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**TUNKU  
ABDUL  
RAHMAN  
OF  
MALAYSIA**



Friday  
August 20  
1965

**KASHMIR PERSPECTIVE**

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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, August 20, 1965

Vol. I No. 42

## Kashmir Perspective

"WE ARE PASSING THROUGH perilous times. But these are times also of great opportunities," said Prime Minister Shastri on the eve of Independence Day.

In the week that witnessed the advance of Pakistan infiltrators through the Kashmir cease-fire line, the Prime Minister declared, "The more important question before us now is not that of infiltrators and their activities, because we are quite clear as to what to do with them. The real question is that of our relations with Pakistan."

Little more than a year ago when Mr. Shastri took over office, there were high hopes of improvement in the relations between the two countries. President Ayub broadcast an appeal for an end "to bitterness and recrimination" and said it was "not beyond human ingenuity to cut the Gordian knot" of the Kashmir problem. Mr. Shastri, while welcoming President Ayub's broadcast as one that showed "wisdom and understanding" advised: "However, a great deal of patience will be necessary."

Time for patience has been denied. Instead, within a few months, Pakistan appears to have decided that the best way to deal with Shastri is to push him hard and make him yield. Kutch came in April and now in August, before the Indian Prime Minister can even stand up in Parliament to defend the agreement on Kutch, comes Kashmir. Guerrilla warfare in Kashmir which Pakistan leaders had so far only spoken about has been tried out. Had local support been forthcoming, a Viet Cong type of warfare would have torn the vale of Kashmir.

Mr. Shastri is a man of peace and perspective. Provocation releases intense pressures on him and may force him to take grave decisions to protect the country—as he must. There are extremists on both sides who will happily precipitate an ugly situation. And one can well imagine that the pressures on President Ayub are not negligible.

Prime Minister Shastri says that the technique and methods adopted by Pakistan infiltrators in Kashmir were of "the Chinese pattern". Statesmen of Pakistan need to realize that China is on the rampage in Asia. Nothing will suit her more than India and Pakistan at war, weakening and destroying each other. China has declared that after Vietnam her target is Thailand. When the turn of Pakistan comes—as surely it will—the regime of President Ayub may be as unacceptable to China as was that of the late Mr. Nehru. One can only hope that the Pakistan of 1965 will be quicker to grasp this point than was the India of 1955. It took us seven years and a military invasion to wake up.

With each fresh provocation, the security of millions of Muslims in India and millions of Hindus in Pakistan is endangered, and China is strengthened.

Russia has failed to pacify China. The U.S.A. has yet to contain her. It is unlikely that Pakistan,

confident as she may be today, will be able to tether the giant. Rather, India, Pakistan, Japan and the nations of South-East Asia should join to create a belt around China not only strong militarily, but also ideologically. Any statesman who plans on a smaller scale of territorial ambition or communal emotion misses the point of the real struggle for Asia.

## Singapore Vigilant

DESPITE last week's sudden rupture of Malaysia, there seems no reason to discount assurances by both Malaysian Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman and Singapore Premier Lee Kuan Yew that a viable federation had been all along the earnest wish of them both. "All my adult life I have believed in merger," said Mr. Lee, in tears as he announced the secession.

By his own admission becoming more and more unable to control the "ultras" in his own Party, the Tunku preferred amputation to the harsh crack-down which the Malay extremists urged against the fractious rulers of Singapore. The Tunku knew that such repression, while winning respite from the acid exchanges between Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, would eventually strengthen the hands of the Communists and the Barisan Socialists who in turn Lee Kuan Yew might no longer be able to keep under control. A Peking-Communist coup in Singapore eventually would sink the entire Federation, the Tunku held.

Djakarta has crowed, naturally. President Sukarno hoped that Singapore would bounce his way in the wake of Malaysia's jilt. In an interview, however, Mr. Lee said, "Malaysia happens to be more important to us (than Indonesia)." Singapore's trade with Malaysia was now 24 per cent, he pointed out. "Every time we open the tap, three-quarters of that water comes from two reservoirs in Johore." He went on to say that if Indonesia was still wondering whether Singapore was a new emerging force or an old dying force, he would like to assure them that his Cabinet, all in their thirties and forties, would outlive current Indonesians not only in age but ideas. "I think we remain vigilant," he added.

Premier Lee has admitted that there will be a strong temptation to trade with Indonesia but he was calculating on the basis of 90 years, within which time, he hoped, Singapore and Malaysia would reunite.

And of the future? Mr. Lee and his People's Action Party Government must convince the Malays and Indians, now the minority as were his Chinese in the larger Federation, that their rights and safety will be guaranteed. He has promised that the new republic will have a constitution which ensures equal rights for all. The Chief Justices of India and Australia are to be approached for assistance in its drafting. He has warned extremists and specifically the Communists of firm control if trouble brews.

"Singapore," he has insisted, "is not a Chinese country nor a Malay country nor an Indian country. It belongs to the Singaporeans."

## Briefly Speaking ...

What orators lack in depth, they give you in length.

BARON DE MONTESQUIEU 1689-1755.

### Incredible

WHILE U.S. SOLDIERS are giving their lives in Vietnam, it is a surprise to read that Senator Warren Magnuson, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Commerce Committee, plans to visit Peking to examine possibilities of trade relations between China and the U.S.

The mission of Senator Magnuson is reported to have the support of President Johnson and Commerce Secretary John Connor.

### Telephonitis

A GOOD NUMBER of phone calls are not necessary and many are too long. A secretary relating how she liked a film last night and an executive talking about the races next Sunday could bring down the efficiency of a business concern.

The Federal Republic of Germany has an answer to this problem. A

number of German firms have introduced a system whereby during certain hours the telephone may not be used. During these "silent hours" not only are private calls forbidden, but incoming calls are not put through. Urgent messages are taken.

"Silent hours" have been introduced at the recommendation of the Federal Republic's Economic Control Board. Munich Chamber of Commerce observes it daily between two and four in the afternoon. During this period staff deal with accumulated correspondence.

Here, correspondence accumulates because of time spent in dialling numbers one can't get through to. It would no doubt help if we in India were less verbose on the phone, but it would also help if the Bombay Telephones made sure that Assistance, 199, sometimes answered.

### What Price Grandeur?

THERE IS a major plan of the Union Health Ministry to build a park near the Taj Mahal at a cost of Rs. 4.37 crores. It will have a stadium, swimming pools, children's parks, hotels, motels, picnic spots, an open-air theatre and what-not.

I am all for giving the tourist the maximum benefits this country can offer, but does it not strike our planners that tourists impressed by the Taj are depressed by many narrow filthy streets of Agra, unchanged since Moghul times? Would it not be better to reduce the Rs. 4.37 crores plan by 50 per cent and spend the balance on sanitation, wider roads and houses for the people of Agra?

### Yolk Loses Colour

CITIZENS of Delhi rubbed their eyes at the breakfast table the other day and wondered whether they were quite wide awake. The yolks of their eggs had lost their yellow colour.

A Delhi vet explains that an acute shortage of maize had robbed the yolks of their yellow content. Maize-mixed poultry food contains *anthophyll* which gives yellowness to the

yolk. Experts agree that absence of yellowness does not make eggs less nutritious, but "it does have a psychological effect".

### Creditable

A. H. WHEELER & Co., (Allahabad) whose railway book stalls have served India for 85 years, are celebrating their anniversary. It is to the credit of this House that, foregoing some financial profit, it has prohibited the sale of the more obscene magazines on its 300 stands throughout the country.

### Goondas Galore

AT A MEETING of the Public Relations Committee of the Delhi Administration, members alleged that there had been connivance of petty police officials with criminals, hiring of goondas by landlords to eject tenants and *patronage of goondas by political parties*. Mir Mushtaq Ahmed, President of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, said the goondas in the capital had the backing and patronage of political parties and their leaders.

Goondas, being cosmopolitan in taste, can have allegiance to bigwigs of more than one political party.

I hear it is not unusual for party bosses and ministers to ring up senior police officers and ask them not to harass their "friends". This tendency, more than any other, has lowered the morale of the best police officers.

### X-Ray Cut

IMPORT of X-ray films has been slashed by 50 per cent due to foreign exchange stringency. The Central Government has instructed that X-rays should be restricted to "essential needs". Radiologists exclaim, "An X-ray isn't something a patient longs to collect, frame and hang up in his drawing-room for everyone to admire. This plea is absurd."

