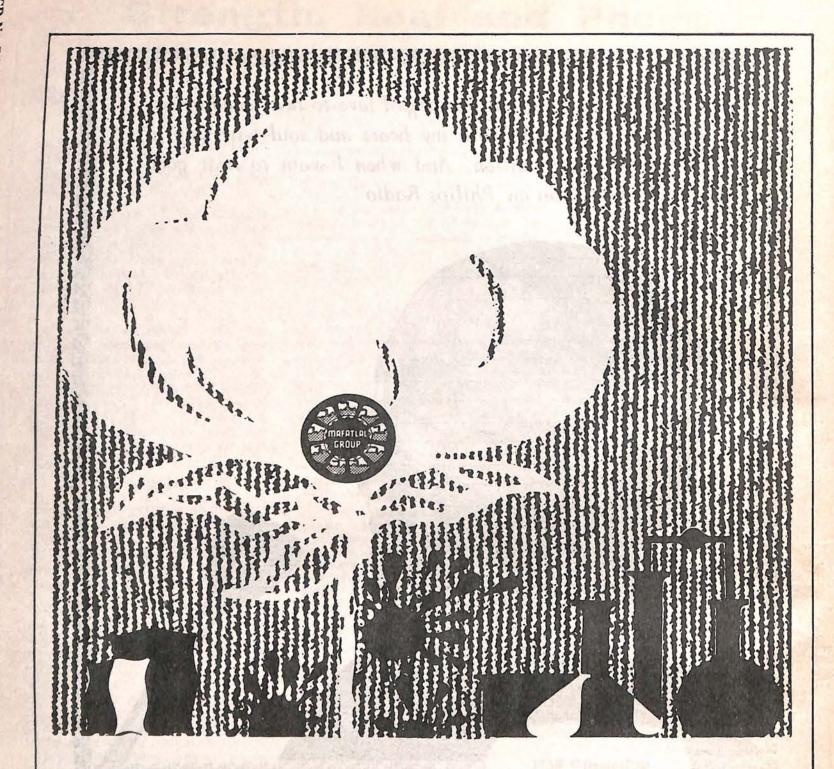
It is enough to wound the heart of any Indian proud of his land.

We are perilously close to the midnight hour. Yet it is not too late. Even now we can so shift the direction of our nation that what could have been still will be. It will take honesty and courage on the part of our Government, Opposition, industrialists, workers, students and professors.

An honest, large heart produces a fighting fist that can really punch hard when necessity arises. A narrow, mean, dishonest heart produces nails that scratch and voices that screech.



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