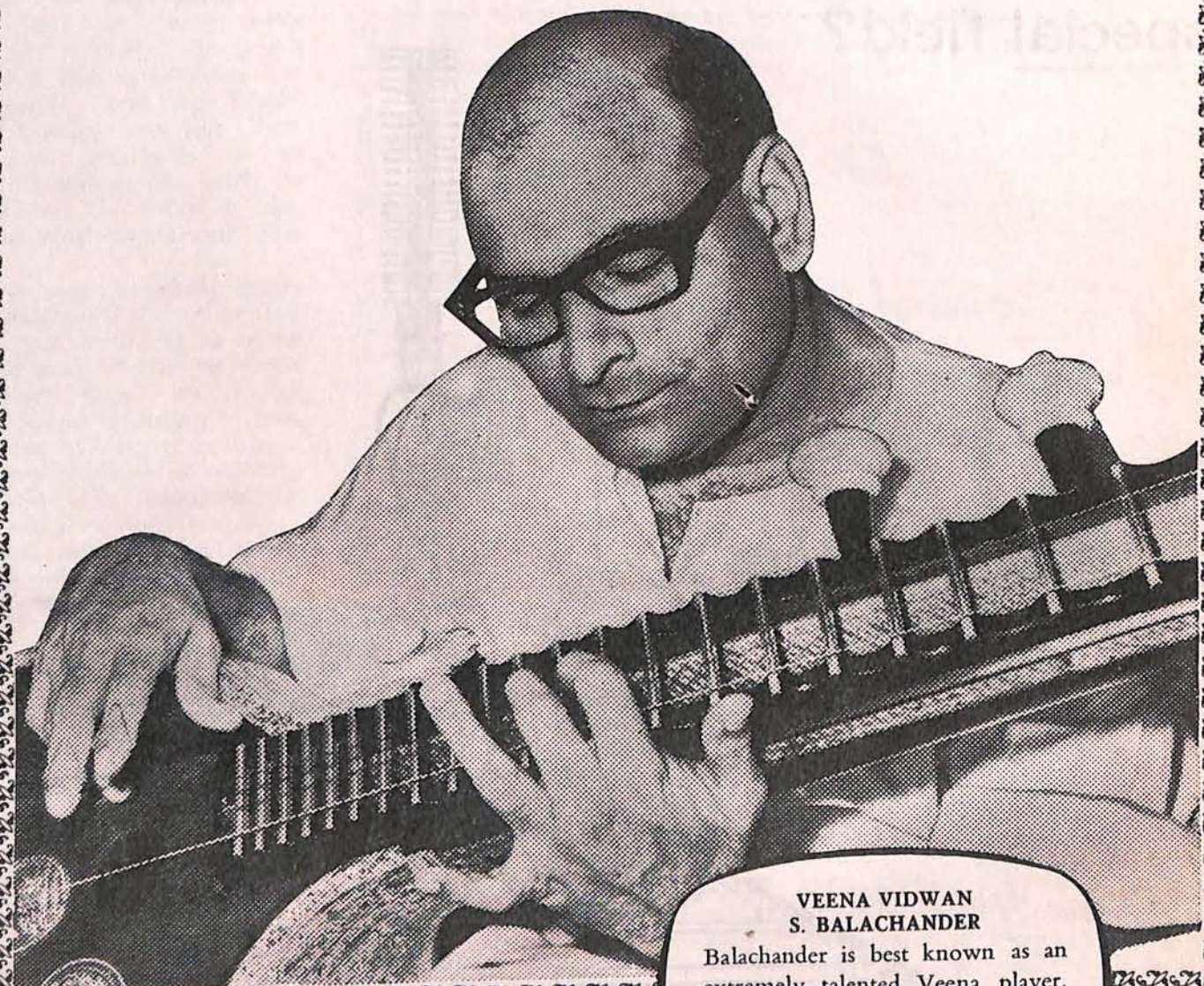


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HIMMAT

25p

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



MAO?

after

The National People's Congress meets in Peking



Chou

Mao

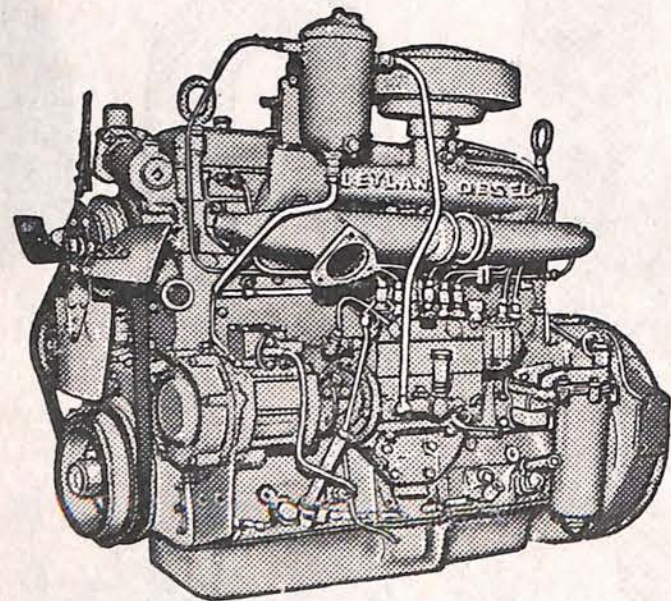
Liu

Friday
July 9
1965

Competition
Results

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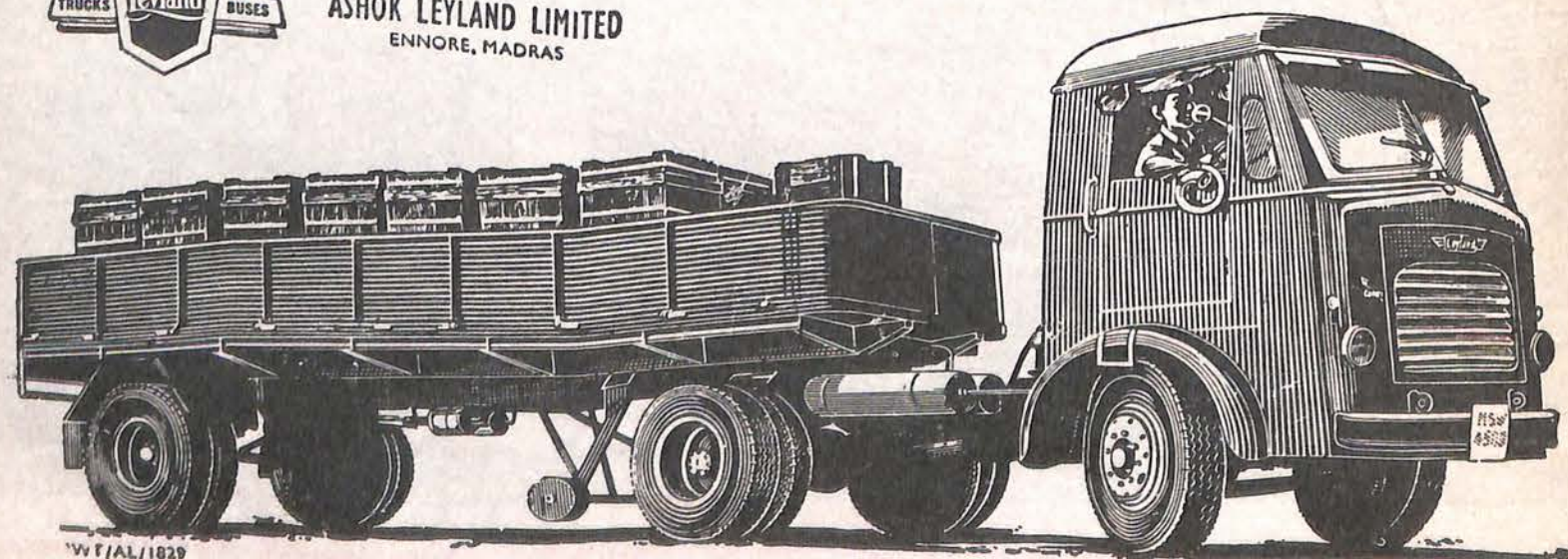
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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, July 9, 1965

Vol. 1 No. 36

Kutch Agreement

THE KUTCH AGREEMENT between India and Pakistan signed last week is both fair and equitable. The two Governments have agreed to a cease-fire, the restoration of the *status quo* as at January 1, 1965, and a general withdrawal of the forces confronting each other.