### Driving Heavenwards

A REPORT from High Wycombe, England, states that an elderly lady was so much in love with her 1932 Austin she could not bear to have anyone else own or drive it. She has now had it crushed into a solid oblong block (a system used in America for disposing of old cars) so that the Austin can be parked at the head of her grave when she is dead.

R. M. L.

## Tunku Rides the Storm

By K. E. Beazley, M.P.

**Tunku Abdul Rahman deserves as much as anyone in Asia the title "Father of a Nation". He is the key figure in the unification of the peoples of many creeds, races, and cultures who make up Malaysia.**

The Tunku's purpose and conviction were decisive in making one nation of the former British protectorates of the nine states of mainland Malaya and of Sarawak across the South China Sea; the former chartered company territory of North Borneo (now Sabah); and the former Crown Colonies of Singapore (now independent), Penang, and Malacca.

This union was an astonishing achievement, accomplished without mobilizing bitterness or resentment, and in the face of great difficulties of diversity of political background, subversion, and international threats. The achievement must now be defended in the face of the hostility of Indonesia, with ten times Malaysia's population, announcing an intention to "crush Malaysia".

### No "Push-Over"

There are many who have regarded the Tunku as a "push-over", and found him an unexpectedly tough nut to crack. The Tunku has the power of simplicity and decision. What the non-Communist world needs above all else is leaders of mind and will and conviction. It is possible to disagree with the Tunku in many ways. It is not possible to deny his qualities of mind and will and conviction. The path to Malaysian nationhood is marked by the signposts of his clear decisions.

Malaysia did have one assisting factor—the British decision to federate the Malay States in 1948. It is very important to notice the consequences of any steps to unity in South-East Asia. They have immediately provoked the attacks of China-oriented Communists.

When Tunku Abdul Rahman first publicly suggested the union of Sabah and Sarawak with the Malayan Federation, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, wrote a letter to *The New York Times* (Nov.

13, 1961) in which he said, "We do not show any objection toward this Malayan policy of merger. On the contrary we wish that the Malayan Government will, if it can, succeed with this plan." A week later, at the United Nations, he said the same.

**It was the Communist Party of Indonesia which launched the attacks on the proposal in December 1961, and swung the Indonesian Government's policy to opposition.**

Similarly, when the British, in February 1948, set up the Federation of Malaya (nucleus of the later Malaysia), a Communist campaign of terrorism was launched. The Com-

munists were almost exclusively Chinese. They had no intention of allowing the people of Malaya to decide their future or to utilize the measure of self-government the Federation of Malaya Agreement represented. It was an armed revolt to seize power, and violence and assassination characteristic of Pekinese Communism were its hallmarks.

The revolt was broken in part by a determined military campaign under Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer. Had the revolt been supported by the Malayan people, nothing could have stopped it, and military means alone; it was essential to win the hearts and the minds of the people."

In the Federation of Malaya elections of 1955, the Tunku's Alliance Party won 51 seats out of 52. The Tunku made certain final soundings about Communist intentions. He was now Chief Minister and in that capacity interviewed Communist terrorist leader Chin Peng.

Convinced from the interview that Chin and his followers were not "misguided liberators", but the ruthless practitioners of a strategy of exclu-

Continued on next page

### CHALTA HAI...



"By George, we'll need foreign assistance to remove this colonialist relic!"

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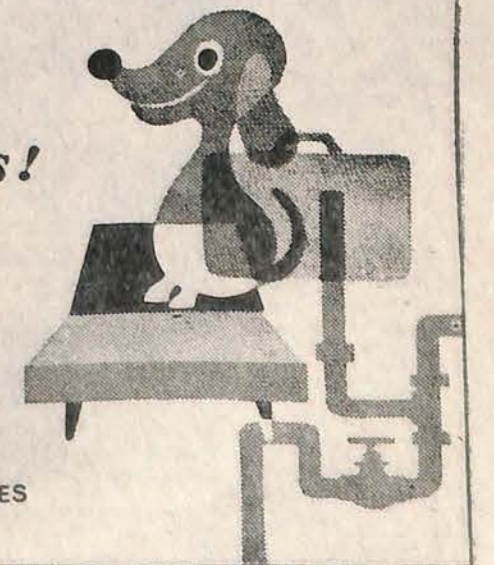
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sive power and permanent domination, he never thereafter entertained illusions. Not for him the false view that Peking was inhabited by "agrarian reformers". Nor for him the pained surprise when pseudo-friendship turns into invasion. The Malayan Emergency was fought through for five more years and ended in July 1960.

Today Gurkha, British, Australian, and New Zealand forces stand with the national armed services of Malaysia to guard it in the face of threats.

This is a tribute to the rare clarity and sanity of the Tunku. He worked for independence without hate, and achieved it without bitterness. The return of British forces to Malaysia was therefore an expression of a mature alliance to defeat unprovoked aggression, with no reservation in anybody's heart.

When Communist China invaded and subjugated Tibet, many in the world found servile excuses. The Tunku condemned the invasion as evil. He was in Calcutta when India was invaded. He was the first to condemn the aggression, promised that if it developed Malaysia would

give India "all out support", and raised a million dollars to assist.

If he would not truckle to Chinese aggression, or to internal subversion, it is not to be expected that he would truckle to Sukarno or to the Indonesian Communist Party. He has exercised Malaysia's sovereign right to have allies, and has given a new unity to the Commonwealth of Nations in the South-West Pacific.

### Break with Singapore

The break with Singapore follows Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's charges that the Federal Government intended to arrest him despite its denials. Since detentions made by Kuala Lumpur were of terrorists, Lee's charges cast doubt on all security measures. At a time when the Chinese community of Sarawak refused all information to the Security Forces concerning 1,500 Chinese terrorists who killed Commonwealth forces with explosive landmines, Lee demanded Sarawak should take Chinese labourers from Singapore. His incapacity to understand Malay and Dyak opinion after 15 years of Chinese terrorist attempts to seize

power is an astonishing characteristic.

Lee also charged Federal discrimination against Singapore. The logic of his complaints was that Singapore was a Federal victim. The logic of the Tunku was to say, "If this is so, be free." Malaysia can carry on without Singapore, but unity would be wise.

The Tunku has rallied military support from Commonwealth countries of different colour, creed and political ideas. Malaysia's security depends finally on whether Malaysia can find a uniting ideology to undergird what has been achieved, maintain her alliances, inspire her Chinese citizens to a full sense of identity with the nation and win over the sound forces in Indonesia.

It depends also on the ability of free people everywhere to reverse the flow of ideas from Peking so that Peking is challenged to change because Malaysia and her allies have a superior policy, motives, convictions and quality of living. Such an ideological initiative from countries would nullify subversion and start to capture revolutionary minds everywhere.

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Moscow Scorns "African Socialism"

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

The Kenya Government definition of African Socialism, known as Sessional Paper No. 10, has been severely criticized and condemned in recent Swahili broadcasts beamed to East Africa from Radio Moscow.

In his foreword to the original document President Jomo Kenyatta stated that Kenya would develop on the social and economic concepts of democratic African Socialism. "We rejected both Western Capitalism and Eastern Communism," he declared, "and chose for ourselves a policy of positive non-alignment."

Radio Moscow commentator Victor Petrov stated that "too much emphasis should not be placed on so-called African Socialism because this would distort the true meaning of scientific Socialism."

The East African fortnightly *Reporter* quotes the Hungarian freedom fighters' newspaper *Nemzetor* on the same subject; that the differences between African Socialism and Communist scientific Socialism were more striking than their similarities. African Socialism, it states, is for Africans only and strives to be democratic. It is against class antagonism and bases itself on the equal right of every mature individual to play his part in politics.

Its attitude to ownership is pragmatic; there must be no exploitation of man by man, but given that there is room for both State control and private enterprise in the same economy, the one complements and provides competitive stimulation for the other, the magazine added.

The difference between the two "socialisms" was further explained by the Kenya Minister for Economic Planning and Development, Mr. T. J. Mboya. He said recently scientific Socialism, sometimes called Communism, represented belief in indiscriminate nationalization and public ownership of the means of production. This approach to Socialism was not suitable for Kenya. It might have been true during the time of Marx, but it was certainly not true in 1965.