If Pakistan patrols the Ding-Surai area to the depth of up to a mile in Indian territory, it is because there is evidence she did patrol it before January 1.

Under Article 5 of the Agreement, if patrols of Indian and Pakistan police come into contact they should not interfere with each other. Within a month of the cease-fire the Ministers will meet, advance their evidence of demarcation of the boundary and in the event of no agreement being reached within two months of the cease-fire, both Governments shall have recourse to a tribunal. The decision of the Tribunal will be binding on both Governments.

As far as human ingenuity can go a better agreement, acceptable to both parties, could not have been produced.

Many do not realize today how close India and Pakistan were to a general armed conflict with substantial troop movements to the frontiers being carried out on both sides.

In the past, the first steps to sanity and rapprochement have been taken on both sides, for example, the Indus water dispute. It is the second step which both nations have found difficult and elusive. That is why the next four months will require warm hearts and cool heads.

It could be the beginning of a new relationship for the future of both countries. A lot more will be needed than boundary demarcations, but a satisfactory conclusion to this dispute may open the door to a settlement of other outstanding questions between the nations.

Almighty Directives

"Would 20 shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! But the payment of half 20 shillings on the principle it was demanded would have made him a slave."

EDMUND BURKE, 1728-1797.

THE LATEST FIAT issued by the Union Ministry of Industries makes it compulsory for applications for motor cars, scooters and other motor vehicles to be registered henceforth only on a security deposit in

Post Office Savings. A bank guarantee which was given till recently will not be valid.

One news item says that "the new procedure is intended to attract deposits to the Post Office Savings scheme". Deposits vary from Rs. 250 for scooters to Rs. 2,000 for motor cars.

A car purchase in a free society is a matter between the citizen and the manufacturer. To prevent inflated demand for cars (some parts of which are imported still) the bank guarantee was reckoned sufficient. Now the Government—a third party—wants to use the funds of the public to puff up the sagging coffers of the Postal Savings Scheme.

As if this ruling were not sufficient, it is made applicable with retrospective effect. Even those who have applied for cars on the basis of a bank guarantee have to switch the deposit money to the Postal Savings Scheme within 60 days.

Patently the Government's directive is immoral. If the issue were boldly taken to court it is not unlikely it may also prove illegal. Such arbitrary acts of the Union Government take India nearer each day to dictatorship.

Soap Box Orators

SO THE Tamil Nad Hairdressers' Association has passed a resolution that their fraternity should be represented in the Rajya Sabha. A capital idea. They will press for certain fringe benefits also, it is understood, like facilities for going abroad to study.

No one who has quietly dozed in his barber's chair and marvelled at his rich, well-informed commentary on the state of the nation could fail to appreciate the contribution hairdressers would make to the proceedings of the Upper House.

A good barber could pour oil on troubled waters as well as bring a keen edge to debates. His speeches, bristling with facts and figures, would badger the Administration and fairly make its hair stand on end. Unable, any longer, to brush aside legitimate opposition by splitting hairs, the Government would be forced to bring a fresh tint to its policies.

No doubt there are those who will get into a bit of a lather over this unusual suggestion. But the bald fact is that barbers are not cut-throats. Anyway, only the cream of the profession need be nominated.

Their voice in Parliament might even start a new wave of political thinking and stimulate a luxuriant growth in the national economy. We might even see a situation where the Government, for the first time, survived a vote of confidence by a close shave.

Briefly Speaking ...

Some people have a perfect genius for doing nothing and doing it assiduously.

THOMAS L. HALIBURTON 1796-1885

Serious This Time?

A COMMITTEE has now been appointed to consider the question of administrative delays and allied matters. On it are persons like the Home Minister; Mr. S. G. Barve, a member of the Planning Commission; the Cabinet Secretary; the Secretary of Economic Affairs and the Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Can such busy people be expected to spare the time and effort needed to go into such intricate and detailed problems as administrative delays? Secondly, granting that they do expend all this time and energy and after two or three years a report is born, will their recommendations be accepted?

Mr. A. D. Gorwala, I.C.S. (Retd.), reputed to be a very able administrator, was appointed to present a report

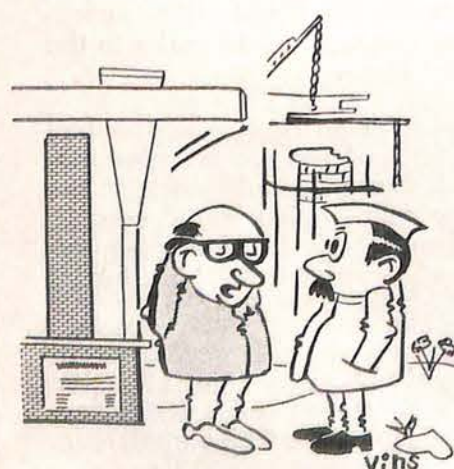
EAGLE PRESENTS

This weekly feature comes to you through the courtesy of the Eagle Vacuum Bottle Mfg. Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., manufacturers of the Eagle range of vacuum flasks, jugs and insulated ware.



ARISTOCRAT

CHALTA HAI....



"No, the project has not been abandoned. We shall resume as soon as the aid-giving country gets aid from their aid-giving country."

on the working of our Administration in 1951. Mr. Gorwala made some very important recommendations, none of which was accepted and the report was put in cold storage.

Is the Government really serious this time?

Stars and Bars

ASTROLOGER Jwala Prashad, 55, was remanded in custody by a Delhi court last week. The police report accused him of cheating a Public Works employee and three others of Rs. 33,000 on various pretexts.

The astrologer, who could not foretell his own fate, now says he is falsely implicated.

Space Film

AT A SPACE CONFERENCE arranged by the International Federation of Automatic Control at Stavanger, near Oslo, delegates were shown full length film records, taken by the Russians and the Americans, when their respective spacemen floated outside their space ships.

Can the two countries not make both these films available, preferably jointly, for nations around the world to see?

Each His Own

MYSORE'S Chief Minister complains publicly that no one from his State is in the Central Cabinet to represent its interests. Now the Secretary of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee complains that Kerala is not represented in the Congress Working Committee which decided on the language issue the other day.

At this rate it won't be long before each State Secretariat has graphs to show how many represent their State in the Central Cabinet, how many in the I.A.S., and how many are ambassadors, first secretaries, second secretaries and third secretaries in Indian embassies abroad....

Before and After 40

ONE THIRD of Germany's labour force consists of women.

Professor Dr. Heinz Kirchhoff, speaking at a Congress for Medical

improvement in West Berlin, said that he was able to note in his years of practice that women reached their peak of efficiency in Europe between the ages of 40 and 60. He advised women over 40 to return to work and those under 40 to beware of overwork between employment, housework and looking after the children.

Jewel Control

WOMEN "who flaunt their wealth by overdressing and using ostentatious jewels" may be jailed if Brazil's Congress accepts a bill before it, reports the *Daily Express*. India's Gold Control victims don't know how lucky they are!

Tan Ban

"NOT COLOUR but character." Till South Africa learns this lesson, it is bound to run into situations as it did last week.

An Immigration Official barred a Greek, George Piasuis, from entering the Union of South Africa. George, on a 17-day boat trip to Durban to join his parents, made the mistake of spending too much time on deck. On arrival he was declared to be much too dark.

The *New York Herald Tribune* comments, "This may impose some unpleasant restraints on Prime Minister H. F. Verwoerd and members of his Cabinet. Should they fall asleep in the sun and suddenly turn several shades darker, would the Government be in danger of falling?"

Predictions

MR. ASOKA MEHTA, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, says there will be no new taxes after 1981 "provided we have rigorous discipline".

If only the Government could have foreseen in December 1964 what the foreign exchange position would be in July 1965, it would have done well.

Beatle-Nuts

WHILST THE BEATLES are decorated in Britain, "Beatle" music is banned in Indonesia. Leaders of a dance band in Djakarta have been held in detention for playing "Beatle" music and now face charges of subversion. They were warned by the High Court not to sing these songs, promised to obey, but are alleged to have broken their promise.

R.M.L.

HIMMAT, July 9, 1965

The Colonel Plays His Hand

From Pierre Spoerri in Paris

A nickname of Colonel Houari Boumedienne, the new "strong man" of Algeria, was "the Chinese". In spite of that the Chinese lost most through the military coup of June 19 which swept Ben Bella out of power.

The Chinese had a clear plan for the second Afro-Asian conference. They were sure that after manoeuvring the first Bandung conference they would succeed in completely dominating the second one. They had their allies ready in the wings who would, with their help, get international recognition through this conference: North Vietnam, North Korea, the Viet Cong and Prince Souphanouphong's Leftists. They had their plans laid for creating a new world organization rivalling the U.N. And they were absolutely sure they would have enough power and votes to shut the doors of the Afro-Asian world on their Russian "brothers".

Time to Go Home

Three days before the conference was to begin, the preparatory committee of 15 nations announced that it would be postponed until November 5. An explosion which blasted away part of the newly constructed "Palais des Nations", killing and wounding a great number of workers, convinced the last delegates that it was high time to go home.

But the real reason for the chaos was that both the Algerians and the world powers just did not know who was ruling Algeria and who would be host of the conference. Nobody, either inside or outside the country, had expected the coup. Ben Bella had seemed at the height of his power. He had just released some political enemies and had expressed his desire to let out some thousands more. He was about to sign a new agreement with the French Government, giving him a fair share of the petroleum profits flowing out of the Sahara.

Everybody asked who was this new "strong man", Colonel Boumedienne.

Although his birth name and real age are still unknown—"Boumedienne" was a name assumed during the rebellion against the French—the

Colonel was born the son of a poor peasant. He studied at the Islamic universities of Tunis and Cairo to become a schoolteacher. When he joined the rebellion, his military talents proved so brilliant that he advanced quickly in the underground hierarchy. He was finally put in charge of building up revolutionary armies in Morocco and Tunisia.

Although these armies never got into action, Boumedienne had succeeded in making truly revolutionary instruments which were fanatically loyal to him and passionately determined to carry the fight to its conclusion. Boumedienne's slogan was, "Independence is only a stage, the revolution is our aim."

What the content of Boumedienne's revolution is, nobody seems to know yet. Fidel Castro, one of the first to recognize the new Algerian regime and considered one of Boumedienne's heroes, turned against the new ruler within a few days of the coup. He called Boumedienne's right-hand man, Bouteflika, "a man of the right, an enemy of Socialism and of the Algerian revolution and a reactionary".

President Nasser, who sent his Vice President to negotiate with Boumedienne, withdrew his recognition of the new regime after the refusal of the Revolutionary Council to let Ben Bella leave for exile in Egypt. Western and Communist nations all hesitated to take a clear position towards Boumedienne's Government.

Friendship with China

Two things seem clear. On the international level, Boumedienne wanted to save the Afro-Asian Conference, to consolidate his regime and therefore co-operated with the Chinese, Indonesians and Sukarno who were, for various reasons, most passionate defenders of the conference. *Friendship with the Chinese might continue, but now that the common objectives have disappeared, new alignments might well reveal themselves.*

It seems doubtful that the Russians, who of course gained most from the collapse of the conference and whose weapons are the main backbone of Boumedienne's Army, had a direct hand in the coup as some observers

pretend. Boumedienne has spent time both in China and in Russia.

He appears to have said after his last visit to Moscow that the Russians had gone soft and that the Chinese revolution was more the pattern suitable for Algeria. But, in spite of these statements, Boumedienne will not want to be anybody's servant. He will not hesitate to use whoever suits him.

Boumedienne's concept of revolution seems to be, first of all, power for himself and for his Army. In this respect, the Algerian people might be the first to experience the whip in the coming weeks. The immediate neighbours of Algeria, King Hassan of Morocco and President Bourguiba of Tunisia, may also have reason to feel alarmed. Boumedienne never forgot the defeat of his troops against the Moroccans in the autumn of 1963.

Saved from Starvation

On the other hand, Boumedienne cannot overlook the economic facts. Last year the Algerian budget was saved by a French subsidy of \$200 million, and three million people were saved from starvation through U.S. surplus wheat. Boumedienne might feel tempted to break off the negotiations with France concerning the Sahara petrol, but his close friend, Foreign Minister Bouteflika, has already announced that Algeria must go through with it.

Boumedienne will no doubt experience that it is relatively easy to take power but more difficult to use it.

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After Mao, will it be Chou, Liu or the People's Army?

Many times now the world has heard news of the illness of Mao Tse-tung. For nearly 40 years his theories and ideas have determined the course of Chinese development. China's victories have been his personal triumphs, her mistakes have also been his errors.

Whether or not Mao is presently ill, it is clear that China is coming to the end of an era. Out of the chaos and corruption, division and disintegration of the Republic, Mao Tse-tung has created a united, strong, monolithic China, well on its way to becoming a modern giant, armed with nuclear weapons. With him ends the heroic phase of world Communism for in him Marxism has had as original and versatile and world-spanning a revolutionary as Lenin himself.

Mao Tse-tung was never, however, the solitary dictator that Stalin was. From the days of the Long March he worked closely with a group of men who stuck by him through the difficult Yenan days to ultimate victory. Despite a thinning of ranks by dismissals and purges, this group remains substantially the same today. The closest of these collaborators are well known—Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai.

Liu Shao-chi, especially, has been a valued friend on whose keen ideological understanding Mao has often relied. As Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic he is the natural successor to Mao. When some years ago Mao relinquished this position in Liu's favour it was considered a clear indication of his preference for succession.

Chu Teh who is now 80 is certainly

out of the running. Chou En-lai, though he has always been loyal to Mao, has occasionally differed from him and is said to be more moderate than either Mao or Liu, but he is himself a sick man. Besides, in both the Party hierarchy and in the Government, he is second to Liu Shao-chi who wields greater influence and authority.

After the dismissal of the former Defence Minister, Marshal Peng Teh-huai in 1959, there has been considerable speculation around the new Defence Minister, Marshal Lin Paio, who has worked with Mao ever since he left the Whampoa Military Academy as a young officer in 1927. Certainly, as the man who carried out extensive purges in the Army in the period 1959-61 and restored ideological purity to the armed forces, he is a man to be watched.

Party Control Assured

The Chinese Army played a key part in the revolutionary struggle for power between 1929 and 1949. It was a revolutionary army, used to guerrilla tactics. As such, the controlling authorities have been good party men. The Party and the Army in China have been closely linked with the control of the former always assured.

With Peng Teh-huai's dismissal, and the subsequent purge carried out by Lin Paio, the danger of the Army as a rival professional group playing its part in the struggle for power has been almost completely eliminated. The recent abolition of all ranks in the armed forces of China was therefore a confident assertion of the Party's total grip over the Army.

Under
the
Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

However, the assurance of influence in the Army might help tip the scales in favour of a candidate also strongly entrenched in the Party. Lin Paio, if his health is good, might ultimately emerge as a powerful contender for Mao's throne.

Another aspirant for the position may be Teng Hsiao-ping, Secretary General of the Party and a member of the powerful seven-man Politburo. In many ways, his rise to his present position has been spectacular as he was almost unknown before 1949. In a party structure such as in the U.S.S.R., general secretaryship should have assured him almost sure succession. Both Stalin and Khrushchev in Russia gained ascendancy through their control of the Party apparatus. In China, the Secretary General's position has been less significant, perhaps because Mao occupies the supreme office (non-existent in the Soviet Union) of Chairman of the Party.

Mao, himself, is deeply conscious of the future. It is more than likely that a consensus has been created about his successor even now. However, the removal from the scene of a giant like him, who has dominated everything for so long, will itself create an altogether different situation. Even the present personality alignments may not hold good in the absence of Mao. Certainly, the bonds

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that seem strong today may break when the master is no longer there.

One thing is certain, whoever succeeds Mao will not have the same prestige or authority but will need the approval and help of his immediate colleagues and will have to make a conscious bid for popular support. Even a man like Liu Shao-chi, who has shared all the burdens of ideological leadership with Mao for the past 35 years, will have to find fresh ways of appealing to the masses.

A second factor is the continued threat, however trivial, of an attack from Taiwan in the event of a long disputed succession in Peking. The Politburo is not likely to quarrel if they fear that it might precipitate invasion. Those who outlive Mao are therefore likely to stick together.

The real problem of succession is therefore not likely to present itself until the present Maoist leadership, which is in its sixties and seventies, passes away. Then China will face an unpredictable crisis. No one quite knows whether the post-Yenan cadres have the same revolutionary fervour as the Yenan leadership.