It was the belief of the Kenya Government, he continued, that private investment and ownership of property had an important role in the development of the country, provided it was not used to exploit the public.

The Minister claimed that such an attitude was proving correct. Since the publication of the document on African Socialism, Kenya was now enjoying much more investment than it had received for some time.

Kenya is the first of the English-speaking African states to outline its concepts in this manner. Zambia, a far wealthier state potentially, is also soon to have its own definition. It is known in Lusaka that President Kaunda is working on a similar document which will undoubtedly bear the stamp of his original approach to the problems of developing Africa.

### Martin Luther King Marches North

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Washington

Civil rights demonstrations have moved from the south to the north. Civil rights leader Martin Luther King, has begun a concentration of civil rights activities in the northern cities of the United States that will continue through the next six months.

The major effort of this new move is aimed against segregation in the northern schools. Dr. King warned a group of clergymen in Washington, D. C., that the situation of the minority groups can lead to explosive pro-

blems in the big cities. "There is nothing more dangerous than to develop a segment in a community that feels it has no stake in it or nothing to lose," he said.

Continued on page 9

## The week in Asia

**KUALA LUMPUR**—The Malaysian Parliament passed a constitutional amendment allowing for the secession of Singapore with 126 voting for the motion, none against and one abstention by a member from Sarawak.

**COLOMBO**—Tax revisions to bring down the cost of living and encourage foreign investment are included in the first budget of the Senanayake Government.

**VIENTIANE**—Violent fighting has broken out between neutralist and pro-Communist Pathet Lao troops near the South Vietnam border.

**TOKYO**—At a reception for Smt. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Prime Minister Sato praised Indo-Japanese co-operation. He said this was particularly effective prior to the abortive Algiers conference.

**RANGOON**—It was announced that Prime Minister Shastri would pay a state visit to Burma "within a month or two".

**NANDI**—The Indian delegation demanding "one-man one-vote" electoral system dissented from the agreement for a new constitution for Fiji. The constitution calls for a Legislative Council made up of equal representation of the three races—Indian, European and Fijian.

**DACCA**—Foreign Minister Bhutto declared that Pakistan's membership in SEATO and CENTO "is not incompatible with her friendly relations with China and Russia".

**PEKING**—Viet Cong representatives here accused the United Nations of being under American control and rejected outright any peace moves by the U.N. or non-aligned countries.

**KUALA LUMPUR**—Extremist elements in Sarawak and Sabah, the two Borneo states forming part of Malaysia, are reported to have decided on tactics to force Malaysia to "expel" them from the Federation as she did Singapore.

**SAIGON**—A North Vietnamese division crossed the Cambodian frontier to aid Viet Cong forces in a drive to take over the Central Highlands. Defenders of Duc Co in the Highlands reported killing 500 guerrillas as they repeatedly charged the town. Relief columns broke through heavy ambushes to lift the siege.

**SINGAPORE**—Foreign Minister Rajarathnam declared that his Government would not allow Britain to use her base "unless we are satisfied that it is for the ultimate defence of Malaysia and Singapore".

**KUALA LUMPUR**—The Secretary-General of Prime Minister Abdul Rahman's party resigned in protest against the expulsion of Singapore. He charged the Tunku with not taking his party into confidence and said that he had created in Singapore a hostile state that might turn Communist.

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To prove his point, Dr. King, the Nobel Prize winner, led a march of 10,000 in Chicago to the City Hall to confront the mayor with demands that the Negro students be allowed to attend the predominantly white schools outside their neighbourhoods. The objective, it was stated, is to create a better "racial balance".

Since June 8 in Chicago, more than 700 people have been arrested in almost daily marches on the City Hall to protest against "segregation".

Federal Housing Administrator Robert C. Weaver, a Negro, has called Chicago (where there are more Negroes than in the southern cities of New Orleans, Memphis, Atlanta and Birmingham combined) the "most segregated major city in the nation".

The Chicago demonstrations were climaxed by a march through the central business area at the evening rush hour tying up traffic far into the night. Similar demonstrations are planned for other large northern cities.

The Negro population in cities like Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Chicago and New York has in some cases reached over fifty per cent. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, a Negro, commenting on this trend said, "It looks like us coloured folks are going to run those big cities."

The exodus of Negroes from the south to the northern cities, while causing a gigantic problem of housing and education (involving a further \$1 billion for education in Chicago alone), should in time thrust the Negroes into ever greater responsibility. Out of sheer numbers, Negroes will be elected to run the big cities. It will be a challenging and fertile ground for the development of more national Negro leadership but, at the same time, it may create a more serious segregation problem.

The white people are moving out into the smaller communities and there is the danger that soon there will be the division of small white towns vs. large Negro cities.

## From Breakdown to Boom in Brazil's Ports

FROM LUIS PUIG

Rio de Janeiro

For most of the countries of South America, the crucial question facing the workers is not how to get a bigger share of the cake, but whether there will be a cake at all.

In Uruguay last month there was hardly enough money to pay the 200,000 civil servants. In Argentina, State functionaries are paid their wages four months in arrears. In Peru, inflation has been held down at the cost of freezing the standard of living of the peasants and workers at starvation level. In Colombia, in spite of a boom economy, an estimated 300,000 have been killed in terrorist actions in the mountain areas. There is guerrilla warfare in nine of Venezuela's thirteen provinces.

In sharp contrast, Brazil's Labour Minister, Arnaldo Sussekind, recently paid tribute to the recuperation in the ports of Brazil. Long looked on by subversives as the ideal sector for reducing the country's economy to chaos, the ports have become beacons of hope for the nation. Minister Sussekind appealed for Moral Re-Armament, an active force in these ports, to be taken to every section of the economy. The practical results he refers to are startling.

*O Globo* of Rio reported that the income of Rio port has been raised by 50 per cent in one year whilst administration costs were down. According to *Jornal de Comercio* of Recife, there has been "total recuperation in Recife port in the last eleven months". This port formerly caused huge losses to the nation, but now makes so much profit that dockers' wages have been raised an average of 50 per cent by a bonus on production.

The men who have brought about such rapid recovery have been gripped by a patriotic purpose. Crane drivers, dockers, warehouse chiefs and checkers have put an end to contraband and bribery. In one warehouse as much money now flows into the port coffers in one month as in three previous months. Shipping agents are breaking turn-round records. New cargoes attracted to the port now assure full employment for portworkers.

These figures mean the difference between hunger and plenty for  
*Continued on page 10*

## The week in India

**NEW DELHI**—Prime Minister Shastri reportedly told Opposition leaders that the infiltration of Pakistani troops into Kashmir was being directed by Chinese officers stationed in Pakistani-occupied Kashmir.

**SRINAGAR**—Curfew was imposed on the city following arson raids by infiltrators in which 250 houses were burned.

**NEW DELHI**—The 4 submarines to be purchased by the Indian Government from the U.S.S.R. will undergo naval exercises with the Soviet fleet while manned by Indian crews.

**PATNA**—The Army was called out in Patna to put down Leftist-led riots and agitations by students against rise in fees. Curfew was imposed and all schools closed. Demonstrations lasted four days.

**PATNA**—Eleven advocates of the Patna High Court attacked the arrest of the editor of *Searchlight*, Mr. T.J.S. George, as being "a wanton attack on our democratic way of life and the freedom of the press".

**CALCUTTA**—The attempt by nine Leftist parties to maintain agitation against a rise in tram fares failed as the city returned to normal following last week's one-day general strike.

**NEW DELHI**—Six hundred thousand cadets of the National Cadet Corps will take part in schemes to increase agricultural production throughout the country by working for five hours a week on specific projects.

**HYDERABAD**—A mob of 1,000 students demonstrating against disciplinary measures attempted to rush the room of the Vice Chancellor of Osmania University. The Vice Chancellor was saved by police.

**BHOPAL**—The Government of Madhya Pradesh has warned students that uncalled for agitation in the colleges will result in educational institutions being closed the rest of the academic year.

**AMRITSAR**—The Akali Dal issued a strong condemnation of Prime Minister Shastri's "rejection" of its demand for a separate Punjabi-speaking state.

**NEW DELHI**—Indian exports to the United States have gone up by almost 50 per cent in the last five years. If this trend continues the U.S. may replace Britain as India's most important foreign market.

**TRIVANDRUM**—The 130 Left Communist detenus in Kerala prisons have threatened a fast unto death from August 21 unless the Government concedes their demands.