"In the past a person's decision to join our Party generally meant that

he was prepared to struggle at the risk of his freedom and even his very life for the interests of the mass," said Teng Hsiao-ping in his report to the Eighth Party Congress.

He added, "Nowadays, however, it is easy to find people who have joined the Party for the sake of prestige and position and who do not safeguard the interests of the masses but harm them instead."

China's Third Generation

Mao, in his recent interview with Edgar Snow, also expressed uncertainty and concern over the future. The fears of the Chinese leadership are highlighted by the rise of revisionism as a world phenomenon and the degeneration of the revolutionary ideas of the October Revolution to a mere hankering for higher standards of living. Chinese leadership sees no moral superiority over capitalism in the bread and butter Communism of Khrushchev.

Maoism has always placed great emphasis on the spiritual regeneration of man, though it has been believed that a combination of force and propaganda can "remould" human

nature. But the experience of the "let a hundred flowers bloom" period has left a permanent question mark in the minds of the Chinese leadership about the efficiency of their techniques of mass persuasion and reform.

Until such time as a radically different third generation takes over the leadership of China, the immediate successors of Mao are unlikely to alter the course set by him. The modernization of China and the attainment of her early status as a world power are goals which not only a Communist but even a nationalist Chinese Government would pursue vigorously.

What is likely to prove impossible is for the present leaders of China to extract, after Mao's passing, the same degree of self-sacrifice from the Chinese people. The post-Mao leadership will have to make concessions to their material demands. Also, since they are less secure, they will be more, not less, chauvinist.

The world has therefore to reconcile itself to a strong, modern, nationalist China that will soon emerge as a world power. Mao's going will not alter this fact.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

29-Year-Old Oxonians Run Sudan

FROM VERE JAMES

Khartoum

Confronting the increasing fragmentation, dictatorship and violence in Africa is the emergence of a new democratic Government in Sudan. It is an oasis of hope and could become a barrier against the further erosion of freedom on this continent.

Linked with West Africa through Islam and with East and Central Africa by common frontiers with Uganda, Ethiopia and the Congo, Sudan's ancient crossroads may prove vital in the future of modern Africa.

Almost seven years of military rule crushed free initiative, ruined the economy and finally created an opposition which overthrew the Abboud regime in a revolution last October. Throughout the transitional period that followed there was the danger of a further military coup or the establishment of a Leftist dictatorship.



Ahmed el Mahdi

Sudan's return to democratic ways is largely the result of the courage and initiative of two dynamic 29-year-old Oxford graduates, Sadik and Ahmed el Mahdi. These two young men, who represent the new leadership rising in Africa, are descended from the renowned Mahdi who united his people and led them in a war against the British.

As leaders of the Umma Party their insistence on free elections, which finally took place in May, has resulted in the formation of a coalition Government comprising the two largest parties in the north. These represent the two principle Muslim influences in the country—the Umma Party "Mahdists" and the National Unionist Party supported by the Khatmiyya.

By a curious constitutional law both Sadik and Ahmed el Mahdi will be unable to sit in the new Parliament until they are 30 years old—in November this year. Meanwhile, Sadik continues as President of the Umma Party and Ahmed, who was Minister for Irrigation in the transitional Gov-

ernment, has been appointed Minister of the Interior.

The vital Ministries of the Interior, Foreign Affairs and Justice, Information and Local Government are all portfolios in the hands of the Umma Party. This is the team that will have to solve Sudan's most pressing problem—the future of the south.

Rebelling against military suppression and rule from the north, the southern Sudanese (who are mainly Christian-influenced) have been demanding either secession or regional autonomy within a Sudan federation. Under the Abboud Government repressive action by the Army and Police, which is continuing in some areas, has resulted in the loss of thousands of lives. Many thousands more have fled to the Congo and Uganda as refugees.

It was inevitable that a politically motivated terrorist organization erupted, known as the *Anya Nya*. The Government at present only controls the main centres of the southern provinces of Equatoria, Bahr el Gazal and Upper Nile, while the *Anya Nya*

"forest fighters" roam the countryside, as much a threat to their own people as anyone else.

Until very recently the Sudan Government had permitted arms to be flown in via Khartoum to Juba for transshipment to the anti-Tshombe forces in the Congo. It was discovered that large quantities of these arms were captured by the anti-Khartoum forces and now constitute a serious threat to the Sudan Government. It is a situation which could be easily fanned into another "Congo" in Africa.

In these circumstances free elections in the south were not possible. So the new Parliament has 58 empty seats out of the total of 233—those of southern representatives. The new Government has offered the south three cabinet posts until elections can be held there.

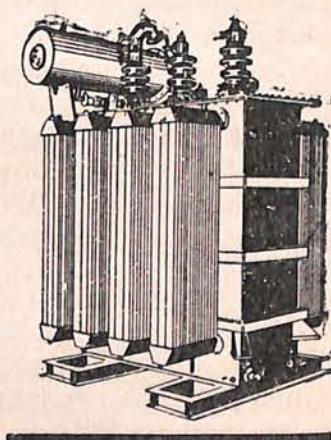
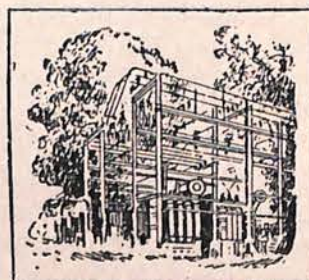
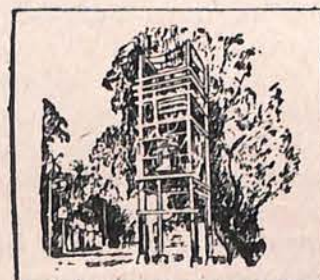
"Balkanization of Africa"

As well as the southern problem and the immediate economic crisis, Sudan is also faced with restoring its traditional friendship with Ethiopia. There have been reports recently of arms for an Eritrean Liberation Movement passing through Sudan into Ethiopia.

President Nyerere of Tanzania, on a recent visit to Nigeria, warned of the further "balkanization" of Africa. Sudan could reverse this trend by finding a working unity between north and south. This would provide an effective and much needed bridge between the African and Arab states of the continent.

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FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Leningrad

Russia is in a state of change. The changes instituted by Mr. Khrushchev have released some sort of initiative in the people and it looks as though this will not be stopped. Formerly there was an acceptance of lower living standards because the people felt that they were building a world Utopia for their children.

This realization of the shortcomings of the Communist ideology is beginning to seep through.

But it is all very well to say that Communism will not work. It is much harder to say what will work

for the greatest good of the Russian people and the world as a whole.

I was speaking to a Cabinet Minister from a satellite nation on this subject and he pointed out certain facts.

His Cabinet were clear that the Communist central system of control

stifled enterprise in individuals. But Communism had been in operation for many years, and how can one change this situation?

For a private enterprise system there has to be private savings, and this no one in this country had. The Government considered making capital grants to individuals to see how they developed their businesses for the public good. But they came up against the difficulty of deciding to whom it should be given, the danger of nepotism, the danger of creating an employing class.

He also told me that as everyone had been brought up and trained in government service they had no one in the country who had any idea of developing a business on a profit motive. This left them with a dearth of suitable management.

On another occasion I was dining with a member of Russia's trade delegation. He told me he had had several years in America, and in Britain and other countries, dealing with trade. He said that if he could be loaned £100,000 he could start a factory outside Moscow with imported equipment. Within twelve months he could be strongly invading all the Western markets with a commodity at a cheaper price and equal quality to anything produced in the West.

He had achieved the know-how from his time in the West. He had the market openings and the wage level in Russia was sufficiently low.

Capitalism Played Out

He said, "I don't want to do this for myself, but for my country. I could be earning vast sums in foreign exchange which my country so badly needs. But the trouble is that there are so few of us who have had any experience of world business and marketing, and those in control don't see this yet."

The Russians, like the Chinese, are a cultured, intelligent people. They want, as everyone in the world wants, to live in a society of high living standards and peaceful prospects. But so far the West has only opposed their proposals for this future, as they have opposed the West. They are convinced that Western capitalism is a played-out and decadent system.

They would welcome the idea of a system or ideology which contained the best of both Communism and

capitalism and was acceptable to both.