**NEW DELHI**—It is reported that East European countries are re-exporting Indian goods imported by them under the rupee payment agreement. Dollar earners such as tea and jute are among the commodities.

millions of Brazilians. As Jose Rotta, President of the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers of Brazil, stated, "Food production is not Brazil's problem. Our problem is how to transport the food we can produce rapidly and economically to the areas where hunger exists."

Rio Grande do Sul State, in the far south, is the great wheat and meat producing area. In Recife, 2,000 miles to the North, there is overpopulation and hunger. In February 1965, Dr. Ildo Meneghetti, the Governor of Rio Grande do Sul, said, "The first effects of Moral Re-Armament in the ports of our State are already beginning to appear. For the first time in years, we are sending meat to the North by ship, at a cost of 42,000 cruzeiros a ton, instead of paying 120,000 cruzeiros a ton by truck."

At an international conference held here recently, dockers' leaders came from many of the 18 ports of Brazil where MRA is at work, to report and to plead for an intensification of this essential work. Uruguay dockers asked for help in transforming their chaotic national economic situation.

The Brazilian Minister of Transport, Marshal Juarez Tavora, who in April 1964 described the situation in the national ports as "total breakdown—costing the nation one and a half billion cruzeiros a day", took his place on the platform with the dockers. He declared, "I am proud of these dockers. They are bringing about real changes which I expect to see applied throughout the nation."

## Time Runs Out for Franco, Salazar

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Zurich

**Portugal has had a Presidential election and Spain a major government reshuffle. The world's press scarcely noticed these events, but their effects may be far-reaching.**

The rulers of Spain and Portugal have stayed in power longer than any others in twentieth-century Europe. Prime Minister Salazar has been the undisputed ruler of Portugal for 37 years, while General Franco has been in power since the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1933. But Salazar is now 76 and Franco, although only 63, seems to be getting tired of governing. Last year he spent 184 days hunting.

In both countries there is growing opposition, even if the regimes let only a small portion of it reach the surface. The Opposition in Portugal had a great hero, General Delgado, who through his audacious actions attracted world attention. But Delgado talked too much. When he and his Brazilian secretary were found murdered just beyond the Portuguese border in Spain, the Opposition forces did not raise much fuss. Delgado had already been removed from the presidency of the "Patriotic Front of National Liberation". It is not yet clearly established who finally murdered him, the secret police or rivals in the Opposition.

In Spain, the Opposition operates more openly. There is Communist infiltration of trade union and student movements. But it is often hard to know who is behind the Opposition. Franco's Government is adept at

yielding a little to avoid provoking public opinion but without giving ground on fundamental issues. When many leaders of a prolonged student demonstration proved to be sons and nephews of cabinet ministers and other high officials, most of them were released, their demands accepted.

An expert on Iberian affairs told your correspondent that Spain had the advantage over Portugal in having a less able ruler: while no alternative leadership was growing around Salazar, Franco had had to surround himself with capable men who were trying to prepare a smooth succession without bloodshed. In Portugal a chaotic struggle for power seemed inevitable.

Even in Spain time is running out. Franco is said to have decided to re-establish the Spanish monarchy before he retires. But he does not like the present heir to the throne, Don Juan von Bourbon-Battenberg. The man who is being prepared for the job is Don Juan's son, Don Juan Carlos, who is married to Princess Sophie of Greece. Prince Juan Carlos has lived in Franco's entourage for years, attended the officer academies of the Army, Navy and Air Force and travels round the country getting to know the people.

Two factors work in Don Juan Carlos' favour: the fear most Spani-

ards have of another civil war, and the economic boom which has reached even backward Spain. The national income increased 9 per cent in 1963 and 7 per cent in 1964. All sections of the population seem to share in the prosperity.

The future of Portugal may be decided in her African territories. The Portuguese claim that these are part of Portugal and that their racial policies are progressive. Other African nations do not share this view.

There is a liberation movement in

Tanzania for Mozambique and in Leopoldville for Angola. But both these liberation movements have had serious set-backs in the past weeks. The head of the Angola exile government has been dismissed by his own colleagues. In Mozambique, the Portuguese have kept the whole country under control, and won partial support from Malawi which depends on the port of Mozambique.

Time is working against Franco and Salazar though neither revolt within nor attack without seems likely to dislodge them.

separately. A system of "cross-voting" was introduced whereby each community allocated three seats on its communal roll for election by voters of all communities. This, it was hoped, would in time break down racial divisions.

For the first time the Legislative Council will have an elected majority. Provision was made for introducing a ministerial system. The Fijians and other Island races will have 11 seats, the Indians 9 and the Europeans and Chinese 7 on the Council.

### EL MAHDI'S MISSION

**KHARTOUM**—The Sudan Government has sent a Cabinet mission to the South where the Sudan Army is campaigning against insurgents who claim independence from the North. The mission is led by Ahmed El Mahdi, dynamic, 29-year-old Minister of Interior and a leader of the powerful Umma Party.

No Government, since Sudan became independent in 1954, has solved the southern problem. The South's inhabitants are African, largely backward and pagan with a considerable Christian minority. They have resented domination by the Muslim, Arab, more sophisticated North. Thousands of southerners have fled to neighbouring Kenya and Uganda following violent outbreaks. The Government banned foreign missionaries on grounds that they were involved in the revolt. The Pope has appealed for peace.

Prime Minister Mahgoub has tried to conciliate the South by including three southerners in his Cabinet, although they are not M.P.s.

### PRODUCTIVITY TRIPLED

**NEW DELHI**—The productivity of the average American factory worker is nearly three times what it was in 1947, due to improvements in technology; the average farmer's productivity has increased nearly four times, stated U.S. Ambassador to India Chester Bowles recently. Some observers fear this increase may create mass unemployment. For while the American labour force has grown by nearly one million each year, the new machines have eliminated 1.8 million jobs. However, unemployment has been declining and now stands at

Continued on page 16

## The week elsewhere

### GUNS AND BUTTER

**WASHINGTON**—The United States is at the same time stepping up military expenditure abroad and launching major welfare programmes to build the "Great Society" at home. For the immediate months, President Johnson has asked Congress for an additional \$1.7 billion for the Vietnam war. During the next year defence costs are expected to rise by at least \$3 billion. However, the President has also asked Congress for \$7 billion for the war on poverty, aid to schools, area re-development, flood control, "medicare" (state-aided medical assistance), and other welfare measures in the U.S.

America's armed forces are to be increased by 340,000 by next year bringing the total on active service to nearly 3 million. But in the same period America's labour force, now 74,900,000, will increase by 1,250,000. No controls or rationing are expected.

The sheer economic power that enables the U.S. to spend such vast sums on military and welfare requirements without cutting back the standard of living is a fact the Chinese and Viet Cong do not comprehend.

### FAMINE THREAT

**NAIROBI**—Famine caused by drought threatens large areas of East and Southern Africa during the next few months. Australia, which is also affected, may lose one-third of this year's wool clip due to sheep losses; the wheat crop may be down 100

million bushels. A world shortage of wool is possible as South Africa and Argentina have also had drought.

In many parts of East and Southern Africa this is the third or fourth year of abnormally light rainfall. Famine is feared in Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland (where one-fifth of the livestock have died). The Kenya Government has had to organize famine relief in some areas; attempts to create rain by artificial means have had partial success. In South Africa an estimated 200,000 Africans are affected.

### FIJIAN FEARS

**LONDON**—The Fiji constitutional conference in London failed to reach full agreement because the native Fijians fear domination by the immigrant Indian majority.

Fiji is a group of 322 islands, 1100 miles north of New Zealand. The population (in 1963) consisted of 220,000 Indians, 183,000 Fijians and 36,000 Europeans, Chinese and other Pacific Islands races.

Fijians and Europeans at the London conference blocked introduction of a common electoral roll which would give the Indians a majority in the Legislative Council. The Fijians say they gave their country voluntarily to Queen Victoria 90 years ago and that Fiji is a trust held by Britain. They own the land and want to keep their "special position".

At the conference the communal voting system was retained by which Indians, Fijians and Europeans vote

# tik-20



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## VIEWPOINT

First Prize : Rs. 35

### My First Five Acts As Prime Minister

By J. Javdari, Bombay

First, I intend to appeal by all means at my disposal—radio, press, personal letters and interviews—to the large industrial and business houses, trade union organizations and higher educational establishments each to set free for a year one of their best men, whom they will continue to support financially. These men must be ready to go anywhere, do anything, work hard but, above all, bend their best effort together towards a workable solution to our problems.