As my friend from the Kremlin said: "Your political system of one man one vote, and free parties, is good and right. I wish we could have it in Russia. But as yet this is totally impossible. But I hate your social system. The facts of where a

Facing Facts or Bullets

FROM LUIS PUIG SOLER

Lima

The Latin American press has reported that guerrillas are operating in the mountains of Peru. Their boldness and apparent strength ever, has been to say that they are only "cattle thieves and bandits".

As though to contradict the government statements, a clandestine radio began to broadcast daily subversive propaganda, Radio Havana voiced Fidel Castro's support for the "guerrilleros", an entire city in the interior of Peru was flooded with inflammatory leaflets distributed house by house, while intelligence reports concede these groups enough strength as to require army intervention.

But there is a tendency in certain Latin American governments to hide the facts about subversion for fear that admission of them will scare off investors and tourists, damage prestige abroad and eventually bring about devaluation of their currency. So long as the rebels are branded as "cattle thieves and bandits", the governments are only committed to fighting them with police forces which are not as well equipped as the regular army. The guerrillas have by now, according to the press, had time to build fortified hideouts.

This situation is not confined to Peru. Terrorism has been rampant in Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia, Argentina and other Latin American countries. The real enemy, though, is neither the guerrillas nor the terrorists, but people who do not understand the nature of the fight and are swept by a wave of fear.

Youth leaders, however, do not seem to agree with such a state of affairs. They are taking positive steps to overcome the lack of leadership and create the qualities of character and courage that will advance these countries economically, and also meet effectively the threat of subversion.

Five hundred of these youth will be gathering near Rio de Janeiro for

man was born, the colour of his skin, the accent with which he speaks and the school from which he comes still have more actual influence on your choosing than the ideals you so frequently and loudly proclaim."

These countries are looking outside their frontiers for a grand world leadership.

an Assembly of South American nations starting this week. The Brazilians, who have organized this conference, aim "to end corruption and tax cheating and make honesty the policy of the government; to create enough jobs, food, houses and education for all; to make purity something not just for moralists but a source of energy and intelligent unity for families, and to substitute the philosophy of 'comfortable living' with a pioneering spirit of true patriotism that will develop the country".

Arts Centre For U.K.

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

The construction of a new Theatre Arts Centre in London, expected to become a major focus of the stage and arts for Europe and the Commonwealth, was announced here this week. Town planning authorities have welcomed the designs of the 5-storey building drawn up by John Reid, President of the Society of Industrial Artists and Designers.

The modern Centre, which will adjoin the Westminster Theatre near Buckingham Palace, will be named in honour of one of Britain's outstanding playwrights and authors, the late Peter Howard.

A feature of productions at the Westminster Theatre in recent years has been the unique simultaneous translation system (similar to that used in the United Nations), enabling foreign visitors to London to follow the dialogue of the plays in one of half a dozen languages of their choice. The British Government's Central

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

SAIGON—The military Government lifted the ban on 23 of the capital's 36 newspapers that were closed on July 1.

COLOMBO—The Cabinet reviewed a CID report of Leftist-fomented subversion in the Army and plans to disorganize trains, light and water services, road transport and petroleum distribution.

TOKYO—A Japanese company has shipped five rockets designed for space research but capable of military use to Indonesia, causing the Foreign Ministry considerable embarrassment.

SAIGON—American planes bombed oil reserves 45 miles from Hanoi, the closest they have yet come to the North Vietnamese capital. Fresh arrivals will bring the number of American troops in Vietnam to 80,000.

PEKING—Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, will pay an official visit to China.

PLEIKU—Three divisions of North Vietnamese regular troops are reported to be surrounding this vital South Vietnamese provincial capital.

SAIGON—All Vietnamese citizens between 20 and 30, including those of Chinese origin, have been issued call-up papers for drafting in the South Vietnamese army.

PEKING—Algerian students in China demonstrated for a return of the Ben Bella regime.

DJAKARTA—President Sukarno is considering a visit to Russia in an attempt to obtain military backing for increased action against Malaysia. To succeed he will have to moderate his support for China.

TOKYO—40 million Japanese went to the polls to elect 127 new members of the 250-member Parliament in the first test of Premier Sato's popularity since he succeeded the Ikeda Government.

SAIGON—Thich Tri Quang, militant Buddhist monk who led the operation that resulted in the assassination of President Diem, has begun fresh manoeuvres to oust the latest military government here.

CANBERRA—The Australian Government called on citizens to volunteer for twelve months' service in Vietnam. This is an indication that the Government expects its commitment to that area to be long and increasing. Already 1,200 Australians are in Vietnam.

TOKYO—Japan proposes to establish a \$200 million agricultural fund to be loaned to needy Asian nations for agricultural development at low rates.

BANGKOK—Talks are continuing between representatives of the World Bank and nine Asian nations to accelerate plans for South East Asian development under the impetus of President Johnson's billion-dollar investment offer.

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MOTOR INDUSTRIES CO. LTD., BANGALORE

Office of Information have recently made a film of the Westminster Theatre's translation facilities.

Features of the new Centre, which covers 20,000 square feet of floor space, will include a restaurant and snack bar, a major conference hall and a cinema, linked by closed-circuit television with the theatre.

Of the £550,000 needed for the construction and endowment of this new project, £97,000 was given within the first week by people who have seen the pioneering work done by the Westminster Theatre trustees in presenting provocative, modern drama which has something to say to the world. Many thousands are expected to contribute to the building in cash or gifts in kind.

Mr. Kenneth Belden, Chairman of the Westminster Theatre Trustees, said, "The Westminster stands for a new trend in drama away from the pessimism and despair of so much modern drama towards a theatre of hope and constructive initiatives."

As well as film festivals, concerts and recitals, art exhibitions and lectures, it is expected that a drama school will also be established.

The Westminster Theatre Arts Centre, say the trustees, will be opened on September 15, 1966, the twentieth anniversary of the purchase of the original Westminster Theatre as a memorial to the many members of the armed forces in Moral Re-Armament who gave their lives for freedom in the Second World War.

The week in India

NEW DELHI—A cease-fire agreement was signed by Pakistan and India giving Pakistan the right to patrol with India the 20 square mile Surai-Kanjarkot-Ding track, as sufficient evidence was provided to prove that Pakistani patrols were in the area before January 1, 1965. The status quo is being restored along the border as on January 1.

LEH—Chinese light tanks are rolling into occupied Ladakh and large convoys of troops are seen regularly moving from southern Sinkiang to Aksai Chin.

NEW DELHI—The Communist Party's leader in the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, has submitted a 43-page indictment of the Party's leadership and of Party Chairman S. A. Dange in particular, charging that they have been working in "collusion" with the Congress Party. This charge may lead to a further departure from the Right-wing party of a large segment.

MADRAS—An additional atomic power station with two units of 200 mw. each will be set up at Kalpakam with Canadian collaboration. The plant, costing Rs. 60 crores, will be operational in five years' time. A further plant will be installed in Rajasthan.

IMPHAL—Over 80 Nagas were arrested following the destruction by high explosive of Minuthong Bridge.

NEW DELHI—Soviet experts will set up a new 1000 kw. medium wave transmitting station for All-India Radio.

CHANDIGARH—The Congress High Command strongly disapproves of the attempt by elements in the Punjab Congress to force Chief Minister Ram Kishen into seeking a fresh mandate for his leadership. Congress President Kamaraj said that if the Pradesh Congress chief had any differences with the Chief Minister they should be raised privately with the High Command and not be made public to the press.

NEW DELHI—Imports of 65 items have been banned in the most restrictive import policy to be released in years. It is estimated that the 1965-66 policy will cut commercial imports by 30 to 40 per cent.

NEW DELHI—Prominent members of the Swatantra Party and the Communist Party welcomed the Kutch agreement while the P.S.P. and S.S.P. both attacked the treaty and accused the Government of a "miserable performance" in giving Pakistan patrolling rights.

NEW DELHI—Army headquarters orders a "thinning out" of troops along both the Eastern and Western fronts following President Ayub Khan's order for the Pakistan army to withdraw from all points of confrontation.

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

From Old Newspapers to a Hillman Car

Old newspapers, empty bottles and a 15-year-old Hillman car are symbolic of the life of Dhanjibhai. Twenty-one years ago he got his first job at Rs. 4 a month, in a suburban grain shop. He graduated to become a "jari-puranawala".

Today he earns, in partnership with a relation, Rs. 18,000 to Rs. 20,000 a year. He drives his own blue Hillman into which he loads the offcuts of waste paper from the various printing presses and puts them back into circulation as attractive labels, pads or wrapping paper. He knows how every scrap of waste paper can best be used.