In this way some of our best resources of intellect and imagination will be channelled into the mechanics of employing our available work force in producing food, building roads and houses, planting trees and stemming flood-waters, raising dams and digging wells, cleaning up our cities—which will help attract foreign tourists—and increasing the quality and quantity of goods for export to pay off our national debt.

Secondly, I shall call a sub-continental conference with the leaders of

#### COMPETITION RESULTS

A record number entered for this week's competition. Very few, however, answered the question. Rather than listing their "first five acts" as Prime Minister, contributors dealt with the general themes they would pursue, mainly covering increased food production, improved defence, education for all, linguistic unity, and a firmer foreign policy. Others aimed to encourage business, eliminate corruption and increase housing.

Most people were quick to criticize present policies but slow to propose practical alternatives. It was apparent from the entries, which represent a wide spectrum of the nation, that very few people clearly think about the pressures, problems and opportunities which face a prime minister.

One hopeful sign was that several readers urged regional co-ordination by India with her neighbours and other Asian countries. They appeared to place more faith in such alliances than in the United Nations.

Ceylon, Nepal, and Pakistan. I shall tell these leaders of our plans to make India self-supporting and offer them our help in any way possible with manpower and materials.

Thirdly, I shall outfit our armed forces with the most up-to-date weapons and equipment. An attack on this sub-continent is most likely to be of the conventional type, and we must therefore be prepared in this field. For this I shall encourage the N.C.C. in every way and also the development of a civil defence corps.

Fourthly, I am launching a do-it-yourself campaign to answer the food shortage. All those who can should keep chickens and goats. The former not only take up less space than you imagine, but provide cheap food and a profit for their owners. (I speak from experience, as I have been enjoying my hens' eggs and my neighbours' envy for some months now!) Goats' milk is most nutritious, and these animals thrive on left-over food and vegetable peelings which most households have.

Finally, I shall call on the help of the younger generation for this new freedom struggle—this time to keep our nation free. I expect them to be prepared to sacrifice. I am now making it obligatory that, between school and college, every student put in two years' practical work in a field connected with his chosen further study—e.g. future doctors as medical orderlies, engineers as factory hands, scientists as laboratory assistants or on the land. Many will discover through this that further formal education is unnecessary for the jobs they wish to take up. The universities will then become centres of specialized skills and knowledge our land needs, rather than dispensers of degrees for the status-seekers.

I trust that these first five acts will set India on the road to recovery,

## COMPETITION

\* Should the U.S. stay in Vietnam?

Closing date: August 27

\*\* Should Television be in the private or public sector?

Closing date: September 3

Prizes : Rs. 35, Rs. 10.

Excerpts published : Rs. 5 each.

Length : Up to 500 words.

Send entries to The Editor,  
 HIMMAT, 13 Advent,  
 Foreshore Road, Bombay-1.

and to that end I ask for the co-operation of each man, woman and child who loves this land.

### Second Prize: Rs. 10

#### Away With Controls

A. K. DHARMA RAJ, Bombay 19

I would bring about a healthy co-ordination between the Public and Private Sectors, bearing in mind the basic need of the people, and create a feeling of comradeship between the two sectors in the larger interests of the nation and thus create a Welfare State in fact. I would keep in mind the fallacy of equating "democratic Socialism" with plain "social justice", which is the *sine qua non* of a welfare state. For Statism has been proved a failure. It does not provide the necessary incentive for men to give their best in the very countries which advocated the same as a panacea for all social evils, in the production and distribution of wealth and the removal of social disparities.

In order to ensure a fair and equitable distribution of the permits, licences and quotas, I would have a non-official body appointed which will examine and recommend the issue of the same and distribute it without fear or favour. This would prevent the rise of the new class of capitalists, who have become rich by exploiting the permits, licences and quotas, which are allotted to them as a reward for supporting the party. I would also boldly do away with "controls", as I have learnt from experience that controls breed Black Market.

Continued on page 16

# LETTERS

## LEARN FROM OTHERS

Sir: We hear much these days about the deplorable state of our agriculture. Could we not learn from the experiences and experiments in other countries?

Among other countries, Australia is one which can boast of scientific research in agriculture. I should like to enumerate a few of the experiments which may prove extremely beneficial.

1) In various parts of our country rats consume and destroy a good deal of crops, thus badly affecting food production. The Indian farmer, despite the use of D.D.T. and other rat-killing chemicals, continues to be the victim of rats—rivals for human food. Australia has developed a virus called myxomatosis which has practically decimated the whole of the rat population.

2) Conservation of water is as essential as conservation of soil. As much as 30 per cent of our water resources dry up due to tropical heat. Australia is successful in stopping the wastage of water due to evaporation. It has achieved this by the use of a sub-microscopic film of acetyl alcohol which is spread on the surface of water.

3) Rain-making is another of the methods used by Australia with the aid of research in radio-physics. Silver iodide vapour is spread with the help of aeroplanes to bring artificial rains wherever required.

It is beyond doubt that all the above fruits of intense research and experimentation of Australian scientists would be immensely useful in promoting our agricultural standards.

SURESH R. ARANAKE\*

Satara

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

## WELL PLAYED, T.T.K.

SIR: Mr. T.T.K. deserves high praise for his large-hearted willingness to yield £18,000 of foreign exchange to allow the West Indies Cricket Team to visit this country. Many others, having made a decision on a matter like this, might have been too proud or stubborn to reconsider it.

Now only one thing remains. The foreign exchange released by the Finance Ministry will allow for only a truncated tour covering a restricted itinerary. I think I speak for thousands of our countrymen when I ask that the balance of the original cost of £32,500 be raised according to the excellent scheme proposed some weeks ago in your HIMMAT by the West Indies Vice-Captain Conrad Hunte. This would mean that the tour could be carried out in full.

Now that the Finance Ministry has revised its decision perhaps Mr. Hunte's business friends in the West Indies will come forward and support his scheme for providing the extra £14,500.

As a regular HIMMAT reader I am

proud that you have given such support to this great forthcoming sporting event.

K. R. HUKUMCHAND

Bombay 26

## SIZE OF BOMBAY

SIR: You have displayed certain pictures on your front cover regarding Bombay and written that this is the 7th largest city in the world. But according to the United Nations' "Demographic Year Book" Bombay is the 5th largest city in the world. Which version is correct?

C. K. GEORGE

Bombay 1

HIMMAT described Bombay as the 8th (not 7th) largest city. Our source was Whitaker's Almanac (1965).—Ed.

## "WHITE AUSTRALIA" OUT

SIR: Congratulations on your wonderful paper.

As an Australian Trade Union official I am convinced that we in Australasia must stand by India in her determination to eradicate the class distinction and poverty of centuries. The dignity of our people and yours can only reach full maturity when both our nations decide to make the will of God a reality in each of our lives.

I am especially grateful for the news that the Australian Labor Party (of which I am a State Executive member) today decided to drop the term "White Australia" from its official platform.

You can be sure that we will do everything possible to promote your publication and encourage our people to support you in every possible way.

TED ARCHER

East Victoria Park,  
Western Australia

## CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

SIR: Of late much thought is bestowed on the abolition of capital punishment in India from the humanitarian point of view. Though humanitarian consideration is essential, in this case abolition of capital punishment will give rise to a larger number of heinous crimes than hitherto. Fear of punishment acts as a deterrent.

Instead of removing capital punishment from the statute book, capital punishment can be avoided while awarding punishment, taking into consideration the circumstances of the case.

C. L. NARASIMHAN

Madras 4

## STUDENTS AND POLITICS

SIR: Before independence college students did take an active part in politics. They gave more importance to the independence struggle than to their studies. This is not certainly expected from the students of today. It is deplorable that the students should be completely aloof from politics, except for just criticizing and abusing the Government.

If democracy is to be successful in India it is the young and educated generation which should be politically conscious. As students, though studies are our prime duty, we must not be aloof

HIMMAT announces a prize of Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be brief and exclusive to HIMMAT.

—EDITOR

from politics. We must read newspapers and form our own views about political parties. It is essential to equip ourselves with correct assessment of political parties and qualify ourselves for exercising the right of voting.