Dhanjibhai is a mountain of a man. His face is often unshaven. Beads of perspiration line his forehead. He dresses now not too differently from what he did 20 years ago, with his jacket and flowing dhoti, and his cream Kashmiri cap. "On Sundays, I dress in style," he says.

He comes from the village of Nava-gam, in Kutch. "We were six brothers and our land was sufficient only for two brothers to farm. So, after I had finished my IIIrd standard Gujarati I decided to come to Bombay and earn."

With a capital of Rs. 10 he launched on his own business of collecting old newspapers, bottles and such items, and re-selling them to other merchants. "When I started life, my wallet with Rs. 5 was stolen. It was half my wealth. I have not lost any money since."

Do you enjoy your work? I asked.

"A man needs work," he said.

How many hours do you work?

"From 8 a.m. to 9 p.m."

What do you do after work? Do you talk to your friends?

"I don't have many friends. For eight years I used to go swimming every morning. Now I feel too lazy to go."



Dhanjibhai

Do you have a family?

"Yes, four daughters and one son."

How old is he?

"Five."

His name?

"Chandrakant."

Does he go to school?

"Yes," he replied in Gujarati, brightening up. "But I send my son to an English-medium school. I want him to learn good English from the start."

But why, when the rest of India is going in for Hindi?

"English is necessary."

Do you have plans for your son when he grows up?

"I want to put him in a press for carton-making and train him. I want to set up a carton factory that he can run."

And what about your daughters? Do you have to give a dowry for each?

"Not in my community."

Do you ever go back to your village?

"Yes. There are only six houses there, but they even have a school."

Did the Government build the school?

"No, we built it and presented it to Jawaharlal Nehru."

You mean you gave it to him personally?

"No, to the Government, of course. Now they have to run it."

What do you think of the country and where it is going?

"The Government only collects taxes. There is goondagiri (rule of

Continued on page 16

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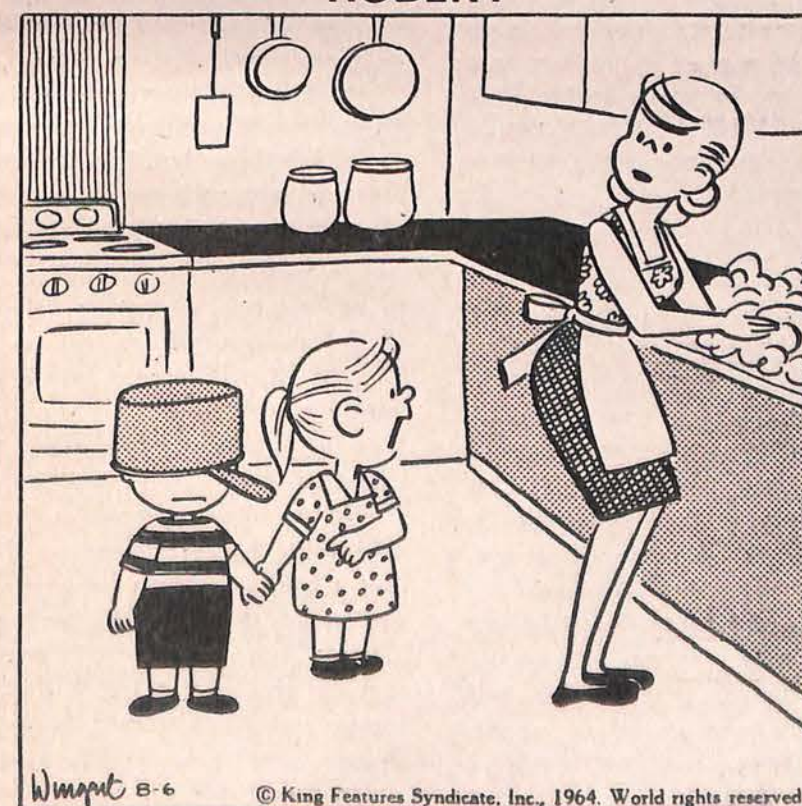
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"Davy's mom would like to return the pot she borrowed, if you can get it off his head."

VIEWPOINT

COMPETITION RESULTS

NO	—	51.4%
YES	—	37.7%
UNDECIDED	—	10.9%

It is a symptom of our times that in the land of Mahatma Gandhi and "non-violence" one out of every three Indians wants his or her country to make the atomic bomb. That is the conclusion arrived at, if HIMMAT's readership is any indication. If that is the mood of the nation now, in the event of a greater emergency arising, the percentage of those who want India to have an atomic bomb will grow and the pressure on the Union Government to go in for nuclear armament may be irresistible.

HIMMAT's competition on "Should India Make the Atomic Bomb?" has revealed in contributors both for and against the atomic bomb, an intensive concern for their motherland. Entries also show a restless longing among many of our people for economic advance and the desire not to let anything interfere with it. Some underline the need for faith and confidence in ourselves. Others speak of unity and the need for a national purpose that undergirds the nation's defence.

HIMMAT's stand has been that India should not make the atomic bomb, but should concentrate on building up adequate conventional defences. It remains the same. The first prize in the HIMMAT competition, however, goes to a contributor who submits that India should make the atomic bomb. In a Viewpoint competition, the prize should go to the one who puts his case forward best.

Many contributors made important and valid points. Some of them were repeated by different writers. HIMMAT publishes excerpts from the entries to present a comprehensive picture of what India of mid-1965 is thinking on this crucial subject.

— EDITOR

Viewpoint Competition

* Should Goa be Merged
With Maharashtra?

Closing date : July 16

** Is India Non-Aligned?

Closing date : July 23

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Should India Make the A-Bomb?

By G. C. S. Marar, Hyderabad

There are two alternatives before India. To continue its current policy of peaceful uses of atomic energy irrespective of consequences and depend entirely on its own moral strength, or become the sixth member of the Nuclear Club.

If she chooses the latter course, it will be not because she wants it to be so but under deliberate conditions created for her by China.

If past experiences with China are any guide to the future, reality and reason proclaim that the day is not far away when China would use these bombs against India even at the peril of its own existence. Now, if India continues to be a non-nuclear power, there is no deterrent to prevent the Chinese from dropping bombs and wiping out town after town in India.

The only other alternative is Russia or the U.S. coming to India's rescue. No good student of international politics can even think of Russia coming to aid India against China. Russians would definitely give us MiGs and other war materials, but nothing prevents them from providing better weapons and in larger numbers to China. Thus, though India might receive Soviet aid, its practical value will at best be zero. In such a case the aid might do more harm than good. It will lead India into a false sense of security and cause greater harm than good.

Hard Facts

The United States will come to India's assistance, as in the past, on condition that the fighting is localized and the U.S. itself is safe from destruction and suffering.

In spite of many assurances and even real physical help, the U.S. refused to deliver F-104 supersonics to India unless this country was prepared to make sacrifices in its neutral policy and satisfy its ally, Pakistan, over the Kashmir question. These are hard facts of the recent past and should not be overlooked or underestimated. In the practical world of diplomacy, help is rendered only after cold-blooded thinking and calculation.

Thus, if a major war breaks out

between China and India, both the big powers will not come to India's help just for the sake of doing so, unless one of them or both are out for a total global war.

The day China exploded its bomb, the National China News Agency stated: "China could not remain idle and do nothing in the face of the ever-increasing nuclear threat posed by the U.S. China is forced to conduct nuclear tests and develop nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares that China will never at any time and under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons."

Taking this statement at its face value, is it not highly necessary that India also go in for these destructive weapons? The only difference being that, while the Chinese consider the U.S. as their enemies, Indians would like them as allies to protect themselves from any fresh Chinese attack.

Free or Slave

If both China and India come to possess this deadly weapon, the world knows that it is safer in the hands of India because Indians would not be the first to use it. They would use it only after suffering an attack.

At this juncture of Sino-Indian strained relationship, if India does not go in for these bombs she would be doing a greater harm to herself than by preparing and using these bombs.

The psychological effects of not possessing this weapon, on the minds of the Indian public, will be terrific because it will create an inferiority complex. At the same time, it will give a superiority complex to the Chinese.

Experts of propaganda will vouchsafe that this is the very objective that China wants to achieve. Irrespective of the truth, China wants to impress Asia and Africa in particular, and the world in general, that she is superior and a greater nation than India.

Any delay in the decision to manufacture these weapons would amount to playing into the hands of Chinese

expansionists and inviting danger to the safety of this country.

Now, it is a question of choosing between freedom with the atom bomb and slavery under the neo-imperialist Chinese without it.

The day India goes in for these bombs is not far away. Circumstances will force her to do it. But the question is whether it is going to be immediate and with grace and self-respect, or after suffering one more setback and further disgrace and suffering at the hands of the Chinese.

"Awake, arise or be forever fallen."

—MILTON

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NUCLEAR MISSILES BEST

R. S. MANI, Madras 33

As long as we choose to be non-aligned we can't expect active and open assistance either from the U.S. or even from Russia. Nor can we expect the U.N. to hold a nuclear umbrella over our head and prevent foreign intervention, as we saw the ineffectiveness of its predecessor, the League of Nations, during the Second World War in preventing the use of poison gas or the systematic bombing of civil areas or even the dropping of A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Even at the conference tables our voice and views would be much sought out and respected only when we are able to speak from a position of strength.

Hence a strong and united India with a nuclear arsenal at its command and a few squadrons of supersonic aircraft and, if possible, missiles capable of delivering nuclear war-heads, is the best guarantee of freedom and territorial integrity.

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WILL INVITE REVOLUTION

GURUSANKAR MUKHERJI, Calcutta 6

Let us suppose that India has the required scientific knowledge and technical know-how to make an atom bomb. But still for materials, specially uranium, and expenses she will have to look forward to the help of the Western world. Canada, our chief supplier of uranium, will stop supplying it as soon as India intends to make an atom bomb. The Western world would not be too eager to help India in this matter unless India gives up her shrewd policy of non-alignment. Russia, too, cannot help India to make weapons that are likely to be used against her blood-brother,

however great may be their ideological differences.

Therefore India will have to fall back upon her own resources, which will mean more taxation and drastic curtailment of expenses on development plans. Nor can she stop at making one or two bombs. She must keep breathlessly abreast of the newest type of nuclear weapon. The strait-coat economy of India will get all the more straitened. The cry of distress of the people will be pitched so high that it will invite a revolution, for a universal despair is the best breeding ground for revolution.

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PP 37 EVEREST

LETTERS

LEGALIZED ABORTION

SIR: To legalize abortion to arrest population growth is the greatest of mortal crimes, which we as a nation practising and preaching humanism should not commit. Medical authority holds that no sooner fertilization takes place, life is induced. After this, any attempt to induce an abortion for any reason, other than to save the life of the mother, is nothing but cold-blooded murder.

China, with its teeming millions, never thought of such a method of population control. It considers human population as a source of power and strength, and in spite of its economic drawbacks has been able to provide food for its millions. This it did with hardly any foreign help. Then why cannot we, with lesser population and aid from almost all the countries of the world, be able to feed our millions? If we cannot, it's a shame.

CHRISTIE M. JUAN*

Secunderabad

* This week's Rs. 10 prize-winner.

SIR: "Loop Ring Circus" (Editorial, June 25) is based on false assumptions, states only half of the truth, suggests no alternative remedy, and skirts flip-pantly round an issue of gravest concern.

You accept "the need for population control" and then proceed to ridicule the "loop, ring and surgeon's knife". What alternative remedy does HIMMAT suggest? Abstinence? If so, then you are either ignorant of, or blind to, the elementary facts of human biology.

I appreciate your moral fervour. You are right in asserting that such a measure will put a premium on indulgence. But cannot legalization of abortion be made only in case of married couples? I strongly suggest we should.

ON THE SPOT—From page 13

thugs) everywhere. The police don't care. In my village there was a robbery of Rs. 900 in cash and Rs. 400 in jewellery. No attention was paid by the nearby police station, so we rushed from Bombay to the D.S.P. of Bhuj. He promised a police party, but none came. The footprints in the mud have all disappeared. We have told the police whom we suspect, but no proceedings have taken place. Last week another theft has taken place. Now we have to employ a chowkidar for Rs. 60 to give us the protection the police doesn't give. Bombay is better than Kutch that way."

HIMMAT is disastrously wrong in its estimates of deaths by abortions. The present percentage is high precisely because abortion is an offence. That is the reason most abortions are done clandestinely, and in primitive conditions. They will definitely be performed by qualified doctors once they are made legal, and the mortality rate will drop down.

SHRIKANT V. BHAT

Bombay 22

SIR: Your editorial "Loop Ring Circus" says what a lot of us feel.

Most of those who advocate abortion have no personal experience of the tragedies this method produces in people's lives. They just talk in theories. Would they recommend it for their own wives or daughters, conscious of the risk? Of course not. They only recommend it for millions of nameless mothers who they seem to blame for their own anguish over the increasing population.

How many of these tub-thumpers for legalized abortion would be here to propagate these views if their own mothers had acted upon them?

We concentrate so much on preventing new life and so little on how to provide food, shelter and jobs for the millions, born and unborn, through hard work and man's genius for scientific advancement.

M. R. JOGLEKAR

Poona

SIR: I more than congratulate you for your bold editorial.

It is a known fact that India's morality, in all spheres, is dangerously deteriorating and any "act" legalizing abortion would not only hasten the process, but would shatter our national heritage to pieces. One is ashamed to read such public utterances in the land of the Mahatma.

I trust HIMMAT would mobilize the opinion of eminent scholars and educationists against this suicidal trend.

V. RAJAGOPAL

Matunga

Do you plan to retire to your village in old age?

"Of course, what else can Bombay hold for me then?"

But don't you think any benefit has come since Independence?

"There has been no benefit from Independence, but benefit has come after the Kutch war. Ever since then there is a big road-building project launched in Kutch with the result that many of our people have found employment."

At the end of the interview he beckoned me closer and said rather softly, "If you mention my income, please make sure to say it is in *partnership* or the income tax may catch my neck."

STOP COMPLAINING

SIR: I read with interest Sri R. M. Gandhi's article "Strength—Real and Phoney".

While fully endorsing his views, I might add that there is not much good that comes out of constant hurling of brickbats at the government. I feel that if there is a realization of the importance of the individual in a social set up, things will improve. It is the individual that substantiates society and not vice versa. If there is a conscious effort at individual improvement instead of collective complaining, it is inevitable that "need number one" of R.M.G. will be easily achieved.

Utility is the surest test of truth and this must be applied to any idea. We must start from the hypothesis that things are not working well. It will then be easy to find out "how and why". Mere complaining will only affect our morale.

R. SESHADRI

Hyderabad 22

NOT CRICKET, T.T.K.

SIR: I agree with the views expressed in your Editorial "Ibw by T.T.K.". The news of the Finance Ministry's refusal of foreign exchange for the West Indies cricketers' tour of India has come as a shocking whack to Indian cricket. Myriad cricket zealots have been disappointed as a result. At a time when Indian cricket is just on the threshold of a renaissance, this contretemps has undermined its prestige among the world's cricketing countries.

Sanction for this tour of the formidable "world champions" had been obtained by our Cricket Board with much difficulty at the Imperial Cricket Conference. Our cricketers have earned more goodwill for India among the Commonwealth countries than any posse of political delegates going abroad has. Why don't the Government put the axe to such visits if India's foreign exchange position warrants a strict tightening of the belt?

It isn't cricket, Mr. T.T.K.!

V. KESAVAN

Bombay 1

CLASSROOM AID

SIR: I would like to say how valuable HIMMAT has proved as a teaching aid in the history classroom. I could not have done without it. Our school library subscribes to it and it is one source to which I can refer my history students for information and sound interpretation of world events—especially in Asia. I cannot recommend it too highly and would have found it very difficult to teach without it in these last months.

KATHERINE SMEDLEY

Miss Porter's School,
Farmington, Connecticut

This was a life

JOSEPH LISTER

1827—1912

TWO HARD-FOUGHT battles lay behind the recognition of Joseph Lister as the "Father of modern surgery".

The first was medical. It was fought out in the hospital ward, the laboratory and in ceaseless nights of research into the papers of other scientists and doctors.

It was a war on the "hospital diseases", of which gangrene was the most common and therefore the most to be feared. These diseases, breeding on open wounds, accounted for the deaths of nearly half the patients undergoing surgical operations.