R. V. PUROHIT

Poona

## ASHAMED

SIR: I have read with interest the letter of Mr. Walter W. Willgoss (August 6). I feel ashamed at the treatment meted out to an international voluntary organization by our bureaucratic set-up. Even though it is an admitted fact charity goods cannot be imported free of cost, yet cannot exemption be granted by the Office of the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports in the case of poor and philanthropic bodies? I, as an Indian, have to hang my head in shame, as to the incident which took place.

K. L. VARAHAN

New Delhi 16

Exemptions are made and import duty waived on gifts given for charity, but it depends on the discretion of the authorities or influence of the beneficiaries in India.—Ed.

## MORE THAN POLITICS

SIR: As one who makes it a habit to read HIMMAT week after week, I would like to make a suggestion.

Your political articles, snippets, comments and viewpoints are, I find, worthwhile, worth reading and worth remembering.

But politics is but one activity of humanity and till recently did not occupy such an important place in our day's concerns. Now perhaps the picture is changing, it tends to be the major activity of the whole human race.

Even Mahatma Gandhi is forgotten as anything but a successful politician. Gandhi was something more than a politician and what he did for us Indians was well out of the realm of politics.

I would request that HIMMAT takes on the task of telling Indians today that there is something "more than politics" in life.

I request that HIMMAT should take an interest in this problem and do the necessary correction in outlook—by devoting a page or two every week to essentials in human value.

S. BAPU

Madras 2

## WHAT IS "HIMMAT"?

SIR: When people ask me "What is HIMMAT?" my answer to them is "HIMMAT gives himmat, which means courage."

REKHA NANGIA

Bombay 67

# ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

## Prize-Winning Farmers Teach Best

Are all farmers old-fashioned, conservative and pessimistic?

After meeting G. D. Shembekar, this picture will certainly be removed from your mind—if it ever existed. Our first impression as he walked briskly in for our appointment in the early morning was that he was a successful businessman, ready to deal with the matter in hand without wasting a moment. His neat appearance and concise manner did not immediately suggest that of a farmer.

When he told of the yield of his sugar cane, grapes, grains and other crops, you felt confident that India's food deficit could be wiped out—not as a vague prospect in a future five year plan, but within quite a short period.

Shembekar is President of the Progressive Agriculturalists of Maharashtra (Maharashtra Pragat Shetkari Parishad). The term "progressive"

has no political colour. It is an association of farmers, big and small, who want to adopt modern, scientific methods, who want to create a bridge between government policy and agricultural performance.

Many describe him as "the grape king of Maharashtra", and it is true that his advice on grape-growing is widely sought. He and his brother farm 200 acres of family land at Baramati, 60 miles south-east of Poona. His yield of sugar cane averages 90 tons an acre compared with 55 tons for most in that area. Wheat and paddy account for most of the rest of his acreage.

What would actually produce the food the country needs? we asked him.

"There needs to be the right priority for implementing the plans. Agriculture must be treated as an industry." Explaining further, he

continued that areas which can give maximum yield should be allotted the fertilizers, seeds and plant protection available, so as to give the largest production possible. People who respond most to utilizing fertilizers and other aid should get it. "And they need to get these things at the proper time," he added. "No good trying to deliver fertilizer to paddy areas after the rains have come. No transport can reach them."

What about fertilizers? They are in the news.

Citing the world shortage of fertilizers that will take some time to make up, he said, "We need to use what there is most effectively on an emergency basis. It is not efficient merely to divide the available quantity by the number of districts, regardless of the ability of a district to yield crops."

## Ignored for 70 Years

Is the Government Extension Worker not the bridge between the plan and the peasant?

"Prize-winning farmers are the best extension workers," was the reply. Shembekar believes that farmers with proven results should be helped to pass on their methods and results to a hundred farmers they know in their area. "This will yield far greater results than the Government Extension Worker, who is not a farmer, even if he has the right theory and knowledge." Shembekar's Association wants to encourage such farmers and publicize their results through the country.

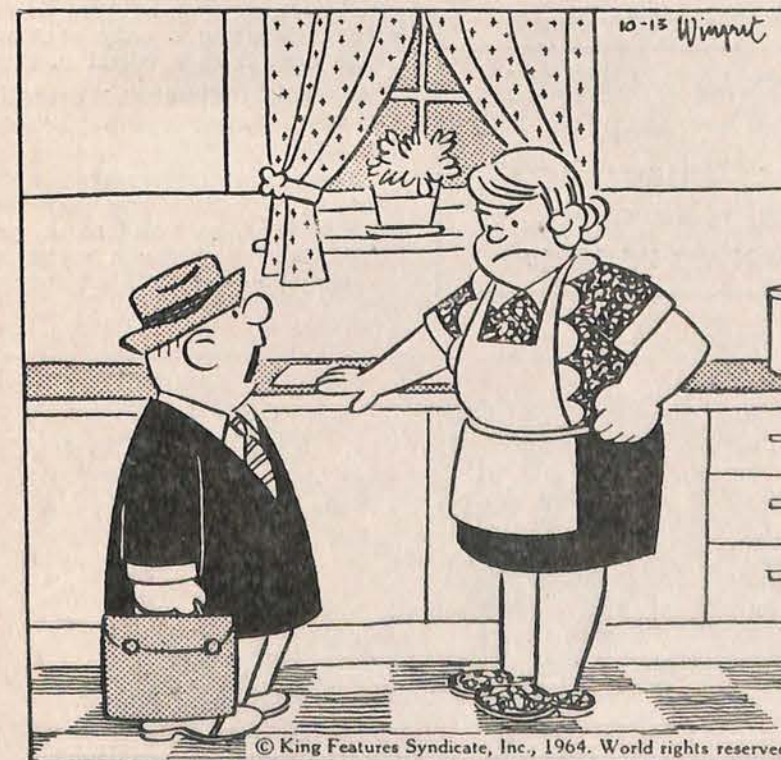
What about model farms? Will the farmers learn from them?

Shembekar feels that the farmer wants to be convinced that any experiment or demonstration is a business proposition. Most farmers do not feel that a Government farm is run on a business basis. A recently set up private chicken farm is now making hundreds go in for poultry, while the nearby Government poultry farm established for 70 years has not convinced them.

The same with scientifically run dairy farms. Instancing a private farm near Poona, he said the yield of milk was 10 to 15 times the local average and their year-old calves were fetching from Rs. 4,000 to

Continued on next page

## HUBERT



"Do you know that haircuts have gone up to 40 cents at the barber college?"



Rs. 10,000 each. The Brazil Government had inquired about purchasing from their stock. These results convinced the nearby farmers.

*What do you think of land reforms and co-operatives?*

"There were many things wrong with the previous land ownership policy, but it did give an incentive. Now there is little incentive for production—except for cash crops, which are taking away from the grain acreage." Shembekar feels a fixed proportion of land should be under grain, but more important is the need for an incentive to do this. "Today an agriculturalist can earn more as an unskilled worker in a factory than from the land."

About co-operatives, the sugar factories run on co-operative lines

#### WORLD'S CAPITALS—*from page 11*

under 4 per cent of the working population. Major retraining programmes are being developed by government and private firms to teach men to use the new complex machinery.

#### LIFE IN SPACE

LONDON—Both American and Russian radio astronomers are convinced that intelligent races exist on other planets in the Milky Way in which the earth lies. This was stated by an American radio astronomer, Dr.

#### VIEWPOINT—*from page 13*

#### Best Points: Rs. 5

T. P. BALACHANDRAN, Bombay 29

Little from the bottom reaches the top audibly enough to command the attention of the administration. In order to feel the pulse of the people and to waft away the smoke-screen that separates the citizen from the administration, I would have "Appraisers" appointed throughout the country. There will be one "Appraiser", say, for every 10,000 of the population. He will tell the administration what the people have and what they want and in turn make the people understand the administration.

Teaching free at least two adult illiterates to read and write will be made a compulsory prerequisite for award of a degree or diploma to college students.

have been most successful in Maharashtra. Here the co-operative is a practical way of fulfilling a real need, and it works.

Speaking of his own farm he said the workers expected at least part of their wages in grain. This was not taken into consideration when the Government calculated the expected procurement from farms.