Lister was determined to eliminate this scourge, which made a mockery of surgery, from the hospital wards. Stumbling on a clue from the French scientist Pasteur about the role of living germs in the spread of infection, he developed a system of anti-septic surgery. Hospital diseases were banished from Lister's wards. It was a major break-through.

Now Lister undertook the second, even harder, battle to gain acceptance of his "system" by the medical world of his day. He set about this second task with the same unflinching resolution.

From the start he was faced with prejudice, ridicule and even persecution. He was attacked by nearly all the famous surgeons of the day. They termed his antiseptic treatments "carbolic mania" and demanded derisively to be shown the microbes he talked of.

Perhaps the hardest decision he made in the fifteen-year struggle to get his methods accepted was his move from Edinburgh to London, the centre of opposition. In the autumn of 1887 he accepted the Chair of Surgery at King's College Hospital, London. Neglect, empty wards, hostile and uncooperative nurses were among the humiliations he had to bear.

But Lister knew that if he conquered this citadel, resistance to his new methods would soon collapse. He brushed aside the insults.

"Gentlemen, establish the system," he had once told his Edinburgh students. "Nothing matters but the system."

Persistence carried him through to victory. Before his death antiseptic surgery was internationally accepted and the common practice of a grateful medical world.

Q and A

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

Q — Why are most of our agricultural colleges situated in the cities?

N. S. PUROHIT, Poona

A — Because they are easier to build in towns. Because engineers, contractors, workers and Government officials prefer a project in towns. Because students—and their parents—dislike the idea of their studying and living in rural areas.

These, I believe, are some reasons why agricultural colleges are based in cities. It is absurd that they should be. Too many of us love talk and hate work, prefer theoretical exercises to working with our hands and feet. Too many, I fear, enter agricultural colleges mainly if not solely to get a degree that would win a secure, comfortable, pensionable, Government post—not to multiply our agricultural production.

We need tractors, fertiliser, pest-killers and better techniques. All these are in short supply. But the commodity in shortest supply is an intelligent, practical man who has learned the secrets of agriculture by working with his own hands and who is willing and able to devote the best years of his life to imparting his knowledge to our farmers.

Q — How long will India continue taking loans from abroad?

V. SATHIAH, Hyderabad

A — For years we have been borrowing to pay interest on loans we had borrowed earlier. Our capacity to repay is now non-existent.

For the moment, America and the Western powers as well as the Soviet Union are continuing with their loans and gifts. There are generous men and women in these nations who want to feed the needy. However, the real reason why loans keep flowing is the fear Communist and non-Communist nations

have. Each bloc still feels that if it were to stop aid India would join the other bloc.

This state of affairs—pleasant to some in our land—can come to a rude and sudden end. Already strong complaints are being made in all the aid-giving nations against what they feel is our failure to match their aid with our exertions.

This staggering dependence on foreign aid has its own chain of consequences. Each State counts on the Centre to save it from financial disaster. Within each State every municipality, panchayat and public institution is tempted to spend far beyond its means, assuming that the state government would finally pay the bills. And so on, until Mr. Average Citizen becomes convinced that others and not he should be responsible for his maintenance.

Our irresponsible way of life will bring us tyranny if it is not cured in time. A man like you ought to do his bravest best to bring that cure.

— R. G.



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Use Them, Mr. Shastri!

by Rajmohan Gandhi

"No country in this world has been able to make progress without hard and dedicated work and without a determined and united national will. For this we all have to recapture the old spark of the days of our freedom struggle. I want you all to participate physically and emotionally in the adventure of building up a New India."

Lal Bahadur Shastri.

These sentences from the Prime Minister's broadcast last week will be echoed by everyone.

Have these aims been achieved these last years? The answer is, No.

Are there signs that they will be achieved in the near future? Unless a new factor comes into play, the answer again is a clear, No.

A New India is a vague objective. It has to be given shape and colour if it is to command the dedication of the Indian people.

Democratic Socialism is necessary in our land of vast inequalities and vast poverty. Yet surely Mr. Shastri and his colleagues realize by now that it is not enough.

Few of our problems have been solved. Poverty still reigns, unemployment mounts, corruption has become standard practice, divisions—by caste, language and religion—multiply.

Democratic Socialism has worked with reasonable efficiency in certain lands. However, nowhere has it inspired millions to produce the dedication India now requires and Mr. Shastri broadcasts for.

Mr. Shastri's Dilemma

Mr. Shastri's major dilemma is the lack of an ideology—a revolutionary theme and challenge, an all-demanding target—superior to Peking's ideology. The moment wants a radical answer to Peking. Some in their foolish short-sightedness, which they falsely call practical-mindedness, hope for Fascism or Communism in India.

Mr. Shastri is totally against them. He is nothing if not a democrat. Will he now accept that while democratic Socialism may be a necessary political, social and economic system in India, it is by itself no answer to India's indiscipline and corruption, inertia and irresponsibility? It has not cured, it cannot cure, the hate between North and South, Hindu and Mus-

lim, Brahmin and non-Brahmin, Naga and the Indian Government, Maharashtra and Mysore.

Peking boasts its ideology can grapple with problems as fundamental as these. Communism is far more than a social and economic system. It is, above all, a revolutionary bid to change society.

Mr. Shastri can, if he chooses to, proclaim before all of India and, on India's behalf, before Asia and the world, a transforming ideology more radical than Communism—Moral Re-Armament.

Moral Re-Armament means the remaking of men and nations, the collapse of barriers of race, caste, language and nation, the creation of a society where everyone has enough because everyone cares and shares enough.

Man's conscience must rule. Out, the ancient enemies of hate, greed and fear from man's heart! These can be Mr. Shastri's audacious slogans.

We Will Sacrifice

A New India can only come out of new Indians. And here the leaders must lead. The prominent and the privileged must start.

In his broadcast Mr. Shastri appealed for austerity and an end of show and ostentation. Excellent. Necessary, too. But there is more to sacrifice than frugality and lack of pomp! Many, it is true, resent or hate a public figure riding in a large car, living in a comfortable house and getting preference in trains and planes. They dislike and detest far more the false promises, the easy slogans and the nationally ruinous policies.

Of course we must sacrifice, Mr. Shastri. We will. But what about the language issue? Did the Government handling of it show sacrifice? Courage? If pursued, the latest policy expelling English and installing 15 languages as vehicles of instruction in universities, and as mediums of competitive examinations for Government jobs, will before long produce 15 different nations. No, the language policy is the outcome of shrewd political calculation, and has little to do with the spark of the days of the freedom struggle.

And if we want a national renaissance, let us end this class war. Let us be brave and tell the nation that if India is to come alive each one of

us will have to alter our attitudes and bid farewell to our prides, prejudices and shirking ways. Let us not pretend that it is the Left Communists who are the cause of all the trouble. Or that it is the capitalists and traders but for whom India would flow with milk and honey.

Industrialists, Government officials and trade union leaders, all are needed to make India more dynamic than China. It is absurd to imagine that men belonging to one of these sets are more honest or efficient than the others.

Answer to Mao

Mr. Shastri spoke of the foreign exchange difficulty as something that for some time may appear insurmountable. Every last Indian must assist him by so living, spending and working that our imports go down and exports go up.

But surely, Mr. Shastri, the depletion in our reserves of character is more serious than the running out of our foreign currency reserves. The nation expects from the Prime Minister a firm lead in a new war against the poverty in integrity.

And thousands are ready to march with him on this road.

Young men and women trained in Moral Re-Armament and resolved to mobilize India's crores for the goal have impressed professors, principals, parents and politicians.

Sardar Hukam Singh, Speaker of the Indian Parliament, says his faith is increased by watching the way they talk, work and live. A leading Cabinet Minister wants them to enlist and train youth in Nagaland, Assam and other areas of the North East. Another wants them to give a deeper revolution to student leaders in Madras.

The idea of Moral Re-Armament can be Mr. Shastri's answer to Mao Tse-tung. The men and women who fight for it are Mr. Shastri's dependable allies. They have much to learn. But they have recaptured the old spark. Use them, Mr. Shastri.

Today our society has all the greed of capitalism without the dare and enterprise. It has almost all the regimentation of Communism without its drive and discipline. With Moral Re-Armament we shall have both dare and discipline, liberty and social responsibility. And we shall be in a position to give a new spark of hope to all the millions—black, brown, white and yellow—who people this earth.

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Page 5

Chief Minister V. P. Naik

Friday
July 16
1965

LODGE KNOWS THE TRUTH

Page 3