Shembekar assures you that his organization want to co-operate fully with Government plans. His aim is to translate these plans in terms which are understood by the farmers and represent an incentive for them. "Otherwise they will leave the land for industry." This, in fact, is what Mr. Shembekar's own two sons have chosen to do.

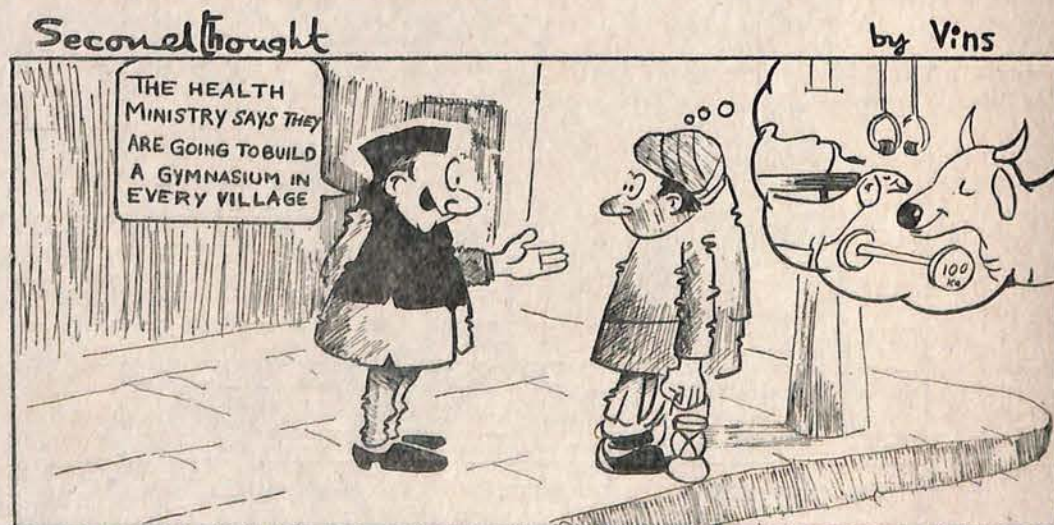
Frank Drake, in a recent BBC broadcast. It was now almost certain that intelligent life existed elsewhere in the universe, he said.

The Mariner IV photos "neither demonstrated nor precluded" the possibility of life on Mars, according to American scientists. "That question must await a capsule landing on Mars," stated Dr. William Pickering, director of the laboratory which built and controlled Mariner IV. The 200 million items of information sent to earth by the spacecraft will keep scientists busy for months.

#### SPECIAL OFFER

New Subscribers get 52 issues for the price of 40

TURN TO PAGE 19



## HIMMAT for the World

HIMMAT now sells in 71 countries.

The first copies off the press are rushed by air to Nairobi where they are on sale at the same time as in Bombay.

It is becoming the most quoted Indian weekly in the foreign press. Last week Time in its cover story on India quoted Chief Editor Rajmohan Gandhi. Marguerite Higgins in her syndicated column to 75 papers quoted extensively from our main feature on Vietnam to contradict U.S. columnist Walter Lippmann.

When HIMMAT suggested that Australia and New Zealand should be included in the Afro-Asian body of nations, the story was widely published in the Australian press. Prime Minister Holyoake of New Zealand welcomed the idea with a published letter.

The South Pacific Post, circulating throughout New Guinea, Papua and the Pacific Islands, quoted HIMMAT urging an alliance of Australia, India and Japan to meet the growing threat of China in Asia.

The West African Pilot, Nigeria's leading newspaper published from the capital, Lagos, reprinted in full our article, "What Next in Africa?"

Conrad Hunte's recent letter to HIMMAT suggesting a plan for the West Indies tour was picked up by P.T.I. and published throughout the Indian press.

A South-East Asian Ambassador in New Delhi says, "HIMMAT—I read it fully and send reports to my Government. It gives us new ideas. It takes the problems and judges them according to principle."

A compositor in a local press tells us, "I like the paper because I can understand it. I buy a copy each week and then send it to a friend in Ceylon."

A senior advertising executive said, "I buy it every week. It's clean and straightforward."

Leaders of Government and Opposition in New Delhi say they read HIMMAT regularly. And so do youth, for HIMMAT fights for a great tomorrow—not right, not left, but forward.

## This was a life

ROBERT SCHUMAN

1886—1963

THREE TIMES in 70 years France and Germany fought each other. Their reconciliation is the most significant event in post-war Europe. Robert Schuman, a Frenchman who was brought up as a German, was a principal architect of this unity.

Schuman was born in Luxembourg, moved to Lorraine, then part of Germany, and in the First World War served in the German Army. In 1918 Lorraine became French. Next year Schuman was elected to the French Parliament.

In 1940 he was arrested by the Nazis who offered to free him if he would collaborate. Schuman escaped and went into hiding.

After the war he became in turn Finance Minister, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of France.

Because of his background, Schuman felt he had a special duty to bring France and Germany together. But he feared resentment by the Germans and misunderstanding by his own countrymen. He did not know the leaders of the new Germany.

Discouraged by the size of the task and tired after 30 years in politics, Schuman thought of retirement. At a dinner he told Dr. Frank Buchman his problem. "What in your own heart do you think you should do?" asked Buchman. "I know already," Schuman replied. "I must stay and fight the political battle."

Buchman offered to help. He gave Schuman a dozen names of personalities just emerging on the German scene, whom he knew personally. They included Konrad Adenauer, later to become Chancellor, and Heinrich Luebbe, now President of the Federal Republic.

In 1950 Schuman sent a message to Adenauer with the first proposal for the European Coal and Steel Pool, usually called the Schuman Plan. In 20 minutes Adenauer sent back his acceptance. In 1951 six countries of Western Europe merged their coal and steel industries, laying the foundation of European unity.

For Schuman, Franco-German unity was not an end in itself. He saw that nations needed a common ideology as well as common interests. Prosperity has returned to Europe because of his work. But Schuman's belief was that unity would never be permanent on a basis of self-interest.

"It is not a question of change of policy; it is a question of changing men," he wrote. "Democracy and her freedoms can be saved only by the quality of the men who speak in her name."

## Q and A

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

**Q—Do you feel that creation of a "Land Army" to grow more food in Bengal and Bihar will serve public interest in these areas?**

P. CHAVHAN, Kalimpong

**A—A Land Army** was started in England during the war to meet the manpower shortage of agricultural labour. Women in the Land Army were given a uniform and their work was looked upon as "a national service". They were directed by the Government to farms which needed them. They had communal living as in the Army and they were eligible to be directed wherever they were needed. It certainly gave them a great sense of being wanted in a national venture. They were also given some preliminary training. They had no ranks in the Land Army.

The situation in Bengal and Bihar, and for that matter in India, is different because there is sufficient labour available. It would not, however, be a bad idea to have a Land Army consisting of university students who during, say the October vacation, could be recruited and have a month or more learning agriculture and thereby helping both the national effort and themselves as future citizens.

**Q—Do you support formation—and re-organization of various states in India based on defence considerations, in preference to the present Government's ill-conceived policy based on linguistic considerations?**

P. CHAVHAN, Kalimpong

**A—I agree with you that the division of India on a linguistic basis, whatever its merits were in the late 1920s, was ill-conceived when put into operation after**

Independence. I am however not in favour of changing the pattern now.

The ultimate unity of India will depend not so much on re-organization of states now, but on giving India a common purpose and an aim where all our people feel they are needed and wanted in creating a clean, strong and united nation.

**Q—When will we Indians get sufficient food to eat, clothes to wear and houses to live in?**

V. S. KULKARNI, Sangli

**A—The speed with which these goods are delivered to India will depend on intelligent policies of Government and hard work by every single Indian. There is no short cut. Our policies have been wrong concerning food and housing indefinitely, but the encouraging sign is that we are at last waking up.**

The Government has launched a crash programme to encourage more fertilizer plants and to increase the capacity of existing ones. The Government has also realized the folly of its cement policy that has bottled up housing by leaving a slender margin of profit. Today, for every excess ton a cement factory produces, it is given an Excise rebate of 25 per cent. This stimulates the existing plants to reach maximum capacity. Cement-making machinery is also being manufactured now and it is hoped that by 1967 or 1968 the cement situation will ease.

We produce sufficient cloth though the capacity of individuals is low and many can't afford to buy.

Apart from facts and statistics, there is the human factor. First, the absence of a will to work hard. Secondly, the presence of corruption. Housing plans to be passed by the authorities in certain cities are deliberately delayed by officials. Reason: they want a bribe. The speed with which we get sufficient food and houses is ultimately connected to the speed with which we dedicate ourselves to advance our nation.

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# Modernizing India

by Rajmohan Gandhi

PRIME MINISTER SHASTRI'S Independence Day call for the united exertion of the Indian people should be answered by solid support. Yet it would be unwise to assume this support to be automatic. Listen, for instance, to the following:

"India now is like Germany before Hitler took over, like China before Mao took over."

Who is this talking? It is not a fascist, Communist or imperialist. Nor is he an extremist of Right or Left in India. The man is a white-as-khadi Congressman, the Minister of Agriculture in Gujarat.

Looking at 18-year-old free India, Chanchal Sarkar, the respected commentator, writes in *The Hindustan Times*, "Since 1947 I cannot recall any period when we have been so becalmed. The country simply is not moving."

More serious than China and Pakistan, he says, are our internal enemies. The first three in his list of "ten greatest enemies that face Mr. Shastri" are: dispiritedness, owing to the want of leadership, want of trust in the fairness of the administration, and the frustration of the young.

I would be much interested to know Mr. Sarkar's view on who are responsible for this national condition and his suggestions for cure.

## Mistaken Notion

By now most men agree that Mr. Shastri's problems are tougher than Mr. Nehru's. In the last ten days he has had to deal with:

battles in Kashmir, a mass demonstration in the capital, riots in Patna, other towns of Bihar, Calcutta, Indore, Jullundur, Hyderabad, the threat of 2,100 Deputy Magistrates and their aides in Bihar to resign, a protest by 300 engineers of the Madhya Pradesh Electricity Board, a fast by Maharashtra M.L.A.s among other problems.

It could, of course, be argued that the nationwide upheaval is the result of Government shortcomings. Leaders in Government can with equal force ask for the population's full and sacrificial support because of the moment's gravity.

What intelligent men must now do is to avoid witch-hunts and whole-

sale condemnations of individuals, groups and communities. Anger may induce in some the completely mistaken notion that everyone's energy must now be bent towards removing Congress rule. Anger, and panic, in Government ranks might prod them into the folly of suppressing liberty without discrimination.

The simple, obvious, plain and patent truth has got to be repeated again and again: we are all responsible for India. Congressmen, other politicians, bureaucrats, industrialists, traders, clerks, workers, peasants, professional men, teachers, students—all of us by our positive and negative acts have made the India of August 15, 1965.

## Double Standards

"But the Government is interfering, blocking, controlling everywhere," some will interject, "and you cannot expect men without power and authority to compensate for the unwisdom of an all-powerful force." I have two comments on this oft-expressed view. One, it unfairly ignores and brushes away the earnestness, hard work, long hours and a certain basic integrity of a large number of our rulers. Two, where, and who, are the set of leaders who can replace Congress Governments in the States and the Centre and give our people the peace and progress they have been waiting for? In the Socialist parties? In Swatantra? In the Jana Sangh? In the Communist factions?

I make a real effort, but I can't find them in any of these parties.

It seems to me that we expect authority—be it in school, college, hospital, municipality, Government department, factory or the State Governments or the Centre—to be concerned with every single person, especially us, with the totality of the situation, but reserve the right to be concerned ourselves only with ourselves. We judge men in authority by standards of perfection while constantly making allowances for ourselves.

Somewhere, somehow, we have inherited a tradition of self-absorption and of walls blinding us to the needs, hopes, longings and points of view of others. Modern India by its living appears only to have strengthened this tradition. Mr. Sarkar is honest when he declares that "what divides state

from state, language from language, community from community and people from people is getting steadily more powerful than what unites them".

And when Government spokesmen and Congress leaders assail and harass individuals and sections and paint them in dark, sinister and monstrous colours for the masses they do more than evade their own responsibility. They invite unreasoning hostility.

Perhaps we as a nation have not yet grown from being campaigners and fighters for our rights into men and women capable of discharging responsibilities. Finding fault with the British rulers was easy, just as easy as exposing the failures of the Congress Government. But to be accountable ourselves for food, shelter and the economy, for defence, communal harmony and stability, and for our world influence, is altogether different.

I sometimes wonder if the malady doesn't start early in our family life. A great majority of our educated and "middle class" families and even many of the families of our industrial workers spoon-feed the children, plan and run their lives from cradle to grave and try to protect them from life's adventures and hardships.

## Two Suggestions

And we are failing badly in any attempt to coach our school and college students to think, care and work for others. There are, to be sure, exhortations for "serving the nation" but not many instances where our youth learn to be of some help to other individuals.

I believe the following steps need the consideration of all:

1. An immediate gathering of the best men of all our parties to see what can be done to remove both the causes of the country's widespread unrest and its uglier turns.
2. A thorough revolution in our educational system so that within five to ten years we can produce hundreds and thousands of young men and women who care not only "for India", but also for Indians, who are more interested in what they can do for others than in what others will or won't do for them.

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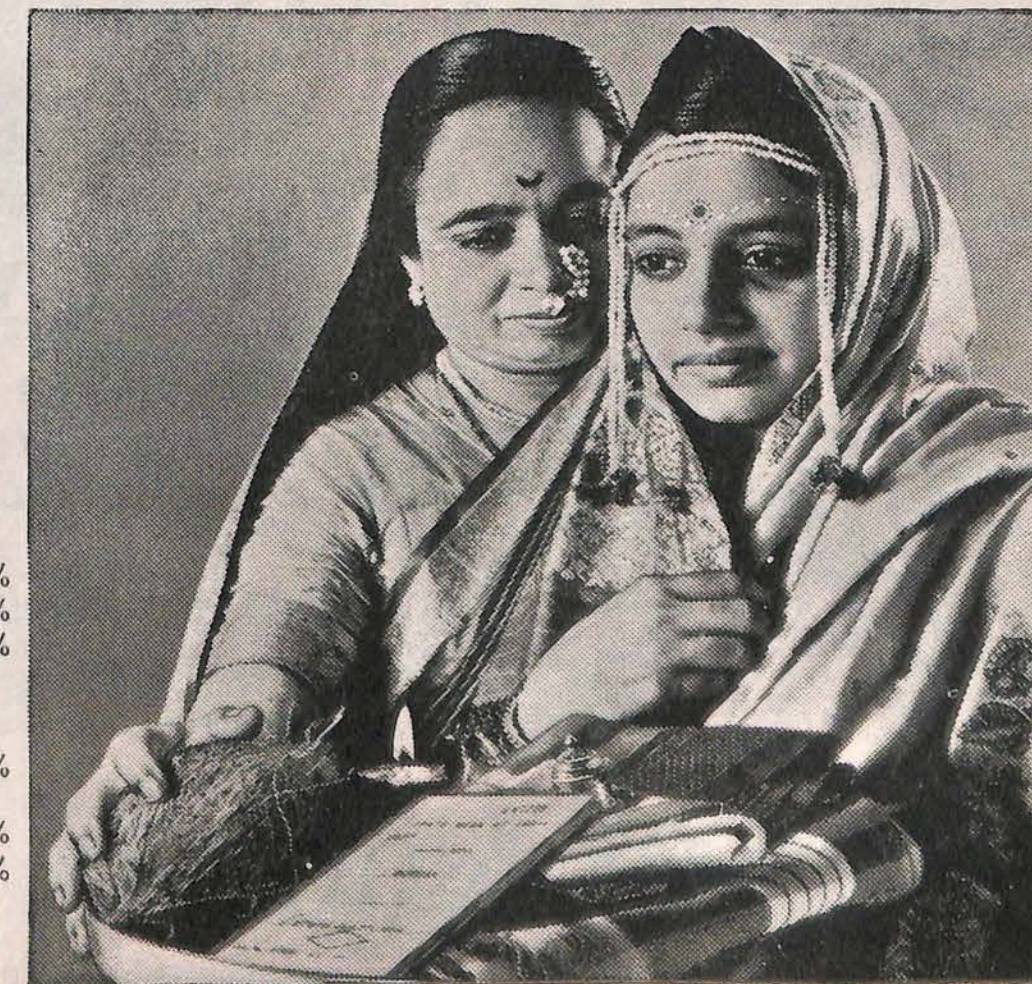
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